

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE IMPACT OF SPEAKING THE LUMBEE DIALECT ON THE
ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AND IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT OF NATIVE AMERICAN
COLLEGE STUDENTS

Christopher E. Scott

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education in School of
Education (Educational Leadership).

Chapel Hill
2008

Approved By:

Kathleen Brown

Jim Veitch

George Noblit

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Abstract

CHRISTOPHER E. SCOTT: Investigating the Impact of Speaking the Lumbee Dialect on the Academic Achievement and Identity Development of Native American College Students

(Under the Direction of Kathleen Brown)

This qualitative study investigates how speaking the Lumbee Dialect impacts the academic achievement and identity development of Native American college students in predominantly White, Research Intensive institutions. The eleven students who participated in this study identify as members of the Lumbee Indian Tribe. The Lumbee Dialect differs from written and spoken conventions of Standard English in grammar construction, vocabulary, and pronunciation serves as a linguistic marker for members of the Lumbee Tribe of Robeson County, North Carolina. The researcher analyzes the data through a lens that recognizes oppression by race, oppression by class, and oppression by language and integrates concepts of linguistic hegemony with Tribal Critical Race theory. Findings from the study reflect that speaking the dialect impacts both academic achievement and identity development, as evident in themes such as talking *White* and language masking. This study has implications for K-12 and higher education, specifically in the areas of counseling, language learning, instructional leadership, and Native American community development and language preservation

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation reflects my attempt to capture the lived experiences of Native college students in a manner that yields a working theory that may be applied to contemporary social dynamics. More importantly, however, it reflects my commitment to identify and address social injustice, misunderstanding, and inequality through research and education. Finally, this dissertation reflects my life story, which began in the Lumbee community of Wakulla, North Carolina, and which continues to be so powerfully blessed with a host of courageous, compassionate friends and mentors.

The completion of this process would not have happened were it not for the guidance and support of the faculty and staff at the University of North Carolina. Specifically, I would like to thank each member of my dissertation committee: Kathleen Brown, George Noblit, and Jim Veitch. Not only did they teach me about the content and context of educational leadership, but they also built and sustained a genuine relationship that served as the foundation for assisting with the production of such a personal document. For coaching my practice, for valuing my work, for being great teachers, and for not alienating yourselves from children, teachers, and school leaders, I consider it an honor to have worked under your advisement.

I also acknowledge that my experiences in the K-12 arena prepared me for this accomplishment. I appreciate the staff and leadership at Southeast Guilford Middle School, Durant Road Middle School, Hunter Gifted and Talented Magnet Elementary

School, and Fuller Gifted and Talented Magnet Elementary School. Specifically, I owe a debt of gratitude to Sue Jones being my safety net during those first four years in the eighth grade classroom, to Marian Sherrill for the little sticky notes, the prayers, and the sense of peace and comfort, and for Ashley Lawson Desmarais for simply being the perfect teammate. Finally, I cannot imagine my life in the absence of students. I have been so blessed to have had extraordinary experiences working with such gifted, challenging, terrific students and all that I will ever accomplish in the field of education is a product of what it has meant to be a teacher.

There are a number of friends who checked in, forgave absences from birthdays and special dinners, and who simply listened to me discuss conflicts, dilemmas, and successes during the completion of this dissertation. Some of them carried a more significant role. Tierza Watts, thank you for being my best cheerleader. Chris Frelke, thank you for listening so intently and without judgment; I know that I can always talk to you. Jen Benkovitz, you gave me perspective and practically dared me to finish without you. Finally, there are few people who know me like William Ewell. Thank you for the brotherly love, for bringing me to the surface when I start to sink, and for always being a reminder that, in a complicated, conflicted, and sometimes overwhelming reality, there is goodness.

This study aims to capture a snapshot of the plight of the Lumbee Indian Tribe, a community of people among whom I was proudly born and raised. The elders of Wakulla and of Cherokee Chapel Methodist Holiness Church modeled the wonderful power of faith, and from those roots I have secured a life path. For this, I am thankful.

To the surviving, resilient, and proud Lumbee people, especially the participants in this study, I am thankful.

I thank my family for their love and support through this process and through all of my educational and professional endeavors. Lora, Daddy, Bo, Ralph, nieces and nephews, aunts, uncles, and cousins all inspire me in unique ways. It is also important to acknowledge that my earliest memories include my great-grandmother, Granny, holding me in her rocking chair and reading from a picture book. She read the newspaper daily, hummed church spirituals while preparing meals, and most importantly, loved all children. Her influence is invaluable.

Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to my late mother and life teacher, Judy, who has been my Guardian Angel since her departure from this world into the next. During my formative years, she taught me that you do not have to be *privileged* to be *blessed*. I will ever aspire to live up to her legacy, for during times of struggle and desperation, she demonstrated insurmountable courage and faith, yielding a proud and defiant survival. May she rest in eternal peace.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The introduction to this chapter is an excerpt taken from a pilot study completed by the researcher in spring 2005. It starts with a conversation between an elder in the Lumbee community and the researcher before the researcher leaves the tribal community to attend college. In the conversation, the two are speaking the Lumbee Dialect. This conversation from the researcher's past exemplifies not only the Lumbee Dialect, but also Lumbee values. It also helps explain the researcher's positionality in this study.

Ms. Myrtle: *So, where's it dat you a goin' off to?*

Researcher: *I'm goin' to Avery State, up in d'mountains, for college. They gave me a scholarship to come up der.*

Ms. Myrtle: *Well, mind y'don't get up der and rise above your raisin'.*

Researcher: *What da y'mean?*

Ms. Myrtle: *Well, now our people goes off t'school, and den they'll forget where they come from. They'll get off someweres and forget our people bak here, and some of 'em forget about da Lord. You just min you don't get up der in dem mountains and forget about where ya come from.*

Researcher: *OK Ms. Myrtle. You know I'm not gonna forget about chew (ha, ha). And I'm not gonna forget about da Lord.*

Researcher: *You betta get back here t'see me regula.*

After a discussion during a U.S. History class in the fall of 1988, my teacher, Ms. Davis, who had corrected my grammar during the discussion, pulled me aside and explained that "You're going places Chris, so you've got to learn to speak correctly." From that point, she seldom addressed issues of pronunciation, but she never failed to correct my often-poor grammar. She always did so with a smile, and, even though it was embarrassing at times to

be constantly corrected publicly, I trusted her and knew her corrective action came from a good place. She was not only my teacher, but also my advisor for “Here’s Looking at You, 2000,” an anti-drug campaign and my coach for the Citizen Bee competition. By the end of the year, thanks to Ms. Davis, I had come to terms with my grammatical challenges as a Lumbee Indian.

In the following summer, I was selected to attend Leadership, Education and Development (LEAD), a leadership program at Duke University in which thirty-six minority students from across the United States participated in an intensive study of business and economics. The six-week program included seminars facilitated by representatives from companies such as Proctor and Gamble and Price Waterhouse, trips to Washington, D.C. and Atlanta, and mini-courses in business etiquette and presentation. I never really thought about language before attending LEAD, but when I arrived, I was confronted with the realization that I spoke much differently than the rest of the participants. I was called to go before the group during the first class to do a statistics problem in which I announced “heads” or “tails” during a series of coin tosses. My pronunciation of those two words brought the class to tears in laughter. It was clear that I was confused and embarrassed, and afterwards, their attempts to comfort me with, “Your accent is so cute” and their requests for me to, “Say something else” simply heightened my discomfort. Participants were from all corners of the U.S., and even those from other parts of the South continued to find humor in my accent for the rest of the summer. I remember being excited during the program when I learned that there were speech coaches who could help *fix* your accent and make it more Mid-western. After I fought off temptations to just go back home, I made friends that summer and made the best of LEAD, but it was the first time I realized that I spoke differently.

In the fall of 1993 while taking a required linguistics class at Avery State University, I decided to explore my dialect to complete a class project. I had to select a research interest, submit a paper, and present the paper to my classmates. Listening to my classmates' project ideas inspired me to take a closer look at the linguistic patterns specific to the Lumbee Tribe. I could use a home video from the previous Christmas as part of the class presentation. It seemed very cut-and-dry. Receiving praise from both my professor and classmates was the first time that I felt a sense of pride in my linguistic uniqueness. While separate languages distinguish the language identity of tribes, such as the Cherokee and Navajo, the Lumbee Dialect is a non-standard variation of English and is geographically and culturally specific to the Lumbee Tribe.

In a doctoral class at UNC, I decided to further explore the Lumbee Dialect by conducting a pilot study on the educational implications of using the Lumbee Dialect in terms of achievement (my interest in identity development arose during interviews). I was curious about how other students' experiences in a non-Lumbee educational setting compared with my own experience. In a pilot study to satisfy requirements for a field techniques course, I interviewed five Lumbee students from Jackson County who attend UNC. I questioned students about their home and school language experiences, including their experiences since matriculating to the college setting. While there were some limitations to the study, patterns emerged in their responses. Organizing the responses into four themes, I concluded that the students' academic success and identity were impacted because they speak the Lumbee Dialect. This pilot study has fueled my interest in investigating the topic of Lumbee Dialect further.

As this dissertation study investigated and discussed issues of language, it is important to make a distinction between language and dialect. Wolfram, Adger, and Christian (1999) use the term *language variation* to explain that language is not uniform. Instead, it is a product of factors such as cultural background, economic class, geography, gender, and age. Language also varies in the manner in which it is used. *Dialect* refers to “a variety of language associated with a regionally or socially defined group of people” (p.1). This is considered a neutral term, meaning that one dialect technically does not have a higher status than another dialect, even though the term is sometimes used in ways that contradicts this technical explanation. *Accent*, another term that is used to describe language variation, is more restrictive than dialect because *accent* is specific to pronunciation only. The researchers also define *Standard English* to include the “norms described in grammar books and most typically reflected in written language” (p.15). *Standard English* is used as a reference point, and very few people actually speak to this standard. This term is used to represent and include the “socially preferred” dialects from various parts of the United States.

The Lumbee Dialect, as defined by Walt Wolfram’s research, is a unique language pattern specific to members of the Lumbee Tribe of Jackson County. The dialect differs from written and spoken conventions of Standard English in grammar construction, vocabulary, and pronunciation (Wolfram, 2000). As part of the North Carolina Life Sciences Project, (NCLSP), Wolfram (1999a, 1999b, 2000) captures the consistency and cultural pride with which the Lumbee of Jackson County speak the dialect. While there is little research that is specific to how using the Lumbee Dialect impacts the academic achievement and identity of Lumbee students, scholars such as Smitherman (2004), Delpit (1995, 2004), and

Wolfram (1999a, 1999b, 2000) speak to the consequences of speaking non-standard forms of English in the academic setting.

Delpit (1995), Delpit and Dowdy (2002), Demmert (2002, 2001, 2005), Gee (1989, 1996), and Wolfram, Adger, and Christian (1999) have theorized the conflict and tension surrounding language issues in the classroom. Delpit proffers that there are *codes of power* in our society that are language specific. Cultural conflict in the classroom results when students' home language differs from classroom/school language. As a result, they do not acquire these codes of power. Delpit and Dowdy suggest that failure to address this perpetuates the existing power structure in American society. Their theory reflects the connection between language and student achievement. They challenge the implied determinism of Gee's theories, which states that students acquire a primary discourse as part of their social enculturation in their home environment and through exposure and immersion in various groups, take on a secondary discourse. According to Gee, discourse cannot be taught, but rather it is the product of enculturation, a notion that has implications for the schooling of students who speak differently. Wolfram, Adler, and Christian challenge the role of education to make a more socially responsible distinction between language *difference* and language *deficit* and call for educators to consider the effectiveness of language variation across the curriculum. Caught in the language theory crossfire, Lumbee students who speak their Native dialect are at the mercy of how educators consider their language difference.

Ogbu and Fordham (1986) have conducted research on Black identity that makes a connection between language and identity. Their theory states that African Americans have developed an oppositional culture in response to their internalization of discrimination. In

doing so, those who strive for academic success and educational attainment are faced with the concept of acting *White*. Language is relevant to this theory of acting White because the acquisition of education often results in the mastery of Standard English. Ogbu and Fordham note that Black parents who send their children to private schools in an attempt for them to master Standard English is evidence of how African Americans try to enter the domain of White culture. They note that acts such as this can result in psychological stress for Black individuals. For Native American youth, the challenges they face to integrate the cultural and social messages are particularly complex, as investigated by Newman (2005). The information students receive about the value and meaning of their ethnicity from the larger society is inconsistent and misleading because the image of the Native American is both popularized and cheapened by popular culture. Deloria (1970) argues that the predominant image of the Native American as the Nature-loving, noble savage has served the dominant culture's need to escape the effects of its modernity. Brayboy (2005) captures the struggle of Native college students to remain true to their Native heritage, using the term "good Indian" to describe a commitment and loyalty to one's Native identity.

The research that speaks to Native American student achievement and identity is quite extensive, and a host of scholars have researched language issues in the classroom; however, there appears to be no research in the field of literature that is specific to how speaking the Lumbee Dialect impacts ways of knowing and being for Lumbee students.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate how speaking the Lumbee dialect impacts Lumbee students in university settings. Through the use of interviews with students enrolled at predominantly White, Research Intensive universities who identify themselves as Lumbee

Indians, the researcher will document the linguistic experiences and perceptions of the research participants. A specific focus will be placed on how speaking the Lumbee Dialect impacts students' academic achievement and ethnic identity development.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study arises from and is organized around the concept of oppression. Two factors inform this theoretical perspective: (1) the researcher's personal experience as a Lumbee student who pursued post-secondary education in a non-Native context, and (2) the results of a pilot study he conducted prior to proposing this research study. Those experiences inform his theory that the Lumbee are oppressed by both race and class within the larger social milieu, but there exists another layer of oppression for Lumbee students who speak the Lumbee Dialect in their pursuit of higher education in non-Native settings.

The literature review will include theory specific to systematic oppression by race, class, and language by acknowledging that there is a layer of racial oppression and a layer of class oppression that impacts members of the Lumbee Tribe. The concept of oppression is extended in this study by theorizing that, in addition to race and class oppression, there exists another layer of oppression: language oppression. Wolfram, Adger, and Christian (1999) use the term *language variation* to explain that language is not uniform. Instead, it is a product of factors such as cultural background, economic class, geography, gender, and age. Language also varies in the manner in which it is used. *Dialect* refers to "a variety of language associated with a regionally or socially defined group of people" (p.1). This study

aims to investigate the degree to which Lumbee students who speak the Lumbee Dialect are victims of a system that oppresses *language variation*.

Heldke and O’Conner (2004) theorize that oppression is a very complex and prevalent force in our society. Actions exerted by dominant social forces have both external and internal repercussions on those who are oppressed. Describing the various forms of oppression as “axis” of oppression, they construct an analysis of oppression using the work of theorists who have researched various forms of oppression, such as racism, classism, sexism, heterosexism, etc. The broad manner in which they frame oppression helps to establish a theory for how the researcher considered the approach to and an analysis of this study.

Brayboy (2005) has adapted critical race theory to address the need for a framework that includes the ontologies and epistemologies of indigenous people. Outlined in nine tenets, TribalCrit deals with “Native Americans’ liminality as both legal/political and racialized beings [and] the experience of colonization” (p.428). Because Brayboy’s conceptualization aims to expose the inconsistencies in social structures so as to create improved situations for Native Americans, it is useful in helping to explain this study, even though it is not necessary to explore and apply each tenet. Because this study dealt directly with the situation of language difference for Lumbee students, it is necessary to apply a theoretical lens that framed the study to include both ethnic and language concepts.

This study aimed to discuss Native American experiences that are language-specific. As such, the theoretical framework for this study included concepts that helped enhance the lens through which the researcher viewed this investigation. The American Civil Rights movement of the mid-twentieth century served as a catalyst for language scholars of color to

investigate the social implications of language variance in America (Smitherman, 1992). Wolfram, Adger, and Christian (1999) have identified how “attitudes about language can trigger a whole set of stereotypes and prejudices based on underlying social and ethnic differences” (p.27). Eriksen (1992) theorizes the concept of language oppression in a manner that is applicable to this study. Establishing that forces such as assimilation and dominance characterize the language/power dynamic in contemporary society, he applies the term *linguistic hegemony* to describe the resistance efforts of language minorities in the global context.

The theoretical framework for this study integrated TribalCrit and linguistic hegemony to address the language issues of Lumbee students in the university setting. This study does not specifically focus on such topics as sociolinguistics, language preservation/revitalization, Indigenous ways of knowing and being, or Native American resistance; however, scholars in these fields have contributed concepts to the bodies of knowledge on these subjects that have proven useful in framing this investigation.

Major Research Question

How does the Lumbee Dialect impact the social and academic experiences of undergraduate university students from Jackson County who attend predominantly White Research Intensive institutions?

Research Questions

1. What are student perceptions about the use of Lumbee Dialect in the home?
2. What are student perceptions about the use of Lumbee Dialect in the university setting?
3. What academic challenges do Lumbee students identify in the university setting?

4. What social challenges do Lumbee students identify in their university setting?
5. How have students' attitudes about their Lumbee heritage changed as a result of their experiences in the college setting?

Statement of the Problem

There is a wealth of literature that addresses the issue of language and how it impacts education for students. The literature is specific to the diversity of linguistic discourses within American schools: African American Vernacular English, Ebonics, English-language learners, Spanish, Indigenous Languages, etc. The literature is also extensive in reviewing the many aspects of education affected by language—classroom instruction, school leadership, higher education, counseling—and applies to such topics as multicultural education and the achievement gap. Scholars have explored the connection between language and learning not only in education, but also in sociology, psychology, and sociolinguistics. There is, however, very little research that addresses the specific educational needs of the Lumbee people. Scholarly work addresses the challenges of Indigenous people in higher education settings (Brayboy, 2004; Edwards & Smith, 1981; Falk & Aitken, 1984; Taylor, 2001), but this research speaks predominantly to tribes in the American West and Alaskan Natives. It neither speaks to the plight of the Lumbee nor specifies language as a factor. As the third largest tribe in the United States and the largest tribe east of the Mississippi River, more research is necessary that is specific to this unique tribe of people.

Definitions

This study included various terms and concepts from educational, social science, psychological, and linguistic fields of study. It is necessary to define concepts that have been applied to conduct and complete this study.

- Language variation: a difference in the way that language is communicated differently for different situations, such as home, school, or community settings that extends beyond grammar patterns, pronunciation, and vocabulary and makes the point that language is not uniform (Wolfram, Adler, & Christian, 1999).
- Dialect: a variety of language associated with a regionally or socially defined group of people that typically carries a negative connotation (Wolfram, Adler, & Christian, 1999).
- Standard English: commonly referred to as “Queen’s English,” a communication standard for the English language that observes formal rules of grammar construction, vocabulary, and pronunciation.
- Oppression: pervasive systematic acts of injustice exerted by dominant, privileged forces (oppressors) that result in an inferior sense of self.
- Academic achievement: achievement by way of knowledge acquired formally through schooling (Brayboy, 2005).
- Identity development: the perception of self in both how we identify within the social group to which we have membership and social groups to which we do not have membership (Carter, 1997; Cross, 1994).
- Lumbee Tribe: a Native American tribe centrally situated in Southeastern North Carolina.
- Linguistic Hegemony: the process by which dominant groups create a consensus by convincing others to accept their language norms and usage as standard or pragmatic. Hegemony is achieved when they can convince those who fail to meet those

standards to view their failure as being the result of the inadequacy of their own language (Saurez, 2002).

- Tribal Critical Theory: an emerging theory that stems from Critical Race Theory designed to specifically address issues of liminality and racialization of American Indians (Brayboy, 2005).

The Significance of the Study

This study represents the beginning stages of connecting language and learning for Lumbee students. American Indians are among the highest dropout rates in high school and are the most underrepresented minority group entering college. Furthermore, they continue to experience a very low graduation rate at that level (Falk & Aitken, 1994; Reyhner, 2006; Taylor, 2000). Research cites both poor academic preparation for Native students who enter post-secondary education and a lack of adequate support for Native students at institutions of higher education as reasons for these statistics and realities (Kerbo, 1981; Wells, 1997))

This study has implications for K-12 and higher education instruction, including the imperative of recruiting and retaining educators and administrators of color. It also speaks to the importance of academic advising and psychological counseling services in both K-12 and higher education. The dire need for educational leadership aimed at addressing issues of social injustice and for curricula and instructional standards that are culturally inclusive and balanced is also implied in this study. Finally, this study also has implications for tribal development in the Lumbee community and for language preservation of the Lumbee Dialect. Currently, the Lumbee face the struggle to seek national recognition, an important factor because this issue frames the identity *inbetween-ness* of the Lumbee in the larger American social and political landscape (Blu, 1980). The aforementioned pilot study reveals

that there are a variety of social and academic challenges that Lumbee students face within and outside of their tribal community.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This chapter aims to provide an overview of the literature that examines oppression by language among minority students. Specifically, the review of the literature will begin with a brief examination of oppression theory that will inform a definition of oppression, a definition of academic achievement and a definition of identity for the context of this study. The next section then builds a case for oppression by race and oppression by class and examines how each impacts student achievement and identity. The review continues with a specific focus on oppression by language and its effects on student achievement as well as identity. It concludes with a claim that there is very little research that addresses how the Lumbee Dialect as commonly used by members of the Lumbee Indian Tribe affects achievement and identity for Lumbee students.

The purpose of this study was to explore how speaking the Lumbee Dialect impacts the student achievement and identity of Lumbee college students from Jackson County, North Carolina. While there is ongoing research on the plight of students for whom English is a second language, and though some of the implications of that literature are relevant to this study, this review gives particular attention to language minority students who speak and/or write the English language in non-standard forms, such as dialects and vernaculars. The research regarding the impact of language and culture on academic performance is very

limited (Demmert, 2005). The issue of language variation among English-speaking American students, focusing on language that corresponds to a sociocultural characteristic among those students, has significance to this study.

Oppression

Theorizing oppression extends to a broad range of concepts. In this section of the literature review, the researcher provides a review of scholarly contributions to oppression theory discourse and constructs a working definition of oppression for the purpose of this study. An analysis of race, class, and language oppression will be discussed separately later in this chapter.

Heldke and O'Conner (2004) describe the many faces of oppression as "axis of oppression:" racism, sexism, heterosexism, classism, ageism, etc. and claim that there are challenges to reviewing these concepts in a one-axis-at-a-time fashion. Even though all of these "isms" in isolation are not specifically relevant to this study, they help to support the claim that oppression is both structural and systematic. The content of the literature review will later examine race, class and language oppression independently, and their impact on student achievement and ethnic identity development. It is important to establish that none of these axes of oppression operates in isolation, but play out as functions working within an existing system. Furthermore, none of the participants in this study identifies in only one specific category. Each is a member of a historically marginalized racial group and is from an economically disadvantaged environment, and each speaks the Lumbee Dialect.

In *Cultural Proficiency: A Manual for School Leaders*, Lindsey, Robins, and Terrell (2003) discuss a variety of concepts that are synonymous with oppression. Building upon the research and theory of such scholars as Delpit (1995, 2002), Banks (1992), Smitherman

(2004), and Spring (2000, 2001), they propose a framework for *culturally proficient* school leadership. The authors define entitlement as the norm by which people are compared. In the United States, this norm is based on the values and beliefs of its White, middle-class citizens. The text also borrows from Kovel's (1984) theory of *thingification* to describe "how members of dominant U.S. society use language to create distance between themselves and others" (p. 259). Bred by entitlement and power, *thingification* is a distinction that results in making non-White, middle-class persons invisible, and therein lies the oppression.

Friere (1987) speaks of oppression in similar terms. He states that oppressors see only themselves as human beings and see all others as "things." He defines oppression as actions that "prevent [people] from being fully human" (p. 42) and explains the power of the oppressor to dictate prescribed thoughts and thus, minimize creative power by a process called *education as banking*. According to Friere, educators serve the role of oppressor because they dictate information to students that is from an oppressive historical ideology. Students are oppressed within this process and repeat what has been learned. As passive recipients of information, they further empower the oppressor. When people accept oppression in their lives, they lack the motivation, skill, or will to make systemic and/or societal changes. This results in their *dehumanization*, a condition that is characterized by a fear of authentic existence. Friere further claims that, for the oppressed, when your situation reduces you to things, you are destroyed, so it takes more than mere money, food, or shelter to remedy your situation. This is particularly relevant in a band-aid political age that seems to fail at establishing comprehensive reform for the oppressed, indigenous tribes included. According to Friere, for the oppressors who "rape by virtue of their power," only power that

stems from the oppressed and extends to the oppressor can result in sufficient liberation (p. 44).

Fanon (1967) proffers that it is possible to be oppressed in ways that extend beyond political and economic inequities. Even though oppression may result in physical deprivation, legal inequity, or financial exploitation, there exists a psychological impact of oppression. He frames these psychic alienations in three different categories: stereotyping, cultural domination, and sexual objectification. Psychological oppression, like political and economic oppression, is systematic and institutionalized. For those who are psychologically oppressed, they become their own oppressor because they internalize allusions of inferiority (Heldke & O'Connor, 2004). Bartky (2004) adds that there are different “modes” of psychological oppression that distinguish it from other forms of oppression. Using Fanon’s three categories of psychological oppression to frame her analysis, she describes how women are psychologically oppressed by social messages they receive. In her discussion, she challenges the ordinary concept of oppression because it fails to capture what an analysis of psychological oppression reveals about the nature of oppression in general. Her analysis supports Fanon’s claim that psychological oppression is exactly as Fanon defined it—“‘psychological alienation’—the estrangement or separating of a person from some of the essential attributes of personhood” (p.31). Bertky’s analysis is significant in this discussion of oppression because it both strengthens the claim that oppression is systematic and it captures how all models of oppression work both independently and collectively to maintain and reinforce the system.

Young (2004) also acknowledges the importance of theorizing oppression through a lens that recognizes that oppression is not a unified, uniform phenomenon. Attempts to

establish a common description of or an essential cause for oppression is a fundamental challenge because members of social groups experience oppression in different ways and in different degrees. She conceptualizes oppression as having five faces or criteria: (1) exploitation—transfer of the work of one social group’s work to benefit another group; (2) marginalization—the expulsion of a social group from meaningful participation in social life resulting in material deprivation and/or expulsion, (3) powerlessness—incapacity to develop one’s capacity, lack of authority to make decisions about one’s life, and exposure to status-based mistreatment; (4) cultural imperialism—establishment of the dominant group’s culture and practices as the universal norm; and (5) violence—fear of unmotivated physical or non-physical attacks on one’s person or property and the resulting humiliation, disgrace, or ridicule. Applying these criteria to the situation of a particular group establishes that one form of oppression is more fundamental than another group’s.

In *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice*, Adams, Bell, and Griffin (1997) define oppression in a more structured manner, using features to define characteristics of oppression. Their characterization of oppression is most applicable in helping to shape this study. Arguing that oppression is *pervasive* in nature, the authors rationalize why terms such as *discrimination*, *bigotry*, and *bias* fail to capture the ever present and intrusive nature of oppression.

Oppression theory is important in this study because it represents the discrimination that results from *difference*. For the purposes of this study, oppression is defined as pervasive, systematic acts of injustice exerted by dominant, privileged forces (oppressor) that result in an inferior sense of self. This element was a critical part of this study because it aimed to establish a working theory about identity development. The following sections will

discuss oppression on the basis of race, class, and language separately and how each affects academic achievement and cultural identity development. Borrowing from the idea of Friere (1987), the researcher argues that when speech, such as the Lumbee Dialect, is recognizably different, oppression results, much the same way that looking different results in the *thingification* of individuals who do not represent the dominant culture.

Academic Achievement

This study analyzed how linguistic factors impact academic achievement for Lumbee students who speak the Lumbee Dialect. Though academic achievement was not quantified or categorized in this investigation, it is important to define academic achievement for the purposes of this study. Brayboy (2006) defines knowledge through an Indigenous lens as “the ability to recognize change, adapt, and move forward with the change” (p.434). He extends this definition in a manner that helps to inform this study and specify how the author will reference academic achievement. According to Brayboy, “cultural knowledge” refers to the ways of being and knowing specific to members of a tribal group, “knowledge of survival” represents an individual’s understanding of how change and adaptation can result in social mobility, and “academic knowledge” is acquired more formally through formal education or schooling. Brayboy acknowledges the perceived conflict between cultural knowledge and academic knowledge, yet argues that the combination of academic and tribal knowledge results in knowledge that yields survival.

For the purpose of this study, academic achievement is defined as the assumed academic knowledge that students acquire through their exposure to academic knowledge in formal schooling. Given that the students in this study come from tribal communities, this definition assumes that they have acquired cultural knowledge from their Native

communities. This definition also assumes that their decision to further pursue academic knowledge reflects some degree of knowledge of survival.

Identity Development

The construct of *racial and cultural identity* describes our inclination to identify (or not identify) with the racial/cultural group to which we are assumed to belong. Our racial/cultural identity is a reflection of how we see ourselves, those with whom we share racial classification, and those whom we perceive to be outside our racial/cultural group (Carter, 1997; Cross, 1994). Racial identity development also helps to dispel the cultural conformity myth that all individuals from a particular minority group are the same with regards to their attitudes and preferences. In essence, racial/cultural identity development asserts differences in individual development. It is shaped and influenced by a variety of internal and external environmental factors, including social messages about the individual's worth as well as that of his/her group, parental socialization concerning race relations, peer influences, and messages from educators about race and racial differences.

For most individuals, racial/cultural identity does not emerge until adolescence because a level of cognitive maturity is required to comprehend the relative permanence of racial classification and racial group membership (Phinney, 1993). Regardless of when or how it begins, it has become increasingly evident that identity development or establishing a stable sense of self-concept is an essential developmental task. Researchers found that an achieved identity is associated with positive psychological outcomes, including self-assurance, self-certainty, and a sense of mastery (Adams, Gullotta & Montemayor, 1992; Marcia, Waterman, Matteson, Archer & Orlofsky, 1994; Phinney, Cantu, & Curtz, 1997).

There is also evidence to suggest a positive relationship between identity formation and academic success (Berzonsky & Kuk, 2000).

It was necessary to investigate racial identity development because the students in this study who have chosen to pursue post-secondary study in a predominantly White setting see themselves in an environment different from their Lumbee community surroundings. As the pilot study by the researcher points out, the impact of this change imposed new ways of being and knowing on the students. Research participants' sense of self in relation to both their new environment and among their Native brothers and sisters from their home community seemed to change, as reflected in their attitudes about what characteristics *typify* Lumbees (Scott, 2005).

Race Oppression

It has been over a century since Dubois (1903), building on his own personal experience as an African American, predicted that racism would continue to emerge as one of America's key social problems, emphasizing that skin color and racial identity serve as a basis for social inequality. Prior to and since his collection of essays was published, racism has shaped our social institutions in such a way that warrants continued investigation and analysis. More recently, *The Bell Curve*, Hernstein and Murray (1994) made the claim that genetic make-up explained the persistent underachievement of African Americans when compared to their White counterparts. In this text, they recommended an end to inane educational and social welfare policies aimed at reducing racial and class achievement gaps. Not only did this theory reinforce notions of White supremacy, but it also failed to consider the oppression that African Americans (and other ethnic minority groups) experience daily as American citizens. In an alternative perspective, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of*

Human Societies, Diamond (1997) made an explanation for European hegemony by claiming that differences in environment, not cultural or moral superiority, explains the power discrepancy we see in modern society.

In making a case for racial oppression, it is essential to discuss *race* as a concept that evolved throughout American history in response to social demands. In considering how race is formed, Omi and Winant (1994) argue that race is not a fixed biological constant; rather, it is situated in a historical context as “projects” based on the manner in which humans and social structures are organized and represented. Linking racial formation to the evolution of hegemony, they proffer that racial formation is the place where all oppression and inequality began and that race has been and “will always be at the center of the American experience (p.7). They theorize that racial projects, interpretations of both racial dynamics and the reorganization and redistribution of resources along racial lines, determine daily experiences and organize social structures. Racial projects act as both a social structure and a cultural representation. The ever-present subjection to these racial projects results in assigning “rules” of racial classification to a well-established social structure. Projects are interconnected in a manner that not only identifies and signifies race, but also forms organizations and institutions. Essentially, race is simply something that we cannot get away from and, because awareness of race pervades the social, political, religious and scientific medium, the oppression of racial groups was inevitable.

To establish the concept of race as a process, Fanon (1967) uses the term *racialization* to define how race is not a physical state of being. The association of one to a racial category is based on perceptions about one’s physical characteristics such as skin color or hair color. These assignments are on a continuum that may range from opposites such as

black/White to multiracial or mixed, and segments of the color continuum may have value assignments determined by the dominant group. Fanon proffers that it is a “fixing” of an identity that has been defined by a more dominant social group. In conceptualizing race as a concept, he connects it to major political and cultural events in history such as slavery and colonization. According to Fanon, for the Black man, he is *racialized* because he is assigned to an identity that is in relation to the White man; thus, he is situated in a world that sees him as inferior.

The United States is a country that was built on racial oppression. White settlers assumed ownership of the land from the Native Americans, eventually forcing them west (or murdered them), and brought Africans to work the land. In what Churchill (1997) terms the “American Holocaust,” (p.93) White settlers, violently and savagely in most cases, reduced the population of indigenous people by over 90 percent, establishing the White man’s supremacy over persons of color. This established power structure has been played out in government, corporations, and in the educational arena as well. To discuss the language issues that impede academic success of minority students, it is necessary to consider a brief historical reflection on how marginalized populations have been oppressed because of race in the United States.

Frequently noted as the most successful example of a democratic society, the United States has been built on acts of cultural domination and racial superiority. Violence and racism are basic elements of American history and the schooling of minority children. The civil rights movements of the 1950s and 1960s initiated social change that had a ripple effect for other oppressed groups in the United States (hooks, 1997). In their fight to end racial inequality, groups such as the Southern Negro Christian Conference and the Black Panther

Party provided a model for other marginalized groups to emulate in their efforts to illuminate social injustice and organize activism. Though often swept under the rug as a ghost from the past, racism pervasively thrives in aware/blatant, aware/covert, unaware/unintentional, and unaware/self-righteous forms (Yamamoto, 1990). As Spring (2000) notes in *The American School: 1640–2000*, “For some Americans, racism and democracy are not conflicting beliefs, but are part of a general system of American values” (p. 48). Acts of racial segregation prior to mandatory integration laws and secondary segregation in the form of sorting and tracking methods reflect a controlled system of racial dominance that still exists today.

In her reflection on White supremacy, hooks (1989) proffers the psychological complexity of being a person of color in a racially oppressive social order. The pattern of people of color to assimilate to the dominant culture perpetuates White supremacy and often plays out in same group acts of racism. Ironically, policies such as racial integration that were marketed as strategies to end racism actually, in the eyes of hooks and many others, perpetuate racial dominance because the social structures in which we function are defined by White values. Churchill (1997) proffers a similar attitude towards assimilation, noting that in many places, indigenous people have become so assimilated that they no longer pose a “threat” to the new social order of White supremacy. The resistance to assimilate is a necessary act in the struggle to end White supremacy. This controversial viewpoint is an important consideration because public schools impose upon students’ curriculum and instruction and fails to acknowledge or value their non-dominant cultures, thus imposing the challenge of assimilating to the dominant norm. The Lumbee students in this study, who were educated in an environment that adhered to the standard curriculum of study, face the

psychological struggle hooks references in a predominantly White university setting. To conclude her summary, hooks asks, “What does it mean when many black people say that what they like most about the Bill Cosby show is that there is little emphasis on blackness, that they are ‘just people’” (p.73). In posing this, she illuminates the point that White supremacy prevails and invades both the mind and the spirit such that its invisibility presents an additional challenge: How can the oppressed fight what they cannot see or detect? This notion for the Lumbee is complicated by the absence of a “Cosby Show” to represent the invasiveness of White privilege.

Early Native American education programs were borne out of criticism from England to religiously convert tribes to an Anglican belief system. Not only were Native Americans forced to be Christians, but they also had to speak European languages and dress like Europeans to be considered fully human (Reyhner, 2006). After policies in the mid-1800s established “Vanishing Red Man” theory to justify the forcible removal of Native American tribes from their land, The U.S. Government decided that the best method of cultural conversion would be to remove Native American children from reservations and board them in schools. Through forced assimilation, boarding schools would culturally transform the Native Americans in one generation. This program led to the establishment of formal schooling in tribes and represents the beginning steps of the U.S. Government’s use of schools to manage society. Native Americans became indoctrinated with the idea that cultural assimilation would yield tribal power, resulting in their relinquishing Native land to the U.S. government. The attempt at cultural transformation resulted in a cultural divide within tribes over adapting to European American values and maintaining Native American customs and lifestyles (Spring, 2000).

Prior to the Civil War era, laws prohibited the education of African-American slaves. Generally, education for slaves was either occupational or self-taught. The use of political action and the courts to gain access to education began with freeing African-American communities in the North. With the help of White abolitionists, African-Americans in the north paved the way for integration, but not until *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas (1954)* did the nation establish a legal precedent on the injustice and illegality of segregated education.

Hispanic/Latino oppression in education starts with the identifying issues of citizenship. In the past 50 years, the influx of immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries has created controversy in American education. Because these immigrants, particularly Mexicans, were regarded as a *lower class*, they fell victim to lower wages, poor working conditions and the establishment of segregated schools. In these schools, much like boarding school programs for Native American children, Hispanic/Latino students were exposed to deculturalization programs designed to rid students of their non-English customs and language. With the aid of African-American civil rights groups, the Latino/Hispanic community's efforts during the post-WWII era resulted in an end to legal whole-school segregation of Spanish-speaking students. The following section of the review will discuss the impact racial oppression continues to have on students of color.

The Effects of Race Oppression on Student Achievement

As a public school administrator, the researcher has been challenged by how to implement the recent *No Child Left Behind* legislation in a socially responsible and politically appropriate manner. The policy mandates that a school's student enrollment should be divided into race and class subgroups and that each subgroup must make "adequate

yearly progress” as measured by state mandated standardized test scores. Frustrated by the moral implications of using standardized test scores to define “progress,” the researcher has observed the degree to which, as McDermott (1987) notes, failure is a part of the public school scene. For marginalized students of color, educational achievement or underachievement is a product of public school structure (Barlett & Brayboy, 2006). This section of the literature review builds on the aforementioned theory on racial formation and Fanon’s (1967) notion of “being overdetermined from without” to cite examples of how race is a condition that hierarchically impacts access to educational opportunities.

Historically, minority populations have been the subject of intentional policy and practice that have resulted in racial discrimination in public education. Since the middle of the 20th century, education has gradually seen a legal reconstruction aimed at reversing or correcting past social ills. Separation of and school assignment by race in education have been ruled unconstitutional, teachers are using multicultural curricula, and overt racist material has been eradicated. Yet, as Mickelson (2003) argues, racial disparities in education continue to exist. Examples of racial discrepancies in student achievement are reviewed in the following paragraphs.

Mickelson (2003) reports that racial disparities in education are evident in grades, standardized test scores, retention, dropout rates, graduation rates, identification in gifted and special education programs. Specifically, she cites data from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) that indicate White students score higher in reading, math, and science than African American and Latino students. A longitudinal review of NAEP scores also shows that minority students master the basics, but fail to master higher-level skills (Hoff, 2000). Data from The College Board (2001) reveal that verbal scores are highest

among White students and lowest among African American students. Other indicators reflect similar patterns. African American students are more likely to repeat a grade and be placed in special education programs than White students. African American, Native American, and Latino students are disproportionately found on lower tracks and have less access to advanced placement courses than White students (Mickelson, 2003).

In his examination on racial discrepancies in education, Farkas (2003) argues that, in order for learning to occur, three preconditions must be satisfied and simultaneously present: opportunity, student effort, and skills and experiences from prior learning. Learning builds on prior learning, a process that he refers to as the Matthew effect (from the book of Matthew in the Bible, which states, “the rich get richer and the poor get poorer” (p.1120). He applies this concept in a discussion addressing how students continuously fall behind in the learning process. Farkas sites research that states that African American students enter kindergarten one year behind White students and graduate four years behind their White counterparts. Kindergarten and first grade underperformance in reading for ethnic minorities has ripple effects in other subject areas because most other subjects require some command of reading comprehension. Many researchers agree that poor reading during elementary school is indicative of future achievement. Using data to support his claim, Farkas establishes that academic setbacks in elementary school result in ethnic students being placed on lower ability groups/tracks for middle and high school, higher placement in special education settings, and grade retention.

Farkus (2003) also explains that, when criteria for placement in elementary school reading groups are reading-skills and behavior, this is unfair to students because the placement should be based on “ability.” Since research (Farkas, 2003; Farkas & Beron, 2001;

Hart & Risley, 1995; Lee & Burkam, 2002) shows that many ethnic students arrive to school with fewer skills and less readiness to learn, teachers place them into lower groups, an action that often reflects informal observation and data-collection. The same subjectivity is applied in grade retention. While many proponents of grade retention argue that social promotion of a student who has not learned the skills for the current grade is counterproductive, retention often results in a self-fulfilling prophesy for the retained student. Again the necessity of retention remains in question as teachers often judge students as Black versus White in integrated classrooms (Farkas, 2003). Reviewing the body of literature that illuminates and calls into question the acts of oppression in the K-12 arena is important because race-based actions initiated at the community and school level further inhibit minority students' access to higher education (Anderson, 2005).

Demmert (2005) has contributed to the research on the discrimination of Native American students, particularly in the testing and assessment of students in public education. In his research, he found that research specific to the academic performance of Native American students is very limited. This lack of information about this population severely impedes the understanding of the issues Native students face in the educational arena. Furthermore, he cites a report that evaluated a tribal environment and natural resources approach to Indian education. The criteria for assessment included a program philosophy and tribal principles and objectives. The authors of the report concluded that standard academic methods of assessing Native students were not adequate as they failed to account for the cultural and contextual setting of Native culture. Demmert makes a case for adjusting the means by which we measure an individual's knowledge by making the following point:

If culture influences an individual's view of the world, if cultural experiences determine how one approaches a problem and attempts to

solve it, if the cultural environment influences the way a person thinks and approaches life, and if early experiences and our environments significantly influence what we become as individuals, then clearly issues of culture, language, cognition, community, and socialization are central to learning (p.18).

Even though Demmert's perspective is in reference to Native cultures, it is reasonable to suggest culture impacts learning for all students of color. The implementation of assessment materials that fail to consider students' culture reflects the oppressive nature by which schools operate.

Many scholars have documented the challenges that students of color face in transition to institutions of higher education (Brayboy, 2005; Fine, 1991; Nora & Alberto, 1996; Sedlacek, 1987). Taylor (2001) analyzed Native American alienation from higher education. Her qualitative study uses the narratives of sixteen students to test the assumption that minority student alienation is the result of a failure to adjust and adapt to the traditional college setting. In her findings, she used the word "microaggressions" (p.4) to define the culmination of barriers that worked against students' persistence and their success at navigating the system. Her conclusions fault the higher educational environment for systematically creating and maintaining systems that work against Native American students. She concludes by recommending that higher education listen to the voices of Native students and organize support services relevant to their needs. A study by Falk and Aitkin (1984) investigated institutional commitment to support Native American college students. The report cited that the recruitment and retention of Native American faculty and staff is a critical element in the goal to increase graduation rates among students. Data from these studies are important for consideration because, even though each qualitative study was

conducted in a different social context, each reflects higher education's inadequate support for Native students.

The Effects of Race Oppression on Identity

In perhaps the most cited work on adolescent race and identity development, Erickson (1968) pointed out the likelihood that members of an "oppressed and exploited minority" (p.303) may internalize the negative views of the dominant society, thereby developing a negative identity and self-hatred. Social psychologists expressed similar concerns by suggesting that membership in a disparaged minority group can create psychological conflict (Tajfel, 1978). As a result, minority group members are faced with the choice of accepting the negative views of society toward their group or rejecting them in search of their own identity. Understanding the meaning and implications of these differences and making decisions about how to live with their dual cultural heritage, values, and status is part of racial/cultural identity formation. So, too, is the ability to negotiate and establish feelings of self-worth in the face of conflicting messages, discrimination, and stereotyping.

Most identity development models and theories trace their roots to either the psychosocial research of Erikson (1959/1980), the identity formation studies of Marcia (1980), or the cognitive structural work of Piaget (1952). Traditional identity models are stage models in which growth occurs linearly in step-wise progression, whereas contemporary models describe racial and cultural identity as a process that occurs over a lifetime.

Specifically speaking, racial identity theory concerns a person's self-conception as a racial being, as well as one's beliefs, attitudes, and values vis-à-vis oneself relative to racial groups other than one's own. Most of the theory and research has focused on African Americans and their understanding of the black experience in the United States. Cross' (1978, 1995) model of Nigrescence is considered one of the first and most prevalent models of racial identity development theory. The term Nigrescence can be defined as a

“resocialization experience” (1995, p.97), in which a healthy black person progresses from a non-Afrocentric to an Afrocentric to a multicultural identity. During this transformation, Cross posited that a person ideally moves from a complete unawareness of race through embracing black culture exclusively toward a commitment to many cultures and a desire to address the concerns of all oppressed groups. He characterized these five stages as pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, internalization, and internalization-commitment (Cross, 1978).

Parham (1989) also studied African Americans and described cycles of racial identity development as a life-long, continuously changing process. His theory is that blacks move through angry feelings about Whites and develop positive frames of reference. Ideally this progression from an unconscious to a conscious racial identity leads to a realistic perception of one’s self and to bicultural success. Although these theories and those of others who have studied African Americans (e.g., Jackson, 1975; Parham & Helms, 1981) can be problematic for different reasons, the transference to a healthy, racial self is critically important. The concept of racial identity is a surface-level manifestation often based on what we look like (e.g., skin color) yet it has deep implications for how we are treated (O’Hearn, 1998). According to Chavez and Guido-DiBrito (1999) identity formation is often triggered by two conflicting social and cultural influences. “First, deep conscious immersion into cultural traditions and values through religious, familial, neighborhood, and educational communities instills a positive sense of ethnic identity and confidence. Second, and in contrast, individuals often filter ethnic identity through negative treatment and media messages received from others because of their race and ethnicity” (p.39). For people with minority status, such

messages are clear—you are different and your ethnic make-up is less than desirable within mainstream society.

Helms (1993, 1994, 1995) developed one of the first White racial identity models. Her model presupposes the existence of White superiority and individual, cultural, and institutional racism. Instead of limited stages, Helms referred to the status of White racial identity. Her first three statuses outline how a White individual progresses away from a racist frame before moving to the next three statuses where they discover a nonracist White identity. Helms outlines interracial exposure as a powerful trigger. Problematic is her notion that racial identity for Whites is about their perceptions, feelings and behaviors towards blacks versus the development and consciousness of an actual White racial identity. While Katz (1989) and Ponterotto and Pedersen (1993) also researched Caucasians, Helms (1993) differentiated between theories of black racial identity and White racial identity in the following manner:

Black racial identity theories ... explain the various ways ... Blacks can identify (or not identify) with other Blacks and/or adopt or abandon identities resulting from racial victimization; White racial identity theories ... explain the various ways ... Whites can identify (or not identify) with other Whites and/or evolve or avoid evolving a nonoppressive White identity (p.5).

Regardless of color, all racial identity models discuss an intersection between racial perceptions of others (racism) and racial perception of self (racial identity). Since the earlier studies on African Americans, researchers have developed numerous models of racial identity development among other groups (Cross, 1994). For example, Lee (1988) and Kim (1999) explored Asian American identity development; Arce (1981) tried to better understand Chicano identity; Garrett and Walking Stick Garrett (1994) and Horse (1999) researched Native American identity development; while Gibbs (1987) examined identity

differences of bi-racial students; and Cass (1979) applied similar theories to homosexual identity development. See Table 3.1 for a sample of these and other racial and cultural identity development models.

Ogbu and Fordham (1986) have researched the effects of race oppression on cultural identity and suggested that African Americans develop an oppositional identity that is expressed through music, clothes and even speech. He draws a connection between achievement and identity, noting that expressed oppositional culture for African Americans becomes relevant in the educational arena and thus, impacts educational attainment. The process of attaining education, according to Ogbu, requires some African American students to act White as a coping strategy. African Americans talking and behaving like members of Caucasian culture characterize this behavior. He elaborates to claim that despite oppositional culture movements such as the Black Power Movement of the 60s, African Americans are still trying to enter the domain of White culture, as evident in Black parents sending their sons and daughters to private schools so that they can be instructed to speak and write formally.

The notion of acting White can be psychologically stressful for African American youth. A study conducted by Blankston and Caldas (1997) addressed how race and racial composition in schools relate to African American achievement. Their study attempted to explain whether the White-black achievement discrepancy was greater in predominantly White or predominantly African American schools. Indicators such as family socioeconomic class, students' involvement in school, family structure, and school racial composition were controlled. Their results found that the test score gap was smaller in predominantly White schools, which suggests, as Ogbu (1986) theorizes, that African American students develop

alternative strategies that help them cope with a racially unjust society, as opposed to achieving upward mobility (Blankston & Caldas, 1997). This theory is particularly relevant to this proposed study because in a pilot study conducted by the researcher in the spring of 2005, Lumbee students indicated that they had been accused of being “White” now that they had *made it* to Carolina (Scott, 2005). The status applied to notions of being “White” reflect the close association between race and class in the experiences of Lumbee students.

Class Oppression

A wealth of data reflects that the current economic gap in the United States is greater than it has ever been, which impacts the material, social, psychological ways that Americans live (Freeman, Rogers, Cohen, & Reich, 1998; Phillips, 1990; Yeskel & Leondar-Wright, 1997). Even though salaries have continued to drop since the 1970s, the top one percent of the nation owns more capital than the bottom 90 percent and the ownership of personal wealth by the nations top one percent increased from 19 percent to 40 percent (Barlett & Steele, 1992). Research supports that this growing disparity is the product of a democratic political system that is flawed by the influence of capitalism in a way that negates alternative economic policies and structures (Bowles & Gintis, 1987; Bagdikian, 1992; Chomsky, 1989; Greider, 1992). In this study, the researcher used “class” and “socio-economic class” interchangeably, even though he recognizes that the two are conceptually different. Making a case for class oppression was important to this study because the research participants grew up in communities in Jackson County, NC, which, like most rural counties in Southeastern North Carolina, is marked by high poverty. This review references scholarly contributions to the concept of class, defines class oppression for the purpose of this study, and argues that

the value placed on class predicts the quality of schooling and consequently, the achievement and identity development of students.

To establish a working definition of class for the purpose of this study, the researcher borrowed from the scholarly work of Bourdieu (1990). Bringing economic language and concepts into the social context, Bourdieu bridges the structural and cultural dimensions of family background by analyzing the stability between the symbolic and material aspects of home and school cultures. Upper and middle classes have social norms that are considered valuable, or dominant in the social strata. This knowledge comes in the form of symbols and meanings, similar to Delpit's (1994) conceptualization, "Codes of Power." Birth into one of these classes provides one with direct access to this cultural capital. Theoretically, these symbols and meanings are reproduced, or invested in social institutions, like schools. Children from dominant classes, who are privileged to have exposure to these valued symbols and meanings, are more likely to have a return on the investment of these symbols and meanings embedded in formal education because their lived experiences have already earned them capital. Cultural capital, Bourdieu argues, is a mechanism that allows class advantage to be transferred from one generation to the next and schools act as a tool for this transference. For lower class students who lack this cultural capital, the challenge of acquiring these symbols and meanings is evident in the achievement gap. Furthermore, for those who meet the challenge of acquiring cultural capital there is, as this study proposes, a necessary reconciliation of self. Bourdieu's theory was relevant to this study because it frames the hierarchy of divisions of the social world. The idea of capital supports how class was defined for the purpose of this study.

Skeggs (2004) makes the point that class is not given; rather, it is continuously produced in the contemporary by those who have power. She proposes that there are four processes of possibility that work to establish class: (1) inscription—how bodies become characteristically marked; (2) exchange—systems that enable some characteristics to have value (economic and moral) over others and that allow for those characteristics to be gained or lost; (3) evaluation—how is value produced through different life experiences; and (4) perspective—how such conditions can be read by and responded to by others. This framework is important because it supports the idea that the formation of class is “dynamic, produced through conflict, and fought out at the level of the symbolic” (p.5). Borrowing from the theoretical foundations of Marx and Bourdieu regarding human capital theory, Skeggs makes the important point that, when value is exchanged in social space, one’s relationship to the commodity produces different forms of personhood. Part of that dynamic is the exchange of value that is fostered by the interests of different groups. It is within this dynamic where inequality is sustained and reinforced.

The definition of class takes on different meanings, even different terminology, for various schools of thought. Sociologists may reference class by occupation, such as *blue-collar* or *White-collar* workers, while economists may make class distinctions using concepts such as *power* and *control*. Yeskel (1990) defines class as “a relative social ranking based on income, wealth, status, and/or power” (p.233). Fine and Burns (2003) theorize class in terms that speak to the complexity of social class as it relates to schooling. Their definition of class includes the place where material, social, psychological, and political experiences intersect. The language of this definition is very applicable to this study because it lends itself to the

consideration of subjects' experiences and how those experiences impacted achievement and identity.

Commonly referred to as the "American Dream," meritocracy espouses the idea that "hard work yields its own rewards," and if one works hard, he will achieve. This concept was very relevant to this study because of the emphasis and responsibility it placed on schooling and individuals. It was also significant because by some measures, the Lumbee students' status as college students challenged the meritocracy claim. Unlike cases involving race and gender (in most cases), one cannot easily change his/her identity. Furthermore, as Ostrove and Cole (2003) note, "some members of subordinate groups desire the power, privilege, and opportunities associated with Whiteness" (p.68). In the pilot study conducted by the researcher, students described their decisions to face the challenges of university life by stating, "If others [Lumbees] can 'make it' here, I can too" (Scott, 2005). It seems that everyone knows someone who has "made it" up the social ladder.

As Yeskel and Leondar-Wright (1997) argue, the notion of meritocracy reinforces the myth of social mobility and implies that those who fail do so because they lack a strong work ethic. In the context of schooling, where the complexities of class unfold, the meritocracy principle masks the undercurrent of inequalities and contradictions that restrict socially responsible practice. (Anyon, 1997; Fine & Burns, 2003; Kozol, 1991). Ostrove and Cole (2003) argue that in educational institutions, "individuals notice social class, and in doing so create, maintain, and—at times—challenge its psychology" (p.678). Ironically, it is in the context of education, where one should be able to actualize socially mobility, that the social strata is reproduced (Fine & Burns, 2003). A product of the notion that *hard work reaps its own reward* is, as Baxter (1994) terms, the concept of "status maximization" that describes

one's tendency to borrow from the status characteristics of a higher class to inflate or boost status (Bullock & Limbert, 2003). In *Rock My Soul*, hook (2002) states, "conformity is the more accepted norm in Black life than jesters of independent thought and action" (p.174) to critique African Americans who allow their identities to be controlled by autocratic authority. In schools, low-income students may experience the pressure to explain or justify class status and identify as middle-class, despite their class status.

While racism is a problem regardless of income, social class distinctions are also evident among Caucasian and African-American, Native American, and Latino races. Though separate in ethnic identity, they face similar injustices within the system of education. Spring (2000) suggests that a Caucasian student from rural Appalachia growing up in poverty may incur greater challenges than a middle-class African-American. White poverty can have the same results as Black poverty. Data of aggregate income by social class and race reveal that, among African-American, Hispanic, and Caucasian races, the upper class community assumes approximately the same percentage of total income as the upper classes of the African-American and Hispanic communities (Spring, 2000). Like race oppression, class oppression plays out in a variety of disguises within the academic arena.

The Effects of Class Oppression on Student Achievement

There is considerable research to support how the educational system acts as a mechanism for maintaining class strata in American society by skill and ability tracking, workforce preparation, and by socializing values (Giroux, 1983). This process plays out for children at all levels of education and represents all degrees of social class (Fine, 1997). Social science and education scholars have addressed the role class disparities in schooling and achievement and how they have contributed to the oppression of students from lower and

middle classes (Anyon, 2003; Mickelson, 2003; Ostrove & Cole, 2003; Ostrove, 2003; Weis & Fine, 1993). The close association between class and race in examining disparities in student achievement complicates an attempt to conceptually examine how these factors impact student achievement (Farkas, 2003; Hochschild, 2003; Mickelson, 2003; Ostrove & Cole, 2003). Mickelson (2003) notes that recent studies reflect that socioeconomic status explains 33% of the racial gap in education. Additionally, the large body of research that reports the likelihood that low-income students will attend low-income schools makes it necessary to consider that, even though funding structures vary nationally, macro political and economic issues are largely responsible for oppression by class in public schools. This section of the literature review, however, specifies examples from scholars who have identified indicators of how oppression by class in public education impacts student achievement.

One perspective on class issues in public schools is reproduction theory. Bowles and Gintis (1976) argued that the production and reproduction of class inequality in public schools is a product of American capitalism. Another perspective previously discussed in this chapter is resistance theory. As scholars such as Giroux (1981) offer, youth consciously challenge schooling and formal education in response to daily exposures to class inequality, a phenomenon referred to as resistance theory. While those perspectives are relevant, this section of the review specifically discusses how the system of schooling in America acts as a mechanism for class hegemony, impairing students' opportunity to achieve and access the social power structure. Mickelson (2003) cites the work of Raftery and Hout (1993) to explain the concept of maximally maintained inequality, the process by which class inequality is maintained because privileged groups are able to preserve and protect their

positions. When members of a group achieve a given status, such as earning a degree, they raise the required credentials for upward mobility. Lucus (2001) offers a more developed theory in proposing that inequality is *effectively* maintained through processes that systematically, but perhaps unknowingly, allow social background to determine both the kind of education a student receives and who receives a given level of education. Curricular tracking is the best example of how this model plays out in public education. Mikelson (2003) synthesizes a growing body of research to show that parents used financial resources, knowledge, and social connections to assure their students' placement in the most promising academic trajectories.

In her analysis of social class in the public school system, Hochschild (2003) brings to light the fact that, despite the efforts of school leadership, the existing patterns in class difference and educational outcomes reflect the inequality embedded in our system of schooling. Her analysis of data collected by such establishments as the National Center for Educational Statistics, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) on such indicators as test scores, dropout rate, and per student funding, she organizes her discussion of how class impacts public school experiences on the national, state, and local levels. The performance of disadvantaged students on NAEP tests remains at ten percent below the national average, and the number of students from lower classes who are finishing college has not shown significant gains since the 1970s. She also identifies the prevalence of African Americans and recent immigrants, mostly Latino/Hispanic in economically disadvantaged groups. Her review of social class in public schools cites examples to support the degree to which students from impoverished homes and communities have a completely different educational experience from students

from more affluent settings and concludes that this injustice is a product of the social inequalities that are embedded in American socio-political structures. Included in her analysis of how policy contributes to class inequality in schools, she identifies three features that comprise class issues: (1) financial inequality across states and local school districts; (2) variance in quality of teaching, school leadership, and facilities; and (3) excessive ability grouping and the resulting discrepancy of course offerings.

Making very similar points about the impact class has on the experiences of students from lower and middle class families, Anyon (1997) documents her series of visits over a one year period to the Newark, New Jersey Public Schools in *Ghetto Schooling: A Political Economy of Urban Education Reform*. She brings to light the economic context of Newark as a struggling economy, historically plagued by political corruption, middle class flight to suburbs, resulting high rates of unemployment, and an almost non-existent tax base. Like Hochschild, Anyon recognizes that comprehensive school reform is not simply a school issue, stressing the valiant efforts of teachers and emphasizing that, in order to reform schools, reform efforts must be made to address housing and job discrimination, growing poverty and unemployment, and racial discrimination.

Kozol's (1991) *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools* highlights the correlation between parent income and children's education experiences. Kozol identifies examples of resource disparity in East St. Louis, Camden, New York, and Chicago. Specifically, he describes examples of poorly equipped science labs, teacher shortages that result in low-paid substitutes and required study halls, and inadequate facilities that compromise comfort and safety. Additionally, Kozol found contrasting conditions in the same New York school district. The difference between the two areas: tax base. Most

poignant in his text is his challenge of an article in *The Wall Street Journal* that claimed that “money does not buy better education” (p.133). Kozol used data on per pupil spending and class-size reduction to identify counterfactuals and contradictions in the article. Mikelson (2003) also cites data to support that the students who attend resource-poor schools disproportionately represent minority groups. Like Kozol, she notes that the lacking resources are both financial and human. Both analyses reflect that the absence of resources results in a class and racial gap in outcomes.

The reality of disparities in America’s school districts that Kozol (1991) exposes is an unfortunate example of how class oppression is rampant in public education. When the quality of education is compromised for a student in poverty, so is his opportunity for traditionally recognized higher social attainment. The correlation between income and education is an example of the hegemonic practices that oppress low-income minority students, and are thus likely to compromise their academic success.

The aforementioned research by Farkas (2003) regarding the racial disparities in education is also relevant in a discussion on class disparities as well. His research notes that, because students live in neighborhoods that are segregated by family income, students from low socioeconomic backgrounds receive a compromised education. They are likely to attend schools separate from their middle and upper class counterparts where the environment is influenced by both the skills and behaviors that students and families bring to the school and the low expectations of school personnel. Farkas also cites data that show parallels between minority and low-income students’ pre-reading skills. His research reflects that students from high socioeconomic backgrounds attain the highest school achievement because they have attended schools with more adequate resources.

The Effects of Class Oppression on Identity

In reviewing the effects of class oppression on identity, it is important to note that many indicators attribute to the class with which one identifies him/herself, such as income, educational attainment, occupation, etc., (Bullock & Limbert, 2003) but this section of the literature review focuses primarily on examples that are specific to one's experiences as they relate to education. It is also important to establish the strong connection between this section of the review and the preceding section on the impact of class oppression on student achievement. Students' identities are shaped by their experiences, and their experiences are often a product of school structures. If oppression by class impacts achievement, the researcher proposes that it is likely that oppression by class also affects identity. Like racial identity development, class identity development was also a necessary consideration in this study because Lumbee students, in an educational context different from that of their pre-college setting, likely faced the challenge of seeing themselves differently in different surroundings. As Diemer (1999) noted, students of color have continued to be compared to the "standard" of their White, middle-class counterparts. For students, identity is the development of how others in the world see them and it is a necessary stabilizer to have a sense of consistency in the world.

There is contention among social scientists and psychologists that considerably less attention has been placed on class identities when compared with race and gender identity research (Frable, 1997; Howard, 2000; Ostrove & Cole, 2003). In educational research, it is important that a separate distinction be made between social class and race, despite the fact that studies on identity have concluded that social identity is always the result of multiple factors that impact one's experience. Ostrove and Cole (2003) note that researchers have

termed the insight that one's sex, sexuality, race, class, etc. interact with each other "multiple jeopardy" (King, 1988) or "intersectionality" (Crenshaw, 1994). Additionally, establishing that students of color willingly participate in curricular tracks, Fine (1997) reinforces the notion that social class cannot be effectively understood outside of the context of other social identities. Identity, the evaluation of self, is dependent upon interactions with self and others, and within our current social structure, the hierarchy itself exerts pressure on the individual self, which influences identity development (Ostrove & Cole, 2003).

Considering socioeconomic status is necessary when assessing or analyzing one's identity development. As noted earlier, a higher socioeconomic status often entails a better school system with better resources, a more peaceful neighborhood, and more highly educated parents. This creates certain features within a youth's experience. The alternative context for a student from a low socioeconomic status provides different opportunities for interaction, which results in different outcomes, such as identity development, among students from different social classes (Diemer, 1999).

De Haan and Gunvalson (1997) conducted a study on risk behaviors for at-risk students who live in rural poverty. The researchers examined three risk factors—delinquency, substance abuse, and depression—as predictors for students who are at-risk for negative outcomes during adolescence and applied the Erikson Psychosocial Stage Inventory to measure students' identity. A high score on the scale indicates a clear sense of self and clearly defined personal goals, as well as high confidence in attaining these goals. The study found that a low level of identity development was a significant factor for depression among surveyed students living in rural poverty. This is relevant to this study because it indicates the effects that the stress of poverty can have on rural students, such as the Lumbee. It also

reveals the factors that may serve as indicators for at-risk behaviors for students from a lower socio-economic class.

In an effort to investigate how students identify themselves in an education system with respect to social class and mobility, Bullock and Limbert (2003) studied working class women in a vocational educational program. Their qualitative study found that women viewed the wealth of others as a product of privilege, as opposed to work ethic, which contradicts American attitudes and beliefs about class. Important to their study is the discussion from other bodies of research (Kelly & Evans, 1995) that document tendencies to self-identify as middle class, regardless of income or education attainment. Supporting the notion of the “American Dream” espoused by Hochschild (1995), their analysis concluded that these women expected to obtain college degrees and perceive that earning a college degree will allow them to socially mobilize from poverty to middle-class. Students in the pilot study characterized earning a degree from MASU as “making it” when asked about factors that encouraged them during hardship. Similar to the findings in Hochschild’s study, their attitudes towards a college education and comments about how being at MASU made them different from Lumbees “back home” imply that they regard their education as status attainment.

Oppression by Language

Language is a critical issue for scholars and practitioners in educational leadership for social justice because it is such a powerful vehicle of culture. This may explain why it is a source of controversy and conflict within the contemporary social context. Wolfram (2006), in response to establishing English as the official language of the United States, contends that language controversies are not about language, but about what language represents. Each

language has a perfect language paragon standard to which all other forms of that language are inferior or subordinate (Sayers, 2004). This study proposed that, for many students, for whom dialectal communication is the standard, their language identity is complicated by either a system that leaves them feeling linguistically inferior or by the challenge of language acquisition in their pursuit of the perfect language paragon.

As Wolfram, Adger, and Christian (1999) have noted, many researchers have concluded that the attitudes about language variation, such as dialects, are generally held in low self-esteem. They also note that attitudes about language can trigger certain stereotypes and prejudices. Within the context of public education in America, the symbol system of language is an integral part of how educators instruct and how students learn. When the language of one is different from the language of the other, communication is compromised. Recognizing that language is a relatively broad concept, for the purposes of this paper, a review of language issues focuses on the area of sociolinguistics, the study of social functions of language. Topics refer to written and spoken variations of Standard English, including such subtopics as native and heritage language maintenance, and second language acquisition as these issues have implications for achievement and for identity among students. While some research of indigenous languages as they relate to Native American populations and Spanish as it relates to Latino/Hispanic population is also included, the focus of this research addresses dialects and vernacular forms of Standard English.

Language plays an integral role in how social relationships and power are maintained; yet the term itself, according to Gee (1989), is misleading. To address issues of language, he employs the term discourse to define what language is really about—the combination of “saying, writing, believing, valuing, doing” (p.6). In *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*,

Gee (1999) aims to establish “how language works in society to create better or worse worlds, institutions, and human relationships” (p.8). He situates discourse within the larger context of social interaction.

Gee’s (1989, 1996) discourse theory is particularly relevant to this study because his analysis of discourse captures the sociocultural and political dimensions of language. In social interactions, speakers assume different roles and relationships and employ discourse to display or recognize a specific social identity. He distinguishes between Discourse and discourse. Discourse, or primary Discourse, stems from our primary socialization and serves as “an ‘identity kit’ that comes complete with a costume and instructions on how to act, talk, even write so as to take on a different role that others will recognize” (p.7). This is exemplified by a common notion among Lumbee culture that “no matter where you go, you can be anywhere and if you hear a Lum [Lumbee] talk, you know it’s a Lum (Wolfram, 2000) and why members who are associated with the tribe by name only, such as actress Heather Locklear, are discounted as members of traditional Lumbee community. Discourse, according to Gee, is not something that one masters through overt instruction. It is only by “enculturation in social practices” that one acquires Discourse. Discourses are not value-neutral; some Discourses are socially dominant, resulting in greater access to economic acquisition and success. As our social interactions increase beyond our home-based community, our primary *Discourse* grants entrance into other social groups and institutions such as schools; thus we acquire multiple social languages and construct multilayered “realities” (p.12). Krashen (1982) notes that language can be acquired unconsciously and consciously, but that unconscious language acquisition is more effective, so long as an affective filter, a mental block activated when conditions for language acquisition are not

optimal, is activated. These concepts helped to frame the goals of this study by establishing that Discourse (language) equates with identity and has a degree of social value (capital). The value variance between Discourses/identities plays out in established social institutions, which is discussed later in this section of the review. This concept has implications for how Lumbee students perceive themselves and their challenge in acquiring discourse within the context of their non-Native university setting to also be discussed later in this review.

Making a case for linguistic hegemony, Saurez (2002) frames the paradox linguistic minorities face who are subject to oppressive forces to abandon their native languages or dialects. The terms used to describe linguistic hegemony in her research have a specific relevance to this study. To define linguistic hegemony, she writes,

Linguistic hegemony is achieved when dominant groups create a consensus by convincing others to accept their language norms and usage as standard or pragmatic. Hegemony is achieved when they can convince those who fail to meet those standards to view their failure as being the result of the inadequacy of their own language (p.514).

This definition explains how power is exerted upon linguistic minorities by such social influences as the media and social institutions that legitimize Standard English by associating notions of failure, ignorance, and inferiority upon those who communicate through non-standard forms. Similarly, Eriksen (1992) argues that language minorities are viewed as problems of the state in attempts to reinforce and maintain a sense of nationalistic ideology and uses the United States as an example of a de facto multilingual state, despite a “dominant linguistic ideology” (p.314). For language minorities, “the processes of integration into nation-states put strong pressure on [linguistic] minorities to assimilate” (p.313).

The Effects of Oppression by Language on Student Achievement

A key linguistic variable in the academic success of minority children is the acquisition of Standard English to minimize the language conflict in the educational setting. In Delpit's *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom* (1995), the issue of language in the classroom is discussed in the context of power. Delpit addresses the conflict between home language and school language by arguing that there are *codes of power* within the social context of schools. Some of these codes are language codes; when students understand the codes, they can better acquire power. Delpit's power theory is described in the following five points:

1. Issues of power are enacted in classrooms;
2. There are codes or rules for participating in power; there is a culture of power;
3. The rules of the culture of power are a reflection of the rules of the culture of those who have power;
4. If you are not already a participant of the culture of power, being told explicitly of those rules of that culture makes acquiring the codes easier;
5. Those with the power are least aware of—or least willing to acknowledge—its existence. Those with less power are most aware of its existence (p.24-27).

Delpit elaborates on this theory by presenting evidence from field work within the power framework. She emphasizes the importance of students being taught the codes to power in order to be active participants in American society. Students must also be valued for their self-expertise by their teachers and they must be made aware of their capacity for representing power and the implications with which power is associated. She emphasizes the necessity of parents being stakeholders in this process and teachers opening themselves up to

critical reflection about their self-constructed reality in order to see a different reality from the perspective of the student.

Delpit (1995) addresses the issue of power in the classroom specifically in a discussion about the challenges of acquiring another language. She also emphasizes the importance of valuing linguistic differences in the classroom as a means of decreasing the power differential. She stresses that in an educational world in which the student population is becoming more diverse and, conversely, the teaching population is becoming increasingly homogeneously Caucasian, teachers must take a position upon how to process the language/power situation. In her argument advocating that students of color acquire that which is “standard,” Delpit explains that there are “political and economic repercussions to not gaining what is socially considered ‘standard’” (p.47).

Purcell-Gates (2002) makes a similar argument for the teacher-student power structure in the classroom and addresses specifically teachers’ attitudes towards non-standard English. She explains that, when a cultural difference, such as dialect, is viewed as *deficient*, as opposed to *different*, the education of the child is conferred or denied. She proffers that, “language always seems to play a central role in this class-related denial of educational opportunity” (p.133).

Continuing the discussion on language in the classroom in the essay “No Kinda Sense,” Delpit (2002) confronts the issue of removing the home language of minority children. Since a person’s language is one of the most intimate expressions of identity, it must be preserved, not rejected, because to reject the language of the student of color would be to reject the student. Questioning why students who speak Standard English can acquire vernacular language forms with ease and the adverse acquisition is a struggle, Delpit

describes patterns of code switching to discuss the ease with which the rules of Standard English are acquired when the rules from the home language closely comply with those of Standard English.

Language Policy Debates in American Education

As previously discussed, a historical analysis of education reveals that past policies have resulted in the unequal or denial of access to public education. Many of these policies have been built upon goals to eliminate linguistic difference. The struggle to establish culturally sensitive policies still plays out in government and law today. Educators and policymakers are often at odds about how to best establish legal guidelines that balance competing values of “excellence” and “equity.” For minority students, the need for policy and practice that does not overlook their linguistic differences is a key issue in their academic success. Since *Brown vs. Board of Topeka* outlawed specific forms of racial segregation in the public school systems, legal precedents and policy mandates have juggled the issue of language in America’s public schools. This section of the literature review briefly discusses some of the key policy issues affecting minority students’ academic success, including policies affecting Limited English Proficiency students, the Ebonics debate, the Native American Languages Act, and mandates that require the implementation of standardized testing programs. These issues have implications for students who speak various forms of Standard English because they represent how linguistic minorities are marginalized by educational policy-makers.

In 1996, a group of Spanish-speaking parents in California decided to protest their school’s failure to teach English to students. They chose to pull their children out of the school. Reports of the protests caught the attention of Unz, a Silicon Valley businessman.

He publicly responded with outrage that parents had to carry picket signs to get English instruction for their students. This further ignited the flame of controversy, and Unz invested his personal financial fortune into the cause of replacing bilingual education with English-only instruction. His efforts resulted in a statewide ballot requiring that all instruction be facilitated in English. This measure became known as Proposition 227. Despite the fact that California had previously recognized a family's right to withdraw children from bilingual programs, the issue snowballed. In 1998, the proposition overwhelmingly passed, outlawing bilingual education in California (Crawford, 2004). As a result of this legislation, most English-language learners in that state are now placed in English-immersion programs. Arizona was soon to follow California, by passing Proposition 207. Since the passage of legislation in California and Arizona, Unz facilitated campaigns in Colorado and Massachusetts to place anti-bilingual education legislation on the ballots in 2002. Colorado rejected the measure, but Massachusetts approved the initiative and eliminated the oldest bilingual education law in the nation ("English-Language," n.d.). Legislation of this type remains a very controversial issue for educators and families. The law has been interpreted and implemented very differently in the affected school districts. There are also varying degrees of compliance with the guidelines of the policy. As a result, it has been very difficult to assess the overall influence of either proposition on the achievement of language-minority students.

For the African-American community, issues regarding linguistic discourse have been debated since the racial integration of schools took effect. Legal issues regarding the use of African-American Vernacular English in instruction have played out in the legal arena. Two cases in particular, which are similar in the questions they provoke about the use of Standard

English in the education of African-American students, suggest the need for ongoing research in the area of language, pedagogy, and policy. In *Martin Luther King Junior Elementary School Children, et. al., v. Ann Arbor School District Board (1976)*, commonly known as the “Black English Case,” the legitimacy of African-American Language was legally established, and the school district was charged “to teach the *King* children ‘to read in the standard English of the school, the commercial world, the arts, science, and professions’”(p.186). Eighteen years later, the Oakland Ebonics Resolution recognized African-American Language as the “predominantly primary language” of the African-American students in the district. The resolution mandated the use of the language to “facilitate [the student’s] acquisition and mastery of [Standard] English language skills” (Smitherman, 2004).

Each of the aforementioned cases was borne out of concern for the lack of academic progress and educational underachievement of students in each of the school districts, and both targeted language as the central cause of students’ failure to progress and achieve. Even though both cases were legally legitimate, they failed to set national legal precedent and, consequently, did not require the establishment of national language education policy. The Ebonics Resolution case in Oakland, California, however, spawned ongoing federally-funded research that focuses on language, literacy and culture. A goal of the plan is to develop a program of language and literacy instruction that is successful in elevating the achievement of African-American students, whether they opt for Oakland’s Ebonics plan or not. A comparison between the two cases reflects the growing concern for African-American language issues in education (Smitherman, 2004). A crucial difference in the two cases is that in Ann Arbor, a predominantly college town in which the African-American community

is in the ethnic minority, the parents were placated with a “plan” that yielded no significant results for African-American students and their dissatisfied families, and the language issue really never left the court case.

Traditionally, the transfer of skills and knowledge from one generation to the next has been a critical part of systems of Native American education. In 1819, the federal government assumed responsibility for the education of Native Americans, placing this initiative in the U.S. War Department (Demmert, 2001). In 1973, this responsibility was transferred to the Secretary of the Interior, resulting in the establishment of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which shifted schooling authority from tribes to state agencies. Consequently, Native students began experiencing high rates of education failure.

As part of the *National Goals for American Indians and Alaska Natives* enacted in 1992, Native students will have the opportunity to “maintain and develop their tribal languages” (p.9). In a push for Native language revitalization, using three linguistic models that American Indian, Alaskan Native, and Hawaiian Natives have respectively experienced, Demmert (1992) proposed a community-based model of education. To ensure that local knowledge and skills served as a foundation upon which to improve schools and schooling for Native students, Native leaders, parents, and school personnel were enlisted to provide support. Demmert noted in his work with this initiative that the national goals are in conflict with this effort to build a community-based, multicultural and pluralistic society.

The Effects of Oppression by Language on Identity

It is important to consider how language is part of minority students’ identity from a historical context. For Native Americans, Latino/Hispanics, and African-Americans, their everyday language, whether a dialect or vernacular use of Standard English, or a separate

language altogether, is as much a part of their identity as their ancestry. The strong connection between language and identity is evident in the controversial positions that artists and scholars alike have taken on language issues. In a memoir of a bilingual childhood, Rodriguez (1982) writes, “Once I learned the public language, it would never again be easy for me to hear intimate family voices” (p.61). In an article describing how she lost both her language and her name as a new American, Pedrosa (1990) wrote, “My teacher declared, ‘In America, you only need two or three names. Mary Edith is a lovely name. And it will be easier to pronounce’” (p.72). Describing her language experiences, Tan (1990) says, “To this day, I wonder which parts of my behavior were shaped by Chinese, which by English” (p.82). These autobiographical statements successfully illustrate the degree to which language is a critical component of identity and the power it has to shape our experiences.

Delpit (1995) claims that the home language of students plays an essential role in who they are and how they should be educated. In 1917, the National Council of Teachers of English prepared the following pledge for school students to recite in observance of National Speech Week:

I love the United States of America. I love my country’s flag. I love my country’s language. I promise:

1. That I will not dishonor my country’s speech by leaving off the last syllable of word;
2. That I will say a good American “yes” and “no” in place of an Indian grunt “un-hum” and “nap-um” or a foreign “ya” or “yeh” and “nope;”
3. That I will do my best to improve American speech by avoiding loud rough tones, by enunciating distinctly, and by speaking pleasantly, clearly, and sincerely;
4. That I will learn to articulate correctly as many words as possible during the year (p.29).

The excerpt above, from Delpit's *The Skin We Speak* (2002), exemplifies the degree to which language has been an instrument used to deculturalize and force the assimilation of language minority cultures. In Native American, Hispanic/Latino, and African-American cultures, language is about culturally specific symbols of communication passed down through their ancestry. For Native youth, language is a form of identity and a connection to their past, just as the Spanish language is an essential component of the Latino/Hispanic population. Much like the Native Americans, the Latino/Hispanic culture has been forced to abandon its native tongue to comply with governmental mandates. The Indian Peace Commission report of 1868 states that "differences in language were a major source of the continuing friction between Whites and Indians," placing emphasis on teaching English to Native Americans in an effort to decrease racial hostility. So determined was the government to strip tribal communities of their languages that they removed children from their families and placed them in government sanctioned boarding schools. National policy requiring forced assimilation of this people has resulted in the demise of approximately two-thirds of Native Tribal languages that existed before the arrival of Europeans. Throughout the twentieth century, education policy designed to Americanize the Latino/Hispanic community has resulted in marginalization and oppression, and it has also perpetuated prejudice and racism toward them. Though not a separate language system, African American language is also rooted in cultural identity. The language of the African-American is one that stems from the oral tradition of the slave-master relationship. Oral traditions, songs and music, and religious faith provided slaves with a "cultural refuge" from the oppression of a slave system (Spring, 2001).

As the aforementioned references in this literature cite, a host of scholars has researched the process of cultural identity development for minority students. Two social psychologists, Sue and Sue (1990), have proposed a five-stage theory for understanding racial/cultural identity development for minority students. With a focus on cross-cultural counseling, they state that, “the symbols of a group (ethnicity) are most manifested in language” (p.31). Minorities do not always possess vocabulary equivalents of Standard English and, when forced to communicate, may appear “flat, nonverbal, uncommunicative,” and “lacking in insight” (p.31). They add that this linguistic problem is often confused as a psychological problem. The five-stage theory they proffer serves as a framework for better understanding how to bring services to cross-cultural clients. Each stage of identity development is defined by the client’s attitude towards himself in the scope of his minority counterparts and his environment (Sue & Sue, 1990). Cross (1971) also developed a five-stage model of cultural identity development entitled the Nigresece model. This model is specific to African Americans and encompasses both African and American values. Another scholar, Phinney (1998), conducted a research study of adolescent American-born language minority students, including African-American, Native American, and Latino/Hispanic students, to assess ethnic identity development. Among the results, she found that ethnic identity is an important issue with all adolescent groups, that minority students appear to have begun the identification process earlier than researchers had previously thought, and that a strong relationship exists between ethnic identity and self-esteem. Her data suggest that there are a number of assumptions made by researchers and educators about the consideration of identity in educational outcomes.

In a study entitled, “The Effects of Identity Formation on Attitudes Toward Ethnic Language Development,” Tse (1996) also addresses identity in minority students. The study, which included participants who are members of language minority groups, analyzed participants’ orientations towards culture and language, group membership, and how these orientations changed over time. Specifically, the study revealed that language plays a prominent role in the formation of identity for language minority students. This finding further supports the need for considering language as a factor in the academic success of minority students.

Oppression by Language of the Lumbee Indians

In order to discuss the Lumbee Dialect, it is important to reference the cultural isolation and discrimination that the tribe has endured. Because of their non-White status, the Lumbee have been the subject of acts of violence, unequal political status, and oppression in the school and workplace. As a result, the Lumbee have not only established themselves as a vital part of the Jackson County community, but they have also sustained a strong sense of tribal solidarity.

Socio-historical Background of the Lumbee

Jackson County, the largest county in North Carolina, is located in the southeastern part of the state and borders South Carolina. The county is a unique tri-racial, rural area and home to Caucasian, African American, and Lumbee citizens. The three racial groups have co-existed in this section of North Carolina for almost two centuries and, at times, more peacefully than other multi-racial communities. The Lumbee have maintained a deep connection to and appreciation for their tribal community (Dial, 1993). Their population is increasing more rapidly than any other racial group, and they comprise the sixth largest

Native American contingent in the United States and the largest tribe east of the Mississippi River (Torbert, 2001).

Jackson County has historically been a very swampy area, and, until draining and filling efforts, travel in the area was relatively difficult. For this reason, industry took a long time to develop, and the Lumbee relied heavily on farming, mostly tobacco, as a means of sustenance until after the WWII era. Most of the area is rural, and communities and towns such as Riverton, Skeeter's Lake, and Clarkton remain almost exclusively Lumbee, which preserves the county's de facto segregation. Though schools were integrated between 1970 and 1972, de facto segregation is still maintained in churches, social and community groups, and in most elementary schools. The groups are divided in other ways as well. The 1990 census reported that Lumbees trailed White Jackson County residents by over \$5,000 in median family income. There are gaps in education as well. Fewer than half of Lumbees hold high school diplomas, compared to two thirds of their White community members (Torbert, 2001).

The Lumbee Dialect

The Lumbee Indians of Jackson County speak a very unique variety of the English language (Torbert, 2001). Sociolinguists have conducted studies to better define the patterns of speech that are culturally specific to the tribe as part of the North Carolina Language and Life Project (NCLLP). Specifically, Wolfram and Dannenberg (1998) have identified ethnolinguistic markers that distinguish the Lumbees from other citizens of tri-racial Jackson County. In comparison with other Native American tribes, the Lumbee are unique in that they have lost any of the ancestral language they may have once spoken. When the European settlers arrived in the eighteenth century, the Lumbee were already speaking the English

language. Even though the Lumbee maintain a strict Native American identity, failure to identify an ancestral language has posed a problem in their attempt to gain federal and social recognition as an authentic Native American tribe. Ironically, this marginalization is the result of their linguistic assimilation to English (Torbert, 2001).

Since 1994, the staff of NCLLP has conducted interviews with over 150 members of the Lumbee tribe who reside in Jackson County. They have also conducted interviews with Caucasians and African Americans as well in casual, natural settings and speech situations. The studies on the Lumbee Dialect, or as Wolfram terms it, “Lumbee English,” have resulted in noting syntactic specifics such as the finite *be* and the perfective *I’m*. The studies have also focused on vowel and diphthongs. These specifics are important because they are Lumbee specific, thus distinguishing the tribe from members of Anglo and African American Jacksonians. According to Wolfram and Sellers (1999), the finite *be* (e.g. *She bes justa singin’ in the d’bacca field*) serves as a “ethnolinguistic marker” because the Lumbee are the only group in Jackson County to use it in speech. Another feature unique to Lumbee phonology is the perfective *I’m* (e.g. *I’m done w’dis mess.*). Common among elders in the tribe, the backed/raised diphthong /aj/ has also linguistically distinguished the Lumbee. Finally, Torbert (2001) has analyzed the consonant cluster reduction (e.g. *We had us a good ol’ time for he lef’ to go on home*) language phenomena in tracing the language history of the Lumbee. Phonologically, the Lumbee are most aligned with speakers of Avery English, which is heard along the Outer Banks regions of North Carolina. This dialect is predominantly spoken by descendants of Scots-Irish settlers. In terms of speech, the Lumbee share more in common with this coastal community than with neighboring Whites and African Americans in Jackson County (Wolfram & Dannenberg, 1999). As noted by

Hutcheson (2000) in the documentary *Indian By Birth*, “phonology, grammar, and lexicon all give Lumbee English the unique combination of features that allow Lumbees to recognize each other away from home and that bolsters their solidarity at home.”

Wolfram, Adger, and Christian (1999) reflect on the social context of dialect issues in education, noting that attitudes about language can instigate a variety of stereotypes and prejudices based on social differences. This prejudice spills into education, as dialects spoken by members of a particular social class or group are subject to stereotype about intellectual capability and morality. The researchers also note that dominant culture members are not always the perpetrators of language oppression. They note that dialect speakers themselves hold their dialects in low-esteem with respect to social competence. This is important because it is relevant to the issues that Lumbee students face should they choose to alter their language as a result of higher educational demands in a non-tribal environment.

The aforementioned literature addresses the uniqueness of the Lumbee tribe and specifically, the Lumbee Dialect. This specific field of sociolinguistics specifies some of the phonological features that distinguish the Lumbee Dialect, but it does not adequately address the impact the Lumbee Dialect has on students who are educated in post-secondary institutions outside of their tribal communities. While connections can be made between Lumbee students and other historically marginalized populations who do not speak Standard English, there is a gap in the literature that specifically addresses the issues that Lumbee students face in predominantly White, Research Intensive public institutions. The unique qualities of the Lumbee Dialect, as well as the Lumbee tribe’s historical and current

social/economic struggles within the dominant American culture, warrant further investigation of this phenomenon.

Theoretical Framework

The theory of oppression works effectively as a foundation upon which to analyze the college experiences of Lumbee students who speak the Lumbee dialect. Evidence of historical and current racial disparities in education as a product of discrimination is cited by a number of scholars. Additionally, data support that similar disparities exist on the bases of class. These disparities apply to Lumbee students. This paper acknowledges that there is a layer of racial oppression and a layer of class oppression that impacts the Lumbee. It further extends the concept of oppression by assuming that, in addition to race and class oppression, there exists another layer of oppression: language oppression.

The lens through which the researcher viewed this study was significantly influenced by his lived experiences as an enrolled member of the Lumbee Indian tribe and the results of a pilot study he conducted in 2005 investigated the impact of speaking the Lumbee Dialect for Lumbee college students. Like the participants in the pilot study, the researcher pursued post-secondary study in a non-Native environment. His experience and research lead him to believe that Lumbee students are subject to racial and class oppression in American institutions. In addition to race and class oppression, the researcher hypothesized that students are also subject to oppression by language, particularly non-Native institutions of higher education. This study investigated the impact the identified phenomenon (speaking the Lumbee Dialect) has on the achievement and identity development for Lumbee students in non-Native universities. It was important to frame the investigation in a theoretical lens that includes concepts of Native American oppression and language oppression.

Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit) aims to expose the inconsistencies in social structures so as to create improved situations for Native Americans. Brayboy (2006) built upon the concept of Critical Race Theory to address the complicated relationship between the U.S. Government and American Indians. Specifically, TribalCrit acknowledges the legal and political racialization of American Indian populations. The nine tenets of TribalCrit are as follows:

1. Colonization is endemic to society;
2. U.S. policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain;
3. Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of our identities;
4. Indigenous peoples have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification;
5. The concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an Indigenous lens;
6. Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation;
7. Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the difference and adaptability among individuals and groups;
8. Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being;
9. Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change (p.431).

Each tenet makes a significant point to theorizing studies on indigenous populations; however, they collectively fail to encompass the dynamics that play out in this study. The researcher recognizes that within each of the above beliefs are concepts that have

implications for this study, but he also understands the importance of developing a framework that specifically includes the sociolinguistic content in this investigation.

Eriksen (1992) and Saurez (2002) theorize the concept of language oppression in a manner that is applicable to this study. Establishing that forces such as assimilation and dominance characterize the language/power dynamic in contemporary society, they apply the term *linguistic hegemony* to describe the relationship between dominant and minority languages. This concept captures the how varying degrees of oppression by language reinforce a system that mandates assimilation in social structures.

The theoretical framework for this study integrates the TribalCrit and linguistic hegemony to address the language issues of Lumbee students in the university setting. As noted in Chapter 1, this study did not specifically focus on such topics as sociolinguistics, language preservation/revitalization, Indigenous ways of knowing and being, or Native American resistance; however, scholars in these fields have contributed concepts to the bodies of knowledge on these subjects that prove useful in framing this investigation. As a result, each tenet of TribalCrit was not included in this study, though they may be applied to future analysis of Native American students in higher education. The theoretical framework that did serve as the lens through which this study was framed is referred to as “Scott’s Theory on the Achievement of Linguistic Hegemony in American Social Systems.”

Tenet One: Colonization Is Endemic to Society

Brayboy establishes that the Eurocentric forefather’s goal to establish and maintain a strong nation had lasting consequences on Indigenous peoples. Tribal ways of knowing and being conflicted with the capitalists ideals responsible for attaining America’s status as a dominant world leader, and, as a result, policies were implemented to accomplish the goal of

Americanizing the Native. Brayboy implies that the impact of colonization has strong implications for how Indian identity is shaped and defined in order to comply with an image that the dominant society has created and marketed. Natives are supposed to comply with an unwritten code of rules that include “ideas about who and what we are supposed to be, how we are supposed to behave, and what we are supposed to be within the larger population” (p.432).

This tenet of TribalCrit is important because it helps to inform how Lumbee identity has been impacted by the White goal of colonization. The building of a nation has involved the involuntary citizenship of Natives. For many Indigenous Tribes, these acts have been violent and extreme. Acts of oppression, however, are not always physically observable. As Eriksen (1992) notes, these acts are often invisible and play out as acts of social change. In the movement towards a strong nation state is where the pressure to assimilate is found. He further explains that the implementation of hegemonic languages [Standard English] in public institutions, such as schools, has consequences for speakers of minority languages, including the denial of access to the established power structure. This study identifies the Lumbee Dialect as an Indigenous Language and assumes that the participants in this study are subject to the guidelines that determine successful participation in public schools. It also recognizes that compensatory schooling acts as an instrument in maintaining a strong Nation state, and serves as a place where linguistic hegemony is maintained in order to reinforce a strong, *civilized* society capable of ensuring its status as a global force.

Schnapper argues that governments manage diversity through citizenship, a concept that has implications for linguistic minorities because language is the “first and foremost identity marker” (p.218). In establishing a democratic state, he identifies the conflict

between maintaining linguistic pluralism and establishing a strong democracy. Efforts to create and maintain a strong democratic nation come at the expense of Indigenous peoples, and thus, language minorities.

Tenet Two: U.S. Policies Toward Indigenous Peoples Are Rooted In Imperialism, White Supremacy, and a Desire for Material Gain

This tenet of TribalCrit rests upon the U.S. Government's mistreatment of American Indians (Brayboy, 2006). Specifically, policies, such as Manifest Destiny, which authorized westward expansion, resulted in the systematic removal of Natives from the lands they inhabited. White America assumed a moral authority in carrying out the act of dispossessing Natives from their tribal grounds, claiming that it was "God's destiny for the new settlers to have this land" (p.432). As a result, the resource-rich American West fueled the successful establishment and maintenance of White supremacy.

This tenet of TribalCrit is particularly relevant to this study not only because it establishes the legitimization of historical and current policies that assume a moral and intellectual dominance over Native ways of knowing and being, but also because this tenet characterizes the pervasive nature of White supremacy. In the context of American schools, curriculum and pedagogy systematically reinforces the *standardization* of minority groups, a movement that has strong implications for students. As Garcia notes, "the movement towards standards has taken afoot, effectively denying language differences and expecting the same level of Standard English proficiency for all" (p.246). The necessity of *Standard English* reflects the establishment of White supremacy. Bourdieu (1986) theorizes that some language codes have *value*, and the power of determining which language codes have *value* rests with the *Establishment* and is a product of European American dominance.

*Tenet Three: Governmental Policies and Educational Policies Toward Indigenous Peoples
Are Intimately Linkied Around the Problematic Goal of Assimilation*

TribalCrit recognizes that the policy implementation in public schools reflect the historical aim to assimilate Indigenous people. Specifically, Brayboy notes that educating Native students served to “promote Anglo values and ways of communicating” (p.10). He further explains that the goals of education are not always “rooted in assimilation;” however, assimilation seems to be unavoidable in formal schooling (p.10). The marrying of linguistic hegemony to TribalCrit argues that the implied requirement to master Standard English serves as an instrument that by which assimilation is maintained. Suarez (2002) uses the term *paradox* to describe linguistic dominance and the manner by which a linguistically dominant group secures its power. She further explains that,

Hegemony is ensured when the [linguistically dominant] group can convince those who fail to meet those standards to view their failure as being the result of the inadequacy of their own language (p.514).

Schools serve as the means by which government maintains social control over its citizens. The mandatory assignment of Native children into boarding schools in an attempt to “kill the Indian, save the man” exemplifies how schools have served as an instrument to influence and regulate society (p.430). Even though this practice has rightfully been discontinued, current policies that recognize cultural, and thus, linguistic capital devalue minority languages and linguistic diversity. Brayboy (2006) explains the importance of maintaining cultural knowledge in acquiring academic knowledge. Similarly, Suarez (2002) argues that resisting dominance requires one to recognize the functionality of the dominant language. This study considers both theories, but suggests that navigating the channels of power dynamics in public schooling has lasting implications for one’s identity development.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter outlines the research design and methodology for this dissertation study. It begins with a summary of the research purpose and the proposed research questions. It then proceeds to establish the rationale for the qualitative methodology, site selection and study participants,

In the spring of 2005, a pilot study was written that illuminated the experiences of a group of Lumbee Indian college students. According to Glesne (1999), the pilot study is a part of the research that can inform the researcher about his research techniques, interview questions, observation techniques, and himself. Furthermore, the pilot study also affords the researcher an opportunity to learn about the topic itself. Each student who participated in the study was born and educated in tri-racial Jackson County, North Carolina, home of the Lumbee Indian Tribe. The study specifically addressed how their use of the Lumbee Dialect, a culturally specific dialect of the English language, impacted their experience at the predominantly White, Research Intensive university where the study was conducted. Patterns that emerged in the data bared a strong correlation to the educational experiences of the project researcher.

This qualitative research study built on the data collected and analyzed from the pilot study of 2005. Included in this study are the documented educational experiences of the

researcher, also a Lumbee Indian from Jackson County, NC who pursued post-secondary education in a non-Native university. The researcher interviewed students who self-identify as Lumbee Indians from Jackson County and comparatively analyzed their educational experiences with his own to address the impact speaking the Lumbee Dialect has on academic achievement and identity development for Lumbee students in non-Native institutions of higher education.

Research Purpose

The purpose of this study was to investigate how use of the Lumbee Dialect impacts the academic achievement and identity of Lumbee students. This study aimed to investigate and discuss issues of language; therefore, it is important to make a distinction between language and dialect. Wolfram, Adger, and Christian (1999) use the term *language variation* to explain that language is not uniform. Instead, it is a product of factors such as cultural background, economic class, geography, gender, and age. Language also varies in the manner in which it is used. *Dialect* refers to “a variety of language associated with a regionally or socially defined group of people” (p.1). This is considered a neutral term, meaning that one dialect technically does not have a higher status than another dialect, even though the term is sometimes used in ways that contradicts this technical explanation. *Accent*, another term that is used to describe language variation, is more restrictive than dialect because *accent* is specific to pronunciation only. The researchers also defined *Standard English* to include the “norms described in grammar books and most typically reflected in written language” (p.15). *Standard English* was used as a reference point, and very few people actually speak to this standard. This term was used to represent and include the “socially preferred” dialects from various parts of the United States.

The Lumbee Indian Tribe, centrally located in tri-racial Jackson County, North Carolina is the largest Native American tribe east of the Mississippi (Torbert, 2001). The Lumbee Dialect, as defined by Walt Wolfram's research, is a unique language pattern specific to members of the Lumbee Tribe of Jackson County. The dialect differs from written and spoken conventions of Standard English in grammar construction, vocabulary, and pronunciation (Wolfram, 2000). While there is little research that is specific to how using the Lumbee Dialect impacts the academic achievement and identity of Lumbee students, scholars such as Smitherman (2004), Delpit (1995, 2004), and Wolfram (1999a, 1999b, 2000) speak to the consequences of speaking non-standard forms of English in the academic setting. Even though a broad range of research has addressed the connection between language and achievement (Delpit, 1995; Percell-Gates, 2002; Smitherman, 2004), and the connection between language and identity (Ogbu & Fordham, 1986; Tse, 1996), there is very little literature on these topics that is specific to members of the Lumbee Tribe who speak the Lumbee Dialect.

The rationale for this study was to document how speaking the Lumbee Dialect impacts the academic achievement and cultural identity of Lumbee students who pursue post-secondary education at two predominantly White, Research Intensive institutions, referred to in the study as State College of North Carolina (SCNC) and Mid-Atlantic State University (MASU).

Rationale for Qualitative Methods Design

This study was conducted using qualitative research methods with a grounded theory approach. Marshall and Rossman (1999) define qualitative research as research "that is exploratory or descriptive, that assumes the value of context and setting, and that searches for

a deeper understanding of the participants' lived experiences of the phenomenon" (p.39). This description captures the rationale for a qualitative methods design for this study. Glesne (1999) notes, "qualitative researchers seek to make sense of personal stories and the ways in which they intersect" (p.1). The researcher of this study acknowledges his belief that realities are based on how he perceives his experiences and is socially constructed among a number of variables, as opposed to a reality based on "observable, measurable facts" (p.5). This ontology is aligned with the interpretivist paradigm and functions as a method to solve the previously stated problem or phenomena. To address the impact speaking the Lumbee Dialect has on the academic achievement and identity development of Lumbee students, the researcher talked with research participants about their perceptions.

Since there is not a theory that addresses the subject of this study, the Lumbee Dialect, a grounded theory approach was the most instrumental method of research to establish a theory about the problem the researcher investigated (Creswell, 2005). As Creswell suggests, grounded theory is used "to explain an action of people" (p. 396). In this case, the central phenomenon, or action that was addressed is the use of the Lumbee Dialect. Even though many scholars researched the Lumbee Dialect (Schilling-Estes, 2000; Torbert, 2001; Wolfram, 2000; Wolfram, Adler, & Christian, 1999), there are no known studies that explore and describe this phenomenon's impact on student achievement and identity. In this study, the goal was to examine how speaking the Lumbee Dialect impacts student achievement and identity of life outside of their tribal communities. Attainment of this goal addresses the gap in the literature about the impacts of using culturally unique language patterns with respect to student achievement and identity development.

A pilot study conducted during the researcher's doctoral coursework broke ground on this investigation. It is important to reflect upon and describe the pilot study because it "supports the claim that the researcher is capable of conducting the proposed study" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p.64). For the pilot study, the researcher interviewed five Lumbee students who attended a predominantly White, Research Intensive institution to learn about their language experiences outside of their tribal communities and juxtapose them with his personal experience as an undergraduate at a non-tribal university. Answers to questions in the interview were coded into four themes: realization of language distinction, pre-college language experience, transition to college, and cultural identity transformation. While the study had limitations, such as having only five participants, the analysis of the interviews has implications for educational leadership that warrant further investigation. Borne out of the pilot study, this study followed a similar research design to investigate the impact speaking the Lumbee Dialect has on student achievement and identity for Lumbee college students. This experience helped the researcher to better understand the process of field techniques and qualitative research. For quotes from the pilot study, see Appendix C.

Role of the Researcher

Glesne (1999) notes that the role of the researcher depends on the context of the study. His perspective is influenced by his values, personality, and his overall identity. The research design of this study is such that the researcher assumed two roles, each significantly impacted by both his upbringing and his education. In phase one of the study, the researcher investigated how the phenomenon in question impacts the lived experiences of the participants. In phase two of the study, the researcher served as a participant, in that he reflected upon and documented how the phenomenon has impacted his lived experiences. In

each dynamic, the researcher's status as an enrolled member of the Lumbee Indian Tribe and his upbringing in Skeeter's Lake, North Carolina leave him with a unique "closeness" to the phenomenon he investigated. Located in tri-racial Jackson County in Southeastern North Carolina, Skeeter's Lake is like many other rural communities where the population is almost exclusively Lumbee. It is in this community where the researcher attended school and church, played baseball and swam in the Arrowhead River that he acquired, as noted in the literature review, his Dialect as a member of the Lumbee Tribe.

Upon graduation from high school, the researcher accepted an academic scholarship to Avery State University, an in-state institution located in the mountains of North Carolina. After teaching eighth grade in the North Carolina Public School System, he entered the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill as a candidate for the Master's of School Administration degree. Upon graduation from this program, he continued his studies at this institution as a doctoral student of Educational Leadership. He is also currently employed as the principal of a magnet school in the Wake County Public School System. He acknowledges that his experiences in higher education have resulted in a self-reconciliation, which he will discuss in phase two of this study.

Marshall and Rossman (1999) identify the researcher as the "instrument" in qualitative studies. In this study, the researcher acknowledged that his role in the lives of the participants was brief and personal. Sharing group membership with the participants he will interview, the researcher recognized the ethical implications of his role. Given the theoretical lens through which the researcher views the problem, he felt compelled to generate knowledge that sheds a positive light on the Lumbee. Cresswell (2003) warns that the researcher must identify his biases and his values. Furthermore, Marshall and Rossman

(1999) emphasize the importance of being self-reflective, as it is easy “to be appropriated by and become complicitous in the process by which marginalized groups are negatively depicted as a ‘problem’” (p.96).

Glesne (1999) defines the role of researcher as a “learner” and stresses that having a sense of this role from the beginning will help him “reflect on all aspects of research procedures and findings” (p.41). Because the researcher has experienced the phenomenon he plans to investigate, and because he has a sense of direction from the pilot study, he feels empowered to tell this story, as it is his story to tell. But he also acknowledges he is not an expert or an authority. It is his responsibility to hear the stories of others and to “learn” from their experiences to construct and inform the story he wishes to tell. By developing what Glesne calls a “level of self-consciousness,” the researcher aimed to remain aware of *who* he was in the context of his study.

Data Collection Procedures

Research Questions

The following research questions focused this qualitative study. The major research question was, “How does the Lumbee Dialect impact the social and academic experiences of undergraduate university students from Jackson County who attend predominantly White Research Intensive institutions? The research questions that guide the process of inquiry include: (1) What are student perceptions about the use of Lumbee Dialect in the home? (2) What are student perceptions about the use of Lumbee Dialect in the university setting? (3) What academic challenges do Lumbee students identify in the university setting? (4) What social challenges do Lumbee students identify in their university setting? (5) How have

students' attitudes about their Lumbee heritage changed as a result of their experiences in the college setting?

Two Phase Research Design

“The research design section should demonstrate to the reader that the overall plan is sound and that the researcher is competent to undertake the research, capable of employing the methods arrayed, and sufficiently interested to sustain the effort necessary for the completion of the study” (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p.56).

This qualitative study investigated the impact speaking the Lumbee Dialect has on Lumbee students who pursue higher education in non-Native university settings. The data for the study included the lived experiences of Lumbee students who are currently enrolled at sites designated by the researcher and the lived experiences of the researcher in the study. Because each process required a different methodology for data collection, and because each process placed the researcher in two different roles, it was necessary to implement a research design that makes a distinction between each phase of the data collection.

The goal of phase one involved data collection that would inform a better understanding of participants' lived experiences: Do they identify as linguistically different? Have their attitudes about ethnic identity shifted as a product of study in a non-Native environment? How do they describe their K-12 language experiences? Where/how do they see themselves in the context of other Lumbees? The goal of phase two will be to employ the heuristic inquiry process to frame the researcher's experiences in the educational milieu: How did he connect language and culture? What conflicts arose and have they been resolved? How have his attitudes about Lumbee shifted as a result of his lived experiences in a non-Native environment? How does he see himself in the world around him?

Even though the processes and goals of each phase are described below, the researcher observed the benefits of and the option to “move” within the proposed framework for the study. As Marshall and Rossman (1999) suggest, “the researcher should demonstrate to the reader that she reserves the right to make modifications in the original design as the research evolves: Building flexibility into the design is crucial” (p.56).

Site and Selection

Research Site

Noted in Chapters 1 and 2, scholarly work has been devoted to investigating Native American student success in institutions of higher learning. Most relevant is the research of Brayboy (2005) that documents the experiences of American Indian students in Ivy League universities. Absent from the research is literature about matriculation to institutions of higher education for Lumbee students, with a focus on speaking the Lumbee Dialect. Glasne (1999) suggests that researchers need to develop a rationale for selecting a particular research site. Additionally, Cresswell (1998) stresses the importance of selecting a site that has a “culture-sharing group” with similar values and cultures. Furthermore, Marshall and Rossman state, “The social and physical setting—schedules, space, pay, and rewards—and internalized notions of norms, traditions, roles, and values are crucial aspects of the environment” (p.57). The researcher assigned pseudonyms to represent two sites where he conducted the study: State College of North Carolina (SCNC) and Mid-Atlantic State University (MASU) as the research sites for the study. Since the study was informed by the researcher’s experiences in a non-Native university setting, it was important to this study to investigate in a site selection that is culturally and demographically similar. Specifically, the researcher acknowledged the importance of observing the phenomenon in a predominantly

White university setting. These university settings were chosen because the researcher had secured contacts at the university who were instrumental in helping to solicit research participants. Also, the population of Lumbee students who attend these universities from Jackson County, North Carolina accommodated the need for the number of participants necessary to conduct the study. Each university is also a convenient location for the researcher to interview students. Marshall and Rossman (1999) recommend that the researcher consider issues of practicality in the site selection process.

Participant Selection

Marshall and Rossman (1999) capture the essence of why interviewing each student is important in this study:

For a study focusing on individuals' lived experience, the researcher could argue that one cannot understand human actions without understanding the meaning that participants attribute to those actions—their thoughts, feelings, beliefs, values, and assumptive worlds; The researcher therefore needs to understand the deeper perspectives captured through face-to-face interaction, (p.57).

Purposeful sampling was the method used to select students to interview for this study. According to Marshall and Rossman (1999), this method of sampling is guided by the concepts outlined in the theoretical framework for the study. As noted in Chapter 2, the theory through which the researcher approached this study involved two key concepts: Lumbee identity and linguistic marginalization. The researcher recognized that the selection of participants should represent the phenomenon being questioned. Participants were those who self-identify themselves as member of the Lumbee Tribe who grew up and still reside in Jackson County, North Carolina and who are current undergraduate students enrolled full-time at SCNC or MASU. The researcher secured 11 participants for the study who met those standards.

The researcher followed the protocol outlined in the approved Institutional Review Board submission. He scheduled interviews with interested participants at the participants' convenience. At the time of the interview, all participants were required to complete the "Consent to Participate in Lumbee Research Study" form. The privacy of the participants was observed throughout the study, and participants were not identified in any report, presentation, or publication of this study. Each interview was conducted in a private location (study room, private conference room, office, etc.). Only the researcher and the subject were present during the interview. The duration of each interview was approximately two hours, and the interviews were recorded and transcribed at a later date.

The data collection procedures in the aforementioned pilot study resulted in a high rate of success; the researcher replicated some aspects of that novice process. Specifically, he utilized advisors, who serve as unofficial gatekeepers of the Native student organization, to negotiate entry to the targeted population. The researcher also recognized the value in, as advised in *Designing Qualitative Research* (1999), "identifying and presenting certain aspects of himself" (Marshall & Rossman, p.81). Revealing his Lumbee heritage, speaking in his Native dialect, and indicating that he studied in similar social circumstances helped to enlist confidence and trust from the participants.

In establishing such strategies, the researcher observed the ethical implications of interviewing participants for this study. The results of the pilot study, though valuable, create an anticipatory set for the expected data. Significant for the researcher was refraining from posing leading questions to the students during the interviews. He understands that "the participants' perspective on the phenomenon of interests should unfold as the participant views it, not as the researcher views it" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p.80).

Research Procedures

Phase One

Since the researcher asked questions that were both open and closed ended, he used a semi-structured interviewing approach (Creswell, 2005). This approach is less formal and afforded the researcher the opportunity to move through the interviews as new information from the participants emerged. Maxwell (1996) states, “Your research questions formulate what you want to understand; your *interview* questions are what you ask people in order to gain that understanding” (p.74).

The researcher recognized that in the process of developing the interview questions, he had to avoid re-wording or paraphrasing the aforementioned research questions. The interview questions, according to Glesne (1999), did inform the theory. The lens through which the researcher approached this study rested upon the experiential foundation he established while conducting the pilot study and during his lived experiences as a Lumbee Indian. The theoretical framework integrates the concept of linguistic hegemony into Tribal Critical Race Theory. The resulting theory posits that Lumbee Indians are subject to linguistic oppression and that oppression is more pronounced in academic settings outside the cultural norms of the Native environment. Interviews with students focused on their language experiences prior to matriculation to college and their experiences in classes, and with Native and non-Native peers. For a list of example interview questions, see Appendix B.

The researcher acknowledged that he should periodically step outside of himself during the interview process as a self-checking strategy. Glesne (1999) recommends that “a good interviewer” is one who possesses certain qualities. Writing the pilot study has

provided the researcher a practical and reflective experience. He approached the interview anticipating how he should present himself, establish a comfortable and trusting rapport, and avoid the tendency to make assumptions about students' responses. In the nature of interviewing, the researcher also listened to analytically and mentally convert responses into on-going analysis that he used to "patiently probe" for story completion. Furthermore, he recognized the critical role that status played in this subject. As stated earlier, the researcher considered his positionality in this study, and understands that students may have perceived his *achievement* as a status symbol. To avoid this, he adhered to Glesne's recommendation that the researcher should "consider ways in which you can include research participants in the research process" (p.86).

Phase Two

According to Glesne (1999), the role of the researcher is "situationally determined, depending on the context, the identities of your others, and your own personality and values" (p.41). As a member of the Lumbee Tribe, the researcher acknowledges his positionality in conducting this study. Personal bias in conducting this research stems from experiences growing up in Jackson County and pursuing post-secondary education outside of his Native community. As part of these experiences, the researcher succumbed to the pressure to assimilate to the dominant culture of a White college community and acknowledges that he is empowered by his experiences to tell this story after he investigated this phenomenon. He recognizes that the story that derives from this research is the story of his coming to terms with his ethnic identity in a linguistically and culturally diverse society. Relevant to this study is the statement by Douglass and Moustakas (1985) that, "Heuristics is concerned with

meanings, not measurements; with essence, not appearance; with quality, not quantity; with experience, not behavior” (p.42).

The choice of research topic often has personal significance for the researcher, whether conscious or unconscious (Devereux, 1967). Indeed some methodologies, such as heuristic inquiry, require us to have a personal connection with the topic of inquiry, which inevitably leads to “self examination, significant personal learning and change” (Stiles, 1993, p.604). Heuristic inquiry, which derives from the Greek *heuriskein* (meaning to find and discover), developed out of humanistic psychology. As a research process that involves self-search, self-dialogue, and self-reflection, heuristic inquiry was designed for the exploration and interpretation of experience using the self as the researcher in a linguistically diverse society. Heuristic inquiry provided the researcher with a process for self-analysis and reflection. The methodology also established an avenue for him to write his experiences into the research and juxtapose his experiences with those of his research participants.

Drawing heavily upon the ideas of Polanyi (1958; 1966/1983; 1969), heuristic inquiry was developed by Moustakas (1990; see also Douglass & Moustakas, 1985) and bares some striking resemblance to the idea of *lived inquiry* developed by Heron (1998), and *mindful inquiry* developed by Bentz and Shapiro (1998). The heuristic inquiry paradigm is an adaptation of phenomenological inquiry but explicitly acknowledges the involvement of the *researcher*, to the extent that the lived experience of the researcher becomes the main focus of the research. “It requires a subjective process of reflecting, exploring, sifting, and elucidating the nature of the phenomenon under investigation” (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985, p.40). As a result, the researcher really needs to feel passionate about the research question (West, 1998a; 1998b).

In heuristic inquiry, the research question and the methodology flow out of the researcher's inner awareness, meaning, and inspiration. Moustakas (1990) described it as "a process of internal search through which one discovers the nature and meaning of experience and develops methods and procedures for further investigation and analysis" (p.9). Working with the heuristic process seeks to better understand how dialect effects his ethnic identity development.

Data Analysis

Phase One: Semi-structured Interviews

The data analysis process involved the life you have lived through this investigation. In the context of this study, the researcher posits that it involved his lived experiences prior the start of this investigation. During the interview process, the researcher engaged in early data analysis by reflecting upon each interview and documenting major points of interest. Glasne (1999) references Glaser and Strauss (1967) to suggest that,

By writing memos to your self or keeping a reflective field log, you develop your thought; by getting your thoughts down as they occur, no matter how preliminary or in what form, you begin the analysis process, (p.131).

The documented reflective memos initiated the data analysis process. The researcher acknowledged his demanding schedule and the demands of his full time professional life. This method of early data analysis informed his study as it developed and helped him maintain some "semblance of control" and avoid getting lost in the data analysis process.

Each semi-structured interview was electronically recorded. At the completion of each interview, the recordings were transcribed. By carefully dissecting the resulting transcriptions, the researcher identified themes through a process of analytical coding. Glesne defines coding as, "a progressive process" that involves "putting like-minded pieces

together in data clumps [to] create an organizational framework” (p.135). Eventually, this process should eventually result in emerging themes that are consistent in the students’ responses and helps to identify what’s going on in the work. The researcher anticipated that themes may emerge similar to those represented in his pilot study: realization of language distinction, pre-college language experience, transition to college, and cultural identity transformation. He recognized, however, the risks of specifically looking and listening for these themes. He also included Phinney’s Three-stage Model of Ethnic Identity Development to frame his analysis and interpretation of the collected data.

Phinney’s Three-stage Model of Ethnic Identity Development

Similar to ego and racial identity theories, ethnic identity development models focus on what and how oppressed people come to understand themselves in terms of their own culture, the dominant culture, and the oppressive relationship between the two cultures. According to Torres (1996), a sense of ethnic identity is socially constructed from shared culture, religion, geography, and language that are often connected by strong loyalty and kinship as well as proximity. Several models of ethnic identity development have been proposed. Work by Cross (1978), Helms (1990), Kim (1981), Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1983) and others shares with the ego identity literature (Marcia, 1966, 1980) the idea that an achieved identity is the result of a crisis or awakening, which leads to a period of exploration or experimentation, and finally to a commitment or incorporation of one’s ethnicity. Although these models provide important conceptualizations, there has been relatively little research aimed at validating them, and much of the research has focused on a single ethnic group. In contrast, Phinney’s (1990) research aimed at “developing and testing a model of ethnic identity development that is; (1) theoretically based on Erickson’s (1964, 1968)

writings; (2) congruent both with Marcia's (1980) ego-identity statuses and with the models of ethnic identity in the literature; and (3) applicable across ethnic groups" (p.63). As a result, she proposed the following three stages of development that many cultural groups experience as they struggle to define themselves: (1) Unexamined Ethnic Identity; (2) Ethnic Identity Search/Moratorium; and (3) Ethnic Identity Achievement. A summary of the referenced models is attached in Table 3.1.

Stage 1: Unexamined Ethnic Identity

According to Phinney (1993), Stage 1 is characterized by a lack of interest or concern with ethnicity and a lack of exploration of ethnic issues. Several existing racial identity models suggest that minority subjects initially accept the values and attitudes of the majority culture, including internalized negative views and stereotypes of their own group that are held by the majority (i.e. White American societal values, standards, and preferences). Cross (1978) called this stage in which "the person's worldview is dominated by Euro-American determinants" (p.17) *pre-encounter*. Likewise, Kim (1981) referred to this stage as *White-identified* while Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1983) described it as a *conformity stage*. Apparent differences between the minority subject and Whites are either not acknowledged, at least on the conscious level. Or, if they do acknowledge their distinguishing physical and/or cultural characteristics, they view them as a source of shame. Described by Marcia in 1980, this stage of minority identity development might be compared to *identity foreclosure* (i.e. characterized by the absence of exploration of issues, accompanied by commitments based on attitudes and opinions adopted from others without question). Foreclosure can be negative or positive. For example, Phinney's (1993) studies found that a foreclosed ethnic identity does not necessarily imply White preference. "Adolescents whose parents have

provided positive models of ethnic pride may be foreclosed in the sense of not having examined the issues for themselves, but may have a positive view of their own group” (p.68).

Stage 2: Ethnic Identity Search/Moratorium

Phinney posited that Stage 1 continues until adolescents encounter a situation that initiates Stage 2, an ethnic identity search. With reference to ego identity, Erikson (1968) referred to this as the *identity crisis* or *moratorium*—“a necessary turning point, a crucial moment, when development must move one way or another, marshalling resources of growth, recovery, and further differentiation” (p.16). Cross (1978) used the term *encounter* to describe this shocking personal or social event that temporarily dislodges the person from his or her old world view, making the person receptive to a new interpretation of his or her identity. According to Phinney (1993), “it may be that an encounter experience is evident when individuals look back at the process of their own search, but that it is not clear at the time it happens” (p.69).

Stage 2 of Phinney’s model can be described as a time of experimentation and inquiry, which may include activities such as reading about various possibilities, taking relevant course work, talking with friends, parents, or others about the topic of interest, and actually trying out different life goals and life styles (Waterman, 1985). According to Cross (1978), this stage of *immersion/emersion* is characterized by an intense concern to clarify the personal implications of ethnicity and may be highly emotional. For example, Kim (1981) found that “included in this phase is anger and outrage directed toward White society. This occurs when [subjects] discover and allow themselves to feel some of the “historical incidents of racism” (p.149). For Cross (1978), the process included “the tendency to

Table 3. 1: Stages of Racial/Cultural Identity Development

Authors	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Stage 5
Atkinson et al. (1983)	Conformity	Dissonance	Resistance/Immersion		Synergetic Articulation and Awareness
Cross (1978)	Pre-encounter	Encounter	Immersion-Emersion	Internalization	Internalization/Commitment
Hardiman & Jackson (1992)	Naïve/No Social Consciousness	Acceptance	Resistance	Redefinition	Internalization
Helms (1994)	Contact	Disintegration	Reintegration	Pseudo-Independence	5.Immersion/Emersion 6.Autonomy
Kim (1981)	White-identified	Awakening to Social-Political Awareness	Redirection to Asian American Consciousness		Incorporation
Marcia (1966, 1980)	Identity Diffusion Identity Foreclosure	Identity Crisis	Moratorium		Identity Achievement
Milliones (1980)	Preconscious	Confrontation		Internalization	Integration
Phinney (1990)	Unexamined Ethnic Identity - Diffuse and/or Foreclose		Ethnic Identity Search/Moratorium		Ethnic Identity Achievement
Sue & Sue (1990)	Conformity	Dissonance	Resistance/Immersion	Introspection	Integrative Awareness

denigrate White people and White culture while simultaneously defying black people and black culture” (p.17). Erickson (1964) acknowledged the intensity of this period and recognized the role of anger. He noted that a transitory “negative identity,” or rejection of appropriate roles, may be a necessary precondition for a positive identity.

Stage 3: Ethnic Identity Achievement

According to Phinney (1993), “the ideal outcome of the identity process is an achieved identity, characterized by a clear, confident sense of one’s own ethnicity” (p.71). Individuals with an achieved ego identity have resolved uncertainties about their future direction and have made commitments that will guide future action (Marcia, 1980). Cross (1978), using the term *internalization* for this stage, described the following: “Tension, emotionality, and defensiveness are replaced by a calm, secure demeanor. Ideological flexibility, psychological openness, and self-confidence about one’s blackness are evident” (p.18). During Phinney’s Stage 3, self-concept is positive, subjects feel good about who they are, they are comfortable blending aspects of their ethnic being, and they feel at home with themselves. They acknowledge a sense of self-fulfillment and pride with regard to cultural identity. All three of Phinney’s stages of ethnic identity can be clearly and reliably distinguished, in contrast to some of the four or five ego statuses that have been described in the ethnic identity literature.

Phase Two: Heuristic Inquiry

The researcher also included the data that he has collected and coded as part of the heuristic inquiry process. As noted earlier in this section, heuristic inquiry provides the researcher with a process for self-analysis and reflection. The researcher must have a direct, personal encounter with the phenomenon being investigating (i.e. some actual

autobiographical connection) and must be open to growth in self-awareness and self-knowledge. Growing up in Jackson County, matriculating to a non-Native university for post-graduate study, and speaking the Lumbee Dialect are key elements in the researcher's encounter with the investigated phenomenon. Moustakas identified a number of core processes (see Table 3.2 for a summary) and then outlined seven basic phases involved in this approach (see Table 3.3 for a summary). This methodology established an avenue for the researcher to write his experiences into the research and juxtapose his experiences with those of his research participants.

Trustworthiness

Glesne (1999) states, "the credibility of your findings and interpretations depends upon your careful attention to established trustworthiness" (p. 151). One key factor in attending to credibility was the prolonged engagement the researcher has had with this study. As noted earlier, his lived experiences in Jackson County and in K-12 and higher educational institutions leave him with a unique focus on the essential elements in the study. With the same token, the researcher remained continuously alert to his own biases and subjectivity within the context of his findings. Furthermore, he also followed the suggestion of Lincoln and Guba (1985) to "enlist outsiders to audit my interview notes and field techniques" (in Glesne, 1999, p.152). The researcher relied on the feedback of his dissertation chair through the process of his data collection and analysis.

Limitations

The most significant limitation to this study is time. The researcher recognized that he assumed the challenge of writing a dissertation while serving as the principal in

Table 3.2: Summary of Moustakas' Phases of Heuristic Inquiry

Core Process	Description
Identify with the focus of the inquiry	The heuristic process involves getting inside the research question, becoming one with it, living it.
Self dialogue	Self dialogue is the critical beginning, allowing the phenomenon to speak directly to one's own experience. Knowledge grows out of direct human experience and discovery involves self-inquiry, an openness to one's own experience.
Tacit knowing	In addition to knowledge that we can make explicit, there is knowledge that is implicit to our actions and experiences. This tacit dimension is ineffable and unspecifiable, it underlies and precedes intuition and can guide the researcher into untapped directions and sources of meaning.
Intuition	Intuition provides the bridge between explicit and tacit knowledge. Intuition makes possible the seeing of things as wholes. Every act of achieving integration, unity or wholeness requires intuition.
Indwelling	This refers to the conscious and deliberate process of turning inward to seek a deeper, more extended comprehension of a quality or theme of human experience. Indwelling involves a willingness to gaze with unwavering attention and concentration into some aspect of human experience.
Focusing	Focusing is inner attention, a staying with, a sustained process of systematically contacting the central meanings of an experience. It enables one to see something as it is and to make whatever shifts are necessary to make contact with necessary awareness and insight.
Internal frame of reference	The outcome of the heuristic process in terms of knowledge and experience must be placed in the context of the experiencer's own internal frame of reference, and not some external frame.

(Moustakas, 1990, p.27-37).

the public school setting. This reality not only had implications for his time commitment to the study, but also limited his opportunities to reflect on his journey. He also sensed that his positionality may have limited him in his quest for understanding as well. He aforementioned ethical challenges. He also realized that undergoing and documenting anticipated that a time would arise in the study that left him conflicted about the his journey in the heuristic inquiry process, he could have been left questioning his identity. Finally, his expectation that a story would arise from his qualitative study could have

Table 3.3: Summary of Moustakas' Phases of Heuristic Inquiry

Phase	Description
Initial engagement	The task of the first phase is to discover an intense interest, a passionate concern that calls out to the researcher, one that holds important social meanings and personal, compelling implications. The research question that emerges lingers with the researcher, awaiting the disciplined commitment that will reveal its underlying meanings.
Immersion	The research question is lived in waking, sleeping and even dream states. This requires alertness, concentration and self-searching. Virtually anything connected with the question becomes raw material for immersion.
Incubation	This involves a retreat from the intense, concentrated focus, allowing the expansion of knowledge to take place at a more subtle level, enabling the inner tacit dimension and intuition to clarify and extend understanding.
Illumination	This involves a breakthrough, a process of awakening that occurs naturally when the researcher is open and receptive to tacit knowledge and intuition. It involves opening a door to new awareness, a modification of an old understanding, a synthesis of fragmented knowledge, or new discovery.
Explication	This involves a full examination of what has been awakened in consciousness. What is required is organization and a comprehensive depiction of the core themes.
Creative synthesis	Thoroughly familiar with the data, and following a preparatory phase of solitude and meditation, the researcher puts the components and core themes usually into the form of creative synthesis expressed as a narrative account, a report, a thesis, a poem, story, drawing, painting, etc.
Validation of the heuristic inquiry	The question of validity is one of meaning. Does the synthesis present comprehensively, vividly, and accurately the meanings and essences of the experience? Returning again and again to the data to check whether they embrace the necessary and sufficient meanings. Finally, feedback is obtained through participant validation, and receiving responses from others.

(Moustakas, 1990, p.27-37).

been a precursor to disappointment; it was possible that the story arising from students' stories would not have been the story that he expected.

Significance

This research is significant because it has implications for educational leadership in the locale of Jackson County. As school personnel and leadership advise students to consider post-secondary study outside the security of their native communities, they may benefit from research that addresses students' social and academic transition. This research also has implications for higher education administration in identifying issues of language/linguistic marginalization at non-native universities. This research will potentially help fill the void in the literature gap on the impacts of speaking the Lumbee Dialect in educational settings. Furthermore, this research will join the growing body of research that acknowledges the social oppression that is perpetuated in public learning institutions and that aims to raise awareness and address the opportunity gap for historically marginalized populations.

Timeline

Since the researcher was aiming to complete this study within the current academic calendar year, the remaining tasks were based on the assumption that permission to start the study be granted upon presentation of the research proposal in mid to late September. He made contacts to research participants by way of the SCNC and MASU Native American student organizations and the advisors of those organizations. He solicited volunteers to participate in the study and conducted interviews through the month of October, November and December. He simultaneously transcribed recordings as he conducted interviews. In the month of December, the researcher found enough time to both code and analyze most of the transcriptions. In the month of January, he worked

through the data analysis and reflected the implications the research has for theory and practice. His initial goal was to prepare a dissertation defense by early March 2008.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an organized and meaningful presentation of the data collected for this dissertation study. The qualitative data for Phase 1 starts with a profile of each participant then is organized and presented in three reoccurring themes. Language Rules specifically focuses on how students perceive the Lumbee Dialect in home and school settings. The second section, The Educated Lumbee, is about what it means to become educated as a Lumbee outside of their Native community. The final section, Social Dynamics is about students' sense of Native kinship in the culturally diverse university setting. Each section reflects careful review of participants' responses to open-ended questions posed during semi-structured interviews and aims to answer the major research question for this study: How does speaking the Lumbee Dialect impact the academic achievement and identity development of Lumbee College students? Themes are further divided into either academic achievement or identity development (see Table 4.1 for a summary of emergent themes and sub-themes). In analyzing the data, however, the researcher recognizes that these two topics connect and intersect because a significant part of students' identity is defined by how they see themselves academically, a concept which will be explored more thoroughly in CHAPTER 5 of this study. The data for Phase 2 of this

Table 4.1: Emergent Themes Regarding Speaking the Lumbee Dialect

Thematic Organization—Phase I

Language Rules: Speaking the Lumbee Dialect

- Academic Achievement
 - Language Correction
 - Academic Preparation for Post-Secondary Education
 - Language Impact on Academic Experiences
- Identity Development
 - Realization of Language Difference
 - Language Labeling
 - Dialect Masking and Language Shift

The Educated Lumbee: Overcoming the Odds

- Academic Achievement
 - Making It
- Identity Development
 - The *Typical* Lumbee

Social Dynamics: Retaining Native Kinship Through Social Change

- Academic Achievement
 - Identity Development
 - Tribal Allegiance
 - Phinney's Three-Stage Model of Identity Development
-

dissertation study reflect the researcher's self-examination and reflection through the processes of heuristic inquiry methodology.

Phase I

Participant Profiles

Jordan

A first generation college student, Jordan is a junior psychology major at SCNC. She attended a tri-racial high school and grew up in rural Jackson County. Prior to attending SCNC, Jordan participated in programs in high school that provided her with educational opportunities outside of Jackson County. According to Jordan, these experiences prepared her for the transition to the college environment. She has a very strong sense of family, referencing her parents and grandparents throughout the interview, and, even though she credits her family for her success, she admits that she sometimes feels a lot of pressure to succeed. Having attended high school in a racially diverse setting of Native Americans, Whites, and African American students, Jordan was one of the only Lumbee students in advanced level classes, except for a close friend, who was half Lumbee, and who now attends Yale.

Crystal

Crystal has had a unique schooling experience, having participated in a gifted and talented program since middle school. She speaks with a confidence that appears to reflect her strong sense of who she is in the world around her. For Crystal, racial lines were drawn early in her schooling experiences, and she admits that, at times, she has struggled with how to navigate the social map of high school and college. As a result, she seems to have a clear understanding of the larger social context and the dynamic forces that shape social

experiences. Crystal is the first person in her family to attend a four-year college. She is a sophomore nursing and biology major at SCNC and is currently unsure of her career path, but she understands that she has many options available.

Kelsey

Kelsey is a sophomore at MASU majoring in biological sciences. Another first generation college student, who credits her family for her success, particularly her father, who encouraged her not to apply to the local university in Jackson County and advises her not to return after graduation. But Kelsey enjoys the security of home and family, and admits that her peer group is comprised of mostly Lumbee students from Jackson County because of the familial support she has received from them. She also enjoys the anonymity she finds at such a large school, comparing her college experience to her high school experience.

Brian

Brian identifies himself as the “achiever” when discussing his family dynamic, and admits that college has been full of academic challenges because he did not fully understand how to navigate a system that works so differently from high school in Jackson County. His life story suggests that his experiences have been rough around the edges, but he recognizes that he has overcome odds that many other students may not have faced. Like other participants, he is also a first generation college student who seems to have made sense of the college dynamic at SCNC. A senior majoring in exercise/sports science, he started SCNC living off-campus with his older sister. He prides himself on feeling comfortable interacting with members of any racial group.

Craig

Craig presents himself as very serious about the task at hand: earning a college degree. His presence is very matter-of-fact and he is very resolute about where he is going and what he needs to get there. His perspective and outlook seem very black and white. Craig attended a mostly Native American high school in Jackson County and is a sophomore Aerospace Engineering major. Even though he mentions his mother, who holds a Master's degree, Craig credits his success, past and present, to his work ethic and persistence.

Amanda

Amanda is a freshman Biology major at MASU who attended a predominantly Native American high school in Jackson County. Even though she is a first generation college student who has had limited experiences outside of Jackson County, she seems to be making a smooth and quick transition to the university setting, having applied for and been accepted to attend alternative spring break and to join the biology club. The recipient of a prestigious scholarship, she admits that her classes really aren't that difficult. Even though she faces pressure from her social group at home, she seems to be finding her niche at MASU.

Adam

Even though Adam graduated from a predominantly Native American high school, his pre-college experience is unique in that he attended a predominantly African American elementary and middle school, a factor that impacts his social outlook at MASU. Insightful and socially aware, Adam recognizes the benefit of his early schooling experiences. He is a senior majoring in Electrical Engineering and a first generation college student, and he has taken steps to establish himself as a leader in the college setting by balancing his academic responsibilities with social aspirations.

Emily

A senior Psychology major at SCNC, Emily attended a predominantly Native American high school and has acclimated well to the college social scene. She has a very positive energy and presents herself as someone who approaches people and situations with a strong sense of optimism. Emily admits that she enjoyed high school, even though she has been challenged by the academic rigor of SCNC. She speaks highly of the support of her advisor, who is also Native American from Jackson County, and she commented on his accessibility to both her and her mom.

Laci

The second of two participants who are freshmen, Laci is an International Studies major at MASU. She had limited experiences outside of Jackson County, and even though she realizes that her choice of major minimizes the likelihood that she will return to the area after graduation, she speaks very highly of having grown up in a rural, exclusively Lumbee community. Referencing both her mom, who holds a Master's degree from the local university, and her grandma, Laci places a high value in her family's expectations of her and the role they have played in her success. She also speaks highly of the support she has received from the Native American student organization at MASU.

Angela

Angela is a senior Sociology major who graduated from a high school in Jackson County that is not predominantly Native American. The recipient of a prestigious scholarship, she credits her one-year attendance at the NC School of Science and Math for her academic preparation for MASU. Angela is very active in Native American issues and

expressed concern over the lack of recruitment and retention of Native students by university officials. Her comments also reflect that she is reflective about race and class issues and their impact on the larger society.

Jacob

Jacob is a senior at SCNC majoring in Biology and has perhaps the most unique pre-college experience of all participants. The son of a doctor, and the grandson of a public school teacher and administrator, Jacob attended a predominantly White private school in Jackson County before attending the N.C. School of Science and Math for high school. He aspires to follow in his father's footsteps and attend medical school after graduation from SCNC. Jacob recognizes that his experiences are unique when compared to his Native peers, and is proud of his family's educational and professional accomplishments.

Language Rules: Speaking the Lumbee Dialect

This section explores the language experiences of participants prior to and during their attendance at predominantly White, Research Intensive institutions. Since this study focuses on speaking the Lumbee Dialect, it is important to examine students' perceptions about their speech and how they have interpreted and acted upon the messages they have received from family, high school teachers, university professors, and peers.

Academic Achievement

Language Correction

Most of the participants in this study revealed that, at some point, their language has been corrected either by a teacher in an academic setting or by a parent or family member. Some students identify that only grammar issues were addressed, but other students specified that pronunciation or vocabulary corrections were pointed out.

Jordan and Crystal both seem to hold no resentment for high school teachers who corrected their use of language. In their responses, they both clarified that their typical class make-up in high school was predominantly White, suggesting that, because their language in that setting was not the dominant language, it was more noticeable. Jordan states,

I had, well Ms. Jackson, the lady I was telling you about. She was real like, when she spoke, she was just real correct and everything. I took AP English with her, cuz I always try to take like honors or AP. So those teachers—usually there was only me and my best friend were the only Lumbee people in those AP classes anyway. So she would always try to—if we did say anything—correct us. Not to embarrass us or anything. She would do it just to help us. But because we were the only two Lumbees in the class full of White people anyway, we tried to speak proper anyway.

Crystal has similar comments about her teachers correcting her spoken use of the dialect:

Yeah, like I've always excelled in English, but I'd always get called out for sayin' stuff. Like, I wouldn't be doin' it on purpose, or to be showin' disrespect but I'd just be talking normal, havin' general conversation. In the magnet program, they're very strict. You practice it throughout, your language throughout, and I'd always get called out, and I just can't help it. And they would understand. They understood I weren't doin' it on purpose; I knew how to write it I guess you could say. Just speakin' it was a constant struggle.

Kelsey, who also attended a multi-racial high school in which she was a minority in advanced classes, recalls her teachers' comments, but she explains that she knew how to separate speaking the dialect and writing the dialect.

But in high school, my teachers corrected my language. Cause I was always bad for sayin' "ain't", like, "I ain't gonna do that; stuff like that." I got corrected at school a lot. But I was always good in writin' cause like in middle school and high school on the state writin' tests and stuff, I'd always make "4"s on em. But as far as like papers, I don't really write the way I talk. I'm pretty good at separating the two.

Brian also admits that he was able to make the distinction between speaking and writing the dialect, but seems to resent his teachers' correcting his spoken use of the dialect, labeling those who corrected him as "being hardass."

Other students admit that their teachers did not address language issues, specifically students who attended Clark's Landing High School, a predominantly Native American high school in the tribal area. Laci explains,

I went to Clarkton Elementary, Clarkton Middle, and Clark's Landing High School, and everybody talks that way, so why do we need to change?

Josh and Laci, who attended the same high school, shared similar comments about language correction at school.

For some students, language issues were addressed in the home. While none of the participants commented on this in a manner that suggests that it bears significant importance to this section of the data analysis, it does provide a more detailed profile of the participants' language experiences and will surface in a separate section of this chapter. Jacob's experiences with language in the home reflect an outlier in the data. Not only did his parents correct his speech, but they also warned him of the possible negative encounters he may have due to his dialect:

It came up with my parents a couple of times, but I remember them tellin' me, "People might laugh at you cause you talk different," but what can you do about it? And my mom was an English major in college, so she corrected like "ain't" and double negatives and stuff like that, but not really the draw or the dialect. I guess cause my grandparents, my grandma was a school teacher and my grandfather was a school teacher and principal for 40 years, but my grandma will still say like vegible for vegetable. They know the grammar, but not really the pronunciation.

Amanda's family also instilled the idea that a different the university setting expects more of her than her home environment in Jackson County.

I knew comin' to college I had to work on it. My grandma always told me I needed to work on my grammar since I was goin' off to school. I was representin' everybody.

Academic Preparation for the Post Secondary Classroom

The data do not support that speaking the Lumbee dialect was a particular academic challenge for students in their pre-college educational and home experiences, but upon matriculation to predominantly White, Research Intensive institutions, the data support that participants had varying degrees of preparation for the academic rigor. Students' comments reflect that some of the challenges they face in the college arena are more about the quality of education they received in their Native communities, and less about their use of the dialect. But most students identify that the use of the dialect, or at least the influence of it, has had an impact on their academic success.

Consistent in the data is the acknowledgment that the academic rigor of students' respective colleges was demanding, even overwhelming for some, and required them to both adjust their approach to studying and to reflect upon their choice of major. Jordan compares her academic preparation with that of students from more urban school districts in commenting on how she was not adequately prepared for the rigor of math and science curricula:

But as far as being prepared for classes like science level classes or math classes, that was just a rude awakening for me. I thought, "I made A's in chemistry in high school, I can go here to SCNC and I'll be fine." That wasn't the case though . . . According to my grades and GPA in high school I was, but I don't think I was prepared in high school. Like I graduated, I was a marshall in high school and I got all these scholarships to come here. And in high school I was known as one of the smart kids. And you come here everyone is the top of their class, too, and the smart kids. But some of the schools, like some of the kids that came from Charlotte or Raleigh, they were a lot better in math classes and didn't have as much of a problem adjusting to the level it takes you to master these chemistry classes and math classes.

The math-science courses also overwhelmed Brian, and he referenced his high school to support his claim, as if to imply that had he been educated in a different locale, he may have been more prepared:

No, I wasn't prepared, not coming from Riverton, no. I wasn't prepared. I would think the worst was the science and the math. I think we had a good English, you know, and like social studies background. But the science and math was just outrageous. I mean, the difference. And then the whole ratio of, you know, students to teachers—just not what I was used to.

Crystal was also surprised by the rigor of college, but she compares her preparation with that of her Native peers who attended other high schools, explaining that because she was in a more advanced program, she was better prepared:

High school prepared me as far as organization, but very few high schools prepare you on how to study for SCNC. I mean, it's an eye-opening experience and I still struggle with it [academics]. I find myself stressin' but I never had to worry about grades, or worry about studyin'. It always came naturally to me. I feel like I was more prepared than a lot of the surrounding high schools like Clark's Landing because of the classes I took and because I was in more of a competitive situation.

Two other participants, Angela and Jacob, credit their attendance at the N.C. School of Science and Math for their readiness for post secondary academics.

Language Impact on Academic Experiences

Another common theme in the participants' stories is the influence that the Lumbee Dialect has had on their academic experiences after high school. While some participants identified that they had specific challenges, others admitted that their choice of major or their course selection was a product of their feelings of inadequacy, some of which are linked to their dialect. Most students specified the challenges that they faced in writing, clarifying the

importance of writing differently from the way you speak. Craig explained the challenges that he has faced as a writer after high school:

I guess I feel like my Lumbee comes out in my writing. I guess I noticed it about in my senior year of high school. I don't think my writing's that good, but people say that it's ok. I did good in high school English and writin', but up here, I just tried to get by with a "C". I mean, I put effort into it, but I just couldn't get nothin' higher than a "C" on any of my papers. I think a lot of it was because the way I wrote my grammar on it, cause everything else seemed pretty good. Like, I know my ideas were good, but it was the other stuff.

Three students commented on the helpfulness of technology to assist them in "taking the Lumbee out of their writing." Adam explains his challenges as a writer.

A lot of times, we'll say stuff like, "I'm got to go," or "I be's doing this and stuff," and it's not proper English, but we'll know exactly what it means and stuff. Even to this day when I write papers, I know it's not what's properly spoken, but that's the way I would say it. Like when I write for a formal paper, I try not to use so many conjugates and make sure the words is where they're supposed to be. Even if it's like green or red, I know I need to change it cause it's not the way it's supposed to be said. So I know where to take the Lumbee out of it.

Emily, who attended the same predominantly Native American high school as Craig, shared similar concerns about the challenges of writing:

I think it was kinda like I knew I had to change, based on my writing and stuff. I knew it had to get better than in high school. Cause I can write good papers and stuff, but its different up here cause you can't write the way you talk. You know, and going by teachers' guidelines saying, "Ok don't use these words like this." And stuff like that. I even notice like when I'm taking notes, I try to write better.

Jacob, who attended a high school outside of Jackson County, provided the most detailed account of how his writing skills have impacted him academically.

I think that the thing I've had the hardest time with is writing. I remember at the School of Science and Math, I had one teacher who tried to work with me cause she said I wrote how I talked. I have definitely felt frustrated about the challenges of writing. Cause, I think English is

interesting, and I like readin' like stuff by Shakesphere and stuff like that, but when it comes to writing papers about it, that just scares me off from taking classes like that. Cause I just don't wanna deal with it cause it's like 10 times harder for me to write a good paper than anybody else. That's what's really hard, so I just stick to science classes and classes that you don't really have to communicate that way. I don't know, I guess in one way, you could consider it unfair or like I'm being treated unjustly, but then everybody has their weaknesses too. So, I just try to look at it like that. Everybody's not good at everything, so that's how I look at it. Since middle school, I've been hearin', "You got great ideas, but the way you write 'em is just not up to par." It's ridiculous. And I remember readin' a few southern authors, and they intentionally put slang in there, and I would be thinkin', "Why do they get to put it in there and I can't?" In my science classes I am more confident.

Not only do Jacob's comments imply feelings of frustration about having denied himself access to literature courses, but he also seems to have accepted this as a "weakness."

Many students commented on how they resisted contributing to class discussions and participating orally in class except when required. Angela explained that she has progressed to a level of comfort about speaking in class.

I felt that I had to be more eloquent the way I spoke about the subject, that way everyone would more—or understand me better, about what I was saying. So especially when I got to my sophomore and junior years, I tried to watch what I said in class. Freshman year, I didn't know how to approach it. Cause I was like, "Okay, this is somethin' I need to say, but if I say it in this way, I don't know if they're gonna get it." So, um, freshman year I didn't really talk that much.

Even though Jordan is comfortable with her academic strengths, she has contemplated taking a public speaking class in the Department of Communications in response to her feelings about speaking the dialect.

Public speaking, like having to do stuff in front of class, that's always something I really don't like doing. But I haven't had to do it too much. And I thought about taking a public skills class here in the communications department. But I was like, "No, I can't do it, so I'm not even going to try to take the class." I don't really think it's been a problem as far as my academics, cause writing papers and stuff you can go back. You read it and you know it doesn't sound right if you're writing it the wrong way.

Other students, like Emily, admitted that they are more inclined to participate in class if there are other Native students in the class.

If I have some other Natives in the classroom, I'm more likely to speak up. Because, I guess I'm not the only one in the class. So usually if there's a lot of us, we'll all talk. But if I'm just by myself, I try not to. But I do it sometimes. Bigger classes, no, I don't usually talk out. But smaller classes, I will.

Also challenged by speaking out in public, Brian describes his early experiences at SCNC, feeling poorly about his language, and connecting back to his race.

I think we had like open speech, I mean like a speech thing, we had to do a presentation. Like my first presentation in college or whatever, and like, people were saying they couldn't understand me. "Can you repeat that? I didn't understand what you said." Or whatever. And I would say it again. And they're like, "I still didn't get you." Or whatever. So I was finally like, you know, I talk differently or something. I mean it makes you feel bad, because then you feel like you can't adequately communicate with people. But then in a sense, you kind of realize that that's who you are. Because when you go home, like, that's how everyone speaks. It's our means of communication.

Jordan explains her use of the dialect leaves her hesitant to speak with academic officials.

I have to think about it . . . I think it's one reason when I have to go speak with advisors or having to speak with professors, it's not that I'm afraid to talk to them but a lot of times it's—if I can—unless I have to, I try not to really go talk to them. Because I know I can't really be myself when I go in there, because I talk a certain way. Or else, even though we know it's our dialect, people associate that with being uneducated because you say this one way or say that. So I have to talk slower and say things the right way and still sometimes it'll slip out.

Summary

The data in this sections support that speaking the Lumbee Dialect impacts the academic achievement of Lumbee students in different ways. For some students, the impact is more clearly defined by challenges in writing or public speaking. Their recognition that speaking the dialect is a part of being Lumbee, and their deliberate struggle to "take the

Lumbee out of their writing” to be more standard makes a point about the relevance of cultural/linguistic diversity as a consideration in national Standard English debates. The consequences of using the dialect play out in more subtle ways for other students, as noted in their feelings of insecurity and their tendency to deny themselves full participation in university opportunities or resources.

Identity Development

For the purpose of this study, identity development is about how participants see themselves within the cultural diversity of their university setting. Clear and consistent in the data is the connection between language and identity. Even though students referred to their language difference in varying terms, such as a *draw*, *slang*, *accent*, or simply *dialect*, many of the students used racially relevant terms to label their speaking. This section addresses data specific to how students identify with and respond to linguistic difference in a predominantly White setting.

Realization of Language Difference

Each participant in this study identifies with being recognized as *different* based on their use of language in the university setting. This is important to the concept of identity development because, as noted in Chapter 2, language is an indicator of identity. Students came to realize that they “talk different” in varying contexts, but each acknowledges that this realization was borne outside of their Native environment of Jackson County.

For most students, they realized they spoke differently when they matriculated to college. For Kelsey, who had limited experiences beyond her home in Jackson County until the weekend when she came to SCNC for orientation, strangers questioned her race and her geographic origins when they heard her speak the Lumbee Dialect:

And people were asking me what I was mixed with and like where was I from? Was I from Texas cause of the way I talk? And I didn't even realize I had an accent till I came up here.

Jacob had a similar experience, but his was prior to college. He shares the social awkwardness that comes with not knowing exactly how to respond.

At home, language wasn't really an issue, but like at summer camps, I remember me and my cousin, we went up to Chapel Hill for a basketball camp and we went up to the mountains for a camp and then we went to Illinois for an archeology camp, and language was an issue cause I got laughed at a bunch of times. Most of the time, I just tried to laugh it off, joking around. I tried not to get mad or anything.

Native Americans from other tribes recognized two students, Amanda and Adam, who are members of a national organization that recognizes and encourages Native American participation in the sciences, for their language difference at a national conference.

It was about in 9th grade when we started going out to different places on school trips. The AISIS conference was out in Arizona and it was full of just Native American students, and so they're from different tribes like Sioux and Navajo, the big tribes out west, and they knew I was Lumbee by the way I talked already. Cause they was from reservations and stuff, and they thought I talked real strange.

Crystal's realization of language difference is an outlier when compared to other participants because classmates in middle school identified her language difference. Even though she is from the same geographic locale as the other participants, her placement in advanced classes as the only Native American in a predominantly White school reflects the social and racial context of the participants' origins.

I was actually in the magnet program I entered in middle school and there was 2 classes, and I was the only Native American student. And I had never been told I was country, until I stood up and started talkin' an they was just amazed at how country I was. And I was like, "These are people from the same area as I live, but I didn't go to elementary school with

them but they were still, I mean, I was like, “I live right down the street from you”, but that’s when it caught my attention that I was different.

In responding to questions about their language, the data support that most students referenced their geographic origins to describe their use of the Lumbee Dialect, rather than their ethnic identity.

Language Labeling

In responding to questions about their language experience, students labeled speech in terms that implied a connection between race and/or class and language. The data support that their tendency to use such terms as “talking White” was unprovoked or unsolicited because the questions posed to participants did not label language in these terms.

Additionally, the context in which students used racial labels is important. Participants acknowledged that, upon matriculation to college, their language began to shift in response to their social setting.

When recognizing her dialect, classmates labeled it for Angela. She shares her experience of *talking country* in class and how she anticipated that others would recognize her language difference and how she connected her language difference to her geographic origins, as opposed to her ethnic identity.

Yeah I pretty much knew people would pick-up on it [dialect]. I did expect it kinda right off the bat, especially when havin’ to do in-class presentations. Or even just, especially in the freshman seminar—the class was small enough, just goin’ around introducing yourself. Umm, tellin’ where you’re from or something like, you know, somethin’ simple in nature. I knew, well I pretty much expected, I could count on somebody sayin’ “You are as country as they get.” I’m like, “That’s just where I’m from.” Which happens to be in the country, but they’re like, “No, I thought—I had people like from Georgia saying—I thought I was bad—you’re worse!” I’m like, “Well, I’m from the most southern county in the state, I cannot help it.” You know, it’s like I went to school, when I

graduated high school, like 5 minutes from the border. What do ya expect?

Kelsey laughed as she shared the pressure that she received from her peers in Jackson County, and in her comments, the connection between *talking White* and *being White* surfaces, a concept that will be discussed in Chapter 5 of the dissertation.

I haven't really noticed anything different in my talkin' but like, my momma and them can. Like I'll come home, and they'll be like, "You're talkin' all White now." And I'm like, "No, I'm not." But they say I do. And I'll go home on the weekends and all my cousins are like, "You talk so White now." And I'm like, "No I don't."

For Crystal, *talking White* was not only about proper pronunciation and grammar, but it was also used to critique or criticize the vocabulary she used in her home environment.

And when I do stuff for friends who are, say from high school or whatever, and they are like, "What are you talkin' about?" And they're like, "Crystal, shut up." Because comin' up here and learning stuff, you apply everything. And I try to apply the knowledge and vocabulary to my life. And most people's like, "You're just showin' off." And I don't know if it's necessarily talkin' White, but it's definitely vocabulary. But I guess that's probably what they're thinkin', that I'm talkin' White.

Data from Craig's interview make a similar connection between language and race:

I noticed that I talked White while I was here. I think it's like they talk arrogant, like it has an arrogant talk to it. And when I noticed that I had talked like that, or said some things like that, I felt like I was turning White or somethin', like I was startin' to lose the way I normally talk. [Agrees to feeling guilty about changing talk from Lumbee dialect to talkin' White]. But I hadn't really had to ever worry about going home and talkin' White. Cause when I go home, I just talk my normal way.

The reoccurring theme of "talking White" and "talking country" is a very essential element. The terms used by participants to label their speech reflect their attitudes about linguistic standards. Even though Chapter 5 will explore the theoretical implications of such attitudes, it is necessary to illuminate the comments of one student, Adam, who questions the labels used to identify language use and connection between language and race and class.

And it's bad because if a person from back home do go off [for schooling] and stay there, they may come back and they may different. They're accused of talkin' White if they're talking proper. But if talking proper is talking White, what is talking Native American or talkin' Lumbee? Do they think we're stupid or something? And I guess the main thing is that when people look at society today, most of the people who are well off are White and they talk White. A lot of times, they don't realize a lot of people who's in the same boat as minorities are White too, cause you have people who are accused of being rednecks for the way they talk. And they certainly don't talk proper English. Or people from the Deep South talkin' southern or country.

What is especially unique in Adam's comments when compared to those of other participants is his ability to recognize and question the implication that *language difference* often plays out as *language deficient*.

Dialect Shift and Dialect Masking

Not only is language labeling important to this analysis of the data, but it is also important to investigate students' responses to their linguistically, and ethnically, diverse environment. All students identified with being questioned about their dialect with questions like, "Where are you from?" or "Why do you talk like that?" or even comments like, "Your accent is so cute," or "You're so country." None of the students really expressed anger or resentment about being questioned, but all admit varying levels of response to this identifier. Some students shared that they or someone else noticed some degree of language shifting, moving back and forth between pronunciation, grammar structure, and vocabulary usage. Almost all students admit that they had learned to mask their dialect, but the data show some variance when analyzing their motivation to do so.

Jacob discusses how his home and his academic setting influence his use of the dialect. In his comments, he discusses language shift and language masking. He also shares that he attempts to pre-correct his spoken word to assure that he will be understood.

You can't help but pick-up, maybe in a science class or an English class, you learn big terms or complicated terms, and you go back home and that's such and such, and everybody just looks at you funny, like, "What's that mean?" Cause they never heard something like that before. And when I come back up here after being home for a while, I've noticed like my roommate will pick up on different terms. He can definitely tell when I've been home.

I guess, growin' up, you don't really think about the way you speak. It's more like flowin'. But up here, you have to think about it cause you have to communicate with people, and you want 'em to understand what your sayin', what you mean. You kinda think twice about what you're gonna say and how you're gonna say it, make sure they understand. Cause back home, you can speak rapidly, but up here, you gotta be careful to make sure people understand you.

Similarly, Amanda also is a proactive speaker, explaining that she mentally reviews her comments prior to verbalizing them in a class setting. But unlike Jacob, her nervousness seems to be less about her classmates understanding her and more about them judging her.

Well, whenever I'm in my classes, I talk to the people beside me and they always ask where I'm from and say I have a real country accent. They always think it's cute, or whatever. It's not really negative. And like, if I'm going to say something out loud in class, I think about how it's gonna sound. Like in my anthropology class, we had to break up in groups and each group member had to answer a question. And so, it was my turn to answer my question and I read my response on the paper before I answered it to make sure I was going to say everything right and wasn't gonna use any wrong grammar. I tried to change the way I was gonna say it, so.

Amanda also deliberately masks the dialect in an effort to avoid sounding different from the dominant language speakers.

Just only after bein' up here for a few months, even my parents already recognize it [my spoken language has changed]. And my brother was pickin' on me. He was like, "Oh, so now you're in college, you're gonna come home and start talking proper and stuff." And I just laugh it off. I do think that when I'm up here, I do try to change how I talk cause I don't want to sound different. Like when I'm talkin' to other people. But when I go back home, I think I just talk the way I always talked.

Brian considers masking the dialect a requirement for academic attainment, but switches when returning back to his Native environment to avoid being accused of “acting White.”

Oh yeah, I mean, when I’m here, I don’t speak properly, but I try to make myself, not necessarily seem smarter, but seem like everybody else. Try to blend in. And then when it’s back home, I try to tone it down, and you know, say “cuz” or you know talk country, better yet. To avoid the stigma of them saying, you know, “you’re acting White.” . . . Cause, I mean, you gotta blend in. I mean, you can’t—I mean, yeah, you can be the sore thumb, you know, on campus. And it’s just like that. I mean if you want to be taken seriously, you have to kinda change. Like I couldn’t see myself going to a graduate program or a doctorate program and expecting to achieve anything speaking the way I do, or speaking very, very Lumbee . . . They’ll judge you by the way you talk. Or they’ll say, “that guy, he’s gotta be stupid, he’s gotta be stupid, he’s gotta be an idiot.” Just by the way you talk. Because you know, you don’t say things properly. Or whatever. And you know, a lot of people will hang out with you, just because of that. And you can kinda tell.

Emily also recognizes the importance of being understood and the awkwardness that comes with being misunderstood. Even though she admits that she never really wanted her accent to change, she eventually realized the value of shifting her language to a more standard style. Her comments also imply the relief of not having to “worry” about shifting her language.

Part of relaxing is being linguistically indifferent.

I think I kinda do it [mask the dialect]—especially at work. Cause like I work in the manuscripts department, so it’s like, people from all over the world would come there. And I guess I didn’t take it as seriously when I first started, until I started seeing like famous—not really famous people, but, I guess like, experts in an era of history or researchers. and I was like, “ok, these are like, you know, important people.” I started changin’ the way I would talk like when I was talkin’ to ‘em about stuff and explainin’ stuff. And I knew that for them it was easier to understand me if I kinda tweaked it [dialect] a little bit. And I just talked different for them. But then like I can tell when I’m back around everybody else [Lumbee], I’m like “OK, I can let down the language and just relax.” I don’t have to worry about havin’ to talk a certain way.

Craig also admits deliberately trying to shift his dialect, or even avoiding conversation with non-Lumbee college students.

I don't really talk my regular way unless I am mostly around people from back home. Like friends from back home, or some friends that I meet up here, real good friends, I get to where I'm comfortable enough, I just talk however I want to, like my normal talk. But with people I don't know, or who I'm not comfortable with, I don't talk, or if they ask me somethin', I talk to 'em. I try to talk proper, like they do.

Like all participants in this study, Adam values his Lumbee identity, but unlike other students in this study, he recognizes the challenges of retaining a sense of Native identity. His comments reflect his frustration with how language influences identity, a concept that will be explored in more depth in Chapter 5.

I guess I had that perspective about talking White when I came here because I pretty much try to be laid back and talk like I normally do. I don't really try and make any changes. I guess too, it's kinda like as far as that, a lot of people back home, they don't talk that way.

I think that if I came up here and I went back home talkin' proper or talkin' White, I'd be kinda not ridiculed, but maybe looked down on cause I guess people feel like when you've gone off and even if you are a little bit or somewhat successful, you come back talkin' different or actin' different, you've changed. You've lost your identity and you're no longer the person they knew. I was talkin' to my sister [a freshman at SCNC] about this because I've noticed it with her sometimes she's goes off and she talks a little different sometimes but she's like, "If I do change [the way I talk], what does that really change?" And I guess being at school, you are supposed to change somewhat. But my cousin, he goes off to school too and I've noticed it in him. But I don't say nothin' to him about it because I know he's still the same cousin I know even if he says his words different. But to me, if somebody comes back home and they've changed the way they talk, it's like they are different, even if they are the same person. But I know it's hard not to change too. It's just hard.

Craig's comments reflect a sense of pride in his Native identity and the value he places on retaining the dialect, but they also support the resulting conflict of assimilating to a more standard speech to avoid being judged by his peers.

I think that when I'm around people I'm not used to, I catch myself talkin' like 'em sometimes too. Actually, I'm kinda scared . . . cause I don't want to lose how I talk. I don't want to end up talkin' like that all the time. And I'm tryin' to keep from lettin' it happen. And it feels like I'm

expected to talk a certain way. Another thing is, I don't wanna talk like I do from back home cause I feel like people think I'm stupid or somethin' like that or ignorant and I'm really not. And I don't really know where it comes from.

Laci also seems to have the strongest sense of comfort about the dialect. She seems to understand that her use of it is a part of who she is, and that language difference is impacted by geography—people and place. But she also shares that there is an unintentional shift in her language, detected by her family at home.

Well, I don't really hold back in class, because I know I have a different dialect but I don't notice. Like it's not in the back of my mind all the time, so I don't say to myself, you don't need to speak up in class cause of how you talk. It never comes out or I don't ever think about it until someone says, "Where you from?" and like, coming from back home where I grew up in Clarkton, nobody was like, "You talk funny," like they do here. But if you have a White, proper accent in Clarkton, then people are like, "You're from somewhere else."

But the biggest thing about going back home is like my mom and my grandma are saying, "Your voice is already startin' to change. You're losin' your accent." And I can't tell. And everyone everyday's like, "Where'd you get that accent?" So I guess that going away, you try to proper it up a little, but it still comes out. But if you spend a few hours around your family, you're back to your old [Lumbee] ways of talking.

Crystal's experienced the language-identity connection earlier than most of the other students because of her high school setting.

I guess I went through the stage like everybody about that age tryin' to change it [dialect]. Even like changin', like dress different, do my hair different, just try to change my looks tryin' to cover it up. But I finally accepted it's not gonna go anywhere cause as soon as I went home it was right back again. I'm surrounded by it and that's my comfortable state. After about 6th or 7th grade, I just accepted it. I was frustrated, especially in 6th grade, just struggling, tryin' to fit in and not be so different. I just couldn't understand, "Like why do we say it like *this*, but we write it like *that*, or I do anyway." And everybody around me from home says it like *this*, and I'd call things certain things like food, and nobody'd understand me.

Summary

It is evident from the data in this section that students recognize speaking the Lumbee Dialect makes them *different*, but how they respond to being *different* varies. For almost all students in this study, the realization that they speak differently was borne out of their experiences outside of their Native community. Consistently, students recognized the value of masking their dialect and speaking in more a *standard* linguistic code, a behavior they labeled as *talking White*, as opposed to *talking country*. The labels students assigned to masking the Lumbee Dialect have implications for their identity development because some students assimilate *talking White* with *being White*.

Summary

This data specific to this section, *Language Rules*, are about how students in this study respond academically and socially to the messages they receive regarding their use of the Lumbee Dialect. Students identify with academic challenges in writing and public speaking, and have altered their course selection as a result. Students have also responded by altering their spoken language. For many students in this study, they have labeled and modified their spoken language. Many admit masking the dialect and attempting to speak a more standard, conventional form of English to blend into the linguistic majority in the university scene. Further analysis in CHAPTER 5 will explore the theoretical implications of both the messages students have received, the labels they use to describe language use, and their decision to mask their dialect.

The Educated Lumbee: Overcoming the Odds

Students frequently commented about their decision to apply to MASU or SCNC, the challenges they faced adjusting to academic and social life in a non-Native environment, and what factors yielded success in overcoming those challenges. Consistent in the data are both the values students place on education and the attitudes about how schooling distinguishes them from their Native peers and family members in Jackson County. This section of CHAPTER 4 is an analysis of students' perspectives on what led them to a predominantly White, Research Intensive institution, what keeps them there, and the how being schooled in a non-Native environment impacts their sense of Lumbee ways of knowing and being. This is an important consideration for this study because, as referenced in CHAPTER 2, members of the Lumbee Tribe have been historically marginalized in American education, impacting the degree to which they trust education as an avenue of attainment.

Academic Achievement

Making It

The data analysis for this section is about what academic achievement means for the participants in this study. Many reference their academic success as “making it” and they comment on the pressure they feel to overcome the academic challenges they encounter at Research Intensive institutions. The participants in this study recognize that a number of factors are responsible for their academic success, the most consistent being the meaningful presence of family. Some students referenced resiliency-building factors, such as family rituals and church. Over half of the participants in this study identify with being a first-generation college student, and all of the students except Jacob identify with Jackson County

or Lumbees there in a manner that signals their awareness that they have overcome obstacles or challenges.

Even more consistent in the data is the unsolicited tendency for participants to compare their respective university with The University of North Carolina at Clarkton (CSU), a four-year university centrally located in Jackson County, the home county of the participants in this study. Formerly called Croatan Normal School, CSU was appropriated in 1887 as a normal school for training Indian teachers. Becoming part of the North Carolina University system in 1972 did not change the school's historical identity as a school for the Indians of Jackson County. For the Natives of Jackson and surrounding counties, the path to deciding on a four-year college diverges as either CSU or anywhere else. Not choosing CSU puts an additional pressure on students to "make it," because, as implied in the data, there is a certain status associated with graduating from a non-CSU university. Additionally, in a community who puts so much ethnic pride into its local university, the decision to attend another university sends a message to the community you leave behind.

Laci shares her father's directive to not attend CSU. His insistence for her to leave Jackson County reflects his attitudes about the social conditions and available opportunities for Lumbee students.

I never considered going to Clarkton [CSU] cause my daddy just did not ever want me to go to Clarkton. He was so firm about that. He was just like, "If you go to Clarkton, I'm not payin' for you to go to college. You're goin' away. You're not stayin' around here. There's just trouble around here. There's nothin' for you around here." So I never really considered it.

Brian credits his mother for her insistence that he leave Jackson County, but he also recalls messages from his environment that challenged him to succeed.

I think my thing was, first off, it was my mom. I mean she was a crazy lady. She said things like, “you’re going to college if I have to make you go to college.” And she’s like, “you’re not going to Clarkton, you’re not going anywhere around here.” She says, “You’re going away to college, cuz like you need to get a good education.” And then my other thing was, the main thing, like my mom she didn’t—her wanting me to go to college, it affected me a lot, but I didn’t do anything for her. I kind of, I did a lot what I did out of spite, cause I always had people telling me, “you’re not going to do anything with your life, you’re not going to make anything of yourself, you’re not going to be...”

Also a first-generation college student, Jordan credits her mom for her achievement, and in her comments about parental involvement within the Lumbee community, she seems to imply that Lumbee students are part of a cycle that she happened to break by achieving.

I know with me, ever since I can remember—I can remember being in preschool, and that was a long time ago, I must have a good memory! Every day I come home, my mom, I guess since she didn’t really do what she wanted to do with the school. She was always like “it’s time to do your homework.” She would help me read, she would just do all kinds of things. So I just always remember her “did you get your homework done? You’re not going anywhere ‘til you get your homework done. Let me check over it. Let’s read through this, make sure you did it right.” Always went to PTA meetings. Always went and talked to my teachers. Knowing my teachers were like “well Jordan’s the top of my class. She’s a good girl, I don’t have any problems.” She was like overly involved in trying to get me into school and stuff. So even without her pushing, I think I still would have been interested in school, because I’ve always loved school. But I think a lot of people don’t have the drive, because the parents—most people’s parents didn’t go to college. So how can they expect them to want to go somewhere and they can tell them how great it is when they didn’t go themselves.

Sometimes that’s a good thing. But sometimes that’s, I mean, I’m the first one. There’s a lot of pressure. They don’t understand because they didn’t go to college. And they don’t understand if you’re not doing good in a class, you know—chemistry class they don’t understand that, “why are you not making A’s?” I was like, “Mom, you don’t understand, you didn’t go through this, you don’t have to deal with this. It’s so much harder than you can imagine.”

The data also reflect that participants were concerned about how their Native peers viewed their decision to attend a predominantly White university. Even though most

students indicated that other Lumbee students could have attended SCNC or MASU, they opted not to come for various reasons. Brian indicated that perhaps they did not come because they knew how difficult the challenge would be for them, so instead of pursuing a college degree, they took an easier path.

And they just want to take the easy way out. It's like, "aww man, I can make \$3000 a week selling this." Dealing stuff and selling it. Or you know, "I can -- I don't mind getting up in the morning and going and slaving in the hot sun all day, and freezing in the morning." You know, stuff like that.

Amanda, in crediting her family for her decision to leave Jackson County, stated that her classmate's dependence on proximity to family guided their decision to attend CSU.

My grandma did not want me to go away. Most of my family was like, "Why don't you just go to Clarkton?" But my immediate family, like my momma and daddy, they wanted me to go somewhere different. And my friends from back home, they teased me about comin' up here. They said, "You just don't wanna be with us no more." And I think that I went to high school with people who could have come up here to school or gone off to school, and they didn't want to cause they wanted to stay close to home. Or their parents didn't want 'em to leave. Or they just didn't think that they could do it. But you know they could.

Adam discusses his decision to attend MASU and references his peers from Jackson County who decided not to leave home. He also explains that he feels that his community respects his decision to leave home.

I don't think that comin' up here for school makes other Lumbees see me as less of a Lumbee. I know that other African Americans in my class, they talked about going to historically black colleges, and people think less of them for going to a predominantly White school. And back home, I guess a lot of people do go to CSU. But back home, State and SCNC, them's like the big name schools and even with sports and stuff at home, they see you going off and they say, "He's doing good. He's going off to make something of himself." I don't see it where they're like dislikin' people or givin' them a hard time for going off to school. And I've known people to go to CSU and then try to transfer. And I guess with a lot of people back home, when I was in high school a lot of people said, they're

gonna leave Jackson County. They're gonna get out. But they're still there. And a lot of them talk about transferring from CSU, but they don't.

Even though Laci sometimes faces criticism from some family members, she is motivated by praise she receives for having overcome the odds in Jackson County and choosing to "go off" for school.

Then sometimes when I go home, I get it from my cousins. They're like, "You gone up there and now you think you better than every body else." But then, like my uncles on my daddy's side, they say, "We're so proud of you; we're so happy you're doing something with yourself." Especially because a lot of my cousins who are girls ended up getting pregnant out of high school and stayin' at home and not do'n anything. And so I really get praised for goin' off to school. And I think that's part of my motivation cause I don't wanna let them down.

She further explains her college decision by explaining that, even though she may return to Jackson County against her father's wishes, she defines leaving Jackson County for an education as "bettering herself."

I know other people back home probably would think that I think I'm better than them, but I didn't do it [go away] because of that. I just did it because I could better myself. And I'm like this: "As long as you're goin' to college and just goin' somewhere, that's all that really matters." But I just didn't wanna live in Jackson County all my life. I plan on probably going back one day and workin', cause I wanna do something in the medical field. And I think I wanna go be a PA. So I'd like to work in the children's clinic back there one day. But I just didn't wanna be there all my life. And I know that'll probably always be my home, cause my people's there. But I probably will, more than likely, end up moving back there after college. I guess it just depends on around that time. I say that now, but I'm always changin' my mind. But my daddy, he don't want me to ever live back home. He's like, "I want you to stay in Raleigh. You don't need to move back here." And I like livin' here, but it's different. Like, I'll be ready to go home when it's time to go home. But I like livin' here too.

Craig was the only participant who stated that his career choice defined his decision not to attend CSU. But in his explanation lies strong opinions about the necessity of "getting out" of Jackson County.

I didn't ever think about going to Clarkton cause I knew I was goin' into engineerin' and they didn't have nothin' out there for engineerin'. Plus, I just wanted to get away from home myself cause you know how it is. Everybody's always killin', stealin', sellin' drugs; I just wanted to get away from that. If I went back to Clarkton, I wouldn't get nothin' done. It'd be tough, so I stay away from that. Even if I wasn't in engineerin' and could go to Clarkton, I wouldn't. I don't see anythin' there for my future, except comin' back to visit friends and family a few times a year. But, being in Jackson County and never leavin' feels like you're blind. You never get to see all these things that are out here. I coundn't ever really have imagined how it would be . . . it's an experience.

Angela also expresses self-pride not only in receiving an academic scholarship, but also because she “got out” of Jackson County.

Uh... (sigh) well, I'm a Gates Scholar as well and, you know, my parents don't really have to pay—well, they don't have to pay anything at all for my education. I might can look for a few hundred here and there when I'm hittin' low. End of semester, I'm like just waitin' on my scholarship check, just waitin on my check! But yeah, I am very proud of myself for bein able to get out—which State was the only school I applied for. So I pretty much—everybody's like, “well what if you don't get in?” I was like, “I'm not thinkin' like dat. I'm gonna get in! I'm gonna be positive, I'm gettin' in.” They're just like, “well what'll you do if you don't?” I's like “I can do a quick admission to Clarkton.” I was like, they got to that point, if they will admit you on the same day. I'm like, c'mon, it's like dat would be no problem. *IF* that arises. But I'm not lookin' like dat. It's like I'm goin' to State. I am going to State! I didn't know how I was gonna pay for it, but I was gonna go. But yeah, I am very proud of myself for being able to get out and see different pathways. If I wanted to get out, if I was serious about leavin' for good this time, you know.

Crystal admits that her schooling prior to college prepared her for the social and academic challenges that her Native peers face. Having attended high school in a predominantly White academic setting, she knows the blurred line between feeling different and feeling deficient.

I find myself stressin' but I never had to worry about grades, worry about studyin'. It always came naturally to me. I feel like I was more prepared than a lot of the surrounding counties because of the classes I took and because I was in more of a competitive situation. I didn't excel because I was Native American in high school. I excelled because I had to work.

But I didn't ever have to work to the point that I have had to work here, as far as stayin' up all night and stuff; academics just always came naturally. And then, I just feel like not many high schools prepare anybody for college and how to study. But as far as, you know, being a leader, sociable, I feel like high school has prepared me a lot more than a lot of my peers and friends, because I had to go through things that they're just now going through. Like my roommate, she's Native American from a different HS and she has a worse dialect than I do and she's going through a lot. She gets offended by it [people recognizing the accent] and I'm like, "Emily!" But I understand where she's comin' from. But she's like, "There starin' at me." But we're all smart in different ways, but I feel like I excel at a lot of things better than they [Lumbee peers] do.

Additionally, her comments suggest that she has witnessed her Native peers struggle academically and socially, and admits that she can relate because she has found herself buying into the idea that she is racially and intellectually inferior.

And I don't give up, because I'm used to having to compete with all these smart, White people. I mean, when you're sittin' in a science class at SCNC, you're sittin' in a micro class, and my micro class is majority White, and a majority of 'em can go in there, not even study the night before for a test and pull a 70, and I'm up all night the night before and I pull a 70, you know. But I don't let that beat my confidence, where as, I feel a lot of people [Lumbees] here just give up. A lot of them, like my neighbor, just give up and change their major, but I'm used to the competitiveness, coming from my high school. And I do think that among Natives, they assume that the Whites are smarter. Sometimes I find myself thinkin' that. I'll be like, oh God, this stuff's so hard and I walk in there and I see my competition. Cause you're in class with these same people who are gonna be competing with you to get into nursing school and you just get overwhelmed. You're like, "This person's makin' a 90 on this test and I'm strugglin' to pull this 70, you know. I'm strugglin' to get a C- and they're getting an A. I find myself doubting, but then I just say, "If you stick your mind to it, you can do it." You might not get in the first time, but you try again and you get in later. Or you can just keep going and get your PhD. But I feel like I can say that because I've seen the competitiveness. I've dealt with it and I've got past it.

Angela, who attended the Science/Math Academy, shares a similar viewpoint about her preparation for the academic rigor and diversity of a predominantly White university.

Summary

The data in this section about academic achievement reveal that Lumbee students at predominantly White, Research Intensive institutions are very proud of their academic accomplishments. In discussing enrollment in and success at SCNC or MASU, students used terms such as “making it” or state that they “got out” of their Native communities, suggesting their sense that they *escaped* and their intent to *survive*. This is important because in the data, most students expressed strong opinions about education, and life in general, in Jackson County. One student directly identified that she benefited from being educated in a predominantly White setting prior to college, and three other students implied it in comparing their high school experience with the predominantly Native American high school. Considering that there is very little variance in their decision not to consider CSU, it seems that becoming an *educated Lumbee* is about the opportunity or the privilege to leave Jackson County. This same theme spills into the next section, identity development, and the theoretical implications of this data that will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

Identity Development

The Typical Lumbee

Participants in this study were asked to reflect upon how they see themselves within tribal culture in university and home settings. This section of the chapter aims to summarize the data specific to participants’ attitudes towards members of the tribe in Jackson County. In identifying what distinguishes them from the *typical Lumbee*, students paint a picture of Jackson County that more clearly defines the meaning of becoming an *educated Lumbee*.

For most of the students in this study, whether they identified themselves as the *typical Lumbee* or not, consistent in the data is their sense that their academic achievement outside of Jackson County separates them from the Natives who remain in Jackson County.

Many students characterize the *typical Lumbee* in apathetic terms, and some express critical opinions about Lumbees' lifestyle and choices. Even though some students stated that they did not want to criticize or comment in a manner that left a negative impression on members of the Lumbee Tribe, most students showed little hesitation in their responsiveness to this line of questioning in the interview.

Adam's comments capture most students' attitude about the Lumbee, particularly in regards to their goals and aspirations.

One of my high school teachers, he once said, "The Lumbee Dream is live in a trailer with a mustang outside and a satellite dish."

Other students agreed and shared similar responses to point out the degree to which Lumbee culture has become seduced by material acquisition.

Well. Typical to me, you know, I mean it's just a stereotype. And it's cuz it's something we joke about, you know, up here and back at home within my own family. Um, the typical Lumbee that we see, um, 'er sheet rock hangers, most of 'em; most of 'em are uneducated. Or they go to RCC [Jackson Community College]—they *might* finish at RCC, you know, or um, if they do go to RCC it's for vocational jobs. It's nothing to help 'em out to become more professional, you know, later on in their careers. Um, most of what I can see—the thing that we joke on is—yeah, I wanna be the typical Lumbee with tha single-wide trailer, the Mustang and the Harley in the front yard. So, um, I mean, to me that's, when I think of a typical Lumbee, you know, that's stayin' at home, that's the image that pops in my head. He has the single-wide trailer, the Mustang—everybody has a doggone Mustang—and I just don't know how they're payin' for it. And then you know, you got to have da Harley. (laugh) Yeah, or at least the Harley clothes—which I can't knock on that myself, even though Harley Davidson was a White man. So, I mean, it's just so funny, cuz I mean that's what typical comes out (Angela).

No, [laughs] I don't consider myself to be the typical Lumbee. Maybe that's just because of the stereotype. I was always accused of not being real. I've always been told I wasn't, so I've dealt with it. But I don't think that many of us who are here at SCNC are the typical Lumbees. Cause, I mean, it's a bad thing to say but when you look at statistics, you see that you're not a typical Lumbee (Crystal).

No. A lot of my friends back home, they kind of call me stuck up now. We're still friends but they joke and say "oh Jordan's stuck up now, she's not like us. She thinks she's better than everybody else because she went to SCNC now. And she talks different when she comes home. And she just don't act the same, don't go out with us." And stuff like that. But I hate to say that. But when I think of a typical Lumbee I think of some one who's just standing around at home, not really doing anything with their lives. Not going to college. Just working a minimum wage job, just trying to get through. And I think that anyone that goes off to college, first of all, that's Lumbee—they're atypical. They're nothing like people from back home. Because a lot of people don't have the desire to go off and move away from home. So that's the first thing. And then to go to college makes me different from the typical Lumbee (Jordan).

By no means [am I the typical Lumbee]. I mean, just because I sit and watched people in high school, and you know, I mean, I'm not going to say we made bets, but we made bets on who was going to go to college and who wasn't. Just because, I mean, people—they were smart people. They were by no means dumb. And you know, they just sit there and they just let themselves go to waste. Either start selling drugs or you know—that's, I consider the typical Lumbee guy to be a construction worker, drug dealer, or a bum. Because that's all I ever see. There's more majority of our people doing nothing with their lives, pretty much essentially. I might not be the brightest in the world, but I feel like I'm doing something with my life. I don't feel like I'm better than them, I feel like I overcame a lot more than they have . . . I mean, I recognize myself as being Lumbee, but I can't recognize myself as living in Jackson County. Because I know there's essentially nothing there. In my opinion, I don't think there's anything there...but especially not if you want to better yourself. I mean, it's a shame to have to leave your family, but there's nothing, there's no jobs. There's no job security. Unless you're doing teaching. And they don't pay good. (Brian).

Jacob's comments on this topic reflect that he recognizes his privilege of having been educated in a private school and having attended the Science and Math Academy.

I'm just gonna say, "no". Just cause of the way I've been livin'. Since my dad's a doctor, we had to move to the big city in Jackson County. And I didn't go to public school; I had to go to private school. I went to Southeastern Academy. And then after that, I went to public school one year, and then went to S&M and then here. And I'm real close to my cousin, and he went to public school his whole career, and since my grandfather and grandmother were a teacher and a principal, I used to go with my cousin to school a few days a year. So all his friends are kinda my friends and stuff. But typically, I don't consider myself the typical Lumbee, I guess.

In Laci's perspective on being a typical Lumbee, she recognizes the behavior patterns of her people, but she also identifies that her dialect does reflect the typical Lumbee.

I don't want to be all stereotypical, cause I don't wanna talk about my own people. But to be honest, there's like different types of Lumbees, to be honest. Cause there just ain't one typical Lumbee cause you got some that really, really wanna do somethin' with themselves and then you got some that don't. And I feel like that's in all races. I guess it just depends on the person cause we're all individuals. I reflect Lumbee heritage and Lumbee culture by my dialect, where I come from, the way I look. I don't really know what makes me different from typical Lumbees. I guess you could say that me going off to college makes me different. Cause most of our people [who go to college] end up going just to Clarkton and stuff but yeah, goin' off to college I guess, distinguishes you from other Lumbees. And I guess that everybody just goes to Clarkton because it's right there where everybody's from and it's like they're gonna be with the same people and goin' away is just such a different environment. And people don't like change. And that's the thing about people back home; they don't like to change stuff up. And they don't like to experience new stuff but I guess it's just that comfort zone.

Craig also identifies that his speech and behaviors characterize him as the typical Lumbee, but identifies that his aspirations and achievement are not typical of Lumbees.

I wouldn't describe myself as the typical Lumbee. Well I would as far as speakin' and stuff, but not academically. Cause most Lumbees don't go to college. They just graduate HS and work. And if they go to college, it's always SCNC-P. Yeah, in a sense I see myself as a typical Lumbee, like the way I act, things I do, and the way I talk. But as far as like lookin' ahead in life, towards the future, more important things like that, I know that there's probably a lot of normal Lumbees that don't do that. I mean, that's the way I see myself as being different. And I don't think that havin' goals is typical of our people. I think a lot of it's got to do with drugs, mainly marijuana, pretty much that.

Laci's comments are the most inconsistent in comparison with the other participants. She identifies herself as the *typical Lumbee* and does not reference her goals or her education to support her claim. Instead, she praises the behaviors, traditions, and values of the tribe, and separates her appreciation for her people's culture from its poverty and class issues.

Yeah, I consider myself the typical Lumbee cause I eat chicken and paster (pastry) and I go to pow-wows. I've never denied my race or anything. I

wear the Homecoming T-shirts. I think that basically I am. I don't think that I'm gonna live in Jackson County when I graduate. My momma is not happy about that. Economically, there's no way I could live there. And with my major, unless I'm a professor at CSU, there's really no way I could live there. I think that when I was in HS, I was like, "I don't think I wanna live in Clarkton when I grow up." But if I had kids, I'd want them to grow up in Clarkton cause it's country, and I love livin' there. I ran barefoot, climbed trees, typical Lumbee. So I think that it's a great place to grow up, no matter what anybody says about living there. I think when I'm older an I want to retire, I'll definitely live there for the rest of my life. I just think that everything you learn there is just so deep-rooted. Morally, I'm a strong person and nobody was like you have soccer practice, and study for two hours, and all that stuff. You were just free to be a kid. And you couldn't go inside grandmas on Sunday when the adults were talkin', you gotta drink from the spicket. It all made for a strong sense of belonging to this group. Family didn't just mean your mamma and daddy. It meant your cousins, your uncles, your aunts, everyone. I wish every kid could see that and could grow up [that way]. It just seems so natural.

Summary

The data in the section support the strong correlation between educational attainment and identity for Lumbee participants in this study. For most of the students, whether they consider themselves the *typical Lumbee* or not, they recognize that the value they place on education is different from that of typical Lumbees. Only two students categorized themselves in this manner, even though two others wavered in their response, and there does not appear to be any correlation among these students.

Summary

This section of the data analysis deals with the value students place on education. Most participants recognize that having *made it* to a predominantly White, Research Intensive university reflects that they have overcome challenges in their Native environments. Some also acknowledge that their home and school preparation for higher education leaves them at a disadvantage when compared to other college students who had different pre-college experiences. This section also reveals that, as a result of their

educational pursuits, most students see themselves differently from other members of the Lumbee tribe. Their comments suggest that the high value they place on becoming an *educated* Lumbee distinguishes them from the *typical* Lumbee in Jackson County. Many students expressed some degree of frustration or disappointment in their Native peers from home who do not use education as a vehicle for social attainment. The implications of this section of the data analysis will be further explored in CHAPTER 5.

Social Dynamics: Retaining Native Kinship Through Social Change

The previous section of CHAPTER 4 aimed to identify themes in the data about how education influences participants' sense of self with the respect to the Lumbee Tribe. This section focuses on resurfacing themes in the data analysis about students' sense of self in the diversity of the predominantly White universities they attend. The data in this section will be organized into the Phinney's Three-Stage Model of Identity Development, referenced in CHAPTERS 2 and 3.

Academic Achievement

There is not a significant amount of data to support *Retaining Native Kinship* that is specific to *academic achievement*. As mentioned previously in other sections, some students at SCNC admitted that they attempted to enroll in the same classes, and that for one student, Emily, the frequency to which she verbally participates in class discussions correlates with the number of Native students in the class. Additionally, two participants, both freshmen at MASU, expressed disappointment about the absence of Native Studies curriculum at the university and students at both universities express appreciation for the Native student organizations at their respective institutions. Another MASU student, Angela, expressed concerns about the lack of support for Native American recruitment and retention efforts.

Finally, one student, Crystal, credited that her academic success is measured against White students in her classes and that other Native students subscribe to the idea that White students are smarter than Native students.

Identity Development

Analysis of data for this section of Chapter 4 is about how students have socially acclimated to a predominantly White institution. Significant in the data are themes about how participants have constructed and the terms by which they maintain peer relationships in university settings. The data will be organized to illustrate the varying degrees of students' allegiance to tribal groups and affiliations, which will subsequently help establish a basis for applying Phinney's Three-Stage Model of Ethnic Identity Development to each participant in the study.

Tribal Allegiance

At both sites at which this study was conducted, there is the presence of student organizations that serve the purpose of promoting Native American unity within the university. Students at SCNC continuously referenced the Carolina Indian Circle (CIC) and students at MASU referenced The American Indian Science and Indian Society (AISIS) and the Native American Student Association (NASA). Each university also has Native sororities and fraternities, to which many of the students in this study belong. The data reflect that, at both schools, these organizations serve as a physical and symbolic gathering spot for Native students. The data from students establish that there is a strong sense of allegiance to these organizations, but it also reflects the degree to which students aim to secure a sense of family in their university setting.

Comments from Jordan reflect that she feels like students who are Native have a responsibility to participate in Native-sponsored events.

I think Native students have a responsibility to be a part of Native organizations and student groups. I think if you're going to put it on your application saying you're Native American, like you're associating yourself with that group. So when you get here, you should desire to be around people like that. If you're Native American, more likely you grew up in a community, because Native Americans really focus on community and family. You're going to want to be around people like that, especially when you're far away from home and you don't have your family here. You can rely on the Natives here to get you through the school year.

Kelsey discusses the sense of family among her Native female peers and seems to be proud about the assumption that she is with her sisters.

I'm used to it now though, cause every time we go somewhere, me and Crystal, we get it. And every time we go out, a bunch of us Native American girls up here, we go out to eat and people just ask, "Are ya'll sisters?" And I never got that back home. They automatically think we're kin to each other cause they think we look alike and we talk alike. They always ask, "Where ya'll from? Ya'll must be from like, way down south," or something like that. But we always get it. I just tell 'em I'm from Jackson County. And then a lot of times, people know what Lumbees are. Like there's this place we went to, and we said we're from Jackson County, and before we could get it out, they were like, "Ya'll are Lumbee." But then a lot of times, they don't know what Lumbee is.

Kelsey elaborates further, by identifying with the familial relationships she finds in predominantly Native peers and resents that some students tend to take advantage of "being a minority".

I guess I just mostly hang out with Lumbees, mostly from back home. It feels like they're [Lumbee peers] like a second family just cause like when we came in as freshmen, they were always there and always callin' and checkin' to see if we needed anything. They were always there for us, so they are like my second family. And then when the new freshmen came in, we did them the same exact way.

There is one girl from my HS who graduated last year and came up here and she don't have anything to do with us up here. She don't ever come to NASA or AISIS meetings. She just hangs out mostly with White

friends. Which, that's what she mostly hung out with in HS, but she would be in like, Lumbee pageants and stuff. But she don't have nothing to do with us. I don't really think it's right, to sit there and claim it and not be involved with it, because that's kinda like takin' advantage of being minority to get to school and then you're not havin' anything to do with us with it, I don't think it's right. And I'm pretty sure they've tried to contact her because before I even got to MASU, I had people from here contacting me. They're like, "Come hang out." But she just came up here and she don't have anything to do with us.

Other students reinforce that Native students are expected to associate with Native organization and some students imply that not doing so is disrespectful to the heritage.

Yes, and um, and I think for me, like me not going to meetings, not hanging out, I was seen as "that kid," "that guy" or whatever, that does not associate with us. He thinks, either he thinks he's better than us or he's just not Indian at all. And like with our fraternity, we—it's bad to say—but we really do look down on people who, Natives who don't show interest in the Native-interest fraternity, because it's like, just like, um... actually the guy that we were just talking to a little while ago, he pledged the Multi-Cultural Fraternity. And we kind of understood why, because he's not from Jackson County, so he doesn't really have that connection with Native people. Also, he's only part Lumbee, but either way, like, we really, like, looked down on him for the longest time. Like, "you're an idiot." Pretty much. Because you know, you kinda dissed your heritage. And you know, disrespected all of us by joining another fraternity, like we're we not good enough? That's how we looked at it . . . But yeah like, they do, they'll look down on you for not trying to make yourself a part of the organization (Brian).

I think definitely—probably CIC. People that don't participate in CIC a lot probably are. I think, I know like sophomore and junior year people were. I don't know 'bout dis year, cuz everybody's kinda just not very interested in CIC, I guess, this year, like they were before. But with the sorority or fraternity, I guess. More so with the guys, if the guy is pledging another fraternity, I think they're kinda looked down on, but with a sorority it's like, you know, not for everybody. Yeah, because you can just look at the—I'm not really sayin' anything about a sorority but -- I don't know how to word it. I guess some people do not fit the stereotype (Emily).

Amanda and Craig both reference the Lumbee Dialect when discussing their participation in Native student organizations.

I think that it's like, expected that if you're a Native American that you join the NASA club. But if you wanna be with people like you, it's the

only thing you can do. I would say that being with people like you is a need, if you want to socialize with people like you, talk like you (Amanda).

I hang around mostly with Native Americans who come up here. I got a few Black friends and White friends—about the same number. But most of the Native Americans I hang out with are in NASA. I think all of ‘em are in NASA. Or they should be but don’t go to meetins like they should. I knew some of ‘em before. I guess I feel a stronger connection to them because they’re Lumbee. I think that the language and how we act is why I mostly hang out with them (Craig).

In her comments, Jordan makes a clear distinction between Lumbees who grew up in Jackson County and those who did not, further supporting that the dialect is an inner-group sociolinguistic maker.

I noticed that myself, and especially other people from home, a lot of times we just isolate ourselves to hanging out with people from Jackson County. Occasionally there will be a few people who will come in from Oklahoma or Arizona, like from Navajo or some other tribe that will come in and join the Indian circle. But a majority of it is people from Jackson County. But I notice that a lot of times when we do things, it’s always us Jackson County folks doing things together. Not a lot of us have—we have friends or I’d rather say associates because talk to them. But we probably don’t hang out with them as much as people like us, that we feel comfortable with. Like with me, I’m in the Carolina Indian Circle, AISIS, I’m in the Native American sorority. I feel like I isolate myself just cuz being in groups of people around me like me . . . Sometimes people who were raised in Cary or Raleigh come to meetings. Some of them are places I’ve never heard of. But they don’t act like us or talk like us. I’m not saying there’s anything wrong with that, but I just feel like it’s one of those things where people think it will help them get in and they get here and don’t do anything with any kind of Native American organizations or anything (Jordan).

Phinney’s Three-Stage Model of Ethnic Identity Development

An analysis of the data supports that the participants in this study have a strong sense of identity as members of the Lumbee Tribe. Many of their comments provide insight into their individual stages of development, but there is very little data to support a confident

conclusion about each student's stage of ethnic identity development. Students shared comments that indicate their development through the stages of Phinney's model.

Stage 1: Unexamined Ethnic Identity. This stage of development is characterized by a lack of ethnic or racial exploration. Persons in this stage of development assume the values and attitudes of the majority race. This means something different for students in this study because, for each of them, their majority population in their communities is Lumbee. Analysis of the data supports that students have moved past this stage, as evident in their ideas about what it means to be the typical Lumbee. Laci's comments represent an outlier in the data on this topic, which show strong support for Lumbee attitudes and values, but these comments may also confirm that she has moved through to a more advanced stage of ethnic development, even though she is a freshman who attended a predominantly Native high school.

Stage 2: Ethnic Identity Search/Moratorium. The data verify that most students have entered into this stage of identity development, which is initiated by some event or experience that influences one's worldview. For the participants in this study, particularly those who had a predominantly Native schooling experience, their matriculation to college may have initiated a search that would lead them from Phase 1 to Phase 2. Data from Craig's interview supports this analysis, as his comments specifying that some African Americans act "ignorant" reflects a lot of Lumbee attitudes towards African Americans in highly segregated, predominantly Native areas of Jackson County.

It was funny comin' up here for the first time. It was real hard to get used to, especially getting used to being around so many White people . . . I think like, the way some Blacks act real ignorant, and some of 'em don't act like that at all. Uh, well, it's probably bout the same [relating to White and African American students at MASU]. But I really don't associate

with the ignorant actin' ones [Blacks], it's more like the ones that act like they got good sense, if that sounds right.

Kelsey, a sophomore reflects on her first experience at MASU, when her family brought her to freshman orientation.

When I got here, it was really different. I don't know. It's like a big culture shock for me. Just being away from my comfort zone and everything, it's just really different. My friend, we graduated together so we came up here together. We got in and we stayed together . . . I came up for orientation. I was just in shock. I was like, "Wow!" I was so used to seeing Native Americans everyday and up here, you just see everybody and you don't see the same person everyday. You just see thousands of people and they're not the same as you. And people were asking me what I was mixed with and like where was I from? Was I from Texas cause of the way I talk? And I didn't even realize I had an accent till I came up here. Cause I went to Lumberton and we had a lot of White people at our school like you know, a diverse group, where like at Clark's Landing, they had just Indians and some Blacks, but I mean like, I was just used to it [diversity], but it was just really different up here cause like 35,000 students. Please were like, "Where you from? What's in you?" And I'd tell them. I had one response that was, "They're still livin'?" Native Americans are still alive?" I was like, "yeah" [laughs]. But they thought we had just like died out or something.

Amanda, a freshman who attended a predominantly Native high school, also recognizes that she is changing, but she defends her ethnic membership.

And I know I'm changin', but I'm still a Lumbee. I'm just tryin' to better myself by learnin' about different perspectives and stuff. And I see comin' up here to school as a way to better myself.

For Crystal, the event that brought race to a heightened level of consciousness was likely her experience as the only Native student in advanced classes in a middle school magnet program. Likewise, the fact that Adam's elementary and middle school was in a predominantly African American setting could have also triggered an analysis of race that helped him make sense of transferring to a predominantly Native high school.

But I guess another thing too, where I grew up, there was a lot of African American people, and when I got to high school, it changed. It's like

going from the minority to the majority. And even today, I kinda relate to both sides. And I think that helped out a lot in the long run because I guess there's a lot of, you know, differences, between Native Americans and African Americans back home but it's like one of my teachers once said in high school that he's noticed that too, with the African Americans, once you're in, you're in. But until then, they gotta certain way they look at you. And growin' up like that, where you're exposed to a whole different race, I made a lot of friends and growin' up with them, I seen a lot of their side of the story as far as stupid things that happen around home. And when it switched, I still know those people. I know what it's like to be with somebody who's not the same race as I am. And that's kinda helped me too, not to have a very judging eye but to be tolerant of different people, in terms of race and stuff like that.

Another marker for Stage 2 is the tendency to experiment or inquire about different possibilities that may challenge the attitudes and norms of majority culture. Crystal comments on how she has struggled to reconcile the conflicting attitudes of her Native community with her evolving values about race relations.

You always face the [social] challenges [to adjust] cause people back home, and my own family, they're judgmental about certain races but when you come here, you see that that's not so true. And it's hard to explain that to your family when you go home. And here, it's different. And you wanna be with certain people cause they understand, you know. And being in a sorority too; I never thought I was gonna do a Native American sorority because I was involved in things in high school that tracked me for a White sorority, and going through the process you have to go through to be in a sorority, it changes you too. And I've had to go through that. I've learned to accept my culture and who I am walking through this world and it's one of the main things you take from this world.

She elaborates further by commenting about interracial dating between Native students and members of African American or White students.

It's hard, as far as the racial lines, it's hard to explain to my parents that this is different. And a lot of what I grew up with is, "You can't date outside your race." And then comin' up here and meeting different people and kinda being attracted to different people that you were [attracted to] at home and tryin' to come home and explain that you your parents. It's been, I mean it's not even worth it cause you know what you're gonna have to put up with when you go home. It's just gonna be crazy. That's

just been another thing. There's not really a lot of dating outside of the race here, among Natives. But we might date, and have our little flings [with members of other races], but a lot of us know that it can't be serious.

She continues to explain how difficult it would be for family members if they were aware of the extent to which Native students explore romantic relationships with non-Native students. She also recognizes that the differences in values between her school environment and home environment are limited to race. In her comments, she seems to be declaring that she does not subscribe to such values, but she understands them.

And it's a sad thing to say, but once again, you understand. My momma and daddy don't say, "We don't like it." Cause up here, you see gays, lesbians, and that doesn't bother me anymore but back home, people would, even at CSU, have a heart-attack if they saw some of the things we see. But we're used to it and for us, it's like, "That's what they choose to do." And back home, it's just different.

In collecting these data, this student indicated that a number of Natives date non-Native students, but do so with the understanding that this choice can have negative consequences within the Native community. Data from other students implied this, but this is the most direct verification of interracial dating and the subsequent attitudes of Native students. Stage 3: Ethnic Identity Achievement. There is some data to suggest that students have entered this stage of ethnic identity development. It seems that many of the students are in a period of transition from Phase 2 to Phase 3, having challenged the norms of the majority environment in response to some social stimuli. In terms of multi-racial peer relationships, Emily and Brian, both seniors, describe multi-racial peer groups, but also have strong sense of Native loyalty. Crystal, in describing some of the racist attitudes of Natives in her home community, explains, "But that's my people, and you accept it," which suggests that she acknowledges that such attitudes are socially destructive, but she owns this cultural behavior of her people. For Jacob, who attended high school outside of his Native community, his

sense of race came upon matriculation to college. He negotiated not only issues of racial difference, but also sexual orientation, another cultural taboo in Lumbee culture.

S&M was so different, even from CH. Everybody was different. And that was my first experience with gay people. It was more profound in HS than it is at SCNC. It was crazy. It was good for me. Cause one of my friends, he's a gay person. And you learn to see him in a different light. Not as a gay person, but as who they are. They're a person first, and then they choose to do whatever. Especially, going to church and you hear people talk about, "Gay people are bad and gay people are goin' to hell." And the Bible says that, but when you see a good friend, and you go back home and hear people say that, "Well if you do like that, you're goin' to hell." And it doesn't matter if you're a good person or a bad person. So, I mean, it kinda put me at odds with people back home, about how narrow-minded they are.

Even though this is not specific to ethnic identity development, it reflects Jacob's ability to deviate from the Native majority in his home community, maintain pride for his heritage and religion, and negotiate a sense of self and belonging in a larger social context.

Summary

This section is about two major themes that surface in the analysis of the data: students' allegiance to their Lumbee identity, as expressed through their association with and loyalty to same-race peer groups and Native student organizations. There is very little variance in the data that would support that students feel a sense of responsibility to belonging to the tribe. In most cases, students referenced that being a part of a Native group satisfied students' need for familial relationships. Data verify that students place a very high value on their relationships with family members in Jackson County. Four students included their church community when speaking of their families and the support they receive from home. The data also support that five students expressed that there is an expectation that Natives, particularly Lumbees, participate in Native student organizations, and failure to do so is viewed as disrespectful to their heritage. Some students did make a direct reference to

language when discussing their reasons for such strong allegiance to Native student organizations, and one student, Crystal, who did not attend a predominantly Native high school, indicated that she has learned considerably more about the Lumbee tribes by way of her membership and participation in the CIC at SCNC.

This section also includes an analysis of the data using Phinney's Three-Stage Model of Identity Development. For most students, the data would support that they have transitioned out of Stage 1 and fall somewhere between Stage 2 and Stage 3. Data verify that students in their junior or senior year have transitioned to *Achieved Ethnic Identity* than students in their freshman or sophomore year, as indicated by their reference to multi-racial peer groups, interracial dating, and tolerance or acceptance of social difference that challenges the norms of the majority upbringing. Clearly categorizing each student in a defined Stage of this model would require a more in-depth data collection process.

Summary

The tendency of students to develop and maintain Native peer groups is clearly supported in the data. With the exception of some participants who expressed a sense of comfort in courses that included more Native students, there was minimal data to support that retaining Native kinship has an impact on academic achievement for students in this study. The data does support, however, that students value a social support group of Lumbee Natives. Many students shared comments that reflect Native organizations as a place where they can simply *be* Native and that they seemed to resent Native students, particularly those who are Lumbee from Jackson County, who do not maintain active membership in Native organizations. Using Phinney's Three-Stage Model of Ethnic Identity Development helped to extend the analysis. While the data were insufficient to specifically place each participant

in a stage of development, the data do support that many students in this study are in a state of exploring the concept of racial/ethnic identity and there appears to be wide variation in how individual participants see themselves in the ethnically diverse social context of a predominantly White university. The implications of these themes in the data will be further explored in CHAPTER 5 of this study.

Phase II

Heuristic Phase 1: Initial Engagement

The year is 1990 and it's a warm, spring Sunday afternoon in the remote, rural community of Skeeter's Lake located in Eastern Jackson County, North Carolina. This community is like many other Jackson County communities where almost all residents are Lumbee Indians who partake of a Sunday ritual of Sunday school, preaching, and dinner with extended family. I had already received my dinner and was making the rounds through the neighborhood when I came upon Ms. Myrtle, an elderly neighbor who, like most of the elderly residents in the neighborhood, substituted as a grandparent and was a significant part of my upbringing. Ms. Myrtle's backyard was where we divided teams for outdoor games, met to go to Skeeter's Lake on summer afternoons, and relieved our thirsts with fresh groundwater from the manual pump. In my memory, I am unclear as to what brought me to see her, but I distinctly recollect the conversation we had that afternoon:

Ms. Myrtle: *So, where is it dat you're going off to?*

Chris: *I'm going to Avery State, up in d'mountains, for college. They gave me a scholarship to come up der.*

Ms. Myrtle: *Well, mind y'don't get up der and rise above your raisin'.*

Chris: *What da y'mean?*

Ms. Myrtle: *Well, now our people goes off t'school, and then they'll forget where theycome from. They'll get off somewere and forget our people back here, and some of 'em forget about the Lord. You just mind you don't get up der in dem mountains and forget about where y' come from.*

by representatives from companies such as Proctor and Gamble and Price Waterhouse, trips to Washington, D.C. and Atlanta, and mini-courses in business etiquette and presentation.

I never really thought about language before attending L.E.A.D., but when I arrived there, I was confronted with the realization that I spoke much differently from the rest of the participants. I was called to go before the group during the first class to do a statistics problem in which I announced “heads” or “tails” during a series of coin tosses. My pronunciation of those two words brought the class to tears in laughter. It was clear that I was confused and embarrassed, and afterwards, their attempts to comfort me with, “Your accent is so cute” and their requests for me to, “Say something else” simply heightened my discomfort. Participants were from all corners of the U.S. and even those from other parts of the South continued to find humor in my accent for the rest of the summer. I remember being excited during the program when I learned that there were speech coaches who could help “fix your accent” and make it more Mid-western. After I fought off temptations to just go back home, I made friends and made the best of L.E.A.D., but it was the first time I realized that I spoke differently.

Upon arriving back to high school that fall, I had been selected to participate in “Here’s Looking at You, 2000” and the advisor was the U.S. history teacher I had the previous year. She pulled me aside and explained that, “You’re going places Chris, so you’ve got to learn to speak correctly.” She seldom addressed issues of pronunciation, but she never failed to correct my often-poor grammar. She always did so with a smile and even though it was embarrassing to be constantly corrected publicly, I trusted her and knew she was coming from a good place. By the end of the

year, thanks to Ms. Davis, I had come to terms with my grammatical challenges, as a speaker and a writer.

Heuristic Phases 2, 3 and 4: Immersion, Incubation and Illumination

I also reflected on my first few years at Avery State University. Proud of my choice to leave Jackson County, I entered ASU with enthusiasm about my new life there. Boone, North Carolina was about five hours from home and freshmen were not allowed to have cars, so going home on weekends was not really an option. I knew no one there and was forced to construct a social support system from the options available to most college freshmen: hall mates in my dorm, social organizations, student clubs, and academic circles. My roommate was from nearby Laurinburg and invited me to attend a Wednesday night service at the Wesley Foundation (i.e. a Methodist student center on campus). I grew up in a rural, Holiness church and was grounded in strict religious roots, so this seemed like a safe risk. Upon making initial introductions, a crowd emerged asking me questions and eventually demanding to know where I grew up. When I replied that I was from Jackson County, they all shouted, "He's Lumbee." I did not know how to respond, but, as it turned out, a former member of the group, James Locklear, had graduated the previous May and left behind a host of friends who obviously missed him terribly. Thus, they gladly welcomed my Lumbee self, and my relationship with the Foundation began.

I remained closely connected with the Foundation throughout college, but it was a few years before I felt comfortable charting into other social territories. Coming from a tri-racial high school, I was not accustomed to the perceived cultural monotony of Avery, a mostly Caucasian, middle to upper-middle class student body. Sometimes I felt isolated and even lonely, and for a while in my sophomore year, I contemplated transferring to MASU,

where a number of Lumbee friends from my home church were attending college. I struggled with how to identify myself in a world so different from me. As a first generation college student, going home was not an option. Even though I knew going to Clarkton would be cheaper and easier, I felt like I would be giving up. I heard stories and knew of other Lumbees who had decided to return home prior to graduation, and I did not want to be one of those people. I criticized such decisions and viewed my fellow Lumbees as weak. I also felt like it would provide some less-supportive members of my peer group from high school, which was rapidly dwindling at the time because I seldom made it home, some degree of satisfaction.

I reflected on other things, too. I thought about an older Lumbee whom I met while he was home from Harvard Medical School one Christmas. He told me that looking White was the best thing that could have happened to me, especially since I had moved out of Jackson County. I thought about how self-conscious I have always been about speaking in front of groups and I thought about the number of times I sat in a room knowing that I was the only person of color there and ashamed that everyone thought I was White. My physical features would not distinguish me, but my dialect would. I did not know how to confront the ignorance (theirs or mine). And I thought about how, despite having a family that raised me to be proud of my people and heritage, I may have somehow let them down by “becoming White.” Was I rising above my raisin’? Were Ms. Myrtle’s original concerns warranted? What does it mean to be Lumbee *and* American?

Heuristic Phase 5: Explication

Looking back, I never would have imagined myself in a doctoral program. After six rewarding years of teaching and two challenging years of graduate school earning a master’s

degree, I had spent the previous four years serving as an assistant principal while pursuing a doctorate in Educational Leadership at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. To complete a requirement for a field techniques class, I decided to explore the concept of Lumbee language once again. I am hoping to make some contribution to my people through my dissertation and I figured that interviewing my Lumbee brothers and sisters would be a way to break ground on ideas and satisfy a curiosity about my experience as a Lumbee who left home for school.

Prior to my investigation, I had to determine where I would fit into the story and how I would tell it. Since I can claim this experience as my experience, I thought it necessary that I place myself in the story and juxtapose the experiences of other Lumbee students to mine. Considering a variety of research options, I decided to conduct interviews with each student. During the interviews, I looked for themes in their K-12 and college experiences, including family and community influences and social support systems. Each student also completed a short questionnaire that provided me with some demographic information and gave me a sense of direction prior to each interview. From the data, I found striking similarities as themes and patterns emerged in the responses of the students whom I interviewed.

Heuristic Phase 6: Creative Synthesis

The creative synthesis phase of the heuristic inquiry process is conducting this dissertation study. In juxtaposing the experiences of the Lumbee Indians I interviewed with my personal experiences as a student of color, I find striking similarities and differences in each of the themes that arose from the research.

Scene One: Experiences Prior to College

Though there was variation in the experiences of students prior to college, like me, most had opportunities outside of Jackson County. Like Jacob, Jordan, and Emily, it was outside of Jackson County that my dialect became a noticeable marker. Additionally, most students in this study did not experience language correction in the home. This may have been because many of the students are first-generation college students. I too, was college student whose parents were working lower-middle class. One student commented on how his parents advised him that this language would be quickly recognized as *different* outside of Jackson County, an warning that other students nor I received from parents or relatives. Similar to my experiences in academic settings however, Jordan and Crystal recollect their teachers correcting their language, particularly grammar. My academic performance in my formative years was more a product of obedience and respect for authority (most of which consisted of White females), values my family embraced. I had to rely on a well-intended high school teacher to explain why acquiring and applying rules of Standard English was important.

Scene Two: Academic Confidence in the College Setting

My transition to Avery State University was very challenging. My experiences parallel those of most students in this study in that I was very insecure about my writing and public speaking abilities. In small classes, I recollect the tendency to orally contribute to class discussions with ease. But this only came after I felt a sense of safety. Like Crystal and Brian, I also felt like White students, especially those who came from more urban settings, were either better prepared, or in some cases, smarter than I was. I perceived that to write a paper or study for a test required a much greater effort and sometimes, I would just

settle for less than my best out of frustration or as an act of resistance. None of the students commented on a change in confidence as a result on one instructor in particular, like I recall after a conversation with an American Literature professor. But like the students in this study, I identified with trying to mask my dialect and *talk White* so that I would not be so easily recognized.

I also relate to most of the students who express frustration over the tendency of other Natives to decline the opportunity to leave Jackson County in pursuit of higher education. I saw my departure from the area as an escape from all the elements of growing up there that left me hungry for something more or something better. I also felt that the rewards for my hard work were more about not being poor than about being educated. Summer jobs in tobacco fields, the constant influence of drugs or alcohol, even the weight of watching cousins and childhood friends get pregnant or move into a trailer were elements of life in Jackson County that I could simply ignore if I just got out. Most students did not comment extensively about other Natives who started college in predominantly White colleges and who returned home before graduating, but the trend of students to go back home after one or two years of college outside of Jackson County was very consistent for me. In fact, seeing how many students returned home prompted me to persevere because I did not want to be one of those who could not *make it*.

Scene Three: Social Support in the College Setting

The most notable contrast between the experiences of students in this study and my experiences is the social support they found in the predominantly White university setting. All of the participants recognize the role Native student organizations play in their support network. Many identify that their peer group is exclusively Lumbee. At ASU, there were

significantly fewer Native Americans, and thus, very little support for students who were “minority within a minority.” But I did feel the same sense of inferiority that impaired my willingness to openly participate verbally in large classes and I also struggled academically, particularly as a writer. I recall that there was a Native student organization, but when I attended, it felt strangely uncomfortable. There were only five students in the large meeting room and it felt like each of us was there out of some sort of ethnic obligation; there was no evident purpose for the meeting. I chose not to return to any of the meetings, but instead I found a sense of support in the Wesley Foundation, which was almost exclusively White. My membership in that social group was made easier by the fact that a Lumbee, who had graduated from ASU, had already influenced the social climate, unknowingly paving the way for my acceptance and transition. To a large extent, this organization was the closest sense of familial support that I could find because, having been raised as a Christian, there was a common tie to this group and the purpose and intent of the organization was something with which I could more easily identify. Basically, I had a voice in this group. Since college, I have found that I have come to realize that my social interactions with ethnicities different from my own have helped me to be even more proud of my heritage and they have shaped my worldview, tainted by feelings of inferiority, to be less defensive.

Leaving home and going to college has a profound affect on most students, but for Lumbee students of color, they seem to leave more than their friends and family. It’s almost as if they leave a bit of their identity. What I found most evident in the students I interviewed is their sense of pride in the fact that they made the choice to apply to and study at a predominantly White, Research Intensive university. It is still unclear to me as to whether these students struggled with the exact same identity conflict that I did—feeling like I was

compromising my racial heritage by accepting and applying what Delpit (1995) calls “codes of power” in attempting to mask my dialect and becoming a part of the game of success. I did not realize this until years of reflection forced me to re-evaluate my place in Jackson County and among my people. The transformation that took place for me is the result of acquiring many “codes of power” and applying them to my social setting. As a public school administrator and a doctoral student, I am still acquiring them, but I am also gathering resources to confront the power structures that exist and hopefully change the rules of the game for students of color.

Heuristic Phase 7: Validation of the Heuristic Inquiry

I am eight years old and it’s the last night of Vacation Bible School at Cherokee Chapel Holiness Church in Wakulla, NC. The sanctuary is filled mostly with children. After singing *Jesus Loves Me*, and a variety of other religious children’s songs, we sing the song that every Lumbee child learned along with those Bible songs.

*I’m proud to be a Lumbee Indian, yes I am.
When I grow up into this world I’m gonna be just what I can.
My Momma and Daddy believe in me.
They want me to be free.
Free to be anything I want to be.
I can be a doctor or a lawyer or an Indian Chief, yes I can.
When I grow up into this world I’m gonna be just what I can.
My Momma and Daddy believe in me.
They want me to be free.
Free to be anything I want to be.*

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY AND PRACTICE

Introduction

The final chapter of this dissertation study serves as an extension of Chapter 4 and aims to provide a more in-depth, theoretical analysis of the data. The theoretical framework will be applied to address the major research question: How does speaking the Lumbee Dialect impact academic achievement and identity development of Lumbee college students in predominantly White, Research Intensive institutions? Five research questions guided the investigator through this study: (1) What are student perceptions about the use of Lumbee Dialect in the home? (2) What are student perceptions about the use of Lumbee Dialect in the university setting? (3) What academic challenges do Lumbee students identify in the university setting? (4) What social challenges do Lumbee students identify in their university setting? (5) How have students' attitudes about their Lumbee heritage changed as a result of their experiences in the college setting?

Theoretical Framework: Linguistic Hegemony

The lens through which the researcher views this study is significantly influenced by his lived experiences as an enrolled member of the Lumbee Indian tribe and the results of a pilot study he conducted in 2005 investigating the impact of speaking the Lumbee Dialect for Lumbee college students. Like the participants in the pilot study, the

researcher pursued post-secondary study in a non-Native environment. His experience and research lead him to believe that Lumbee students are subject to racial and class oppression in American institutions. In addition to race and class oppression, the researcher hypothesizes that students are also subject to oppression by language, particularly in non-Native institutions of higher education. As noted in CHAPTER 2, for the researcher and for students in this study, the dialect is a significant part of their educational experiences in non-Native university environments. This study aims to investigate how the identified phenomenon (speaking the Lumbee Dialect) impacts achievement and identity development for Lumbee students in non-Native universities. It is important to frame the investigation in a theoretical lens that includes concepts of Native American oppression and language oppression.

Brayboy (2006) borrows from Critical Race Theory to construct a similar framework that illuminates the problematical relationship between the U.S. Government and American Indians, recognizing the systematic racialization of Indigenous people. In Chapter 2, the basic tenets of TribalCrit are outlined, and, while they collectively establish perimeters for theorizing studies on Indigenous populations, they collectively fail to address the distinctive ways of knowing and being for the Indigenous students in this study.

Eriksen (1992) and Saurez (2002) theorize the concept of language oppression in a manner that is applicable to this study. Establishing that forces such as assimilation and dominance characterize the language/power dynamic in contemporary society, they apply the term *linguistic hegemony* to describe the relationship between dominant and minority languages. This concept captures how varying degrees of oppression by language reinforce forced assimilation in social structures.

The theoretical framework for this study integrates TribalCrit with linguistic hegemony to address the language issues of Lumbee students in the university setting. As noted in Chapter 1, this study is not specifically focused on such topics as sociolinguistics, language preservation/revitalization, Indigenous ways of knowing and being, or Native American resistance. Scholars in these fields, however, have made theoretical contributions on these subjects that will help frame this investigation. As a result, each tenet of TribalCrit was not included in this study, though each may prove helpful in future analysis of Native American students in higher education.

Summary of Research Questions

Each of the five sub-questions guided this investigation. The following section of this chapter serves as a response to each question and explains why this topic is significant in this investigation.

Students Perceptions about the Use of the Lumbee Dialect in the Home

As referenced in Chapter 2, this study recognizes that there are rules or standards in society that impact one's opportunities. Some of these rules, according to Delpit (1995), are language specific, and this study is partly about students' ability to recognize and respond to these rules. It was important to investigate students' perceptions about use of the dialect in the home because the degree to which language was an issue in the home has implications for how students respond to language issues in non-Native settings.

Contrary to the pilot study that preceded this investigation, most students in this study identified that their language was not corrected in their home community. Two students indicated that, upon being accepted to predominantly White universities, a parent for one and a grandparent for the other gave advice implying that they change their speech as a result.

Another student indicated that his parents warned him that people would notice his speech and would likely laugh at his linguistic difference. In all three cases of language correction, the corrector was a person who had some experience with formal education beyond high school; however, none of the first-generation college students indicated that their spoken language had been corrected at home. Additionally, three of the students admitted that they now correct the spoken language of family members in the home environment. These data suggest that formal schooling for Native students beyond the K-12 results in the shifting of the Lumbee Dialect to a more standard, uniform spoken and written communication, particularly if the Native students return home and correct the Lumbee Dialect of family members in a manner that diminishes the cultural uniqueness and ethnic value of the Dialect.

Students' Perceptions About Speaking the Lumbee Dialect in Predominantly White, Research

Intensive University Settings

The notion of speaking the dialect in the university setting is an important consideration because use of the dialect outside of their Native community marks students and distinguishes them as different within the diversity of the university setting. The data consistently confirm that all students in this study have been faced with varying degrees of responses to their use of the Lumbee Dialect in their respective university settings. For most of the students, matriculation to college was directly associated with the realization that their language was different. In this environment, their difference was both recognized and reinforced by other college students, professors, or other university staff and personnel.

There was variation in how students responded to the social stimuli of being recognized by others as different, but all acknowledged their tendency, whether deliberately or unintentionally, to change their spoken language. For those who chose to mask the

dialect, their reasons for doing so were either to blend into the dominant, standard language form or to avoid being misunderstood by those unfamiliar with their unique speech pattern. They also applied labels to linguistic extremes: “talking White” was associated with speaking standard, and “talking country” was associated with speaking the Lumbee Dialect. Only one student expressed concern over losing the dialect. This outlier in the data supports the degree to which he connects speaking the Lumbee Dialect with being Lumbee. Other students expressed frustration, stating, “You just can’t help but pick it up.” Finally, two students expressed that they enjoyed the attention of being recognized for their language difference.

Academic Challenges in the University Setting

The data analysis reflects that participants identified that they have encountered academic challenges in predominantly White, university settings. Some of the participants criticized their K-12 schooling experiences, claiming that they did not feel adequately prepared. In explaining the academic challenges he faced in meeting the demands university expectations, one student suggested that, had he been schooled in a more metropolitan locale, he would have been better prepared for college. Another student indicated that, because she was schooled in a predominantly White K-12 setting, she was better prepared for the university setting.

Students described challenges in writing and/or public speaking in terms that support the dialect’s impact on their academic achievement. Three students implied that they avoided courses that involved a lot of writing because of their perceived inadequacies in this area. Two students explained that they pre-corrected their comments prior to participating in class discussions, and one student expressed frustration when admitting that, despite his

interest, he chose not to register for classes like Shakespearian Literature. He felt the consequences of enrolling in a course that would require significant written feedback was not worth the risk to his grade point average.

Social Challenges in the University Setting

From the data, there was little evidence to support that students identified social challenges in the university setting; however, within the data lie implications that, in their transition to predominantly White university settings, some students have struggled to navigate the contrasting social difference from their Native communities. Most students responded to the diversity of the university environment by going home almost every weekend. There was a correlation between class status and decreased visits home. Most upperclassmen admitted going home almost weekly in their freshmen year, but confirmed that, as they became more socially and physically acclimated to the university setting, their frequency of home visits decreased significantly.

All students are participants in Native American organizations at their respective universities, suggesting that group membership satisfies a need for Native kinship and unity in predominantly White university settings. Even though one student indicated that he did not feel that participation in such organizations is an expectation within the Native community, other students vehemently disagreed, claiming that failure to show tribal allegiance by maintaining Native peer groups and associations is disrespectful to the tribe. The data also support that, while most students retained exclusively Native peer groups, the decision by some Native students to pursue casual, romantic associations outside with non-Native college students is conditionally accepted by some members of the Native college group, but students recognized that the decision to pursue an interracial relationship carries

social consequences in their home communities. The data further support romantic relationships between Natives and African Americans would be much less acceptable, as opposed to Native-Caucasian relationships. Students who contributed data addressing these issues tended to be in their junior or senior year, and who had become more comfortable in the university setting. Their comments imply that in adjusting to predominantly White universities, they are socially influenced to challenge the social norms of their home communities.

While one could argue that most college students exhibit similar behaviors in adjusting to the university setting, this data about Lumbee students is significant because of the racial and linguistic difference of Lumbee students distinguishes them as minorities among minorities. Their comments reflect the need to negotiate their *place* in the university setting. The researcher recognizes that for most students, there is an assumed sense of belonging because of the psychological impact of seeing so many students with whom you can so easily identify. Lumbee students in predominantly White universities experience a transition that is strongly impacted by their cultural uniqueness.

Changing Attitudes Towards Lumbee Natives

The data strongly support that students have very strong attitudes about their Lumbee heritage. All students expressed a strong sense of pride towards their Lumbee heritage and ethnic roots. This was also confirmed by their strong allegiance to Native organizations on their campuses and the frequency of their home visits to family and friends; however, students also noted a clear distinction between them and their Lumbee tribesmen, particularly in their pursuit of higher education and their goals for social attainment. Even though three students seemed to recognize that the poverty that plagues the Lumbee community is a product of

their oppression, most students seemed to associate the desperate situation of the Lumbee people with an attitude of apathy or misguided aspirations. There did not seem to be a pattern between those students who indicated that they would return to Jackson County and those who would never return, except to visit, but most students expressed concern for the lack of economic prosperity and opportunity as their reasons for not returning to their Native community.

The data consistently supported that students' language was corrected in the home and/or school setting, but it is important to establish that, for the purposes of this study, language correction is different from students' realization that their language is different. All students not only acknowledged that they speak the Lumbee Dialect, but most also recollected that their realization that speaking the dialect is different came in non-Lumbee settings and from non-Lumbee tribesmen. The only outlier in these data is the data from one student, who comes from a more affluent background with highly educated parents. His parents advised him that he would be recognized, and possibly ridiculed about his spoken language.

Since this study focused on speaking the Lumbee Dialect, it is important to examine students' perceptions about their speech and how they have interpreted and acted upon the messages they have received from family, high school teachers, university professors, and peers. The data in this section support that speaking the Lumbee Dialect impacts the academic achievement of Lumbee students in different ways. For some students, the impact is more clearly defined by challenges in writing or public speaking. In identifying that speaking the dialect is a way of being Lumbee, and in admitting the deliberate struggle to "take the Lumbee out of their writing" to be more standard, students make a point about the

relevance of cultural/linguistic diversity as a consideration in national Standard English debates. The consequences of using the dialect play out in more subtle ways for other students, as noted in their feelings of insecurity and their tendency to deny themselves full participation in university opportunities or resources.

Summary

This section established the rationale for each sub-question and identified major themes that surfaced in the data analysis. It is clear that Lumbee students who speak the Lumbee Dialect in predominantly White, Research Intensive universities are in a state of transition. While this can be said of most students who leave their home environment to pursue post-secondary education in a culturally diverse college environment, the data in this study supported that this situation is unique for Lumbee students due to the sociolinguistic marker that denotes their ethnic membership. Basically, there is a relationship between language and identity development and language and academic achievement for Lumbee participants in this study. Even though the research design aimed to separate identity development and academic achievement as separate consequences of speaking the Lumbee Dialect, data analysis revealed that the two concepts intersect because, for the participants in this study who were academically successful in their Native environments, their academic achievement is a significant element in their identity as well.

Theoretical Implications of the Data

The purpose of this section of Chapter 5 is to identify the theoretical implications of the data in the context of Scott's assumptions regarding the linguistic hegemony of Native college students who speak their Native dialect in predominantly White, Research Intensive

institutions. The three sub-sections parallel with the sub-sections in Chapter 4 of the study: Language Rules, The Educated Lumbee, and Social Dynamics.

Language Rules

This section of Chapter 4 dealt with students' perceptions about speaking the Lumbee Dialect as Native college students in predominantly White university settings. More specifically, language experiences prior to college, language correction, realization of language difference, and language shift were consistent themes in this section of the data analysis. The distinct dialect that students speak serves as a sociolinguistic marker within the university setting, and thus serves as a significant factor in their ethnic identity development.

The concept of language rules is an applicable metaphor because of the messages students received about their dialect and their responsiveness to those messages. Their non-standard speech patterns, which play out as sub-standard through sorting and grading practices, deviate from the dominant spoken norm and serve to reinforce linguistic insecurity among nonstandard speakers (Conklin & Laurie, 1983). For Native students, the consequences of having broken language rules are confirmed by their feelings of insecurity about their writing and public speaking. Students noted the challenge of writing differently from the way they talk and their efforts to "taking the Lumbee out of their writing." This notion is also confirmed in their hesitance to contribute verbally in large classes, unless it is required or unless there are other Native students in the class. Such data reflect that formally and informally students have received the message that there are language rules in society and that there is value in using those language rules. Some students identified that their language was corrected in the home and others noted experiences with language correction in K-12 education. Three students even credited the editing technology available in most word

processing programs for removing their Native language from their written products. The messages that their Native language is inadequate in and for school have multiple implications for students' identity. This social stimulus generates intended and unintended responses from students, most of which reflect their linguistic assimilation to a more dominant social language structure.

Tongue Tied

All students noted that consistent exposure to a more standard, uniform language community in school settings affected them linguistically. Surfacing in the data were labels such as talking White or talking country. Students associated talking White with using more conventional, standard grammar and pronunciation and talking country for them meant speaking the Lumbee Dialect. Only one student identified the problem of this association and questioned its origins, but almost all other students seemed to simply accept it without question. One student even admitted, "I went through a period where I really tried to change how I talk, but I guess everybody does that. I just eventually accepted it when I knew I couldn't change it." These labels reflect messages that students have received about which language has value. The relationship between race and language implies that the White language rules are more valuable than language that is inferior (i.e. the Lumbee Dialect).

Language Correction and Language Shift

It is also important to consider from whom students receive messages about the inadequacy of using the Lumbee Dialect. For some students, particularly those who were schooled in predominantly White K-12 institutions, teachers corrected written, and in some

cases, spoken forms of the Lumbee Dialect. Yet parents, who had been formally educated, addressed language issues in varying ways with participants prior to college. Three students admitted that they now correct the language of their younger siblings. One student expressed genuine concern for her sister “not having to go through what I went through.” Recognizing the value of speaking in more standard, uniform structures, students began to mask their spoken dialect. While some expressed concern for being understood when speaking the dialect, most others indicated their desire to simply “blend in” and two expressed concern over being judged as less intelligent because of their spoken language.

Clearly evident in the data is the tendency of students to correct their language and the language of others within their Native communities. Additionally, their intentional attempts to mask their dialect represent clear examples of how the need to assimilate to a more dominant linguistic tongue is resulting in a shift in students’ language. Even though the Lumbee Dialect is not considered an official Native American language, it is an ethnic marker for members of the tribe (Dannenberg & Wolfram, 1998). The pattern of language shift and dialect loss among the Lumbee is not unlike the rapid erosion of the Navajo language (Crawford, 1998). Even though some scholars would argue that since English is the language of government, education, media, and business, it serves as an essential ingredient in economic success and social attainment in American society (Conklin & Laurie, 1983). But this argument overlooks the role language plays in one’s identity and the loss of an ethnically rich speech/dialect is problematic for those who embrace or deny Standard English as an instrument for social attainment. The correlation between Standard English and economic success reflects the power dynamic between dominant and minority language groups.

Summary

This section addresses the messages students received about their dialect, how they responded to these messages, and how their responses impacted their academic achievement and identity development. Saurez (2002) conceptualizes hegemony as “moral and intellectual leadership through consent and persuasion” and she applies this concept to connect language with power, establishing that linguistic hegemony is achieved when dominant language groups convince those who fail to meet their language standards to internalize their deficiency as a product of their own inferior language. In the context of this study, students who speak the Lumbee Dialect who fail to meet the more dominant language standards fall into the trap of masking their language to “blend in.” Linguistic hegemony is dependent upon an ideological structure that members of the language minority group internalize and legitimate dominant language influences. The manner in which Standard English is used as a tool for educational, and thus, social, political and economic attainment reflects the manner in which linguistic hegemony is asserted.

The Educated Lumbee: Overcoming the Odds

This section of CHAPTER 5 extends the data analyzed in the previous chapter specific to students’ perspective on becoming educated in predominantly White, Research Intensive institutions and how *becoming educated* impacts the lens through which they see themselves on a micro and macro social level. In the data analysis, correlations surfaced between students’ sense of self as educated Lumbees and their attitudes about their Native brothers and sisters in their home communities.

Anywhere But Here

It became important in this study to investigate students' attitudes towards being educated at CSU, a university geographically situated in Jackson County, NC with a large Native American student population. Even though CSU is less prestigious than the Research Intensive sites for this study, students' attitudes about CSU were less about the education they would receive there and more about the need to escape Jackson County. In their reasons for deciding not to attend CSU lies an attitude towards their Native Community and that to "make it" means leaving the area. Even though some students admitted that they plan on returning there at some point and many made references to the strong sense of family within their local communities, the tone of their comments ranged from survival to escape. This attitude towards Jackson County spilled over into their comments about being considered the *typical Lumbee*. Most students recognized that their status as *educated* distinguishes them from their non-college educated Lumbee counterparts. Considering the strong presence of issues concerning social class and poverty in their tribal communities, it seems that students recognized that with education comes social attainment. For students, becoming *educated* is about *escaping* the poverty and social ills that plague members of the Lumbee tribe.

Meritocracy

Students' tendency to disassociate themselves from the *typical Lumbee* on the basis of their educational, and thus, social attainment reflects their faith in the educational system and how it functions in the larger social, economical, and political context. More specifically, the data reflected that students associated their status as *educated* with their work ethics and persistence. Conversely, most communicated with frustration the attitude that their Native peers in Jackson County, particularly those who declined the opportunity to attend a

Research Intensive university, were simply unmotivated or apathetic about their future. It seems as though, despite their individual circumstances, students subscribe to the idea that our society is a meritocracy and through diligence, one can achieve social stature. Only two students associated the plight of Lumbees with any element of oppression. One student reflected, “I used to just think they were lazy or that they didn’t care. Now I know that everybody’s circumstances are different.” But a number of students expressed frustration with the behaviors that have negative social and economical consequences for Lumbees. One student commented on “poor parenting” and another claimed, “parents just don’t get involved in their child’s education.” Their failure to recognize that these behaviors may reflect feelings of *helplessness* or *disempowerment* as the psychological effects of an oppressive socio-economic system implies that they subscribe to a *hard work reaps its own rewards* mentality.

Summary

One tenet of Brayboy’s (2005) TribalCrit argues that, “Colonization is endemic to society” (p.4). Historically, Eurocentric programs and policies were established and maintained with the goal of civilizing Natives because their knowledge systems and ways of life/being would not meet the goal of establishing a strong nation-state. In the name of progress, a momentum has been sustained by reinforcing the dominant establishment, resulting in the pervasive sense that we are all equal and have equal opportunities. This includes, but is not limited to, issues of language and linguistic difference.

The data connect with the theoretical lens in two primary ways. One perspective has to do with the plight of Lumbee culture in Jackson County. Students commented on the attitudes and behaviors of the Lumbee with some degree of frustration and a lack of empathy.

The blatant attitudes that students have towards Jackson County, towards the behaviors of its mostly Lumbee population, and towards the quality of schooling there reflect their faith in the education system and confidence in meritocracy as a means of social attainment. The data from the students in this study confirm that socio-economic class challenges significantly influence ways of being for members of the tribe. “The Lumbee Dream,” a phrase used by participants in this study, characterizes the poverty stricken state of Natives in Jackson County as recognized by the students in this study. Also present in this data is the attitude held by most students that their education will separate them from this state of being. Because Lumbee children are raised with a strong sense of Native pride and ethnic identity, students recognize the taboo of expressing shame towards their people. For most of the students in this study, however, even though they still celebrate Native kinship and heritage, they distinguish themselves from the *typical Lumbee* in ways that suggest an attempt to discern the concept of *race* from *class* in defining their identity.

Both perspectives on the data above reflect the transformation of a people at odds with the social-political forces that influence education and economics. Even though this is not specifically about language, it does support the impact that schooling, the medium in which government maintains quality control on its people, has on members of the Lumbee Tribe. It also supports the degree to which the identity of Lumbee students is so heavily influenced by their academic achievement. Their identity is not only about how they see themselves in the predominantly White contexts of Research Intensive universities, but it is also about how they see themselves in the context of the Native communities from which they originate. Data in this section appear to be more about how class issues impact the Lumbee race. But conceptually, the impact of what Brayboy (2006) calls the “problematic

goal of assimilation” has a significant influence not only on the identity and worldview of the Lumbee students in this study, but possibly on Lumbee students who do not aspire for educational attainment. In theorizing the impact of oppression on identity, hooks (1989) discusses acts of racism within the same race. The fact that members of the Lumbee Tribe in Jackson County aspire to attain “The Lumbee Dream” and that Lumbee students recognize and denounce this phenomenon suggest that they will become a mechanism in the current oppressive social order. When students and tribal members aim to assimilate, even in different ways, they pose very little, if any, threat to White supremacy. This is problematic because students seem to recognize that, to break cycles of poverty, they must adhere to the *rules* that maintain the education system. In doing so, not only do they change their speech, but they also separate themselves from other members of the tribe who, for many reasons, make different choices. In this dynamic, hegemony, linguistic or otherwise, is protected. It is important to note that, based on the data, students are in various stages of ethnic identity development and that part of their development, according to Phinney’s Model, will result in a reconciliation of conflict students may have about the circumstances of their ethnic group.

Social Dynamics: Retaining Native Kinship Through Social Change

This section of Chapter 5 deals with the ways in which students have socially acclimated to predominantly White, Research Intensive institutions. The conclusions aim to include all students, but there is wide variance among students’ periods of adjustment; the class level of participants ranges from freshmen to senior. There are common themes, however, that have strong theoretical implications.

Members Only

Analysis of the data revealed that Native students who participated in this study all hold membership in university organizations that serve to unify and promote Native students. For most of the students in this study, their primary peer group is Lumbee. Many students held membership in a Native American fraternity or sorority in addition to belonging to the general American Indian organizations. There is a strong correlation in the data about the formation of peer groups. It appeared as though Native students in their junior or senior year who attended predominantly Native American high schools had transitioned from Native-only peer groups to multi-racial peer groups. Juniors and senior class students who did not attend a Native high school began college with multi-racial peer groups and eventually became more immersed in Native peer groups. This correlation has implications for how students' K-12 social setting impacts their social transition to higher education.

White Is Right

Students also spoke freely about where they place members of other ethnic groups in their worldviews. Despite variations in the data, racial difference was an issue for some students. Even though some students identified with having multi-racial peer groups, the racial lines on the color map of Jackson County influenced their social outlook. One student indicated that, even though some Native students pursue romantic friendships outside of the race, they all had the collective understanding that these friendships could not become “serious” and could “only go so far.” She further explained that dating a student who is White is “not as bad.” Additionally, one student claimed that she identified with African American students more than White students because African Americans were also students of color, but she admitted, “People at home just wouldn’t understand that.” These comments

not only suggested an attitude of racism within the tribal community, but they also reflected students' varying tendencies to challenge inner-group social norms. Another student exclaimed, "Some African Americans are ignorant, but the ones that are not are OK with me." Other comments about non-Native ethnic groups included, "I know that most Natives up here think that White people are smarter than us" and "These White students can not study for a test and make a solid 'B' but I can pull an all-nighter and barely make the same thing."

These comments suggest that Native students subscribe to the same color hierarchy that pivots White above Black in the power/status caste system. While organized segregation in Jackson County's schools and workplaces is no longer practiced, de facto segregation in churches and communities reflects the degree to which students' attitudes towards racial difference may be influenced by the Native communities in which they were raised. A number of the students in this study were schooled in a predominantly Native high school, and their attitudes about racial difference varies, but the students for whom racial difference seemed to be more *accepted*, as opposed to *tolerated* experienced K-12 schooling in a multi-racial setting. Even though more participants may further validate the correlation between high school experience and attitudes about racial difference for Native students, the existing data from this study does support theory in the literature arguing for the desegregation of public schools.

Striking A Balance

It is important to consider students' sense of tribal allegiance and their tendency to reject group members who choose to pursue other social avenues. This may reflect a strategy for dealing with such a socially demanding transition from their Native community to the college environment. The idea that students maintain a sense of familial community suggests

that they find an element of safety or certainty in being with their Native peers. Even though some students referenced the dialect when discussing their reason for having such strong ties to the Native organization, their strong sense of loyalty to the group may not be exclusively about their language difference. Yet, another aspect of this need for togetherness may reflect that students recognize that this is part of their ways of being Lumbee. As discussed in Chapter 2, knowledge is conceptualized in two ways. One form of knowledge is cultural knowledge, which would include speaking the Lumbee Dialect. The other aspect of knowledge, academic knowledge, is the knowledge that students continue to acquire in Research Intensive institutions. Brayboy (2005) theorizes that the two are necessary for autonomy by describing Native American students in Ivy League universities. In his study, he notes that students were able to “strike a balance” between remaining true to their Native roots and succeeding in predominantly White institutions. Tribal allegiance for Native students may be the “balance” that reconciles the identity conflict that comes with negotiating cultural knowledge and acquiring academic knowledge. Language is a caveat to this theory because if the Lumbee Dialect is a part of a Native student’s cultural knowledge framework and students choose to change their dialect to blend in or to avoid judgment, have the students resisted social assimilation? Furthermore, when this language shift is noticed both within their peer group and by their Native family in their home community, have the students resisted social assimilation? Furthermore, when students so clearly distinguish themselves from the situation of the Lumbee in Jackson County, how does this impact their cultural knowledge? It seems that the Lumbee students who participated in this study are in a state of identity transition, and as they continue to transition through stages of ethnic identity development, they will arrive at a place where their sense of being Native will reflect the

sense of Lumbee pride, a recognition that the class situation of the Lumbee is not a product of apathy, and an embracement of the ethnic richness of other cultural identities.

Summary

Native kinship and unity are clearly important to the Lumbee participants in this study. Their sense of Native pride is evident in their allegiance to Native student organizations and their responsiveness to what they perceive to be familial expectations of them. But there is another tint on the lens through which they view the Lumbee of Jackson County and their identity within this group that is more about class than it is about race. The data suggest that the students view their education as the bridge that will separate them from the poverty that characterizes their tribe.

Brayboy (2006) theorizes as a tenet of TribalCrit that, “governmental policies and education policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation” (p.5). For the Lumbee people, their hold to traditional ways of being, including, but not limited to, their unique, non-standard dialect, reflects a resistance to assimilation. One consideration is that Native students’ sense of cultural knowledge is restored in social/peer groups that allow them to *be* Lumbee. Both Eriksen (1992) and Suarez (2002) argue that linguistic hegemony is a paradox, and, in order to resist this order, students must “buy into it” or show some degree of appreciate for it’s functionality not only in predominantly White institutions, but also in the larger social context of a capitalist society. In varying degrees, students show signs of succumbing to the dominant social expectations to adhere to a more proficient, standard language code, as evident in their academic success prior to college. But what remains to be seen is whether students’ tribal allegiance will result in an ethnic identity development that allows them to remain true to and

proud of their Native Lumbee heritage. If students are correcting younger family members and evidence from this study reflects a deliberate masking of the dialect, then perhaps tribal allegiance is a means of resistance. Furthermore, how will cultural knowledge of the Lumbee be impacted or altered as a result of the dominant forces of policies that marginalize language difference, reinforce White supremacy, and maintain the existing power structure? The adverse impact of language minority students' active participation and success in social institutions will be the systematic elimination of the unique, culturally rich dialect of the Lumbee people.

Summary

The theoretical lens for this study incorporates the concept of linguistic hegemony into the following three tenets of Brayboy's Tribal Critical Race Theory: (1) Colonization is endemic to society; (2) U.S. Policies towards Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and desire for material gain; and (3) Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation. Through this lens, the researcher investigated how speaking the Lumbee Dialect impacts the academic achievement and identity development for Lumbee students in predominantly White, Research Intensive institutions.

The data revealed that the phenomenon in question (speaking the dialect) impacts the academic achievement of Lumbee students who participated in this study in varying ways. This conclusion is based on students' responses to questions aimed at how they perceived their academic achievement in the university setting; the conclusions do not rely on hard data such as grade point averages or test scores. Most significant in the data is that students' recognize a change in their use of the Lumbee Dialect. For most students, they chose to

change their speech to blend in or to write more clearly, reflecting their attempts to comply with the dominant language *rules*. They expressed varying degrees of frustration at their preparation for higher education and the academic consequences of using the Lumbee Dialect. Regardless of their individual academic challenges, students' communicated a sense of pride in their Native culture and their progress of having *made it* to a Predominantly White, Research Intensive institution.

The data also supported that speaking the Lumbee Dialect impacts the identity development of the students who participated in this study. Students consistently shared that speaking the dialect marks them as *different* in their culturally diverse university setting. As noted earlier, their responses to this trend have varying implications. Most students admit that they mask their dialect to resist being *different*. This reaction has implications for identity because, if the dialect is the language of the Lumbee, and language is a significant indicator of ethnic identity, then changing the language implies a change in identity. The labels they assign to applying various codes of language use further support the consequences of subscribing to a political system that marginalizes linguistic difference. *Talking White*, a term used by most participants to describe changing their speech, is synonymous with speaking a more *standardized* language code.

Some implications of the data in this study do not necessarily apply to students' use of language; however, they do apply to the larger impact school has on students identity development. The terms students used to characterize the Lumbee tribe, or the *typical Lumbee*, reflect that they see education as the vehicle by which one escapes poverty. Consistently, students expressed self-pride in their educational attainment and in their gratitude to Lumbee families who have supported their achievement. Furthermore, students

tended to distinguish themselves from their Native peers who pursued post-secondary education in the Native community or from Native peers who chose to “just graduate” in a manner that postured a position of *status*. There could be a variety of explanations for this attitude, but this finding is important because it demonstrates that their identity is not only about being a Lumbee in a predominantly White, Research Intensive institution, but it is also about their sense of place and status within the Lumbee community in Jackson County.

Finally, the findings supported that students in this study find a strong sense of support among their Lumbee peers. The data reflected that the kinship students find in Native organizations may reinforce a physical and symbolic place where students can *be* Lumbee, which includes, but is not limited to, speaking the Lumbee Dialect among their Native peers. There seemed to be a shared code of conduct within this group that explains such behaviors and attitudes about Lumbee students who do not choose to participate in Native organizations, interracial dating and multi-racial peer groups, and opinions about the Lumbee community in Jackson County.

Implications for Further Investigation and Future Study

This qualitative dissertation study is about the stories of Lumbee students who speak the Lumbee Dialect in predominantly White, Research Intensive institutions and how this phenomenon impacts their academic achievement and identity development. While this study aims to theorize answers to the major research question, there are other stories that lie within the stories of these students that warrant future investigation.

This study included members of the Lumbee Tribe at Research Intensive institutions who held membership and active participation in organizations that promoted Native culture; however, there are a number of other students at the schools included in this study whose

stories were absent, but would further inform or validate the theories that have arisen from the data. It would help to further inform the gap in the literature about Lumbee students in predominantly White institutions to consider the stories of students who find a sense of place in non-Native peer groups. Conducting a similar investigation of students from other historically marginalized race groups, such as Latino-Hispanic college students may also be valuable to the field of literature on minority participation in predominantly White institutions.

The data for this study was analyzed and presented thematically. It would also be useful to present the analysis of this study or future studies as case studies of each participant. This would allow the researcher to investigate specific factors that contribute to becoming an *educated Lumbee*. Considering such factors as participants whose experiences qualify as outliers in the data, or addressing issues such as first generation college students or high school preparation could provide a more in-depth analysis of the data or could influence future studies.

Another story that is absent from this story is that of Native students who were accepted to but chose not to attend predominantly White, Research Intensive institutions, specifically, those who chose to attend CSU. Many students referenced classmates who fit this description during interviews, and many made assumptions about their motivation to decline offers to attend non-Native institutions. Further investigation of this topic would provide insight into distinguishing what factors impact students' decision to leave their Native communities. Conducting qualitative research in the predominantly Lumbee high schools in Jackson County and cross referencing the data with that collected at more ethnically diverse high schools may also be valuable in informing K-12 educational practice.

Data from this line of research would also inform the theories on meritocracy, class and race oppression, and Native identity development.

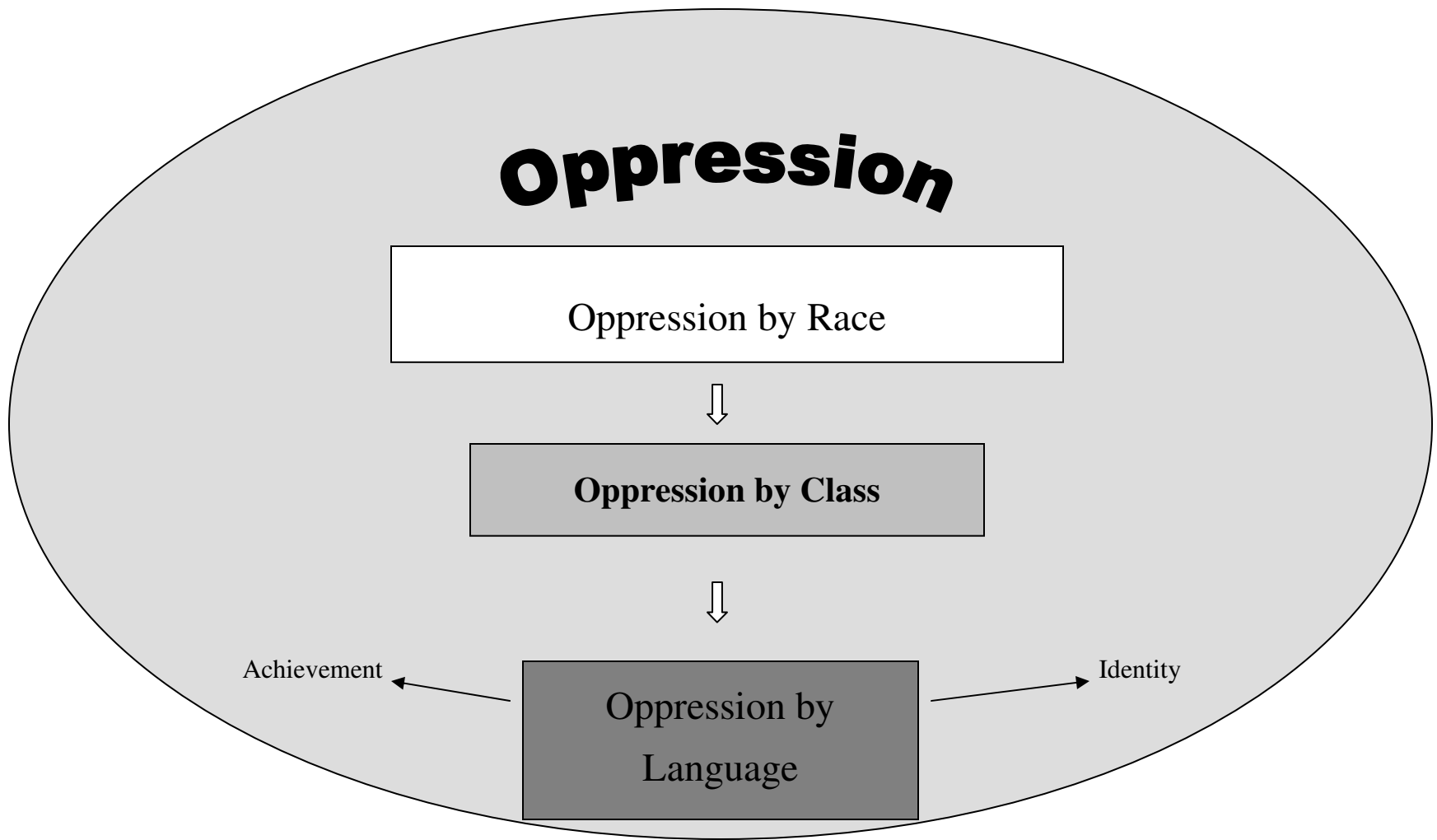
It would also be informative to consider this data set through a different lens. Analyzing the data through a linguistic hegemony lens has implications for, but does not fully address, resistance theory, race and class minority resiliency theory, or Tribal Critical Race Theory. It may also prove beneficial to the field of literature on identity development to apply a more comprehensive identity development model to the data collected for this study. Included in this investigation would be an analysis about where students receive messages such as *talking White* and *talking country*. It may also be valuable to consider if the mass media has an impact on this phenomenon, especially considering the manner in which Native Americans are negatively portrayed, or are completely absent in the mass media.

Given the impact that poverty has on the data collected in this study, it would be valuable to consider longitudinal investigation about how the desperate economic state of the Lumbee people influences their sense of social attainment. This group of Native Americans already faces the *in-betweenness* of not being federally recognized as an American Indian Tribe, yet still being recognized as a minority. In this data lies a picture of a people whose collective behavior shows what oppression looks like. Students in this study referenced the high rate of crime, drug abuse, teenage pregnancy, and apathy. There are implications in this data for how specific families deal with issues of meritocracy and educational attainment. Studies aimed at illuminating not only the loss of tribal richness, but also the economic disparity of the Lumbee may inform anti-poverty policy that promotes tribal development and prosperity and that respects and treasures the unique story of the Lumbee Tribe.

Finally, reconnecting with the participants in this study in three to five years would allow the researcher to continue his investigation. In conducting follow-up interviews, it would be useful to consider how participants' attitudes about the tribe may have shifted as a result of continued ethnic identity development. This longitudinal study could address contemporary issues such as national recognition of the Lumbee Tribe, shifting trends in access to higher education, policy changes in K-12 education, and socio-political impact of tribal leadership.

Appendix A

Theoretical Framework



Appendix B

Interview Questions

The following research questions will guide the interview process:

1. What are student perceptions about the use of Lumbee Dialect in the home?
 - a. Does your home speech differ from you school language?
 - b. If so, what makes them different?
2. What are student perceptions about the use of Lumbee dialect in the university setting?
 - a. Do you acknowledge that you speak differently from most of the students at your school?
 - b. When did you recognize a difference? If other students recognized a difference in your dialect, how did they let you know?
3. What academic challenges do Lumbee students identify in the university setting?
 - a. In what ways, if any, have you been challenged by the academic expectations in the university setting?
 - b. Describe how you feel that your dialect/speech has played a role in your academic challenges in the university setting?
4. What social challenges do Lumbee students identify in their university setting?
 - a. With whom do you interact socially while in the university setting?
 - b. How frequently do you return home? What role does your social interaction play in returning home?

5. How have students' attitudes about their Lumbee heritage changed as a result of their experiences in the college setting?
 - a. How would you describe the "typical Lumbee"?
 - b. In what ways do you reflect the "typical Lumbee" and in what ways are you different from that norm?

Appendix C

Pilot Study Quotations

The following quotes are taken from participants in a pilot study completed in spring, 2005. These quotes are in response to semistructured interview questions and each response represents the themes that emerged from the student interviews.

Realization of Language Distinction

When I came to school though, I realized there was a lot of other people that speak different from me. And a lot of times they didn't understand what I said so I had to repeat it. At that point I sort of understood . . . Yeah, there's some people here who told me I didn't know my English. And I need to learn it--nothing about grammar. I think it was kinda rude but I just laugh it off because that's just who I am. If I was ever to just move back home I probably would go back to speaking just like my community because that's who I was around. Like now, I feel like that's how I spoke when I was at home, I kind of conformed to how people speak up here but I feel like when I go back home, the country just comes out in me somehow.

Pre-college Language Experience

My dad, he's always worked outside Robeson County and he's always tried to correct like the words I would say. I would say like der [there] and den [then] and da. But my teachers never spoke to me at all about the way I spoke, never. I didn't struggle in HS because all my friends spoke the same way. But my teachers never spoke to me at all about the way I spoke, never. I can't remember one incidence between 9th and 12th grade of anybody saying anything about the way I spoke, other than my dad pickin' on

me. I'm sure it came out in my writing, but my teachers never brought it up or anything like that. But I know I wrote the way I talk.

Transition to College

I probably not made it up her all these years if it had not been for the Carolina Indian Circle just cause when I was a freshman there was so many times I thought about going home and me and my roommate could sit in my room sophomore year and be like, "We could be at Clarkton." "We could be at home." "Let's go home next semester. Let's go talk to our advisor. It's so much easier. It won't be so expensive." So we definitely contemplated it a lot. And I guess knowing that there were a lot of people who came from Robeson County and they made it here and I was like, "Well, I can make it too if they made it." And there are other people from home that are struggling just like me so I didn't feel bad.

Cultural Identity Transformation

It's unfair [to have to change] and I don't know who to blame it on. I can't blame it on my teachers; blame it on my heritage. It's just I felt like this. I can't help it. And I get here, my White friends talk proper and they write the way they talk. And when they write a paper, they just look at the topic of the paper and write the paper. When I write a paper, I have to look at the topic of the paper, write the paper, go over it again, read it again, so I can take all the Lumbonics out of it. So it's just unfair. I can't do nothing about it. I just have to work extra hard. There's nothing I can do.

Appendix D

Institutional Research Board Application

OFFICE OF HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS

Institutional Review Board

APPLICATION FOR IRB APPROVAL OF

HUMAN SUBJECTS RESEARCH

Version 30-May-2006

Part A.1. Contact Information, Agreements, and Signatures

Title of Study: How Does Speaking the Lumbee Dialect Impact the Academic Achievement and Cultural Identity of Lumbee students?

Date: 08-30-06

Name and degrees of Principal Investigator: Chris Scott

Department: School of Education

Mailing address/CB #: 8753 Camden Park Drive,
Raleigh, NC 27613

UNC-CH PID: 7023-68095

Pager: N/A

Phone #: 919-815-0468

Fax #: N/A

Email Address: cescott@email.unc.edu

For trainee-led projects: __ undergraduate XXX graduate __ postdoc __ resident __ other

Name of faculty advisor: George Noblit

Department: Curriculum, Culture, and Change

Mailing address/CB #:

Phone #:

Fax #:

Email Address: gnoblit@email.unc.edu

Name, phone number, email address of project manager or coordinator, if any:

List all other project personnel including co-investigators, and anyone else who has contact with subjects or identifiable data from subjects:

Name of funding source or sponsor:

XXX not funded __ Federal __ State __ industry __ foundation __ UNC-CH

__ other (specify):

Sponsor or award number:

Include following items with your submission, where applicable.

- Check the relevant items below and include one copy of all checked items 1-11 in the order listed.
- Also include two additional collated sets of copies (sorted in the order listed) for items 1-7.

→ **Applications may be returned if these instructions are not followed.**

Check	Item	Total No. of Copies
<input type="checkbox"/>	1. This application. One copy must have original PI signatures.	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. Consent and assent forms, fact or information sheets; include phone and verbal consent scripts.	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	3. HIPAA authorization addendum to consent form.	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	4. All recruitment materials including scripts, flyers and advertising, letters, emails.	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	5. Questionnaires, focus group guides, scripts used to guide phone or in-person interviews, etc.	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	6. Protocol, grant application or proposal supporting this submission; (e.g., extramural grant application to NIH or foundation, industry protocol, student	3

	proposal).	
<input type="checkbox"/>	7. Documentation of reviews from any other committees (e.g., GCRC, Oncology Protocol Review Committee, or local review committees in Academic Affairs).	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	8. Addendum for Multi-Site Studies where UNC-CH is the Lead Coordinating Center.	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	9. Data use agreements (may be required for use of existing data from third parties).	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	10. Documentation of required training in human research ethics for all study personnel.	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	11. Investigator Brochure if a drug study.	1

Principal Investigator: I will personally conduct or supervise this research study. I will ensure that this study is performed in compliance with all applicable laws, regulations and University policies regarding human subjects research. I will obtain IRB approval before making any changes or additions to the project. I will notify the IRB of any other changes in the information provided in this application. I will provide progress reports to the IRB at least annually, or as requested. I will report promptly to the IRB all unanticipated problems or serious adverse events involving risk to human subjects. I will follow the IRB approved consent process for all subjects. I will ensure that all collaborators, students and employees assisting in this research study are informed about these obligations. All information given in this form is accurate and complete.

Signature of Principal Investigator

Date

Faculty Advisor if PI is a Student or Trainee Investigator: I accept ultimate responsibility for ensuring that this study complies with all the obligations listed above for the PI.

Signature of Faculty Advisor

Date

Department or Division Chair, Center Director (or counterpart) of PI: (or Vice-Chair or Chair's designee if Chair is investigator or otherwise unable to review): I certify that this research is appropriate for this Principal Investigator, that the investigators are qualified to conduct the research, and that there are adequate resources (including financial, support and facilities) available. If my unit has a local review committee for pre-IRB review, this requirement has been satisfied. I support this application, and hereby submit it for further review.

Signature of Department Chair or designee

Date

Print Name of Department Chair or designee

Department

Part A.2. Summary Checklist

<i>Are the following involved?</i>	Yes	No
A.2.1. Existing data, research records, patient records, and/or human biological specimens?	—	X
A.2.2. Surveys, questionnaires, interviews, or focus groups with subjects?	X	—
A.2.3. Videotaping, audiotaping, filming of subjects (newly collected or existing)?	X	—
A.2.4. Do you plan to enroll subjects from these vulnerable or select populations:		
a. UNC-CH students or UNC-CH employees?	X	—
b. Non-English-speaking?	—	X
c. Decisionally impaired?	—	X
d. Patients?	—	X
e. Prisoners, others involuntarily detained or incarcerated, or parolees?	—	X
f. Pregnant women?	—	X
g. Minors (less than 18 years)? <i>If yes, give age range: to years</i>	—	X
A.2.5. a. Is this a multi-site study (sites outside UNC-CH engaged in the research)?	—	X
b. Is UNC-CH the sponsor or lead coordinating center ?	—	X
<i>If yes, include the Addendum for Multi-site Studies where UNC-CH is the Lead Coordinating Center.</i>		
<i>If yes, will any of these sites be outside the United States?</i>	—	X
<i>If yes, provide contact information for the foreign IRB.</i>		
A.2.6. Will there be a data and safety monitoring committee (DSMB or DSMC)?	—	X
A.2.7. a. Are you collecting sensitive information such as sexual behavior, HIV status, recreational drug use, illegal behaviors, child/physical abuse, immigration status, etc?	—	X
b. Do you plan to obtain a federal Certificate of Confidentiality for this study?	—	X
A.2.8. a. Investigational drugs? (provide IND #)	—	X
b. Approved drugs for “non-FDA-approved” conditions?	—	X
<i>All studies testing substances in humans must provide a letter of acknowledgement from the UNC Health Care Investigational Drug Service (IDS).</i>		
A.2.9. Placebo(s)?	—	X
A.2.10. Investigational devices, instruments, machines, software? (provide IDE #)	—	X
A.2.11. Fetal tissue?	—	X
A.2.12. Genetic studies on subjects’ specimens?	—	X
A.2.13. Storage of subjects’ specimens for future research?	—	X
<i>If yes, see instructions for Consent for Stored Samples.</i>		
A.2.14. Diagnostic or therapeutic ionizing radiation, or radioactive isotopes, which subjects would not receive otherwise?	—	X
<i>If yes, approval by the UNC-CH Radiation Safety Committee is required.</i>		
A.2.15. Recombinant DNA or gene transfer to human subjects?	—	X
<i>If yes, approval by the UNC-CH Institutional Biosafety Committee is required.</i>		
A.2.16. Does this study involve UNC-CH cancer patients?	—	X
<i>If yes, submit this application directly to the Oncology Protocol Review Committee.</i>		
A.2.17. Will subjects be studied in the General Clinical Research Center (GCRC)?	—	X
<i>If yes, obtain the GCRC Addendum from the GCRC and submit complete application (IRB application and Addendum) to the GCRC.</i>		

Part A.3. Conflict of Interest Questions and Certification

The following questions apply to **all investigators and study staff** engaged in the design, conduct, or reporting results of this project **and/or their immediate family members**. For these purposes, "family" includes the individual's spouse and dependent children. "Spouse" includes a person with whom one lives together in the same residence and with whom one shares responsibility for each other's welfare and shares financial obligations.

A.3.1. Currently or during the term of this research study, does any member of the research team or his/her family member have or expect to have:		
(a) A personal financial interest in or personal financial relationship (including gifts of cash or in-kind) with the sponsor of this study?	___ yes	X no
(b) A personal financial interest in or personal financial relationship (including gifts of cash or in-kind) with an entity that owns or has the right to commercialize a product, process or technology studied in this project?	___ yes	X no
(c) A board membership of any kind or an executive position (paid or unpaid) with the sponsor of this study or with an entity that owns or has the right to commercialize a product, process or technology studied in this project?	___ yes	X no
A.3.2. Has the University or has a University-related foundation received a cash or in-kind gift from the Sponsor of this study for the use or benefit of any member of the research team?	___ yes	X no
A.3.3. Has the University or has a University-related foundation received a cash or in-kind gift for the use or benefit of any member of the research team from an entity that owns or has the right to commercialize a product, process or technology studied in this project?	___ yes	X no

If the answer to ANY of the questions above is yes, the affected research team member(s) must complete and submit to the Office of the University Counsel the form accessible at <http://coi.unc.edu>. List name(s) of all research team members for whom any answer to the questions above is *yes*:

Certification by Principal Investigator: By submitting this IRB application, I (the PI) certify that the information provided above is true and accurate regarding my own circumstances, that I have inquired of every UNC-Chapel Hill employee or trainee who will be engaged in the design, conduct or reporting of results of this project as to the questions set out above, and that I have instructed any such person who has answered "yes" to any of these questions to complete and submit for approval a Conflict of Interest Evaluation Form. I understand that as Principal Investigator I am obligated to ensure that any potential conflicts of interest that exist in relation to my study are reported as required by University policy.

Signature of Principal Investigator

Date

Faculty Advisor if PI is a Student or Trainee Investigator: I accept ultimate responsibility for ensuring that the PI complies with the University's conflict of interest policies and procedures.

Signature of Faculty Advisor

Date

Part A.4. Questions Common to All Studies

For all questions, if the study involves only secondary data analysis, focus on your proposed design, methods and procedures, and not those of the original study that produced the data you plan to use.

A.4.1. Brief Summary. Provide a *brief* non-technical description of the study, which will be used in IRB documentation as a description of the study. Typical summaries are 50-100 words.

The purpose of this study is to investigate how speaking the Lumbee dialect impacts the academic achievement and identity of Lumbee students in university settings. Through the use of interviews with students enrolled at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill or North Carolina State University who identify themselves as Lumbee Indians, the researcher will document the linguistic experiences and perceptions of the research participants.

A.4.2. Purpose and Rationale. Provide a summary of the background information, state the research question(s), and tell why the study is needed. If a complete rationale and literature review are in an accompanying grant application or other type of proposal, only provide a brief summary here. If there is no proposal, provide a more extensive rationale and literature review, including references.

The Lumbee Indian Tribe, centrally located in tri-racial Robeson County, North Carolina is the sixth largest Native American tribe east of the Mississippi (Torbert, 2001). The Lumbee Dialect differs from written and spoken conventions of Standard English in grammar construction, vocabulary, and pronunciation (Wolfram, 2000). Even though a broad range of research has addressed the connection between language and achievement (Delpit, 1995; Percell-Gates, 2002; Smitherman, 2004), and the connection between language and identity (Ogbu & Fordham, 1986; Tse, 1996), there is very little literature on these topics that is specific to members of the Lumbee Tribe who speak the Lumbee dialect. The rationale for this study is to document how speaking the Lumbee Dialect impacts the academic achievement and cultural identity of Lumbee students who pursue post-secondary education at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill or North Carolina State University.

A.4.3. Subjects. *You should describe the subject population even if your study does not involve direct interaction (e.g., existing records).* Specify number, gender, ethnicity, race, and age. Specify whether subjects are healthy volunteers or patients. If patients, specify any relevant disease or condition and indicate how potential subjects will be identified.

The subjects for this study are 10 – 15 healthy, college-aged (18 – 22) students who identify themselves as Lumbee Indians who grew up and were educated in Robeson County, North Carolina. Each subject will be a full-time student at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill or North Carolina State University. Participants will include both male and female students.

A.4.4. Inclusion/exclusion criteria. List required characteristics of potential subjects, and those that preclude enrollment or involvement of subjects or their data. Justify exclusion of any group, especially by criteria based on gender, ethnicity, race, or age. If pregnant women are excluded, or if women who become pregnant are withdrawn, specific justification must be provided.

Given that the study will investigate the impact of speaking the Lumbee dialect for Lumbee college students, each participant will be a member of the Lumbee tribe and that each member be enrolled in UNC—Chapel Hill or North Carolina State University. Participants will represent both genders and a range of ages above the age of 18 years old. All students who meet the criteria above will be invited to participate in the study. It is anticipated that 10-15 will respond in a timely manner and agree to participate.

A.4.5. Full description of the study design, methods and procedures. Describe the research study. Discuss the study design; study procedures; sequential description of what subjects will be asked to do;

assignment of subjects to various arms of the study if applicable; doses; frequency and route of administration of medication and other medical treatment if applicable; how data are to be collected (questionnaire, interview, focus group or specific procedure such as physical examination, venipuncture, etc.). Include information on who will collect data, who will conduct procedures or measurements. Indicate the number and duration of contacts with each subject; outcome measurements; and follow-up procedures. If the study involves medical treatment, distinguish standard care procedures from those that are research. If the study is a clinical trial involving patients as subjects and use of placebo control is involved, provide justification for the use of placebo controls.

This study of ten (10) to fifteen (15) college students who identify themselves as members of the Lumbee Tribe will use qualitative methods as the primary research design. The principal investigator will contact the advisors for the Native American student organizations on the campuses of UNC—Chapel Hill and NC State University via email and request permission to post a “Call for Research Participants” document to their respective organization listserves. Based on the responses from the electronic contact, the researcher will organize the interviews at the convenience of the research participants on the respective campus of the interested participants. The following questions will guide the research study: (1) What are student perceptions about the use of Lumbee dialect in the home? (2) What are student perceptions about the use of Lumbee dialect in the university setting? (3) What academic challenges do Lumbee students identify in the university setting? (4) What social challenges do Lumbee students identify in their university setting? (5) How have students’ attitudes about their Lumbee heritage changed as a result of their experiences in the college setting? The principal investigator will collect qualitative data from the research participants through in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Each interview will last approximately one (1) to two (2) hours in length. The aforementioned research questions will also serve as a framework for data analysis. Each research participant will sign a consent form prior to participation and each interview will be audio taped and transcribed for the purpose of analysis (see attached copies of script, “Call for Research Participants” notice, and interview protocols).

A.4.6. Benefits to subjects and/or society. Describe any potential for direct benefit to individual subjects, as well as the benefit to society based on scientific knowledge to be gained; these should be clearly distinguished. Consider the nature, magnitude, and likelihood of any direct benefit to subjects. If there is no direct benefit to the individual subject, say so here and in the consent form (if there is a consent form). Do not list monetary payment or other compensation as a benefit.

By exploring how dialect affects the experiences of Lumbee students in a predominantly white university setting, a research-based document can be generated that discusses the specific needs of Native students in predominantly white university settings. This study represents the beginning stages of making the strong connection between language and learning for Lumbee students. Such information can inform higher education policy and needs assessment strategies as well as K-12 leadership on educational and counseling leadership that may better prepare students for social and academic success in non-Native environments. Aside from sharing their perspective and contributing to research specific to the Lumbee Indian population, there will be no direct benefit to participants.

A.4.7. Full description of risks and measures to minimize risks. Include risk of psychosocial harm (e.g., emotional distress, embarrassment, breach of confidentiality), economic harm (e.g., loss of employment or insurability, loss of professional standing or reputation, loss of standing within the community) and legal jeopardy (e.g., disclosure of illegal activity or negligence), as well as known side effects of study medication, if applicable, and risk of pain and physical injury. Describe what will be done to minimize these risks. Describe procedures for follow-up, when necessary, such as when subjects are found to be in need of medical or psychological referral. If there is no direct interaction with subjects, and risk is limited to breach of confidentiality (e.g., for existing data), state this.

Because the participants will be discussing their personal academic and social experiences, they are sensitive to a certain level of psychological risks. Given this, the researcher will assure all participants strict confidentiality. All participants will sign consent forms, will agree to be audiotaped, and will be provided with pseudonyms.

A.4.8. Data analysis. Tell how the qualitative and/or quantitative data will be analyzed. Explain how the sample size is sufficient to achieve the study aims. This might include a formal power calculation or explanation of why a small sample is sufficient (e.g., qualitative research, pilot studies).

The interviews will be recorded with permission, transcribed, and analyzed for common themes and concepts. As themes emerge, comparative analysis and coding will be employed.

A.4.9. Will you collect or receive any of the following identifiers? Does not apply to consent forms.

No Yes *If yes, check all that apply:*

- a. Names
- b. Telephone numbers
- c. Any elements of dates (other than year) for dates directly related to an individual, including birth date, admission date, discharge date, date of death. For ages over 89: all elements of dates (including year) indicative of such age, except that such ages and elements may be aggregated into a single category of age 90 and older
- d. Any geographic subdivisions smaller than a State, including street address, city, county, precinct, zip code and their equivalent geocodes, except for the initial three digits of a zip code
- e. Fax numbers
- f. Electronic mail addresses
- g. Social security numbers
- h. Medical record numbers
- i. Health plan beneficiary numbers
- j. Account numbers
- k. Certificate/license numbers
- l. Vehicle identifiers and serial numbers (VIN), including license plate numbers
- m. Device identifiers and serial numbers (e.g., implanted medical device)
- n. Web universal resource locators (URLs)
- o. Internet protocol (IP) address numbers
- p. Biometric identifiers, including finger and voice prints
- q. Full face photographic images and any comparable images
- r. Any other unique identifying number, characteristic or code, other than dummy identifiers that are not derived from actual identifiers and for which the re-identification key is maintained by the health care provider and not disclosed to the researcher

A.4.10. Confidentiality of the data. Describe procedures for maintaining confidentiality of the data you will collect or will receive. Describe how you will protect the data from access by those not authorized. How will data be transmitted among research personnel? Where relevant, discuss the potential for deductive disclosure (i.e., directly identifying subjects from a combination of indirect IDs).

Individual participants will not be identified in any report of this study. All identifiable data, audiotapes, and transcriptions will be secured in locked quarters in the possession of the principal investigator. Pseudonyms will be used for each participant and information will not be shared between participants.

A.4.11. Data sharing. With whom will *identifiable* (contains any of the 18 identifiers listed in question A.4.9 above) data be shared outside the immediate research team? For each, explain confidentiality measures. Include data use agreements, if any.

- No one
- Coordinating Center:
- Statisticians:
- Consultants:
- Other researchers:
- Registries:
- Sponsors:
- External labs for additional testing:
- Journals:
- Publicly available dataset:
- Other:

A.4.12. Data security for storage and transmission. Please check all that apply.

For electronic data:

- Secure network Password access Encryption
- Other (describe):
- Portable storage (e.g., laptop computer, flash drive)

Describe how data will be protected for any portable device:

For hardcopy data (including human biological specimens, CDs, tapes, etc.):

- Data de-identified by research team (stripped of the 18 identifiers listed in question 7 above)
- Locked suite or office
- Locked cabinet
- Data coded by research team with a master list secured and kept separately
- Other (describe):

A.4.13. Post-study disposition of identifiable data or human biological materials. Describe your plans for disposition of data or human biological specimens that are identifiable in any way (directly or via indirect codes) once the study has ended. Describe your plan to destroy identifiers, if you will do so.

Once the study is complete, all identifiable data will be destroyed by way of a paper-shredder.

Part A.5. The Consent Process and Consent Documentation (including Waivers)

The standard consent process is for all subjects to sign a document containing all the elements of informed consent, as specified in the federal regulations. Some or all of the elements of consent, including signatures, may be altered or waived under certain circumstances.

- If you will obtain consent in any manner, complete **section A.5.1**.
- If you are obtaining consent, but requesting a waiver of the requirement for a signed consent document, complete **section A.5.2**.
- If you are requesting a waiver of any or all of the elements of consent, complete **section A.5.3**.

You may need to complete more than one section. For example, if you are conducting a phone survey with verbal consent, complete sections A.5.1, A.5.2, and possibly A.5.3.

A.5.1. Describe the process of obtaining informed consent from subjects. If children will be enrolled as subjects, describe the provisions for obtaining parental permission and assent of the child. If decisionally impaired adults are to be enrolled, describe the provision for obtaining surrogate consent from a legally authorized representative (LAR). If non-English speaking people will be enrolled, explain how consent in the native language will be obtained. Address both written translation of the consent and the availability of oral interpretation. *After you have completed this part A.5.1, if you are not requesting a waiver of any type, you are done with Part A.5.; proceed to Part B.*

The principal investigator will contact the advisors for the Native American student organizations at UNC—Chapel Hill and NC State University via email. Initial contact will request permission to post a “Call for Research Participants,” which will contain the researcher’s contact information. The researcher will schedule interviews with interested participants at the participants’ convenience. At the time of the interview, all participants will be required to complete a “Consent To Participate In Lumbee Research Study” form that is attached as part of this application. Any participant who elects to not complete the form will not participate in this study. No children, decisionally-impaired, or non-English speaking persons will be considered for this study.

A.5.2. Justification for a waiver of written (i.e., signed) consent. *The default is for subjects to sign a written document that contains all the elements of informed consent. Under limited circumstances, the requirement for a signed consent form may be waived by the IRB if either of the following is true:*

a. The only record linking the subject and the research would be the consent document and the principal risk would be potential harm resulting from a breach of confidentiality (e.g., study involves sensitive data that could be damaging if disclosed). yes no

Explain.

b. The research presents no more than minimal risk of harm to subjects and involves no procedures for which written consent is normally required outside of the research context (e.g., phone survey). yes no

Explain.

If you checked "yes" to either, will consent be oral? Will you give out a fact sheet? Use an online consent form, or include information as part of the survey itself, etc?

→ If you have justified a waiver of written (signed) consent (A.5.2), you should complete A.5.3 *only* if your consent process will not include all the other [elements of consent](#).

A.5.3. Justification for a full or partial waiver of consent. *The default is for subjects to give informed consent.* A waiver might be requested for research involving only existing data or human biological specimens (see also Part C). More rarely, it might be requested when the research design requires withholding some study details at the outset (e.g., behavioral research involving deception). In limited circumstances, parental permission may be waived. This section should also be completed for a waiver of HIPAA authorization if research involves Protected Health Information (PHI) subject to HIPAA regulation, such as patient records.

Requesting **waiver of some elements** (specify; see SOP 28 on the IRB web site):

Requesting **waiver of consent entirely**

If you check either of the boxes above, answer items a-f.. To justify a full waiver of the requirement for informed consent, you must be able to answer “yes” (or “not applicable” for question c) to items a-f. **Insert brief explanations that support your answers.**

a. Will the research involve no greater than minimal risk to subjects or to their privacy? yes no

Explain.

b. Is it true that the waiver will *not* adversely affect the rights and welfare of subjects? (*Consider the right of privacy and possible risk of breach of confidentiality in light of the information you wish to gather.*) yes no

Explain.

c. When applicable to your study, do you have plans to provide subjects with pertinent information after their participation is over? (*e.g., Will you provide details withheld during consent, or tell subjects if you found information with direct clinical relevance? This may be an uncommon scenario.*) yes not applicable

Explain.

d. Would the research be impracticable without the waiver? (*If you checked “yes,” explain how the requirement to obtain consent would make the research impracticable, e.g., are most of the subjects lost to follow-up or deceased?*). yes no

Explain.

e. Is the risk to privacy reasonable in relation to benefits to be gained or the importance of the knowledge to be gained? yes no

Explain.

If you are accessing patient records for this research, you must also be able to answer “yes” to item f to justify a waiver of HIPAA authorization from the subjects.

f. Would the research be impracticable if you could not record (or use) Protected Health Information (PHI)? (*If you checked “yes,” explain how not recording or using PHI would make the research impracticable.*) yes no

Explain.

Part B. Questions for Studies that Involve Direct Interaction with Human Subjects

→ *If this does not apply to your study, do not submit this section.*

B.1. Methods of recruiting. Describe how and where subjects will be identified and recruited. Indicate who will do the recruiting, and tell how subjects will be contacted. Describe efforts to ensure equal access to participation among women and minorities. Describe how you will protect the privacy of potential subjects during recruitment. *For prospective subjects whose status (e.g., as patient or client), condition, or contact information is not publicly available (e.g., from a phone book or public web site), the initial contact should be made with legitimate knowledge of the subjects' circumstances. Ideally, the individual with such knowledge should seek prospective subjects' permission to release names to the PI for recruitment. Alternatively, the knowledgeable individual could provide information about the study, including contact information for the investigator, so that interested prospective subjects can contact the investigator.* Provide the IRB with a copy of any document or script that will be used to obtain the patients' permission for release of names or to introduce the study. Check with your IRB for further guidance.

The principal investigator for the study will make an email contact to the advisor of the Native American student organization for the UNC and NCSU campuses and request that a "Call for Lumbee Research Participants" be posted to the listserv. The posting will announce the study and solicit participation of Lumbee students from Robeson County, NC. Efforts will be made to establish an equal representation of male and female students and a representation of students at different stages of undergraduate class. Participants who respond to the "Call" will be allowed to grant voluntary consent after making an informed decision about participating in the study. The principal investigator will arrange at the students' convenience. All participants will sign a "Consent to participate in study" form at the time of the interview. It will be emphasized that study participation is voluntary and refusal to participate will not result in any negative consequences for individuals. (see attachments for recruitment and communication).

B.2. Protected Health Information (PHI). If you need to access Protected Health Information (PHI) to identify potential subjects who will then be contacted, you will need a *limited waiver of HIPAA authorization*. If this applies to your study, please provide the following information.

- a. Will the information collected be limited only to that necessary to contact the subjects to ask if they are interested in participating in the study?
- b. How will confidentiality/privacy be protected prior to ascertaining desire to participate?
- c. When and how will you destroy the contact information if an individual declines participation?

B.3. Duration of entire study and duration of an individual subject's participation, including follow-up evaluation if applicable. Include the number of required contacts and approximate duration of each contact.

The entire study should take no longer than two months to complete. Each interview should last approximately one (1) to two (2) hours.

B.4. Where will the subjects be studied? Describe locations where subjects will be studied, both on and off the UNC-CH campus.

Interviews will be conducted in a private location at or near the university campus.

B.5. Privacy. Describe procedures that will ensure privacy of the subjects in this study. Examples include the setting for interviews, phone conversations, or physical examinations; communication methods or mailed materials (e.g., mailings should not indicate disease status or focus of study on the envelope).

The privacy of the participants will be observed throughout the study and participants will not be identified in any report, presentation, or publication of this study. Each interview will be conducted in a private location (study room, private conference room, office, etc.). Only the principal investigator and the subject will be present during the interview. Audio taped interview data will be transcribed and coded by the principal investigator to preserve anonymity.

B.6. Inducements for participation. Describe all inducements to participate, monetary or non-monetary. If monetary, specify the amount and schedule for payments and how this will be prorated if the subject withdraws (or is withdrawn) from the study prior to completing it. For compensation in foreign currency, provide a US\$ equivalent. Provide evidence that the amount is not coercive (e.g., describe purchasing power for foreign countries). Include food or refreshments that may be provided.

There will be no incentives used for this study.

B.7. Costs to be borne by subjects. Include child care, travel, parking, clinic fees, diagnostic and laboratory studies, drugs, devices, all professional fees, etc. If there are no costs to subjects other than their time to participate, indicate this.

The only costs to the subjects will be the time required to participate in the interview.

Part C. Questions for Studies using Data, Records or Human Biological Specimens without Direct Contact with Subjects

→ *If this does not apply to your study, do not submit this section.*

C.1. What records, data or human biological specimens will you be using? (*check all that apply*):

- Data already collected for another research study
- Data already collected for administrative purposes (e.g., Medicare data, hospital discharge data)
- Medical records (custodian may also require form, e.g., HD-974 if UNC-Health Care System)
- Electronic information from clinical database (custodian may also require form)
- Patient specimens (tissues, blood, serum, surgical discards, etc.)
- Other (specify):

C.2. For each of the boxes checked in 1, how were the original data, records, or human biological specimens collected? Describe the process of data collection including consent, if applicable.

C.3. For each of the boxes checked in 1, where do these data, records or human biological specimens currently reside?

C.4. For each of the boxes checked in 1, from whom do you have permission to use the data, records or human biological specimens? Include data use agreements, if required by the custodian of data that are not publicly available.

C.5. If the research involves human biological specimens, has the purpose for which they were collected been met before removal of any excess? For example, has the pathologist in charge or the clinical laboratory director certified that the original clinical purpose has been satisfied? Explain if necessary.

yes no not applicable (explain)

C.6. Do all of these data records or specimens exist at the time of this application? If not, explain how prospective data collection will occur.

yes no If no, explain

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