The Higher Education Experiences of Native American Students: A Qualitative Study of Historical Trauma, Identity, and Institutional Support

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Chapters

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Literature
- 3. Methodology
- 4. Findings
- 5. Discussion

Chapter 1:

1. Adams, 1995; Child, 1998; Churchill, 2004; Lomawaima, 1999.

"Kill the Indian, save the man"

— U.S. Army Capt. Richard Pratt, founder of Carlisle Indian Industrial School¹

1. Adams, 1995; Churchill, 2004; Dixon & Trafzer, 2006; Ellis, 2006; Lomawaima, 1999; Pitcher Hayes, 2018.



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Study's Purpose, Professional Significance

- 0.8%: In 2016, percentage distribution of AI/AN enrolled in college¹
- 24%: In 2019, percentage of AI/AN ages 18-24 enrolled in college²
- 16%: In 2020, percentage of AI/AN earned Bachelor's or higher³
- Is there a **connection** between the Indian Boarding Schools and today's Native students' educational experiences? How do they **perceive their experiences** on campus? What can educators learn; how can we **better serve** Native students?

Chapter 2: Literature

- History of Indian Boarding Schools: Getting caught speaking heritage languages, practicing traditional ceremonies often provoked physical, sexual, or fatal abuse¹. Historical trauma took a hold of many survivors².
- Indigenous Research Methodologies: Native researchers' responsibilities: Privilege and protect Indigenous knowledgeways, co-create new knowledge in community, contribute findings to community to promote self-determination³.
- Belongingness with Today's Native Students: They feel belonging with other Native students and Native community members, which supports learning in the classroom⁴. Numbers are so few, and worldview so different⁵.

1. Adams, 1995; Child, 1998; Churchill, 2004; Pewewardy, 2005; Trafzer, Keller, & Sisquoc, 2006. 2. Urrieta, 2019. 3. Smith, 2012; Kovach, 2010; Swisher, 1998. 4. Wilson, 2008; Bradford, 2017; Brayboy, Fann, Castagno, & Solyom, 2012. 5. Smith, 2012; Fixico, 2009; Little Soldier, 1997.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Research Questions & Themes

- 1. What is the **university experience** like for today's Native American students along the following:
 - a. What do we need to understand about Native students' intersectional identities?
 - b. What do we need to understand about the **historical trauma of Indian Boarding Schools** felt by today's Native students? In what ways is that trauma felt?
 - c. What are the **present challenges and gaps in service** experienced by today's Native students?
- 2. In what ways do Native students perceive the university could **better support** Native students?

Chapter 4: Findings

Table 1

Demographic Information About Relatives in the University Context

	Margo	Theda	Phyliss	Jean	Marcos	Winona	Dennis
Age	20	23	20	22	20	27	25
First-Gen?	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Transferred?	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Major(s)	Sociology, Comm.	Sociology	History	Global Stud., Fem. Studies	Political Science	Enviro. Studies	Sociology
Minor(s)	N/A	Educational Studies	Educational Studies	German	Amer. Indian Studies	Amer. Indian Studies	AIIS, Applied Psychology
GPA	4.0	3.2	3.6	3.87	3.4	Alum; 3.6	Alum; 3.3
AISO Length	3 yrs.	1.5 yrs.	2 yrs.	3.5 yrs.	1.5 yrs.	3 + 4 yrs.	2 + 3 yrs.
Hard to Find?	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Safe on Campus?	No	No	"Tucks away" Indigeneity	Yes, but "stupid Qs"	Yes; "very proud"	No	No

Table 2

Demographic Information About Relatives' Identities

	Margo	Theda	Phyliss	Jean	Marcos	Winona	Dennis
Tribal Affiliation(s)	Lipan Apache, Lemhi Shoshone	Blackfoot, Apache	Choctaw	Arawak	Pascua Yaqui	Snohomish, Lummi, Haida	Chiricahua Apache, Wukchumni
ID w/ Other Culture?	"Mexican," "Caucasian"	"Mexican," "Spanish"	N/A	"European"	"White"	"White"	"Mexican"
ID Feels Most Connected	Native	Mexican	N/A	IDs are "Balanced"	"Native Mexican"	Native	Indigenous, "balanced"
Area Raised	Urban	Rural	Urban	Urban	Rural, near Reservation	Rural, near Reservation	Rural, near Reservation
LGBTQ2S?	Queer	No	No	Bisexual	No	No	Two-Spirit
IBS Relative?	Unsure	Yes	Yes	Avoided	Yes	Unsure	Elders
Speak?	Yes	Some	Some	No	Some	Some	Yes
Practice?	"Not able to"	"Trying to"	Yes	"w/ family"	Yes	Yes	Yes

Understanding Intersectional Identities

- Marcos: "I've met several people that have told me, 'I've never met a Native American in my life.' And I was like, 'you've probably seen some in passing. You just never knew.'"
- Margo: "It's like our people are trying to stand after we've been kicked to the ground, and before we can fully get up, the next generation is kicked down again."
- Theda: "They think we're some myth of the past. Some Halloween costume to wear. Some prop ... pop culture.
- Margo: "It's never really something you forget because these universities weren't created for us, and the way they continue to operate to this day makes it clear that being Indigenous, being a woman, being queer all of these things are intersections that would have prevented me from being able to go to a university 100 years ago."

Effects from Historical Trauma

"You know, they say evil doesn't go away ... it just shifts forms. ... I'm just seeing the similarities between the Indian Boarding School practices and the university's practices. Even though it's "mild," it still is triggering in a way where it's like **my mind automatically** goes into survival mode. Like, "okay, what do I need to do in order to survive this classroom?" You know? It may not be life-and-death-situation for me, but my mind automatically went to life-and-death. Like, "all right, what do I need to do? I'll do what I gotta do in order to make sure I pass this class. 'Cause I cannot fail, since I don't have all the time in the world." So I kind of went into survival mode and made sure I played the game, you know — the way of the colonizers – in order to make sure I pass that class. ... I didn't want to get my instructors mad if I disagreed with how they were representing Indigenous people ... Because if I made **them mad, that might affect my grade**. So **I didn't really feel safe** in that way.'" — Dennis

Effects from Historical Trauma, continued

"It just feels as though **the Western education system was not designed for us**. Our first entry into it was these boarding schools, which were **designed to strip us of our identity**, **break us down**, **assimilate us into mainstream culture** – and **disband our ties to our community, to our heritage, to our traditions, to our language, to our lifeways** – so that it would essentially **eradicate our communities**. And I guess **the education system hasn't changed**." – Winona

Present-Day Challenges/Gaps in Service

- Marcos: "I have felt super defeated sometimes. I'll just be like, "it's not worth fighting over." ... I shouldn't feel like my voice is not valid, in terms of my experiences in my heritage, where my people come from, in a space that's supposed to be inclusive of everybody."
- Winona: "Sometimes going to the classroom cannot even feel safe. ... Oftentimes, you're called to instead be the teacher ... which is even more frustrating and can be traumatizing or triggering." And, "There's no cultural advisor or spiritual advisor on staff for Native students to go to if they need a smudge, need someone to sing them a song, offer a prayer, or help provide some community counseling, you know?"
- **Phyliss:** "They have one-hundred percent **taken bones of ancestors** and sacred objects and put them in display cases and said, "**look how cool these things are'**."

Chapter 5: Discussion

Implications for Higher Education

- 1. Create a Native student support center/department.
- 2. Create a full **academic program**.
- 3. Initiate a **formal partnership** with the local Tribe.
- 4. Create a **path of services** from pre-college to career.

Tips for Preparing Native Youth for College

Indian Educators and Tribal Education Partners can play a special role in helping Native youth develop a sense of belongingness in school

A study in 2020 asked Native & Indigenous college students what kind of support they needed to safely and confidently be themselves on campus.* Educators can help Native students "find their fit" in school by exploring the following questions (hint: school staff can help you find the answers).

SUPPORTING <u>PRE-COLLEGE YOUTH</u> STARTING TO EXPLORE COLLEGE

- Des the collegy unhversity offer any culturally-centered college optiention programs? The university explored in this study offers a pre-college program for Native youth called STANOS (Student Shaing Action for Native Dreams of Success), and a recent attandee said the program helped her dediet to apply of the school because it was "where I could see myself having Indigenous family that's going to accept ne for who I and and help me lean about my culture"
- Does the school have an Admissions counselor dedicated to recruiting Native students? If not, does the school's website mention other staff who work with Native students and Who can explain supportive resources (e.g., scholarships, cultural programming)?
- Does the school offer a Native-centered academic program? For example, is there an American Indian & Indigenous Studies major or minor? If not, do students have the flexibility to create their own major or emphasis?
- Does the school offer a Native-centered living and learning community (i.e., dormitory or residence hall)? This might be important to an incoming Native student and according to research, in-community relationships become the foundation upon which new knowledge can be built (Wilson, 2008).
- Does the school have a Native cultural resources center or Native student support services department? Students who participated in this study reported the need for a safe space on campus where they could connect with each other and participate in cultural and ceremonial practices, and research confirms this (Definal, Jr. 1994).
- How well are Nathy people represented on campus? How many of the school's student's denthy as American Indian or Alaska Native? How about the school's facuity and staff? Are there any Notive-centered staff or facuity presisional organizations on campus? Students who participated in this study staff it was important to them to take ocurse stught by Native facuity and to receive support services, such as counseling.from Native staff.
- Does the school actively engage area Titles? Does the school have a formal practice of acknowledging or working with the Title(s) in its area? All of the students who participated in this study spreased a need for the university to acknowledge and work with the local Title. One student said, "The elders have all this knowledge and tips and tricks on how to naydige title as a Natve, and when you move into new spaces and onto new land and need to get connected... ah, Ineeded that."

Are there cultural clubs or organizations that Nathe students can join? In rid, obset is action of first students the opportunity to orset their own? The students enrolled at the university equirodin this study belong to a 51-yearold Nathe American student organization, and they enjoy a "famil" viell coseness. One student study. 1 don't even

SUPPORTING STUDENTS WHILE

- know how to explain it, but it was like an instant comfort. It was like '0h. *I belong here.* I can be me." It might also be helpful if Tribal education staff reached out to the Tribes living near schools to introduce their Native students as new guests to the land.
- Are courses offered in which Native identities, histories, languages, and experiences are current and accurately reflected? Sometimes students need help examining ocurse catalogs and splitab when registering for classes. For example, review splitab to see if courses' required readings are authored by hative or indigenous writers or if faculty ever innet Kative guest spaces to lecture in their classes, especially if they are from area Trobs. Tribal education stuff might also enourage Native students to constain each other or online student reviews of courses in which Native issues are taught, as other's ophionare are sometimes helpful.
- Do schools' LGBTQ+ centers recognize Two-Splitt (25) relatives? According to research, sometimes LGBTQ+ and Queer People of Color (OPC) communities leave out 25 people, further ensing their identifies (Driskill, 2010). Tribal education staff might help Native LGBTQ25+ students find resources on or near campus that affirm their hull identifies.
- Do social justice, recial justice, and/or diversity and inclusion trainings offered on campus include modern and accurate information about Native identifies and experiences? All or the students in this study expressed frustration that people an campus talked about Native people in the past-tense or in connection to barmful stereotypes, and research confirms this (Little Solder, 1997). Thiol education staff might help Native Students identify or participate in developing trainings for the campus community that accurative prefet Native people today.
- Are there Native-identified clinicians and psychologists on staff? Many of the students in this study wheld to receive culturally informed and/or traditional methods of care, particularly from trauma-informed professionals. If no information is available, Tribal adouation staff might help Native students figure out If they are living within the service areas of any Indian clinics, Tribal TANFs, or other Nativeserving agencies.

*Tp: based on intenses with Nation existing stadents who participated in a taidy doen at a Dalifornia university in 2020. For more Information, contract Readingt (Dinatam Nation of Oblitoms), kerificach edu a lintenses with Nation e Volgel-1, God is Red. A Native Yiever of Natigiuro Entidit, Q. (2010). Dubbasening Tai Spirit Chayame: Bailing Microson Britemen Native and Queer Stadin Little Solder, I. (1907). Ja There an Induer in Your Classroom's Working accessfully with Urban Native American Students; Wilson, G. (2008). Research is Commony, Indigmous Research Methods. Little Solder, I. (1907). Ja There an Induer in Your Classroom's Working accessfully with Urban Native American Students; Wilson, G. (2008). Research is Commony, Indigmous Research Methods.

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Yakoke chito! (Thank you so much!)

95%

Percentage of Turtle Island population wiped out from point of contact (1492) to end of Indian Wars (1890)¹



"Kill the Indian, save the man"

— Capt. Richard Henry Pratt, founder of Carlisle Indian Industrial School¹

1. Adams, 1995; Dixon & Trafzer, 2006; Ellis, 2006; Lomawaima, 1999; Pitcher Hayes, 2018; Churchill, 2004.



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Research Site & Participants

Research Site: Large public research university located in California's Central Coast

- Land-grant institution that sits atop tribal land
- Enrolls more self-identified American Indian/Alaska Native students than any school within its larger system

Research Participants

- 5 interviews with members of AISO
- 2 interviews with AISO alums

Data Gathering & Analysis Procedures

Data Gathering

- Created three interview protocols (students, alumni, tribal relatives)
- Received IRB approval
- Conducted a pilot test
- Compensated volunteers with a \$15 gift card and medicine bundle

Analysis Procedures

- Took extensive notes; recorded all interviews; transcribed by Rev.com
- Coded with In Vivo and Descriptive approach¹; applied *self-in-relation interpretation* and *inward knowledge* where appropriate²

Challenges				Identity			Trauma
ack of Funding, Space & Resources Need More Native Sta		Conflict in Classroom, in C	Made to Feel They Do	Others' Perceptions and Misperce Others' Lack of Awareness	Being Native	Racism and Microagg	Indian Boarding Schools
Unpaid Labor		Indigenous Knowledge	Alumni Want Support				Campus Feels Unsafe
Dissatisfied, Feels Unsupported Trouble Finding AISO Administrat			Belonging				
				Belonging with AISO	Belonging with Campus	Belonging with Local T	Colonization
	Local Tribe	• Not Recognized					

Figure 1. Tree map shows, in hierarchical order, the themes that emerged in this study's findings.

History of Indian Education

- Four "**naturalized tenets**"¹ were culturally constructed to justify bringing colonial education to Indians "**education for extinction**"².
- **1879:** First federally-run, off-reservation Indian boarding school opens.
- Getting caught speaking heritage languages, practicing traditional ceremonies often provoked physical, sexual, or fatal abuse³. Historical trauma took a hold of many survivors⁴.
- Practices slowly changed; **some found value** in learning White ways⁵.

^{1.} Lomawaima, 1999. 2. Adams, 1995. 3. Adams, 1995; Child, 1998; Churchill, 2004; Pewewardy, 2005; Trafzer, Keller, & Sisquoc, 2006. 4. Urrieta, 2019. 5. Ellis, 2006; Child, 1998, Wildcat, 2001.

Indigenous Research Methodologies

- Native researchers' **responsibilities**: Privilege and protect Indigenous knowledgeways, co-create new knowledge in community, contribute findings back to community to promote self-determination¹.
- Kovach²: Research-sharing circle, inward knowledge, cultural protocol, self-in-relation interpretation, interpretive meaning-making
- Additional **responsibilities**: State positionality³, Indigenize the academy⁴, publish/cite Native researchers⁵, share knowledge⁶, invite allies to help⁷

^{1.} Smith, 2012; Kovach, 2010; Swisher, 1998. 2. Kovach, 2010. 3. Guyette, 1983. 4. Kovach, 2010. 5. Swisher, 1998. 6. Smith, 2012. 7. Guyette, 1983; Myers, n.d.

Belongingness with Today's Native Students

- Native students feel **belonging with other Native students** and Native community members, which supports learning in the classroom¹.
- Numbers so few, worldview so different means Native students shoulder added responsibilities². **Resilience sourced from each other**³.
- Little discussed about Native students' **intersectional identities**: Urban, rural, and reservation Indians⁴; multiracial, multitribal, and "looking Indian"⁵; religion and spirituality⁶; gender and sexual diversity⁷.

1. Wilson, 2008; Bradford, 2017; Brayboy, Fann, Castagno, & Solyom, 2012. 2. Smith, 2012; Fixico, 2009; Little Soldier, 1997. 3. Bradford, 2017. 4. Little Soldier, 1997. 5. Little Soldier, 1997; Horse, 2005; Wildcat, 2001. 6. Deloria, Jr., 1994. 7. Driskill, 2010.

Data Analysis: In Vivo Coding Samples

Sample **direct quotes** pulled from Relative's interviews:

- "We come to campus already carrying a lot."
- "If you don't know that we exist, then you just don't get me."
- "It is such a White institution. It is just inherently obvious, day in and day out, that it wasn't meant for me."
- "I know I don't look the way that people expect me to look, and I don't want them to think that I'm a box-checker."
- "I also wish there were more Native faculty that we could rely on to just, you know, teach courses about actual Native people and not some Eurocentric, White-washed history."
- "I see similarities between the Indian Boarding School practices and the university's practices."

Data Analysis: Descriptive Coding Themes

Major Themes Related Minor Themes and Subthemes

- Lack of funding, space, and resources: Need more Native staff and faculty; no major or academic department; unpaid labor; sub-standard student support services
 - Conflict in classroom and curricula: Indigenous knowledge not valued
 - Made to feel they don't belong: Alumni want support
 - Dissatisfied, feels unsupported
 - Trouble finding AISO
 - Local Tribe not recognized
 - Administration talks, but no action

Data Analysis: Descriptive Coding Themes

Major Themes	Related Minor Themes and Subthemes
Identity	 Others' perceptions and misperceptions Others' lack of awareness Being Native Racism and microaggressions Discomfort in identifying Being tokenized or fetishized
Belonging	 Belonging with AISO Belonging with campus Belonging with local Tribe

Data Analysis: Descriptive Coding Themes

Major Themes Related Minor Themes and Subthemes

Trauma

- Indian Boarding Schools
- Campus feels unsafe
- Colonization

Data Analysis

Example of applied Inward Knowledge:

Winona:

"Our people are scientists. We know how to make up our medicines, how to doctor people, take care of our lands, take care of her animals. We know how to live in a different way, think in a different way, pray in a different way."

"There's no place for Native students to go if they need a smudge, someone to sing them a song, offer a prayer ... have access to medicine."

My applied Inward Knowledge:

Elders have taught me which plants can be used as medicine (for health and ceremony), how and when to gather them, how to honor them (spirit of reciprocity), and how to protect them, and that enables me to co-create knowledge construction with Relative F. Similarly, I have been gifted songs (learned the words and how and when to sing them) and been smudged in ceremony. I have received a corn pollen blessing.

Data Analysis

Example of applied Self-in-Relation Interpretation:

Winona: Today's students vs. ancestors who survived Indian Boarding Schools:

"They're making it ... that's because they've learned how to cope. They've learned about this New World. They've had time to acclimate, adjust, and learn from previous generations' traumas. ... We all know we're okay, so when we go into this space that's White-dominated, we're going to act *this way* and then we're going to leave."

Self-in-Relation Interpretation by me, a Native researcher/scholar:

My relatives attended Indian Boarding Schools in the 1930s and '40s — thankfully, after the darkest days were over. Hearing about one's experiences, having visited one of their schools — especially seeing the campus cemetery, and remembering when I felt like I didn't belong in school affords me a related understanding to what Winona was talking about.

Types of Support AISO Students Want

- Safe space on campus to do ceremony
- More visibility, Indigenous art
- More awareness and training not to be talked about in the past-tense
- A full academic program a major, Ph.D. emphasis, research center, department
- More Native staff and faculty
- More relevant courses; courses centered on Indigenous knowledgeways
- A way to "take the temperature for students' needs"; needs-assessment
- Investments in Native communities, projects; divestment in opposing projects
- Recognition of and partnership with local Tribe

Overcoming Barriers

- Dennis, of AISO: "We have this family that just keeps on growing, you know? We have a lot of good resources, and I feel like we create a very, very good sense of belonging to the point where people want to stick around and stay connected. And they do still refer to AISO as their family-away-from-family. I know from talking to different AISO alumni that they actually feel more connected to our AISO family than to their own families sometimes, which is very powerful once you think about it."
- Marcos, of AISO: "In AISO, we embrace everyone's diverse richness, in our own cultures. It's just so beautiful how we're all diverse and we promote that diversity, but we all are a collective one and relate to each other as Indigenous people, as Native people."
- Margo, of AISO: "It's the only reason that I've been able to stay at this school and thrive."

Overcoming Barriers, continued

- Theda, of the Tribe: "I remember them coming in, doing blessings for us, and it was just a really, really nice way to feel connected to the land and the land's people. Like, "Okay. I'm okay to be here. I got the blessing." It was honestly just really important to me."
- Phyliss, of the Tribe: "They're so welcoming and kind to us, even though we're in their space. Like they're just good people. They have such kind hearts, considering all the horrible things that have happened and the way that they're still treated, the way that the university treats their land. They are so, so amazing and resilient and beautiful people, and I love them very much."
- Margo, of "Deb": "She's just kind of been my local mom. Just super welcoming ... like I was welcomed not only at this school, but on her land."

Discussion of Findings

- Findings largely aligned with literature, most of which was Native-authored.
- **Expanded in areas** of students' commitment to:
 - Learning heritage languages
 - Practicing old religions and traditions
 - Promoting traditional Indigenous knowledgeways
 - Paying attention to inward knowledge¹

Limitations & Implications for Research

- 1. **Identity Generalizability:** Asked only to speak from Native perspectives, but how do other aspects influence educational experiences?
- 2. **Only AISO:** But what do we know about other Native students' (not in AISO) educational experiences?
- 3. **No Tribal participation:** What expectations does the Tribe have of the university that sits on its land?
- 4. **Only California:** How do findings compare at NNCUs in other states with high populations of Native residents (e.g., Oklahoma, Arizona, New Mexico)?

Implications for Tribal Education Programs

To support <u>pre-college</u> Native youth starting to explore college:

- 1. Does the college/university offer any culturally-centered college exploration programs?
- 2. Does the school have an Admissions counselor dedicated to recruiting Native students?
- 3. Does the school offer a Native-centered living and learning community (i.e., dormitory or residence hall)?
- 4. Does the school have a Native cultural resources center or Native student support services department?
- 5. How well are Native people represented on campus?
- 6. Does the school actively engage area Tribes?

Implications for Tribal Education Programs

To support Native students <u>while enrolled</u> in college:

- 1. Are there cultural clubs or organizations that Native students can join? If not, does the school offer students the opportunity to create their own?
- 2. Are courses offered in which Native identities, histories, languages, and experiences are current and accurately reflected?
- 3. Do schools' LGBTQ+ centers recognize Two-Spirit (2S) relatives?
- 4. Do social justice, racial justice, and/or diversity and inclusion trainings offered on campus include modern and accurate information about Native identities and experiences?
- 5. Are there Native-identified clinicians and psychologists on staff?