The Cultural Capital of American Indian Students in an Off-Reservation, Public High School

by

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ABSTRACT

The growing population of American Indian students who attend off-reservation school has been under researched. This absence in American Indian education research, their unique needs and their growing numbers warrant more attention. To address this absence in education research literature, this study captures the experiences of American Indian students in an off-reservation high school. Through Social Reproduction Theory and Cultural Capital Theory this qualitative study makes known the varying ways that American Indian students in off-reservation high schools comply and resist formal schooling. Through interviews and observations of these students, in addition their teachers and administrators, I document and interpret their experiences. The data suggest that American Indian students strongly connect to and use their tribal identities to negotiate school. By recognizing the rules of the school, these students employ different forms of cultural and social capital, specifically the importance of space and forms of communication. Even though their high school has a high population of American Indian students, they continue to experience challenges in academic success through stereotypical assumptions, expected roles, and structural barriers. Illustrating student identity as effects of the social reproduction process clearly demonstrates resistance, compliance, and agency of these students in their high school.

DEDICATION

Dedicated to my nephew – Tyson Ryder Begay.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For over 500 years American Indians have faced colonization and assimilation. As indigenous peoples to North America, American Indians maintain a cultural and political sovereign status to the lands in the United States. At no point in history have surviving American Indians relinquished their inherent sovereignty. Through formal agreements, or treaties, American Indian tribes have negotiated their rights in different capacities, yet never to extinguish their sovereignty.

American Indians have endured many changes. From discovery and contact to relocation and removal through allotment, reorganization, termination and ultimately self-determination, American Indians have survived an onslaught of attacks and maintain a steadfast conviction to retain their land, determine their future, and remain a persistent people.

Much of the change the American Indians endured was through the coercive efforts of education. American Indians have a unique history with mainstream formal education (Skinner, 1999). Education has been, and continues to be, used as a tool of assimilation (Margolis & Rowe, 2004). Lomawaima (1995) wrote, “The goals of the colonial education of American Indians have been to transform Indian people and societies and to eradicate Indian self-government, self-determination, and self-education” (p. 5).

From the earliest recorded contacts between Europeans and American Indians, education was an instrument used to coerce and assimilate Indigenous peoples. Early accounts suggest Spanish and French Jesuits used religion and education to save

"paganistic" tribal people from eternal damnation (Nichols, 2003). Later stories present a formal structured English European approach who designed schools specifically for American Indians' transformation from savagery to civilization (Adams, 1995).

These early education experiences have affected the academic success of contemporary American Indian students. The assimilation tactics have impacted the achievement process for many tribal communities. Indigenous authors (Mann, 2008; Weaver & Yellow Heart Brave Heart, 1999; Wildcat, 2008) argue that much of what occurred in the past has direct relationship to the significant challenges that American Indians face today.

Statement of the Problem

There are approximately 620,000 American Indian primary and secondary aged students. Over 90% of American Indian K-12 students attend public schools; while only 7% attend Bureau of Indian Affairs funded schools (National Indian Education Association [NIEA], 2011). According to the National Indian Education Study (2011) American Indian students in grades 4 & 8 scored lower in reading and math, than their White counterparts. Further, the gap widened by 4%, in math assessments from 2005 to 2011. While the 3% gap in reading scores remained the same.

In Arizona, the achievement outlook remains consistently bleak. According to the 2013 Arizona Instrument to Measure Standards (AIMS) test results, American Indian students performed lower than all other student populations in math and reading assessments (Arizona Department of Education, 2013). For math proficiency more the half, 59%, of American Indian students, fall into the combined categories of "falls far

below" and "approaches" proficiency compared to their White counterparts at 25%. This means that American Indian students fail at more than twice the rate of White students.

Reading proficiency continually demonstrates an achievement gap. American Indians students performed at 40% in combined categories of "falls far below" and "approaches" compared to their White counterparts at 12%. This means that American Indian students fail at the rate of two thirds of White students.

Behavioral factors affect the success rate of students as well. American Indian students are more likely to be absent to be suspended, or to be expelled than other populations except Black students (Freeman & Fox, 2005). These low numbers of achievement and distinct behaviors contribute to the dismal high school graduation rate of 42% for American Indian students compared 76.2% for their White colleagues (NIEA, 2011).

When American Indian students leave (Bickerstaff, 2010), dropout (Faircloth & Tippeconnic, 2010), or are pushed out (Advancement Project, 2010) of "elementary and secondary schools at rates that range between 40 and 60%" (St. Germaine, 1995, cited in Klug & Whitfield, 2003, p. 1), it is understandable that they cannot access higher education opportunities in proportion to other groups. Moreover, higher education dropout rates are also proportionally higher (Devoe & Darling-Churchill, 2008; Faircloth & Tippeconnic, 2010; Swisher, Hoisch, & Pavel, 1991).

Data suggest that only 17% of American Indian students who graduate from high school continue onto higher education (NIEA, 2011). This low rate of matriculation further dampens the likelihood of persistence, retention, and graduation from an institution of higher education (Tato, 2006). Though American Indian college enrollment

has made gains, primarily from the late 1970's through 2000's, these enrollment rates, 1% in 2013 are severely less than any other group.

Urban Context

Recent data indicate that American Indians make up 1.7 % (or 5.2 million) of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). American Indian population grew 39% over the past decade, compared to the total United States' 9.7%. Contrary to popular belief, the majority of American Indians (78%) reside in locations deemed non-Indian areas or "off-reservation", i.e. Federal Indian reservations, trust lands, and state designated Indian reservations (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012, Freedenthale & Stiffman, 2004). Yet, there is little focus on the experiences of off-reservation experiences. "Scholars of American Indian studies and history have focused mostly on reservation issues… Moreover, indigenous people in urban environments face struggles not encountered on reservations" (Vicente Carpio, 2011, pp. 4-5).

Urban relocation has affected tribal communities since detribalization and termination and relocation programs began in the 1950's (Vicente Carpio, 2011). Urban relocation programs were designed to lure American Indians into cities and assimilate them into mainstream lifestyles. My own life story is an outcome of Federal relocation programs and boarding schools.

Standpoint

I grew up as an off-reservation student and attended predominantly non-Indian public high school. My family is originally from a small town on the Navajo reservation

in NW New Mexico. However, my father and mother built their lives and raised our family in Washington State. Thus, I was a Navajo who grew up in the Northwest.

During the early 1950's, my father went to Intermountain Indian School in Brigham City, UT., one of the federally funded boarding schools for American Indians that had been developed as a result of Captain Richard Pratt's school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. The goal of the boarding schools was "to kill the Indian to save the Man". Typical of Anglo-Americans in the 19th century, Pratt characterized tribal societies as "Communistic," "indolent," "dirty," and "ignorant" contrasting this with western civilization, characterized as "virile," "peaceable," "industrious," and "individualistic." The Carlisle Model established schooling for cultural extinction (Malmsheimer, 1985, p. 5). Though he does not know what year he went, my father vividly and skeptically recalls his education experience. On one occasion he recalls the dormitory lifestyle. He said, "Boys and girls were always separate, they had different things to do. I remember we ate together, I didn't see any girls for the rest of the day" (B. Begay, personal communication, July 21, 2010). Like other young Navajo males, my father was enticed by the Union Pacific Railroad Company to work as a laborer and leave school. He jumped at the opportunity. As the years passed, my father stayed with Union Pacific and moved around the Northwest to fulfill various jobs. After 45 years, he retired in 2005.

My mother grew up in New Mexico and knew my father's family well. As she grew up, she experienced life differently than my father, even though they grew up in the same small community. My mother went the local Bureau of Indian Affairs' (BIA) elementary day school. She academically achieved in school. My mother's uncle was a strong influence on her to envision opportunities off-reservation. He was a BIA employee

and an advocate for BIA schooling. While growing up, at times, my mother lived with her uncle and his family and began to experience some off-reservation opportunities.

Through trials and tribulations, eventually my mother and father courted, married and settled in the Northwest. Their decision to settle in the Northwest was primarily job-related. The Union Pacific Railroad kept my father in positions in locations in the Northwest. He felt a strong duty to continue his career no matter what the consequences, i.e. living off-reservation, social and cultural despair. My mother adapted well to life off-reservation. She acquired a skill and expertise in clothes manufacturing and we lived in neighbor in South Seattle. My parents' understanding of education in public school was a pragmatic one. There were public elementary and high schools two blocks away from our house and the choice for schooling was not debated, but chose due to proximity.

I grew up and went to schools in Washington because my parents believed moved us there. My conception of school was not a conscious one. I believed school was a natural part of growing up. I looked around and saw that my friends and neighbors were attending school, my brother and sisters were going to school and so I went to school, just the same as everyone else. Though I do not know why they (neighbors, brothers and sisters, etc.) went to school, I do know that they went.

At school I did well. I learned the varying subject material well, I volunteered to assist the teachers, I was chosen as hall monitor because of my good behavior, I invited and demanded, my mother attend open houses, teacher conferences, and evening school events—and she did. I did not find the school work to be challenging. I did not find myself at odds with the schedule or expectations. I simply understood that adults had authority and we, students, must follow directions. I saw that role everywhere – at home,

at church, at the grocery store, at my friends' house, and in the local neighborhoods. So, to assume that I could challenge that authority at school, let alone any of those contexts, was unfathomable. Therefore, maneuvering through and being successful in public schools constructed my academic experience from Pre-K to the present.

Despite our geographical separation from a concentrated form of Navajo knowledge, strong tenets of Navajo knowledge—cultural foods, daily language use, photos, spirituality/prayers, and kinship responsibilities—were present in my upbringing at home. I clearly recall my Navajoness as I grew. In my elementary school classes I was the token American Indian. Though, there were other American Indian students in my grade level and in my class, though they had pale skin complexions and could not respond to "Indian" questions. I on the other hand had strong physical attributes of Indian and could respond to "Indian" questions, i.e. what kinds of foods do you eat?; what do your people wear?; what does your reservation look like? To my teachers who were old, female, and white, I looked like an Indian and therefore, often, played the role.

In schools, my sister, who is one year older than me, and I received Johnson-O'Malley supplies – pencils, paper, notebooks, etc. My mother, my sisters and I participated in the schools district's Title VII Indian education programs. Weekly we attended evening "cultural classes" that taught beading course, local traditional foods, Indian games and stories, etc. Because we lived in Washington State, these cultural classes represented the lives, worldviews and cultural activities of the northwest Tribes. These practical activities were not similar to the Navajo-based activities we learned at home. Often, my mother would let us participate in the cultural activities at the cultural class, but at home would tell us," That is not how Navajos do it." My mother provided

strong notions of Navajo. She made sure that me and my siblings knew that we were Navajo, and not a northwest Indian.

While I did not know it at the time, I recognized and learned an inter-tribal approach to being Indian discussed by Lobo and Peters, (2001). Inter-tribal refers to the conglomeration of various American Indian peoples' representing multiple tribal affiliations with individual tribal, spiritual, historical, and social activities that generally, manifest as powwows/social gatherings, cultural regalia, tribal history and Native language knowledge and use.

In my middle class homogenous white high school, there were few ethnic/racial minorities. There were a couple dozen American Indian Students, a larger number of Hispanic/Latino(a) students, Asian students and very few Black students. There were no groups, clubs, school activities (i.e. cultural assemblies) that recognize the racial/ethnic differences in student population.

My sister seemingly was not interested in what our high school offered. She had questionable behavior. She did not go to classes, complete homework, did poorly on tests, and chose friends that acted like her. I was different. I regularly attended class, completed assignments, engaged in after school activities-theater club, and had friends that did the same. The American Indian students were not visible. Because our numbers were so small, if the Native students did not look Native, I did not know them. However, when they saw me, some students would ask me what Tribe am I from. I had two friends that were from local tribes; one was Umatilla from Pendleton, OR and the other was Quinault from Aberdeen, WA. The majority of my other friends at school and at work were White and Hispanic/Latino(a).

Cultural Capital Theory and Inter-tribalism

Cultural Capital Theory. This study focuses on the interactions between high school students and their school. By recognizing these interactions, educators and policymakers can understand how these students' interactions relate to their experience. By understanding their experiences it shows how the students fit at the schools. This includes knowing the formal and informal messages of the schools and these messages encourage and discourage students.

In his early studies, social reproduction theorist Pierre Bourdieu (1977) acknowledged that societies unfairly draw upon social class elements from dominant classes. By doing so, Bourdieu argued that schools place more value on the social and cultural values of its students from the upper classes. When student's values, morals and behaviors are similar to or congruent with those the expectations, curriculum, timing, etc of the school structure, they achieve. Conversely, when students, whose values, morals and behaviors are not valued at the school, they struggle.

Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1993) recognized and coined the term cultural capital to describe the symbolic knowledges and behaviors reproduced by structures. Cultural capital describes: "the most significant techniques of the body-ways (i.e. eating, talking, history, dispositions, knowledge, etc.) … and engage the most fundamental principles of construction and evaluation of the social world" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 170). Cultural capital is an understanding of differing worldviews as it relates to privileged status and how those statuses are structurally validated, accepted, and reproduced. In recent years, researchers (Baxter, 2009, Lareau, 1989; Lareau & Horvat, 1996; Madigan 1992) have

used the concept and redefined its purpose to "explain" social inequality and class bias. While Bourdieu used cultural capital to "understand" high social status privilege and how it reproduces.

Bourdieu's original work stems from France and sought to understand social reproduction of an elite class. However American sociologists in the 1970's borrowed the term and redesigned it to explain social inequality and bias. Students possess certain knowledges, values, and sets of beliefs (capital), which Bourdieu defined as symbolic capital. Further, he argued that this symbolic capital is created and molded by surroundings and social location and influenced by the on-going and shifting social milieu (culture). Cultural capital is not about the quantity of dispositions. Rather, about the quality of dispositions. Moreover, about how institutions of education recognize and readily accept certain kinds of cultural capital and not others.

Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1993) theory of cultural capital helps my study by highlighting the schools social class structure. Then I am able to recognize the social position of my participants.

Cultural capital describes the symbolic power and behaviors that individuals and structures maintain. Cultural capital is an understanding of differing worldviews and how those views manifest.

Bourdieu maintains that everyone possesses unique cultural capital to their upbringing. Symbolic capital is the combination of thoughts and deep-seated beliefs that we hold. These worldviews and beliefs are derivations of our lifestyles. Families that enjoy certain life experiences due to their economic situations—i.e. wealth and high class status—such as theatre, museums, and the symphony learn certain types of behaviors by

attending these events. People recognize and learn the do's and do not's or to appreciate the social etiquette of these environments. Those attributes are generally passed down from parent to child. While at the same time, families that are not wealthy or are from lower social classes, engage in different activities, such as monster truck rallies, NASCAR racing events and hunting, learn certain types of behaviors by attending these events.

The distinction that Bourdieu writes about includes the social institutions, i.e. schools, which readily accept and favor certain sets of cultural capital. These sets of cultural capital generally align well with a biased structure that holds true to a pre-determined value that reinforces particular social truths. "The education system reproduces all the more perfectly the structure of the distribution of cultural capital of classes…in that the culture which it transmits is closer to the dominant culture and that the mode of inculcation practiced by the family" (p. 70). The family that has more cultural capital in common with the dominant society's cultural capital will generally be more successful, because the family holds similar worldviews and beliefs to that of the dominant society.

Jean Anyon (1981, 1995) writes about the differing curricula and teacher expectations as determined by social class. In her germinal work Anyon (1981) creatively outlines and compares the pedagogy, curricula, and student responses of five different schools. Each school is labeled by the population of the students. These students represent varied social classes. Anyon demonstrated that the social class of the students greatly influenced the type of education they received. Issues of rote memorization and discombobulated facts and dates inundated the student's in lower social class at two

schools. In contrast, Anyon observed that students in higher social class-based schools received instruction that fostered individual thought and creativity. She recognized that each school had different expectations that were closely aligned with the social class of its community. While social class is key to understanding Anyon's discussion, she reminds us that,

> Social class is considered as a series of relationships to several aspects of the process in society by which goods, services, and culture are produced. That is, while one's occupational status and income level contribute to one's social class, they do not define it. (Anyon, 1981, p.4)

Anyon critiqued these varying forms of schooling and demonstrated the varying ways of how knowledge is created, recreated, and reproduced. Thereby, she uncovered the influence of the cultural capital of the students and their parents' in relation to the school structure and control.

Another strong example of how cultural capital is used in American education context is in Annette Lareau's (1989) "Home Advantage: Social Class, and Parental Intervention in Elementary Education." Lareau found similar relationships between knowledge, expectation, control, and social class. She documented how the social class and parent involvement yielded significant and separate results at two different social class-based elementary schools. The students at each school came from varying families of different income and social class. In Lareau's study, "the concept of cultural capital illuminates why social class has such an important influence on family-school linkages" (p. 177). Lareau discussed how each school created and maintained relationships with students and their families. Through a variety of family-school oriented engagement

activities, Lareau interpreted the different ways that each school encouraged and discouraged parent involvement. Lareau identified how the cultural capital of the schools and the families were used to illustrate social class reproduction.

In addition, in Willis' seminal work, Learning to Labour (1977), demonstrated the symbolic capital of the Lads in stark contrast to the symbolic capital of the school structure. The 'Lads' were caught in an 'in-between' state of existence—they were caught between the structure of schooling and individual agency. They reinterpreted their identities based on a symbolic and material understanding. Though the actions of the Lads can be seen as counter school culture, they also recognize that they do, indeed, reinforce their own social location.

Inter-Tribalism. In American Indian communities, often, the symbolic capital is incongruent with their student's experiences; which suggest one reason for a disjunction between academic achievements of American Indian students and their mainstream counterparts (Hampton, 1995).

> The forced acculturation of tribal children through western education, particularly in boarding schools, has left scars on tribal communities, in many cases undercutting tribal culture in critical ways (as was the intention of these educational policies). (Rumbaugh Whitesell, Mitchell, & Spicer, 2009, p. 39)

Demmert and Towner's (2003) extensive review of the literature regarding the influences of culturally-based education on American Indian students found that disconnections with community/heritage ideals, values, and beliefs led to a general weakening of identity. A prime example is that schools emphasize achievement and usurp the importance of community in student's beliefs and knowledge. The lack of

community and communitarian values represented in school curriculum creates a dichotomy in which the student recognizes the value placed on curriculum and the less-valued community knowledge. Because students recognize the importance of school and achievement, some struggle to be successful at the cost of community and cultural values, beliefs and ideologies (Rumbaugh Whitesell, Mitchell, & Spicer, 2009). Others reject school's cultural capital and this may be a large factor in high dropout and failure rates. In part, my research aims to address this issue.

Further, both, American Indian and non-American Indian researchers argue that the relationships between achievement rates and the Indian cultural capital is important and key to understanding how Native students achieve (Barnhardt, 1999; Dehyle, 1992; Phillips, 1983). Testing outcomes have been shown to be particularly important:

> In education, normative data are used to determine the achievement level on various standardized test that teachers can expect students to reach for different grade levels and the material covered in those grades. (Klug & Whitfield, 2003, p. 148)

Standardized test are measures of achievement that are often dictated by a system of standards that reflect the cultural, economic, and political milieu of a larger society and not necessarily the tribal community (Wolcott, 1994). There, in essence, are norms that can translate to capital that may or may not be accessible to American Indian students.

Mainstream education has a long history influencing American Indian identity. These formal institutions and ideological structures manipulated the internal core of being Indian. These schools were active in the deterioration of American Indian-ness. Education, via schools, has long been an instrument to influence and recreate American

Indians. The history and relationship between schools and the identity process for American Indians has been shown to be complex and disparaging.

The purpose of this qualitative study is to build upon and enhance public school policy by understanding how the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977) of American Indian high school students intersects with off-reservation public high schools. I examined the cultural capital of American Indian students and its "goodness-of-fit" with public high schools. I use Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital to understand how my participants experience high school. I looked at how my participants engaged with their high school rules and expectations and interpreted those engagements as examples of resistance or compliance. Bourdieu's (1977) original intent of cultural capital was to comprehend the social reproduction of social status, but I use a modified definition of the term to understand the dissonance, as well as the compliance my participants experienced. I want to highlight how my participants reacted to the expectations, dispositions, values, beliefs, and behaviors of Jumpers High School's formal and informal cultural capital.

I studied the: (1) Native American Club (a social and cultural student support organization) and (2) the Students Honoring Individual Excellence and Determination (SHIELD) Program (a study-skills based elective course) influence the intersection. I began my journey at Jumpers in the fall semester of 2006.

Through interviews, observations and document review, I collected data to write vignettes that highlight how the students experienced school. By knowing how students react to the cultural capital of schools we can see how these public school programs influence the identity development of American Indian students. This research study adds

to the knowledge base and informs public school policy development and implementation. Four questions guide this research study:

A. How do students perceive what it means to be American Indian?
B. In what ways do American Indian students demonstrate their cultural capital?
C. In what ways does the participants' cultural capital fit with the schools'?
D. How does participation in school based clubs and programs influence American Indians' cultural capital?

My participant-observation research took place at Jumpers High School (pseudonym). Jumpers High School has the highest population of American Indian high school students (9%) in the Sinagua Public School District and has developed and maintained working relationships with its neighboring Indian reservations. I began my relationship with Sinagua Public School District because I knew the director of the American Indian Education Program. I asked the Director if I could volunteer time with high school students. At first I volunteered 2 hours per week. As time went on I volunteered up to 10 hours per week. I worked with the onsite American Indian Liaison and three American Indian SHIELD teachers. The on-site Liaison was the Native American Club sponsor. Together we coordinated the Annual social powwow, organized Native American Club meetings, facilitated interaction between the Club and the school and worked the fundraisers. During this same time I began my Phd program. Upon completing my coursework, I designed the current study and felt Jumpers was the ideal location.

At this point I have volunteered with the Sinagua Public Schools American Indian Education Program for over 7 years. I have been a SHIELD academic mentor and Native American Club volunteer.

As a volunteer mentor to Native American students, I worked closely with Ms. Raincloud and I was introduced around campus and became a familiar face. During this time I became a fixture, advocate, and assistant Club advisor for the Native American Club. The Club was strong with ambitious students who held far reaching ideals of what they wanted the Club to accomplish. The Club was one of the most active on campus and proudly the most second in number of club members.

In the spring semester of 2007, district changes came to the Native American student support delivery service at Jumpers High. A different and innovative approach to Native student support was piloted. The program was successful at a nearby high school that was in a different school district and that had a large population of Native students. Mrs. Avon began the necessary steps to implement the new program at Jumpers High; Students Honoring Individual Excellence through Learning and Determination – SHIELD.

Native American Club. The first Club meeting I attended was at lunchtime in the mini-auditorium of the academic building. The regular Club meetings had about 50 students attending. I was amazed. I generally and carefully found a seat in the back to watch and learn. The Club's mission:

> The mission of the Jumpers High School Native American Club is to provide Native American students with an opportunity to investigate their culture and traditions as well as providing Non-Native Americans with an opportunity to learn about various Native American cultures and traditions. In addition, we aim to promote education and unity among our

> Native American community as well as with the non-Native American communities we are among. ("Native American Club website", n.d.)

The Native American Club is one of the largest, strongest and most active at Jumpers High School. With the membership fluctuating between 50 and 75 students, a bank account holding in excess of $13K from fundraising efforts, and a strong showing of inter-tribal and inter-grade level of officers proved this Club was successful. The Native American Club provided, both, a social and cultural outlet for the students at Jumpers High.

The Native American Club is known for its yearly social powwow. This one day event held at the end of March culminates the Club's fundraising activity and strengthens the local urban and reservation-based Native communities' relationship with Jumpers High School. This event demonstrates Club members' culture, highlights student academic achievement and promotes inter-tribal unity. At the time of this study, the powwow was in its 6th year.

The Native American Club participates in a number of fundraising and culturally-based activities. A popular and profitable fundraiser is the fry bread and Indian taco sales. Once a quarter, the Club cooks and sells fry bread and Indian tacos in the parking lot after school. Non-native students, teachers, staff, and administrators all buy something to eat. After school Native students bead miniature headdresses and sell them at lunchtime and at fry bread sales. The students use school colors as the base of the items and then the students create varying designs on the each headdress. Other items including hair barrettes, printed t-shirts, candles, and plastic wristbands are made and sold as fundraisers

The Native American Club engaged in off-campus activities, as well. The Club participated in local parades (like the Phoenix Native American Recognition Days and Mesa's Martin Luther King Jr Day), high school powwows (Dobson HS and Central HS), community service projects, and local tribal community celebrations, social ceremony, and school programs.

Students Honoring Individual Excellence through Learning and Determination – (SHIELD). SHIELD was implemented in the fall semester of 2007. Four new teachers were hired specifically to work with Native students: Mrs. Clauschee and Mr. Gary were in room 231; while Mrs. BlueFeather and Mrs. Weaver were in room 227. The four certified teachers were split into two classrooms, with the expectation of co-teaching study skills and, as needed, academic content.

The goals of the SHIELD program are to assist students in a) successful completion of required classes; b) graduation from high school; and c) pursuit of post-secondary educational opportunities. The purpose of the elective-based study skills class is to enhance students' ability to be independent and successful in school by integrating effective study skills in their core classes. Students were given materials and support to align their study skills with their core course requirements.

The number of Native students participating in SHIELD the first year was 150. These students were able to enroll into the SHIELD class as an elective which did fulfill graduation requirements. The SHIELD class was designed to have smaller numbers of students, so the teacher-to-student ratio favored the student and increased the amount of one-on-one time. The SHIELD teachers were invited to bring into the classroom and use

their cultural knowledges in their daily interactions. The uniqueness of such a program was that the American Indian-based approach was specifically designed to promote student success via American Indian context.

Three of the four SHIELD teachers were Native and female. The fourth was non-Native and male. Each class had a certified math and English teacher. Each class used American Indian themes and motifs to embellish the walls and spaces of the room. American Indian books and stories filled the bookcases. American Indian tribal seals that represented each student's tribal communities, created by the Native American Club, proudly outlined the room. The American Indian student support services program at the district office provided water, juices, snacks, and school supplies to supplement the SHIELD classrooms.

As a volunteer mentor, I moved between the classrooms and the class periods. I split my time and effort between the classes based on which had the most need. During this time, I was invited to SHIELD teachers' meetings after school, participated in SHIELD professional development programs, acted as an assistant sponsor to the Native American Club, and routinely support SHIELD teachers in their classrooms. This role, as defined by these tasks, greatly enhanced how the students saw me.

Due to shifting student enrollment patterns, the SHIELD program undertook major structural changes in its second year. Student expectations changed—students were not allowed to have failed any classes in the previous semester. Room 227 was no longer a SHIELD classroom, leaving only room 231. As such, three of the four teachers were reassigned to different positions in the district—however, a new Native, male math teacher was hired to co-teach with Mrs. Clauschee in room 231. While the goals and

objectives of SHIELD remained the same, the teaching staff, supplemental materials, and classroom space changed.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The study of American Indian students in off-reservation schools is an important component of the larger issue: American Indian education. The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature on American Indians and education and examine the experiences of American Indians in off-reservation schools. By doing so, I highlight the research context of this understudied community.

I first begin with a review of theoretical perspectives that contextualize the historical experiences of American Indians and European contact. This intersection of worldviews influences the contemporary structures that American Indians must contend. Then I move to a discussion of the literature that specifically addresses off-reservation contexts, schools, and student performances.

Theoretical Perspectives

The role of schooling. Many agree that schools are not value-neutral (Bowles & Gintis, 1977; Durkheim, 1961; Levinson & Holland, 1996; Pai & Adler 2001)—actually quite the opposite. Schools function to transmit the important and key ideals of a society from one generation to the next. They act as a repository of much that a society values and dispenses information in varying ways. Puritan and Protestant schools were designed to teach Christian values and academic skills. Indigenous communities' forms of learning involved pragmatic activities of survival and understanding of the natural world. Both contexts of learning used different approaches in how knowledge was transferred, yet

both contexts had similar aims: to reproduce the norms, values, and behaviors of the society. “This implies that the cultural norms of a society are the primary sources from which schools derive their goals and that each society has its own particular view of the role of schooling. (Pai & Adler, 2001, p. 129). Schools are organized around the values and morals of the society in which it operates.

They are institutions oriented to transmit particular types of knowledge. Schools are designed to promote a particular ideology: one that ensures the longevity of the society in which it functions (MacLeod, 1995). By doing so, critical perspectives recognize school’s inherent value-laden foundation.

If schools are sites to reproduce social norms, that begs the questions *what (or whose) values are being represented?*

Social Reproduction Theory. Social reproductionists are interested in how the social relations in a capitalist society are reproduced. In a capitalist society, schools are labeled as the place to give every student a chance to improve their lot. However, social reproductionists argue that schools are not places of social mobility, rather structures to reproduce biased class systems. Scholars have written about the structural dimensions of schooling and its aims for a capitalist-based society.

Structuralists Bowles and Gintis (1977) argued that schools are not the great equalizers once imagined. In fact, they ground their critique upon Marx’ conception of the capitalist modes of production model—owner/bourgeoisie and laborer/proletariat. Marx (1875), in the Critique of Gotha Programme, wrote,

> Equal education of the people? What idea lies behind these words? Is it believed that in present day society ... education can be equal for all classes? Or is it demanded that the upper classes shall be compulsorily reduced to the modicum of

> education -- the elementary school -- that alone is compatible with the economic conditions not only of the wage workers but of the peasants as well. (pp. 34-35)

Marx argued that schools in capitalist societies can not be equitable or reduce class struggles, because schools inherently create class challenges. Marxist theorist Louis Althusser (1971) wrote that, "the school (but also other State institutions like the Church, or other apparatuses like the Army) teaches 'know-how', but in forms which ensure *subjection to the ruling ideology* or the mastery of its 'practice'"(p. 132).

Althusser creates a distinction between certain types of apparatuses, or organized systems, whose intent is to control. He noted that there are physical, albeit "violent" (p. 145) forms of control apparatuses and there are "ideological" (p. 145) ones. Althusser categorizes schools as Ideological State Apparatuses (pp. 132-133) because they are created, founded, reproduced, and work on behalf of the state in a non-violent, rather ideological front. Schools are key locations for the reproduction of class-based values and behaviors, which in a capitalist society manifest as manipulation of labor, reinforcing the ruling or privileged class attitudes, and legitimizing state apparatuses (Althusser, 1971).

In their evaluation, Bowles and Gintis, built upon Althusser's work and wrote that the goals of a capitalist society and schools perpetuate social class differences, "through the capacity of upper class to control the basic principles of school finance, pupil evaluation and education objectives" (Bowles & Gintis, 1977, p. 56). Moreover, Bowles and Gintis wrote that schools mirror the workplace by ensuring that an owner/managerial and a skilled labor force are available.

In a capitalist society, schools promote meritocracy to elude the perception of stratification. It is up to the students to "pull themselves up by the bootstraps" and

succeed in this society. Yet, the schools are already designed to ensure that there are two classes to assume their positions in the economic workforce (Anyon, 1980).

Bowles and Gintis furthered their comparison of schools and work environments. They distinguished the characteristics of each context and highlight the remarkable similarities. “Specifically, the relationship of authority and control between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and students, and students and their work replicate the division of labor which dominates the work place” (p. 56).

They wrote that if there are going to be two separate stratum of students for the varying workplaces, then there, too, are separate forms of curriculum, pedagogy, and expectations used in schools. American schools, “tailors the self-concepts, aspirations and the social class identifications of individuals to the requirements of the social division of labor” (p. 129).

As the structure of schooling is defined and reinforced, power of the structures limits student experience are highlighted in different ways. Foucault (1977) wrote about the power and knowledge by describing how power-laden forces contribute to control and to dominate people. In other words, and quite similar to Althusser’s (1971) argument, Foucault recognized that controlling people was not necessarily physical force, but could also be accomplish through knowledge and language.

Darder, Baltodano, and Torres (2003) built upon Foucault’s work and recognize that a, “particular knowledge was legitimated within the context of a variety of power relationship within society” (p.7) and of schools. Denny Taylor (2005) provided another compelling example of legitimate knowledge of language and literacy of children and their families. Taylor (2005) argued that “language and power are inseparable” (p. 341)

and by doing so critiques the social and political constraints on the symbolic spaces in which children learn to read and write. Schools are the structures that determine what students learn. Schools maintain power over students via knowledge.

While it may seem to most families that schools are places to improve social standing and achieve a "better" life, for most (minority, female, and poor) they do little to improve the chances of that goal (Banks 2012, Kozol, 1991, Weiler, 2003). Entwisle, Alexander and Olson (1997) wrote that schools, "are not providing paths for children to take toward upward mobility and improved life chance; rather they are evolving more and more into institutions that embody the most intractable of America's social problems: racial segregation and economic polarization" (p. 4). Schools reproduce particular types of social norms, values, and behaviors which maintain and reinforce class structure; thereby ensuring the current social class structure and its members (Dehyle 1992; MacCleod 1995; Michie 1999).

Greg Michie's (1999) work with students in Chicago Public Schools highlights how some students experience school stratification. Michie writes about his student Armando's perceptions of school. Armando, who felt like he was being squeezed out of school from the beginning, describes his confusion of mixed messages that promote, *Stay in school!*

> In sixth grade, I had Ms. Ferguson. She was a good teacher, but our class, we got left out. So I thought the other classes were smarter than us…Man, I'm sick and tired of that. I mean, they're just dropping kids like it's nothing. If teacher want kids to do better, why do they suspend them? (pp. 53-54)

Armando acutely describes the complex negotiation that some students encounter. Indeed, schools want students to do better, Armando's experience highlights *which* students. Another student, Ruby, recalls how school reinforced gendered status for girls.

> The only thing I regret is having them [her two children] too early. There's a lot of experiences I never had. I had planned to graduate from high school, maybe going to college, becoming a secretary. I had a lot dreams that just went away. (p. 123)

In this quote, Ruby describes what her aspirations for future school and work were. She expresses her potential, while directly referencing, and reinforcing, a mainstream gendered career.

While social reproduction theorists discuss the many ways in which schooling unequally appropriate certain knowledges to certain students, Weiler (1988) adds that, "all share the underlying view that students are shaped by their experiences in schools to internalize or accept a subjectivity and a class position that leads to the reproduction of existing power relationships and social and economic structures" (p. 6). In short, schools favor and prepare middle/high social class students to be at the top of their economic positions, while low class students are prepared for the low social classed jobs.

American Indians and a Changing Landscape

It is difficult to imagine the reactions of Native people when Europeans first arrived in the late 15th century. It was a time when, truly, cultures collided; two distinctly

different groups of people seeing and discovering one another. However, each group's experience is indicative of their interpretation. Early accounts of the initial Spanish explorations, Dutch and French encounters of the mid- 16th century, Catholic missions, colonial developments and subsequent westward migration, forced indigenous communities to contend with alien settlers who, indeed, stumbled upon inhabitants while *discovering* new frontier (Nichols, 2003). Under the impression of discovery, altruism, and Christianity, indigenous populations surprised settlers who were eager to develop new territory. Upon encountering indigenous communities, settlers created complicated and dangerous circumstances for themselves and their new neighbors (Nichols, 2003; Salisbury, 1996; Szaz, 1988).

As Europeans settled different regions, they often encountered Indigenous groups. The White settlers had their own ways of living that embodied specific daily rituals, governance (i.e. politically, socially), and spirituality which were central to their way of life. The basis for their lifestyle often conflicted with Indigenous lifestyles. These differences were markedly different and served as a means to distinguish good and bad. Essentially, European lifestyles were deemed civilized, good, and Christian; While Indigenous lifestyles were viewed as bad and uncivilized (Salisbury, 1996).

This binary of lifestyles served as justification for colonization. As Indigenous groups were massacred and their original homelands taken by White European settlers, the communal structure of the Indigenous community, including family and extended family relations, was weakened, if not destroyed. These family structures embodied Indigenous ideology and kinship which serve as the social, political, and cultural

foundation of the tribe. Without these structures, Indigenous groups were unable to transmit their norms and values from generation to generation.

European settlers thrust strange ideas and foreign practices upon Indigenous people. The lives of Indigenous people no longer belonged to themselves or to their natural environment. Rather, they became subjected to a two-fold attack: genocide and, "culturcide" whose goals are to extinguish their beliefs and ways of life (Fixico, 2003; Mihesuah & Cavender Wilson, 2004, Nichols, 2003).

The history of American Indians and education has been chronicled and written by many authors (Nichols, 2003; Spring, 2008, Szasz, 1988). Though each interpretation yields different accounts, their stories are similar—indigenous peoples were undermined and the balance of power rested firmly in European hands (Harrington and CHiXapkaid, 2013). I present a curtailed interpretation of American Indian education history to contextualize and warrant the foundations of this study.

Culturcide through education: A timeline of Federal Indian Education Policy

The point of European contact begins in the late 15th century. The process of contact and conquest happened slowly over the next three hundred years. History books and American lore are filled with stories that tell the tale of Christopher Columbus' triumphant exploration for a New World in 1492. These stories paint a portrait of a heroic man, and by extension a country, which conquered natural challenges and sailed across the oceans under the flag of Spain. Columbus was not merely discovering new lands; rather his voyage symbolized and disseminated ideology and values. Nonetheless, his

presence in the New World proved disastrous for the Indigenous communities he encountered.

From contact between the two differing populations led most Europeans to believe that indigenous communities were heathens needing to be saved from their simple existence and ill-conceived spiritual dogma. King James I, in a letter to the archbishops, argued for monetary collections "for the education of ye children of those barbarians" (Szasz, 1988, p.59). The European efforts to eradicate Indigenous populations or convert them to European lifestyle and religious sanctity were widespread. Government agencies and faith-based missionaries combined assimilation efforts to wipe out indigenous ideology and traditional practices. The goals to civilize and Christianize the heathens were considered altruistic goals (Adessa, 1992, p.60).

With a declining population and a fractured ideology, Indian populations suffered. As governments and religious organizations worked to civilize and convert Indians to European lifestyle, the conversion was not happening quickly.

The 17th and 18th centuries saw constant interaction between Europeans and Indigenous populations. In 1691, the William and Mary College received funding to provide schooling for Native boys—much to the chagrin of Tribes; only few Indian students ever were admitted. Moreover, for those Indians that did receive formal education, often they found the new skills and knowledge irrelevant. In 1744, the government offered to send the sons of the six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy to the College of William and Mary (Rehyner, 1992). Confederacy chiefs responded in an enlightening and somewhat ironic reply;

> Several of our young people we formerly brought up at the colleges of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your science; but when they came back to us, they were bad runner; ignorant of every means of living in the woods; unable to bear either cold or hunger; knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy; spoke our language imperfectly; were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors or counselors they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the less obliged by your kind offer, though decline accepting it; and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know and make me of them. (National Advisory Council on Indian Education [NACIE], 1993, p. 115)

It was a time when "all of the colonial powers recognized the sovereignty of Native nations" (Kickingbird & Charleston, 1991, p.3) and by doing so entered into formal agreements with Indian governments. These agreements formalized the relationship between European and Indian governments. Though these treaties recognized and acknowledged the sovereign status of Indian communities, they did very little to reserve the aboriginal rights of Indians.

During the late 1700's the new United States federal government took a stronger role in educating Indians. While most of the actual teaching and "doing" of education was controlled by the church and missionaries, these efforts were subsidized by government dollars. Two more devastating federal Indian policies that aimed to

assimilate and civilize Indians were the Removal Act of 1830 and the 1878 Allotment Act (or Dawes Act).

The 1830 Removal Act justified the legal authority to push and remove Indian communities west of the Mississippi. Those that resisted were met with military force and social subjugation (Nichols, 2003). In efforts to administer portions of the Act, the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was created in 1832 and charged to educate and assimilate Indians. In this role, most Commissioners continued, to paternalistically regulate Indian communities. Commissioner Hartley notes that "The principal lever by which the Indians are to be lifted out of the mire and folly and vice in which they are; is education (NACIE, 1993, p. 117). In their roles, "[t]he primary duties of the commissioner were to oversee the vocationally focused Indian educational system and address issues with tribes removed from eastern states" (Harrington and CHiXapkaid, 2013, pp. 489-490).

The second devastating policy served to disconnect and separate families on Indian lands. Officially the 1878 Allotment Act was to reassert the American ideal that "private property, augmented by education, would free the Indian from the traditional community, "awaken in him wants," and make him a competitive individual citizen with full legal equality" (Koppes, 1977, pp. 545-546). However, it failed to achieve its goals. The ending result were tattered Indian ideology that rejected American lifestyle ideals and a "checkerboard" of Indian lands, far from what was promised and negotiated through treaties.

To further the destructive removal and allotment policies, the Office of Indian Affairs (later the Bureau of Indian Affairs) adopted stricter avenues for assimilating

Indians through education. Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania opened in 1879. Carlisle School was the first off-reservation federal Indian boarding school. Carlisle, designed and directed by military officer Richard Henry Pratt, was the model by which the US government promulgated as the "best opportunity for incorporating Indian children into the white dominated society" (DeJong, 1993, p.107). Carlisle was an industrial/vocational institution designed to assimilate Indian students and equip them with manual trade knowledge and domestic skills. Following Carlisle's model, several federal boarding schools opened in strategic locations across the country to "kill the Indian, but save the man".

DeJong (1993) suggested that boarding schools became their downfall (pp. 117-132). Funding, ineffective pedagogy, administrative mismanagement, and low rate of assimilation were partially the school's demise.

> Experience has demonstrated that it is futile to try to make all Indian farmers and stock raisers. Many will not interest themselves win those occupations. It seems clears that the traditional school system of the whites is not immediately applicable in its entirety to the need of Indian children. (Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1928, pp. 7-9)

The inefficacy of the Carlisle model to assimilate Indians into mainstream culture shed the light on a new approach.

Several events took place in the following years that structure and illustrate American Indian education;

- The 1928 Problem of Indian Administration report to congress, commonly referred to as the Meriam Report, was a national survey of social and economic conditions of American Indians. The report criticized the current levels of education conducted at boarding schools, while emphasizing the importance of local, and relevant, curriculum suitable to the students' needs. (Meriam, 1928)
- A policy shift, known as the Indian New Deal (Buffalohead, 1983), reversed much of the negative policies from the 1800's, came with criticisms from both Indian and non-Indian voices. Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier ushered in a semi-favorable era of policies that afforded Indian communities limited self-governance (Buffalohead, 1983); an example is the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act.
- The 1934 Johnson-O'Malley Act supported public schools that had high numbers of Indian students. (Klug & Whitfield, 2003)

However, the underlying ultimate objective of the federal government is demonstrated by the 1944 House of Representatives Select Committee on Indian Affairs which argued that "the goal of Indian Education should be to make the Indian child a better American rather than to equip him simply to be a better Indian" (Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, 1969, p. 14).

Yet, in the 1960's in America, members of ethnic minority groups organized in legal and social enclaves to fight injustice. American Indians were part of this movement, primarily following the footsteps of Black American organizations. In 1964 Congress passed the Civil Rights Act. This Act ensured equal treatment to all Americans in

employment, voting, and de-segregation (Zeitlow, 2004). Indian communities sought equal justice, as well as demanding the federal government to honor the signed treaties. The 1965 Economic Opportunity Act created the Office of Economic Opportunity which worked with Indian governments to create community projects and provide education leadership. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 also provided much needed funding for Title I schools which included many Indian children (Kickingbird & Charleston, 1991).

In 1969, the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs authored a scathing report that outlined the atrocious conditions of Indian education and the "failure" of the federal government's responsibility—particularly the inefficiency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, 1969, p.IX). Chairman Kennedy wrote, "We learned that education can not be isolated from other aspects of Indian life" (p. xiv). The report findings outlined;

> Our national policies for educating American Indian are a failure of major proportions. The have not offered Indian children—either in year past or today—an education opportunity anywhere near equal to that offered the great bulk of American children. Past generations of lawmakers and administrators have failed the American Indian. (p. xi)

The Kennedy Report demonstrated the disparate education conditions that American Indians receive. The federal government responded with:

- The 1972 ESEA was reauthorized and included Indian Education Act. It was developed "to address the special educational needs of Native

children" and provided "monies for supplementary innovative programs for Native students in public schools" (Kickingbird & Charleston, 1991, p. 19)

- T the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Act which reiterated the federal government's recognition of tribal sovereignty and strengthened tribal governments through contracting and management grants.

These profound legislative statements of support for Tribal communities translated into a renaissance of leadership and confidence. Though federal support appeared worthwhile, decades of inadequate institutions and political maelstrom, continues to thwart Indian control of Indian communities.

Federal oversight of Indian education in the late 1900's has seen some improvements. These improvements have been education-based and tribal governance—by increasing the authority and independence of Tribal governments many programs and services can influence education. The Indian Education Act has been reauthorized seven times, each time including a broader scope of goals and services. The Indian Self Determination Act was amended in 1988 to "declare its commitment" to Indian People. Tribally Controlled Schools Act of 1988 reaffirms that local control is key to longevity of Indian communities and "the inherent authority of Indian Nations" (22). President Clinton's Executive Order # 13096 in 1998 outlined six goals to address the fragmentation of services and complexity of intergovernmental relationships affecting Tribal control of Indian education.

American Indians and Education

American Indian high school students do not achieve at the same rate as their peers (Fann, 2004; NIES, 2011, Perry 2002). The challenges that these students face have been debated for more than a decade. At the heart of these debates is an ideological divide that cast American Indians as inferior. American Indian communities have been fighting a disparaging representation of who they are as a people. Uncivilized, savages, heathens, pagans, backward, dumb, passive, silent, and extinct illustrate the ideological portrait and intonate the resounding chorus of literature that represent American conscious of Indian people.

Each generation of native educators and leaders accept the challenge to educate and increase the academic achievement for the strength of their community and to prepare them for future endeavors. However, this challenge is not accepted, nor achieved, lightly. Most documented accounts of the experiences of Indian students in schools have shown ineffectual institutions, imprudent goals, and low attainment outcomes (Indian Nations at Risk, 1990; Meriam, 1928; Kennedy, 1969).

While early reports (Meriam 1928, Kennedy, 1969) have outlined conditions of American Indian communities and their experiences in education systems, the context of those conditions have changed little. American Indian communities continue to suffer from social ills of poverty, high rates of substance/domestic abuse, high rates of adolescent suicide, low social mobility, low political representation, and government-dependent welfare states.

Challenges that American Indian high school students face. Researchers cite absenteeism and truancy (Lara, 2011), social responsiveness and literacy diversity (Delpit, 1995; Foley, 1996), weak academic core (Delpit, 1995, Lara, 2011), and academic cultural alienation (Baxter, 2009, Jeffries & Singer, 2003; White, 2013), among others, as factors contributing to the low achievement rate. These criteria are far reaching within and among American Indian high school students. Though, these factors do not occur in isolation and may simultaneously affect student performance, further confounding the challenges.

Absenteeism and truancy are conditions likely resulting from family situations that occur outside of school. Lara (2001) argues that family responsibilities and obligations are high priorities for older siblings. Social and cultural requirements to care and be responsible for younger siblings and elder family members are characteristic of many minority communities. However, doing so causes students to arrive tardy or not show up at all to school.

The stereotypical image of a quiet, passive Indian continues to be pervasive in American schools. The "silent Indian" (Foley, 1996) justifies teachers' low levels of engagement and codifies why Indian students are good with their hands and not with their minds (Mann, 2008). Teachers see their Indian students' quietness and mistakenly interpret the behavior, "as evidence of low motivation, lack of competence in English, or, worse still, low cognitive ability" (Foley, 1996, p. 80). Often this interpretation allows teachers to lower expectations, or further isolate them from class activities.

Native student's academic preparation suffers when teachers resolve to ignore or leave them alone in the classroom. Faircloth and Tippeconnic (2010) wrote about the low

academic preparation, ill-fitted curriculum, and low teacher perception of student ability lead to a weak academic core. When Native students demonstrate a weak academic core, they will not receive the necessary academic skills and abilities to succeed in school (Swisher & Hoisch, 1992). As demonstrated in the National Assessment of Education Progress (2013) American Indian students lag behind their peers in reading and math.

American Indian high school students' success. The challenges that American Indian high students face are many. However, in that same context, American Indian high school students do experience success. When school conditions (teacher preparation, curriculum, environment, etc.) are constructed in alignment with Native students' expectations we see different outcomes.

American Indian high school students have reported that when teachers care about and empathize with them and their experiences, they are more willing to engage and participate in classroom activities. American Indian students agree that their high school experience is more enjoyable and flourishes, thus able to matriculate, when they are academically prepared (Figueira, 2001, Mackety, 2012; Nieto, 2000, Noddings, 1984, Trujillo & Alston, 2005).

American Indian culturally based curriculum has been shown to increase the attendance and participation rates of American Indian high school students (Demmert & Towner, 2003, Lipka, et al, 2005, Yazzie, 1999). Yazzie (1999) writes, "A culturally appropriate curriculum is the building block to achieving a challenging, relevant, thought-provoking, and most importantly responsive education for Native children in American schools (p. 98). She argues that when Native community schools, like Rough

Rock Community and Kickapoo Nation, self-determine and implement curricula that are aligned with their tribal values, ideology, and needs students succeed.

Lipka, et al (2005) demonstrates "math in a cultural context" (p. 367) of Yup'ik students and their communities. By altering the social organization and communication of the classroom, Lipka, et al highlights the interaction of Yup'ik knowledge and Western mathematical concepts by "valuing elders' knowledge, increasing curricular choice, and supporting Indigenous education self-determination" (p. 382), and students succeed.

Cultural context is important for American Indian students to be successful. McCarty and Lee (2014) argued that critical culturally sustaining/revitalizing pedagogy (CSRP) is a necessary component of American Indian education. Brayboy and Castagno (2009) outlined culturally responsive schooling for indigenous youth and situated that concept for American Indian learning environments.

Brayboy and Castagno's (2009) research argued that "community- and culture-based education best meets the educational needs of indigenous children" (p. 31). In their article, they wrote about culturally responsive schooling, which supports the unique learning strategies of American Indian students. By reviewing the literature and relying on large federal data sets, Brayboy and Castagno suggested strategies to benefit American Indian students. They offered, "a 'both/and approach rather than an 'either/or' approach … student must become knowledgeable about and comfortable within both the mainstream culture and their home cultures" (p. 37). They stressed the need for schools to be places that American Indian students recognize and reflect their community values. Culturally responsive schooling can be seen as a demonstration of Tribal sovereignty, whereby Native educators and tribal leaders flex their control in varying contexts.

McCarty and Lee's (2014) research build upon a similar idea stressed by Brayboy and Castagno (2009). In their research, they analyzed two schools that have decided to make ideological and literal changes that benefit and support their American Indian students' academic, social, and cultural makeup. In both cases, the authors demonstrated how and why critical culturally sustaining pedagogy was important for the overall success of their students. However, McCarty and Lee (2014) further argued that because of the legacy of colonialism and what was most important for Native communities is that "CSRP recognizes the need to reclaim and revitalize what has been disrupted and displaced by colonization" (p. 103).

Lastly, in their case study-based narratives at an urban American Indian high school, Jefferies, Nix, and Singer (2002) write that, "educators … enable success by infusing American Indian art, literature, and values into the curriculum and imparting the curriculum in a relaxed, caring, and democratic environment" (p. 46). In this study three students participated in interviews and observations that illuminates their decision making process of leaving their high school. Jeffries, Nix, and Singer's (2002) study looks at the situations and influences of three Native students in urban Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Their study,

> Validates voices from a group of students our nation has fundamentally dismissed. It suggests alternative formats using culturally skilled professionals to address this problem, and most importantly, encourages more qualitative study of American Indian youth to acknowledge their experiences and to empower their futures. (p. 39)

The participants each indicated their reasons for leaving their urban high school. The main points of contention included, traditional school discomfort, family values, and impoverished experiences. These students made choices to leave school that were not quick or conscious, but rather, "slow, deliberate progression toward a student's inability to flourish in the educational environment" (p. 44).

What challenges these notions of students disengagement, resides in their structural explanations. Different factors seem to be outside influences that shape American Indian student behaviors. For many American Indian students who leave high school, their reasons may be internal or personal and less structural.

It has been well documented that American Indian students contend with issues that differ from their minority population counterparts. These issues influence their decision-making and may dictate their taciturn behavior.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In Red Pedagogy (2004), Sandy Grande argued that a lack of Indigenous thought (particularly, critical theory) has thwarted the efforts of revolutionary and emancipatory educational experiences for American Indian children. She asserted that

> Indian scholars have largely resisted engagement with critical educational theory, concentrating instead on the production of historical monographs, ethnographic studies, tribally centered curriculums, and site-based research (p. 1).

While recognizing the inherent contradiction or "collision" (p. 5) of differing views of contemporary versus traditionalism, Grande calls for American Indian scholars to supersede the established research trajectories and engage in far reaching methods of decolonization (p. 6) – what she termed, "Red Pedagogy".

While I do not make claims to a decolonizing theoretical approach (Alfred, 1999; Smith, 1999), I do argue that this dissertation project and much of the work of American Indian scholars will and have led to moments of emancipatory education experiences for Indian students.

The germinal work of Susan Phillips (1983) demonstrated that Indian students on the Warm Springs Indian reservation maintained and used unique modes of communication. K. Tsianina Lomawaima's (1995) scholarship on Federal Indian boarding schools reinterpreted students' experience as moments of resistance. Karen Gayton Swisher (1995, 1999) critically analyzed teacher training programs to develop

effective culturally relevant pedagogy. Tara Jean Yazzie-Mintz (2007) documented Navajo teachers' experience and unlocked personal perspectives that strengthen professional development and teacher training programs. Angela Wilson and Devon Mihesuah (2002) symbolically revisited key historical locations to retell Indian narratives that empower. Cleary and Peacock (1998) demonstrated life long learning techniques for teachers of American Indian students. Wayne Stein (2003) recorded the history of and chronicled the steps to creating Tribal Colleges as access to and repositories of Indigenous knowledges. Clearly, Native scholars have completed much work that has influenced American Indian students' achievement, matriculation from year to year, and has been deemed American Indian epistemology as legitimate forms of knowledge.

I posit the work of my dissertation research project to outline avenues that can lead to emancipatory outcomes. Grande (2004) asserted that indigenous communities must re-envision their identity matters (p. 171), locate their governance in an emancipatory relationship (p. 116), and readily interplay mainstream and indigenous ways-of-knowing (p. 165). This research project discusses and interprets social class differences and behaviors as performed by students; it describes the context in which the participants exist and define themselves; and analyzes the participants' cultural capital as it complies with or rejects (or both) school ideology.

While the "Red Pedagogy" road may differ than my road, the goals and aims of Grande's work are similar in scope to mine. I argue that methodology is a key location in the design of the research project. By building the research upon effective theory, by asking research questions that evoke multiple responses, by recognizing that observations and interactions are key insights to understand opportunity, as well as recognizing that

the structure, the format, and the presentation of findings/results are integral foundations of the evolving research.

The purpose of this dissertation was to explore whether American Indian students react to school structures by understanding how their cultural capital intersects with off-reservation public high schools. By understanding these characteristics, I can interpret the participants' experiences and their relation ship to their school to build upon and enhance public school policy that represents the imagination, skills, and dreams of the American Indian students.

Conceptual Framework

Critical Perspectives of Schooling

This dissertation is grounded in critical perspectives of schooling. It explores hegemony as education and explores the lived experiences of American Indian students. Critical Theory strengthens the understanding of the role of schools in society. While I interpret schools as partial and biased institutions, at the same time I see schools as great opportunity for social change.

Critical Theory (Habermas, 1973) is a way to interpret the social world. It was born out of the critique of orthodox Marxist texts. While its roots are deeply entrenched in the vein of Marxist traditions, it shifts the focus of how critical theorists conceptualize domination and subjugation. Traditional Marxist interpretations of social structure have focused on economic relations and have in some cases ignored actual social relationships. Through its discussions of structure, alienation and class consciousness, Marxism, as critical theory posits, lacked the ability to validate human experience, consciousness, and

self-critique (Giroux, 2003, pp. 27-30). Critical Theorists would argue that there is movement with the structures, even superstructures, which man can negotiate. Often, the economic modes of production that leads to domination does not account for the cultural production of ideology and its contribution to knowledge, worldview, and understanding.

Critical theorists like McClaren (1986), Anyon (1980), Apple (1990) and Giroux (2003) identified inherent biases and inequitable structures that constitute schools. The hegemonic foundations of schools favor particular groups of students who bring with them specific knowledges, tastes, behaviors, and values (Bourdieu, 1984). These dispositions are, in part, inscribed in the hallways, libraries, curriculum, and school campuses. Schools are designed to impart necessary skills and abilities for students to join and participate in the economic organizations of particular societies. By extension, schools train particular students for particular social positions. Michael Apple (1990) wrote about how schools not only feed economic engines, but also ideological ones, schools process people; as well; schools process knowledge. Critical theorists argued that scholars were too focused on over-determined categories that limited the agency of human actors (Anderson, 1989).

Bowles and Gintis (1977) described the relationship of schools to economic structures. But pragmatic skills and abilities, i.e. economic capital, are not solely gained, or lost, in the schools. Social reproductionists must also consider the relationship of symbolic or cultural forms of capital and schools. We must be concerned with the *how-to*, but also the *why-for*.

Following a qualitative research design, I employed cultural capital theory (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1993) to debate of how Indians interact with the each other—as

well as, to better understand, the "social and cultural relations, which highlight the role of ideology in sustaining and perpetuating inequality" (May, 1997, p. 197).

Influenced by Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, I focused my attention on the response of my interviewees that I coded as "cultural capital".

Research Questions

The purpose of this qualitative study is to understand how the cultural capital of American Indian high school students intersects with off-reservation public high schools, both to build upon and enhance public school policy, or to higfhlight its failure. By examining the cultural capital of the students and their schools, I outline areas of contention and provide opportunities for solutions. .

- Do the sets of cultural capital differ?
- Where are the points of similarity and contention?

By reviewing the: (1) Native American Club (a social and cultural student support organization) and (2) the Students Honoring Individual Excellence and Determination (SHIELD) Program (a study-skills based elective course) I sought to understand how they influence the students' relationship to the dominant ideological practices of the school.

I collected data through interviews, observations and document review to create vignettes that highlight how the students experienced school structures. By examining how students react to the cultural capital of schools I have sought to tease out how public school programs influence the identity development of American Indian students. The research has been guided by the following questions:

A. How do students perceive what it means to be American Indian?

B. In what ways do American Indian students demonstrate their cultural capital?
C. In what ways does the participants' cultural capital fit with the schools'?
D. How does participation in school based clubs and programs influence American Indians' cultural capital?

Researcher position

As an older person and mentor to the participants, the way in which my students perceive my role has authority. The participants know and address me as "Mr. Begay." This formal address demonstrates the adult – student structure that governs Jumpers High School—students address adults as "Mr." or "Ms." The participants constantly see me interacting with teachers. At Jumpers High School, all Native students know my mentor and volunteer role, in addition to my affiliation as a graduate student at Arizona State University. Further, as an older Native person, it is usual for Native students to show respect and respond to me differently than the other older people, including their teachers. My cultural position allows me to be both an unofficial adult in the school/classroom at the same time my and official adult. Depending on the context of the situation, my role is fluid, awkward, comfortable, official and, possibly, less-authoritative.

As a direct observer (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994), my role(s) allow me to move in and out of different capacities. At one point I can am conducting formal and non-intrusive classroom observation. At other times, I am informal, joking with and laughing with my participants. I purposefully disclosed my thoughts, beliefs, and theoretical positions to make clear any bias so that my interpretations of the data will be dependable manner.

Setting

This research study took place at Jumpers High School (pseudonym). Jumpers High School is known for its diversity and achievement. Jumpers High School has the highest population of American Indian high school students (9%) in the Sinagua Public School District and has developed and maintained working relationships with its neighboring Indian reservations. As a public high school located off-reservation, Jumpers' American Indian student population plays a key role in shaping culturally appropriate school policy.

I began my relationship with Sinagua Public School District because I knew the director of the American Indian Education Program. I approached the Director and asked if I could volunteer time with high school students. At first I volunteered 2 hours per week. As time went on and I became more comfortable, my volunteer hours increased to 10 hours per week. I was volunteering at Jumpers when the SHIELD program began. I worked with the onsite American Indian Liaison and three American Indian SHIELD teachers. The on-site liaison was also the Native American Club sponsor. Together we coordinated the Annual social powwow, organized Native American Club meetings, facilitated interaction between the Club and the school and worked the fundraisers. During this same time I began my Ph.D. program. Upon completing my coursework, I designed the current study around my access at Jumpers High School; it seemed to be the ideal location to examine issues of cultural capital, educational policy and leadership, socialization and the hidden curricula of an off-reservation high school with a large American Indian population.

As I complete my doctoral dissertation I have volunteered with the Sinagua Public Schools American Indian Education Program for over 7 years. I have been a SHIELD academic mentor and Native American Club volunteer. My role at the school included mentoring social studies, history, English, and cultural studies courses. I usually arrived to campus by 7:15am and left campus about 4pm each day. The regular school day was from 8am to 3pm.

In the first year of the SHIELD program, I split most of my time between two classrooms of students. Each classroom had fifteen two 18 students, two certified teachers one home-school liaison—whose job was to interact:

- address absences
- discuss grades
- report behavior issues
- act as an advocate

with students and their families both during school and after school. Each morning students would come into one of the classroom with breakfast items and incomplete homework. The students were loud and social. I regularly engaged with students regarding at a variety of school events, including:

- assemblies
- service learning opportunities
- social events.

As well, I regularly interacted with their home/community activities, including:

- family,
- powwows
- cultural events
- personal events.

Students regularly asked about my life outside of school. They were interested in college sports, my weekend activities, monthly trips to Shiprock, NM and often vented to me their challenges with and about teachers at the school.

During the school day, I navigated between the two classrooms asking for students who needed help. I often ran errands for the teachers, who could not leave their classrooms during class time. I made copies of assignments at the copy center, I delivered notes and forms to the front office, and I completed research tasks in the library/media center. During the teachers' preparation periods, I regularly stayed in their rooms and talked with teachers about student behavior, achievement, and program objectives. Often, we talked, joked, and laughed about personal stories.

Each class period of 55 minutes started and ended with a bell. During the passing time of 6 minutes, songs played over school intercom system. As each class started, I would prop open the classroom door and stand at the entrance of the room. Hundreds of students passed by as they walked to their next class. Native students who passed by, often walked over to me and gave me high fives or fist-bumps saying, "Hey, Mr. Begay, are you going to be 4th hour?" Students who were coming into the classroom congregated at the door until just before the bell rang. Often when the song playing was a familiar one, I would dance at the door to the laughter of the Native students.

In the early point of my time at Jumpers the school only had one lunch period for all students, though this policy changed when the school expanded to include 9th graders. At lunch time I ate lunch with the students. Regularly in the outdoor courtyard, student activities and clubs promoted events and activities, played games and provided entertainment for lunchtime. Of particular note, on Fridays the student government

played contemporary dance songs in the courtyard. Students enjoyed this day immensely. Often, the Native students would sit on the peripheral, but when I was at school on Fridays, I danced. Some Native students joined me; while others stayed on the sideline and enjoyed the show.

After school, I helped students to complete homework or assignments. I often visited other teachers to verify some students' participation in class and retrieve assignments for the SHIELD teachers. I provided general support for the SHIELD teachers, as they needed it.

Since that time, I have worked with the SHIELD teachers and District administrators to support student achievement, extra-curriculum advising, academic mentoring/tutoring, and American Indian cultural support.

Participants

In consultation with the SHIELD teacher, I identified a potential population of participants. From this population, a purposeful sample of 5 students was selected to be the focus of this study. The final participants who were selected for the study were asked to participate on the basis of:

- Parental approval
- Grade level
- Gender equity
- Must be American Indian
- Involved in the Native American Club
- Current or previous SHIELD student

In addition to the students, I interviewed the SHIELD teacher and American Indian Education Program Director. The SHIELD teacher is American Indian, a certified

teacher with over 24 yrs of teaching experience in the district. The American Indian Education Program Director is American Indian, a certified teacher and has over 30 years experience working in Southwest Public School District as a liaison, teacher and administrator.

As I transitioned from volunteer to participant observer, university and School District permissions were granted: as per the requirements of the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRB) parental and participant approvals and consent forms were collected prior to research activity.

Data Collection

Critical Theory helped me to view the students and their school in the relational context of individual and institutional power. These relationships were examined and critiqued based on participants' experience and stories. Participant accounts often demonstrated their understanding in how and why they came to define themselves in certain ways. As a participant observer, I used ethnographically-informed approaches to collect data. The total number of student participants began at 5, though one student did withdraw from the study due to personal reasons. The remaining four students, one teacher, and one administrator are the focus of my study.

Observations

I conducted classroom and Native American Club activity observations. In the classroom observations, I attended two classes with each participant. I usually sat in the back of the room and observed the participants' interaction with students and teachers. I

wrote and maintained field notes and recorded the observations employing a self-designed observation protocol map. In the Native American Club activity, I attended the weekly Wednesday meetings and met with participants to organize Club outings and fundraisers. Club meetings occurred at lunch time during the school day and lasted 45 minutes. The Native American Club meetings were held in the mini-auditorium in the academic building, but were later moved to the SHIELD classroom. Further, I observed my participants in Club activities, including:

- fry bread fundraising sales,
- homecoming food sales
- community-based clean up projects
- tribal community social events like powwows
- social ceremonies,
- year-end social activities
- annual social powwow.

An example of Club activity is a monthly fry bread fundraiser sale held on a Friday afternoon after school. During the last class period, I worked with students to prepare for the fundraiser. This interaction helps me view their interpretation of the Club activity and how it influences their sets of cultural capital.

Interviews

I conducted 2 formal interviews with each students, one formal interview with the SHIELD teacher and the AIEP Director each. Interviewing twice allowed the first session to be introductory and develop baseline information; the second interviews allowed for follow-up, editing, and member-checking. For confidentiality purposes, I developed a list of pseudonyms for each participant. All interviews were between 45 minutes and 80

minutes long. Though a list of interview protocol questions were created, each interview was semi-structured, open ended, and audio taped. I transcribed each interview.

My 7 years as a mentor and volunteer at Jumpers has forged a strong relationship with the American Indian students, campus community, and administration. The interviews took place either in the SHIELD classroom or one of the library conference rooms. The participants had access to the interview questions beforehand. As a mentor, I have worked with the participants in their academic courses and in social contexts for three years. I am a familiar person to the participants and their families. I frequently encounter participants off-campus, at local powwows, social ceremonial gatherings, and Native celebration dinner's community events. Because of the rapport, participants were open and, I believe, felt generally comfortable to respond to interview questions.

The SHIELD teacher and the Director interview's contributed important information that added to the students' perspective. As a classroom volunteer and writing/social studies mentor, the SHIELD teacher and administrator have learned to trust and depend on me as an avid supporter. Their interviews provided a picture of classroom and school expectations that illustrates institutional cultural capital. They act as intermediates, between the school expectations and student's lived experiences. These interviews helped me to better understand the social and cultural daily lives of the students.

Grounded Theory Analysis

I used a Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) approach to analyze my data. Grounded Theory is an on-going, subjective reflexive process of interaction and

reflection with data. Through a systematic review of transcript reading, I looked for continuously, re-emerging keywords or themes (Bonner & Adams, 2011). These ongoing reviews, allowed me to create categories that demonstrate participant's experiences. I read each transcript and highlighted key words. I transferred these key words to color-coded post-its. Next, I reviewed the color-coded post-its and grouped them by evolving theme/category. Using individual large sheets of paper to denote one theme/category, I arranged each colored post-it into a corresponding category. By coding the transcripts in this manner, I was able to visualize the data as my understanding developed. This system was repeated twice.

Credibility and Dependability

Qualitative research is the most effective approach to understanding human phenomena (Golafshani, 2003). Qualitative research methods best illustrate a narrative-based analysis that describes human actors' thoughts, worldviews, emotions, and beliefs (Zeller, 1995). I locate this study under the qualitative research umbrella.

When it comes to the credibility of the study, this may be a challenge specifically, for postpositivists. In judging the merit of a postpositive study, we must remember that the for the qualitative researcher, a strong, effective study is judged by credibility, dependability, neutrality. These terms focus on the essence and nuance of the research methodology. Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 300; cited in Golafshani 2003) use "dependability" to demonstrate consistency and reliability.

Postpositivists recognize and disclose their positions by describing their researcher role, context of the study, research study methodology, pre-conceived

interview questions, and social-political positions (interviewer and interviewee). By incorporating the researcher bias into the research phenomena, the researcher tells the audience, 'this is where I am coming from and these are the assumptions I come with into this study'. By doing so, the researcher is open to criticism and left to respond to "why should I trust your study?"

To demonstrate the credibility and dependability of my study, I employed member-checking (Glesne, 1999) and audits (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). *Member checking* is the process of "sharing interview transcripts, analytical thoughts and/or drafts of the final report with participants" (pg. 32) to ensure that their ideas and stories are accurate. I gave copies of the interview transcripts to participants for their review. Further, I maintained regular check-ins, short conversations about the study, with each participant as to the study progress and on-going thoughts. Moreover, I engaged in *audits*, as a way to gain outside perspectives. I often relied on the support of school personnel and colleagues who were familiar with school-based, qualitative research procedures to review drafts and provide insight. Using these two techniques enhanced the credibility and trustworthiness of my interpretations and findings. Further my prolonged engagement at the school supports the trustworthiness.

At the beginning of the study, I disclosed my thoughts, beliefs, and theoretical positions. By doing so, I hope to provide the readers insight that will frame my interpretations of the data in a dependable manner. By providing my personal (social and cultural) and professional context, readers will know firsthand of any biases.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

People experience social forces differently. Though students share similar experiences, their interpretations often vary. My study looked at the social and cultural characteristics of four American Indian high school students and their high school experiences. My analysis is based on qualitative research methods, interviews and observations, which yield rich data. This chapter focuses on the discourse surrounding the context of my participant's high school experience and implications for high school education policy.

The Characters

Anne. She is a ball of energy. The first thing you notice is her smile. It is huge! Infectiously huge! She laughs. She jokes. She always says, "Ayyyyyeeee!"

On this morning, Anne moves through the center courtyard at Jumpers with purpose. She is constantly interrupted by hugs and shoulder taps and loud screams from across the way. She walks and carries a bagel and plastic bottle, juice I assume. Smiling, she reaches room 231 and pulls open the door. "Annie!" yells a student sitting at a table. She darts for the table, and laughing, joking, and smiling, she sits. Anne usually visits room 231 each day before 1st hour—most Native students visit room 231 each day before 1st hour.

Anne is a senior. Like many Native students at Jumpers, Anne lives in town. Anne holds an air of confidence and self-assuredness. She maintains strong opinions and

eagerly relates her perspective. Though academically competent and culturally grounded, Anne faces personal challenges that, occasionally, rear its head between 8am and 3pm. She has long, full, dark brown hair that reaches for the ground. Her style of dress compliments her no-nonsense mindset and maintains a hint of country/western. Anne lives with her mom and two younger brothers near Jumpers. Anne has lived in town since the fourth grade. Prior to that time, she lived in N. Arizona on a large Indian reservation. Anne recalls:

> I started school up there for little bit and they [the school] told my grandparents that I was above everyone, as far as speaking and learning math and English and stuff. So my grandpa told my mom and my mom had me to go school down here. (Interview transcript)

Today, Anne sits at the table in room 231 and eats her breakfast. While doing so, she tells her friends about the night she had with her mom. Apparently, wild and funny things went on last night, because the table laughs loudly and often. Story. Laughs. Ayyyyyyyeee. Story. Laughs. Ayyyyyyyeee. Repeats for 26 minutes.

I first met Anne at a Native American Club powwow meeting. There were about 30 people who gathered in Mr. Johnson's room to discuss the powwow roles and agenda. 30 people included dancers, students, parents, community members, teachers, and me. Anne sat near to me in the back. Ms. Raincloud facilitated the meeting and began introductions. Anxious, I did not know what I was going to say when it was my turn. Finally, it was my turn. Ms. Raincloud pointed to me and prompted my introduction and research project.

Awkward, I stood and introduced myself – *Good evening, my name is Victor Begay* -- and recounted my dissertation project – *yadda, yadda, yadda.* With many confused stares and skeptical glances, I sat. Phew. Done. Anne leaned over to me, smiling, and said, in her closest accent attempt of the movie *Smoke Signals* character Thomas, "Hey, Victor!" I smiled.

David Langdon. The name Langdon is familiar. It is a family name from a nearby Indian reservation. It is a name synonymous with leadership and heritage. It is *his* last name.

The Native American Club meeting was about to begin. David Langdon is a junior. Club members met in the mini-auditorium for bi weekly meetings. The routine was set. First, it's Wednesday. Next, 3rd period bell rings. Then, Club members scurried to the lunch room and grabbed small paper boats filled with a cheeseburger and fries or a corn dog and fries or a slice of pizza and fries. It was always something different and fries. Finally, paper boat full of something fried and a box of juice in hand, club members enter through the 400 hall doorway, which is patrolled by a teacher allowing access for students with legitimate business in the academic halls during lunch, they enter the mini-auditorium and fill the seats.

We used to get a lot of students showing up for meetings and activities. Admittedly, these meetings were in the beginning of the school year and as the semester waned, so, too, did Club member's interest. Like many of his tribal community, David lives on a nearby Indian reservation and rides the school bus daily to Jumpers. Though

his reservation borders the city, it truly maintains a unique rural character and community *feel*.

The meeting is called to order and begins. The Club president shares news and information, while Club members barely listen and eat their lunch. Club meetings were not so much about the structured order of organization and activities, rather, more about hanging out with other Native students. David Langdon sits in the front row on the periphery of three student's conversation. He waits for a structured order of organization.

I first met David Langdon in Ms. Raincloud's room. Her room was not much of a room, rather a large, and glorified, storage closet. I came to tutor for 2 hours that day. One student came in with a one paged paper that was supposed to be four. Another came in with a draft of her paper about "Indian stuff." David Langdon came to the room, with no paper to read, or even needing help from a tutor.

David is tall and bulky. He favors jeans, t-shirts and sneakers—A very casual style of dress to coincide with his casual demeanor. David is specific to whom he will talk with and engage. Last year, David was an active member of the Native American Club, but this year he had high hopes of being President. He likes organization and frowns on the anomic behavior that is the Native American Club.

> I'm very active [in the Native American Club]. I'm probably over active sometimes, I take things abit too serious it comes to the Club, just cause I was involved, an office last year and I want to see it go on and everything. Just like how the people the year before have probably been on me and about the whole thing. (Interview transcript)

On this day, he came to talk with Ms. Raincloud. I sat at the large oversized table that took up most of the space in the room and read papers. David fleetingly looked at me and concentrated on Ms. Raincloud. During their conversation, referencing me, I heard him ask, "Who is that?" Ms. Raincloud called me over, "David, this is Mr. Begay. He is here to help students with English papers." An awkward handshake and a quick, *hmphf*, David moved on.

Vera. Vera is mostly quiet, but does laugh. She does shy away, but can engage. She toys with mediocrity, but has the wherewithal to excel. I never understood the dark, black t-shirts that she wears. They are always emblazoned with the name of some music band that caricatures and rivals a 1980's heavy metal band. Her black t-shirts seem at odds with her bubbly personality.

Vera is a junior. She is literate in understanding small commands in Navajo language. Close the door. Hand me that sheet of paper. Sit down and work. But is lost and confused when the conversation grows. Vera recognizes the order and relationship rules of Navajo clanship. Because Vera's teacher, Mrs. Clauschee, is Navajo, Vera often calls her Mom. Upon introducing myself to Vera, she recognized my clans and began to refer to me as Uncle.

As the 3rd hour bell rings, Vera comes into room 231 and sits at her table. She unknowingly begins talking with a friend. 9 minutes pass and she finally, recognizes me in the room. Uncle, she says. Without skipping a beat I respond and move toward her table and work there with her and her table mates. Two boys, from across the room

interrupt and loudly ask, Vera, how is Mr. Begay your Uncle? Vera promptly responds with a quick lesson on Navajo clanships and its importance in today's society.

I remember meeting Vera at a Native American Club meeting. She did not speak to me, rather her friends were the first ones to break the ice and approach me. Vera had nervous energy. She bounded in and out of rooms quickly. She had little patience to remain for a whole Club meeting. Vera was friends with many Native students at Jumpers. She had close friendships with students that were in leadership positions in the Native American Club.

> Um, I don't, my friends are there [at Native American Club meetings], too. They are sort of my family…I don't see them as friends. But I go with them to everything. Like I don't see them as my friends, I see them as family. (Interview transcript)

At that Club meeting, the agenda focused on the cultural assembly at school next week. Each minority population was asked to demonstrate something representative of their culture. Vera and friends were negotiating on whether or not to participate with a social dance reflective of their culture. Two of the four girls turned to me and asked if that dance was ok to perform in front of non-Natives. I responded affirmatively and asked for each of the group member's names and their tribes. When they responded and collectively said they are Native, I pressed for their clans. Each responded. Vera responded in a broken Native/English version of her clans.

Billy. The first day of school is always filled with energy and excitement. After the first hour bell rang, I walked into room 231 and let out a big "Whoop, I'm back!"

Momentarily surprise, students turned and saw me. Many handshakes and short quips about summer experiences quickly stole 14 minutes of the class period. Not to be deterred, Billy jumped over a table and knocked down a chair, to get me and shout, Hey, Mr. Begay! How have you been? With no time to respond, Billy jumped into an adventure-filled monologue describing a passion for Pokemon, trips to his tribal reservation, and many challenging family situations.

Billy is a sophomore. He is young. He looks much younger than his chronological age. His short black hair cut adds to his prepubescent demeanor. Lanky with a penchant for t-shirts, jeans and sweatshirts, Billy swims in his baggy clothes. He is energetic. He is feisty. Billy constantly moves around the room, becomes interested in other student's conversations, is easily distracted and eagerly accepts friendships whenever offered.

Billy is registered for the 3rd hour SHIELD class. He sits at a table with two other sophomores. Because these students had too much laughing, distractions, and not-enough-work completed Mrs. Clauschee made me a permanent member at their table. They played with miniature Pokemon figures, laughed at elementary behavior, discussed shows from the Cartoon Network, and routinely asked for bathroom permission.

Billy demonstrates a pattern of behavior that escapes most 15 year olds –his responsibility and dedication to a younger sister. His display of loyal and responsible behavior is unique and refreshing. Each day after school he must retrieve and watch her until their mom gets home. Like clockwork, Billy would be engaged in after school activities, but the minute it is time to go to the elementary school, where his sister attends, he is off to pick her up. His sensitivity clearly shines through his opaque attempts to hide it.

I don't brag. I'm not bragging, but I'm just saying. I mean I said it before, I don't want to brag, I'm not saying that I am gonna brag, but I guess, I really care for people. I don't show it, but I really worry about what happens to other people. I try to be nice and caring. (Interview transcript)

I first met Billy in the SHIELD class in room 231. Between classes, I usually open the classroom door, which opens to outside, and stand at the entrance and greet students into the classroom or the students that are passing by. Billy walks up to the room and bypasses me with not as much as a hello. When class begins, I close the door and wander through the students tables. Billy and his table mates were playing with a Nintendo game player. Mrs. Clauschee removed the game player and directed the students to work. To encourage work and discourage playing, I sat at his table. He gave quick skeptical glances and only spoke once. "You're Navajo, right?" That opened dialogue that soon became constant engagement. He made insightful comments, and joked, about his classmates. He asked questions about why only American Indian students can take this class. He questioned many things that happened in school.

Mrs. Clauschee. I was not quite sure what to expect when I returned to campus on the first day. The Native student support programs reorganized its approach to serving students. A new program – SHIELD - was being implemented this year. Ms. Raincloud was no longer at Jumpers High School and four brand new teachers were hired to work in tandem between two classrooms. Three Native teachers and one Anglo teacher were hired specifically for their work with Native students. Mrs. Clauschee co-taught her

SHIELD class with Mr. Gary in room 232. Two other teachers also certified English and math were in room 238.

Mrs. Clauschee, Indian, is a certified English teacher. She has over 30 years experience working in the Sinagua School District. My closest ally at Jumpers, Mrs. Clauschee is cautious and quiet. While school administration ebb and flow, she forged relationships with students to help them succeed beyond academics, more importantly, personally. Her life experience prepared her to work with students in both traditional and contemporary contexts. She was born in a small town in Northern Arizona on a large Indian reservation. Government boarding schools and public high school afforded her opportunities to think about Indian education in many ways. Mrs. Clauschee recalls her elementary school days vividly, and quite differently than other government boarding school students.

> I went to _____ schools, boarding school. Of course, on the reservation its an all-native school, so all the kids are native. And most of, for the most part I had a good experience. And, I know there was, the dorm aides were pretty strict and we had to line up for everything and but for the most part, we really didn't get hit or abused. When I went to school and we could speak our language if we wanted to. We were taught how to clean after ourselves. And lots of responsibility. (Interview Transcript)

Mrs. Clauschee's experience at boarding school during the 1960's is a far cry from the boarding school stories that mark the Carlisle-era of Federal Indian boarding schools. Her experience is demonstrative of some boarding school experiences post-1950.

Visible shifts occurred in their operation, for example some Indian boarding schools were:

- located on or near Indian reservations/communities
- centers of cultural revitalization
- designed to support student achievement as defined by local norms

Ms. Clauschee attended high school in small town that borders the reservation. She lived in a dormitory designed specifically for Indian students who lived on the reservation and made the trip too far to travel daily. Characteristically Navajo, Mrs. Clauschee portrays an engaging, trusting, and accomplished educator. Soon Mrs. Clauschee became the Native American Club's faculty sponsor and began coordinating fundraisers, activities, annual social powwow, and the end-of-year celebration. Because of her upbringing and Navajo language fluency, she is called upon to provide translations and unique perspectives of Indian student achievement. She serves as a literal and figurative symbol of culturally relevant instructors.

Mrs. Clauschee and I work well together. We talk about similar experiences we have had in our lives and, often, compare those experiences to the Native students in school. During 2nd period, Mrs. Clauschee's prep time, we have serious discussions about cultural factors of the school, students' individual achievement and test scores, and the progress of the Native American Club. I contribute research data and journal findings, empirical statistics on the outcomes of Native student performance; While Mrs. Clauschee provides and reflects on her personal experiences and the day-to-day interactions with students. Our friendship is a comforting and reliable one.

I remember meeting Mrs. Clauschee with the high school assistant principal. On my first day at Jumpers, with SHIELD in place, we walked to room 231 and I was

introduced. I remember being intimidated by her. She was engaged in discussion with a student and had to take time away and deal with my intrusion. The assistant principal brought me in, introduced me and abandoned me as quick as we came in. I felt my lack of experience was going to drive a barrier between me and the new teachers. I felt that Mrs. Clauschee would be annoyed with another adult in her class. I thought Mrs. Clauschee was going to test my Navajo-ness. Earning the trust of Indian educators is challenging and one of the greatest battles I had a Jumpers. Luckily, that first full year I was at Jumpers with Mrs. Clauschee I was not conducting any research for the dissertation. Rather, I continued my volunteer/tutor role.

Mrs. Avon. "Mrs. Avon will be right with you, she is running late, but does know about your appointment," recounts the assistant. I smile acknowledging the update. I move back into the office that is crowded with school supplies, books, pencils, coloring devices, stickers, etc. The walls bear posters with native themes of eagle feathers and drums that declare *School is fun*, *Education is our tradition,* and *Celebrate American Indian education*. I hear a friendly, hello, turn and recognize Mrs. Avon.

Mrs. Avon, director of the Indigenous Student Support office, is Hopi and Navajo. She grew up in a small town on an Indian reservation in the northern part of the state in a Navajo-dominant community. Her parents moved many times from reservation town to reservation town. Their employment opportunities influenced her education going experience, and subsequently she attended several different schools early in her life. Ultimately, Mrs. Avon went to a reservation-based public elementary school with a mix

of Navajo and Anglo students, but her junior high and high school experience was spent at local all-Indian boarding schools.

Confident in her cultural makeup, Mrs. Avon strives for a holistic approach to education for her self, her families, and her Native students. She believes that education systems that are grounded to support mind-body-spirit philosophy are best approaches for Native students to be successful. While many of her students have experienced varying levels of acculturation, Mrs. Avon wants her students to be confident in their lives to be able to "live in this [urban] environment and to understand the [urban] society, but be able to adjust to reservation lifestyles" (Interview transcript).

Mrs. Avon is an astute director with over 30 years of experience in the Sinagua School District. Her quiet tone and soft demeanor mask her strategic decision making and staunch support of Native students. Tall with a thin frame, Mrs. Avon understands the need for a balanced, holistic approach to education for Native students. Her office holds monthly workshops that creates and combines a student homework space, potluck dinner, information sharing, guest speaker, and a cultural activity.

I first met Mrs. Avon through a friend of mine who was in the doctoral program at ASU. Our student group was meeting with local Indian educators and their respective offices. Her approach to Indian education reflects the balance that she seeks in her life; a spirit/mind/body approach that recognizes and celebrates the traditional and contemporary experiences of Indian students. There was an opportunity to meet and talk with educators to discuss relevant issues important to our group. Mrs. Avon was part of that initial group.

Discussion

European Americans spent, and continue to spend, a great amount of time, energy, and money to assimilate indigenous peoples of America. From the time of contact and conquest of the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, to relocation and removal of the 19th century, into the 20th century's boarding school experiment and relocation efforts to urban areas, American Indian's resilience and fortitude, though impaired, remains intact. Admittedly, changes to behaviors and attitudes manifest in American Indian communities; yet, there still exists unique epistemologies that characterize American Indian ideology (Freng, Freng, and Moore, 2006).

As my participants report, they have devised strategies that help them navigate the halls of Jumpers High School. These strategies are demonstrations of their cultural capital. The students contextually employ these compartmental strategies.

Acculturation. Formal channels of assimilation to Euro-American lifestyle began upon contact with indigenous peoples of America. The goal of Europeans was to civilize indigenous people to a Western lifestyle. However, assimilation efforts stymied as American society grew. Early documents, such as the Meriam Report (1928), revealed that federal Indian boarding schools were not assimilating American Indians into American lifestyles efficiently or effectively. Moreover,

> By the mid-twentieth century it has become apparent … that the Indian population of the United States is markedly increasing and that the rate of basic acculturation

> to white American ways of life is incredibly slower than … earlier assumptions [suggested]. (Vogt, 1957, p. 137)

Though the rate of acculturation slowed, it did not altogether end.

Today, American Indian acculturation is contentious. American Indian acculturation is the "degree to which individuals accepts and adheres to both majority (Euro-American/White) and tribal cultural values (Choney, Berryhill-Paapke, and Robbins, 1995, p. 76). Acculturation is an outcome of the intersection of Euro-American and indigenous people's worldviews. The degree to which American Indians are acculturated is fluid and contextual.

Understanding the process of acculturation, which minimized American Indian cultural traditions and values, is important to understanding how and why American Indians make decisions (Reynolds, Sodano, Ecklund and Guyker, 2012). In contemporary times, it is important to understand that most American Indians experience some degree of acculturation. However, as my participant's report, the effects of acculturation in their lives manifest in different ways.

The invisible minority. An invisible minority category prominently displayed how my participants negotiated their participation in school behaviors and expectations. This category has been used to identify different populations within schools contexts i.e. English Language Learners (National Education Associations, 1966), Filipino Americans (Margolis, 2012), or Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgendered and Questioning youth (Frank and Cannon, 2009). Not for the same reasons as other populations, but a category

that allows Native students to hide in plain sight. I found much of what my participants recalled fit well under this category.

Invisible minority references a social position of a population. While a member of a minority group exists and operates within mainstream culture, i.e. schools, if the member does not act in a way that society assumes they should, they are pushed to the peripheral they become culturally and socially invisible. For example, when American Indian students do not resemble the stereotypical image of Native or they do not embody behaviors, or languages, that are typically assumed about Native cultures, that student becomes invisible. While only until that Native student acts, behaves, or talks in a way that is recognizable as *Native* by the mainstream, then that student does become visible. This performance by American Indians has been used as a tool of survival both in complying with and resisting mainstream demands.

Billy shares his perspective of how he has internalized the nuances of his friends, perhaps himself, as an invisible minority.

> Mr. Begay: What do you think it is, you the know the way these kids dress, the clothes; they got piercings, the have this goth look. What's behind that?
>
> Billy: I don't know. To me, its probably, they feel like they are hiding, it's complicated. I don't know how to say it. They [Billy's Native friends] know their religion, they want to say, they just can't. And that's why they dress up like that. What they are, they are Native. But they are changing it to something totally different. [Pauses]. Now they [non-Natives] are thinking Natives are nothing, but hardcore listening to music drunks. That's what people might think about us. (Interview transcript, p. 18)

Entertainments (Patterson, 2002) and Indian Play (Neuman, 2008) demonstrate how why, and in some cases how, the invisible minority plays their role as Native.

Lincoln (1990) writes about the way that American Indians use role-playing as a strategy of cultural survival. Kiowa playwright Geigomah's "Body Indian" theater play,

> Seems distinctive to itself—a pan-Indian drama, dangerously humorous, something akin to dark comic theater of conscience. Laughter in the face of terror is crucial to survival, and Indian jokes, culturally woven into tribal societies, serve as secular prayers to ground and revitalize native peoples. (Lincoln, 1990, p. 91)

American Indians have established unconventional forms of resistance toward dominant structures. These disguised, manipulated, and colluded actions and behaviors form a discourse of dissent that proves useful for some American Indians.

Entertainments. An example of early uses of the Indian performance is seen in the defiant acts of the Society of American Indians. Patterson (2002) wrote about the Society of American Indians, a pan-Indian organization of educated and articulate members, whose goals were to, "exploit non-Native interest in Indian culture to advance their goals of citizenship and equality within mainstream American society" (p. 45). The Society of American Indians used "entertainments" during their annual meetings to play to the stereotypical roles of Native communities in appeasement of their non-Native audiences. Patterson (2002) continues:

> Presentations that resembled Wild West shows might be what the audience wanted, but they should transcend the usual performance through the participation of authentic Indians and through the messages of Indians with the fate of "the race" at heart. A performance that accurately depicted reservation life might

> dispel negative myths about Native American by allowing whites to "see the true Indian nature" and the "real dignified, delicate life of the Indian. (p. 49)

The goal was to provide a pleasing scene or entertainment to White America, while ulterior motives packed the critical messages and opportunities for American Indians to act out their aggressions, make their political stances, and lampoon mainstream Americans for their careless interpretations of American Indians. These mainstream interpretations of American Indian stem from static images of the 19th and early 20th century; particularly, a period where, "fascination with the "vanishing" race manifested itself in popular culture" (Patterson, 2002, p. 47).

However, my participants placed a large amount of importance on how they see themselves at and within Jumpers High School. They saw themselves and felt that they were an invisible minority. The students reported that outside of the Native American Club and SHIELD classroom, they did not see elements of themselves or their culture at Jumpers High School. When asked, *do you see any elements of your culture here in the school*?

> Billy: No, to me not really. People are just there they only dress like, they are just really different, we [Native students] have the opposite of how we think about people and react to culture.

Billy clearly does not see elements of himself or his culture at Jumpers High School. He strengthened his belief by declaring the differences in a binary that exists between "us" or Native students and "them" or non-Native students. To the same question:

Anne: Um, not so much, [School identifier removed] But not really.

Anne recognized that elements of her culture were absent from the hallways and campus of her high school.

David Langdon: Not really… not particularly, no.

David is particularly an active and compassionate person. He often engages with his teachers and is willing to take a chance in asking questions or offering a response. So when he reports that there is no semblance of himself or his culture at Jumpers High, that is a literal, and quite, declarative statement.

Indian Play. Neuman (2008) writes about the camaraderie of Native students at Bacone College and how they used images of Indians to redefine themselves. Bacone College is a post-secondary school designed for American Indian students. Classes are developed with American Indian culturally relevant curriculum. In her article, she does a reinterpretation on Philip Deloria's "playing Indian" phrase which he defines as, "the widespread appropriation of romanticized notions of Indian-ness by non-Indians to define their own identities" (p. 180). Neuman inverts the terms and describes the behavior as "a creative process through which educated and highly articulate students negotiated the meanings of Indian-ness and produced new Indian identities" (p. 188).

She argued that Native students were able to demonstrate their agency through Indian Play. As such, they were able to make the obnoxious and stereotypical generalizations of Natives, conscious and contestable. When Native students acted, played, or wrote newspaper columns as stereotypical Natives, like "Ole Time Injun" (p. 191) they reinforced their

commitment to education by using images and representations of historical American Indians as sources of pride and motivation to succeed.

Neuman described some behaviors and activity of Indian Play as counter-hegemonic forms of cultural reproduction. Further, she asserted that by Native students recognizing and using these malicious generalizations is not to reinforce dominant prescriptions of Indian-ness, rather, to distinguish, "that what is most important to understand is that these cultural forms provided a space for students to comment on, talk about, and (sometimes) reinvent their own ideas about what it meant to be Indian" (p. 180). This space was an enlightening opportunity for American Indian students to feel comfort, engage in support systems, and define themselves as they saw possible.

The participants in my study demonstrated Indian Play. While they are academically average students and externally it may appear that they are fully integrated into the dominant structures of their high school, i.e. the participants do not have behavioral issues, they do not overtly or inconsiderately challenge authority, and they do not have personal or academic disdain for their high school; actually, quite the opposite.

Compliance

Vignette #1 -- David's bread dough

> I walked over to the AVID (Advancement Via Individual Determination) classroom in hall 3. I found the room and waited at the door to speak with the teacher. As I waited three students walked pass me into their classroom. After a brief review with the teacher, I found a seat next to David. I sat and began the formal observation. David started talking with me and I asked him if he is allowed to talk during class. Yes, he replied. I asked, what is the assignment?

The students were continuing to work on an assignment that is due in two days. The assignment is to create a PowerPoint presentation on 6 traits character, trustworthiness, caring, responsibility, and citizenship. David continues working. At one point he looks confused and raises his hand. David needs clarification on the assignment. His teacher comes over to him and resolves the issue. David continues working. 6 minutes later, David speaks with the teacher about another concern. David returns to his desk and reviews his presentation. He asks me, how do you spell environment? I respond, e-n-v-i-r-o-n-m-e-n-t. After a minute, David retrieves his IPOD music player from his pocket, searches for headphones/earbuds and begins to listen to music. Seven minutes later, David has another question to ask the teacher. This question regards to Introduction slide. David continues to work. Three times he receives and replies to phone text messages.

David begins to work quietly and tells me that he saves his work often, as to not lose the work. He begins to save his work to a jump drive/USB, but he has a confused look. He asks me about how to save the work. I respond. After I showed him how to save, eight minutes passed while waiting.

In this vignette, I observed David in his first hour class. David is an AVID student. AVID is a nationally known, "college readiness system for elementary through higher education that is designed to increase schoolwide learning and performance" (AVID, website). It is an academic elective class that prepares students to be independent thinkers, apply objective data, and focuses learning on student strengths. In this class period, David demonstrates that he is confident and has no hesitation to ask for help when needed. In

the first hour period, which runs 8:00 to 8:50am, David sought help from his teacher three times, interacted with one student, and asked me for assignment-related help. Showing his understanding and acceptance of classroom rules, David raised his hand for teacher help.

By mainstream standards, David is a good student. He knows the school expectations and rules and follows them. David has aspirations to go to college and by "getting good grades" he will ensure his post-secondary wishes come true.

> Indian Play made it possible for American Indian students to continue Challenging white stereotypes of Indians, exposing the differences among diverse American Indian communities, recognizing the effects of colonialism on American Indians, and questioning how schools run by European Americans could truly benefit Native students. (p. 180)

Vignette #2 - When are you gonna observe me?

> We were supposed to connect up at first hour but we missed each other. I asked to other students if Billy was in school today and everyone responded, "Yes" or "I don't know." Another student told me that Billy came to the room and looked for me.
>
> First and second class periods went by and finally I met up with Billy for his third period Spanish class. I waited for him outside portable #66. When Billy saw me standing outside the door, he came running up to me smiling and laughing, "What happened?"
>
> As we entered the classroom, I approached the teacher and asked for permission to be in the class to observe Billy. Teacher obliged and engaged in

conversation about his current graduate studies. As the students settled into their seats, they all received the days assignment – "Differences between SER and ESTAR." Billy works quietly. He raises hand to ask questions. Teacher walks to Billy's desk and affirms question. Billy talks with another student as opens her laptop – their talk is not about school work. The class becomes quiet and works on translation activity. Billy has an IPOD in his backpack and headphones hanging around his neck.

At one point, Billy looks in my direction and waves his arms. The class is quiet again working. Billy has another question, raises hand, teacher walks over to engage. Half way through the class, a student walks in and addresses the teacher. All students continue working, no one looks up.

This classroom observation is similar to the behavior demonstrated by David Langdon. In this observation, I found Billy to be inline with the expected standards of Jumpers High school. When Billy had a question, he followed protocol toward the teacher. When the class was in independent work time, they were quiet and, I assumed, working on their daily assignment. Billy made two specific motions toward me. It appeared as if he was checking to see if I was still in the classroom.

This classroom observation illustrates Billy's behavior. I observed Billy in three other classrooms and his behavior was similar. He is attuned to the classroom norms and follows suit.

Acts of Resistance

Vignette #3 – Natives Only!

6th hour classroom: You enter room 231 from the outside. Three Native students (who are not enrolled in this class) are working in this room. The come when they don't want to be somewhere else. The come here to work with each other on projects and assignments.

Before school: Today I came to campus and walked straight to room 231. Someone had written in chalk "Natives Only" at the doorstep of the room. I asked Mrs. Clauschee if she had seen the message, she hadn't. She came to the door and read it. She chuckled.

Lunchtime: Anne is sitting at table #4 in room 231. She is talking with another student about her year. "I would have basketball practice then go home cook and clean, then start homework," Anne said. The other girl was talking back with Anne and looking up to her, as if asking for advice. Anne's phone begins to ring. She answers the call. She engages in talk. "I am in the Native American room."

Lunchtime: Students come into the classroom, mostly to do homework and eat. A female non study student sits at a table and eats. She makes a phone call. "I am in the Native American room."

Interview:

Anne:	It is so nice to come into that room (Room 231) and kind of feel part of it. Like within that little section of the whole building I can just go there and greet Mrs. Clauschee. Like with a good greeting and say "Hi" and then the lunch go in there and see what happens and it just doesn't get old.
Interview:	
Mr. Begay:	Have you noticed any of your culture in school? The way that you understand culture, have you noticed any of it here at Jumpers High School?
Vera:	Here and there … a lot in the Native American room!
Mr. Begay:	ok, the SHIELD room? Anywhere else?
Vera:	Shakes head, indicating "No."

Room 231 is Mrs. Clauschee's room and designated SHIELD classroom. The participants of the study, as well as other Native students clearly take ownership of this classroom. In everyday talk, the students refer to the room as the "Native American room." For those Native, and some, non-Native students Room 231 is a place of refuge.

Room 231 is a regular sized square classroom. Mrs. Clauschee decorated the room with American Indian-based posters, pictures, symbols, and motifs. She also posted academic-based posters and charts, i.e. Cornell Notes, AIMS test dates, and writing/grammar rules. Around the top of the classroom are student-made tribal shields representing the Indian nations of each Indian student at Jumpers High School.

Students who are not enrolled in particular SHIELD class periods—they skip their regularly enrolled classes—spend time in room 231. Native students demonstrate agency by redefining this room. They are able to find one room in the school where they find comfort, culture, and other students who talk, look, and laugh about the same things.

What is particularly interesting is the message written in chalk. Native students not only claim the room for them, but also make the declarative statement of who is specifically allowed to enter the room. This chalk message symbolically disrupts the status quo for non-Native students, teachers, staff, and administrators.

Vignette #4 - Mom, take a picture.

Drawing on Neuman's (2008) Indian Play, the study participants reported that enact their Native culture in various ways and at different times. I asked each participant how they saw their culture represented at Jumpers High School. In terms of frequency, response's ranged from "randomly" to organized school sanctioned events. Yet, in terms of how the participant's culture was represented—depended on the context.

The former representation sits well apart on the frequency scale. Vera reports that she and her friends haphazardly decide to show, or play, their culture as represented through clothes, hair design, or jewelry:

Mr. Begay: Alright, have you noticed of your culture in school? The way that you understand culture, have you noticed any here at Jumpers High?

Vera: Here and there.

Mr. Begay: Here and there, like how?

Vera: Today one of my friends, just randomly felt like tying her hair up in a [Navajo] bun. And then other times, my friends would wear their jewelry, too. (Points to her necklace) I wear that one.

David Langdon offers a different approach to Indian Play. He stated that:

David: And then we try and share it [American Indian culture] at different school events, like cultural assembly or if we are trying to help the kids see like our culture and try and share it with them.

Cultural Compartmentalization. The four American Indian students who participated in this study recognized their American Indian cultural foundations in many different ways. The potential obstacles that American Indian students face within the structure of high school, highlights their resilience. As part of the social process of schooling, the students were supposed to minimize and even lose their cultural foundations. The expressed their staunch belief and desire to maintain those cultural foundations as they have interpreted them.

As American Indians, the students understood and readily accepted that their worldviews differed from the status quo of Jumpers High School. The goals and objectives of the school were not inline with the cultural foundations of their American Indian heritage. But those realizations did not hinder or stop the full participation of these students into the daily social milieu of the high school.

These students recognized that their Indian-ness was still active and purposeful, whether or not they received top grades, or had positive experiences in school. These students were able to compartmentalize their cultural demonstrations. They were in charge and decide when they were going to play Indian. On their own terms, they decided when to demonstrate their cultural foundations through clothes, food, talk, jewelry, behavior, and energy. Their Indian-ness was not defined by mainstream measures, rather the standard of their own interpretations. The connected to the minimal representations of

their cultural foundations found in their school. They identified that the SHIELD room and the Native American Club can be outlets for their culture.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

I found this dissertation study and process to be enlightening. As I ventured into the research questions, design, theory, and development of the document, I was overwhelmed. My study participants are strong, abled, individual thinkers. There common denominator was being American Indian, but their worldviews and perspectives vary widely.

As a Navajo, who grew up off-reservation, I held strong beliefs of what constitutes an American Indian. Many of those beliefs have shifted and changed because of this dissertation project. I began the process as their mentor and tutor. Somewhere along the way, I became their mentor and friend. Then I changed into a formal researcher probing their interpretations and classrooms. They laughed, they got frustrated, they argued, they challenged, they portrayed. Through the many hats that they wear, one hat permeated at their will.

My participants allowed me to see the Indian-ness, or at least the context of this dissertation project, through their perspectives. They held beliefs that challenged my own. They interpret American Indian thoughtfully, with candor, staunchly cultural and differently. Though their addresses represent physical urban locations, their spirituality and their worldviews represent a different place.

Linda Skinner (1999) wrote about public schools in “Teaching through Traditions.” She detailed a culturally relevant curriculum and justified her perspectives with Federal Trust Responsibilities and the importance of local governance. Though

Skinner wrote generally public high schools, many of her recommendations appear geared toward reservation-based schools. However, this list of suggestions resonate at Jumpers High School, including:

- Every LEA (Local Education Agency) must recognize the relationship f language to culture and establish programs that use the languages and emphasize their importance.

- Teachers must be trained and retrained to meet the education needs of all minority children. Teachers who prove unable to unwilling, over time, to address the education needs of all student should be removed from school faculties.

- Districts that receive federal funding for Native students must be forced to include Native parents from local communities on committees that establish policies. The ratio of parents on these committees should reflect the number of children in the district as well as the amount of money the endorsement of those children generates. Native communities must be involved where local education agency expenditures include federal monies.

- The federal government must take the imitative and enforce the current legislation. (pp. 123-124)

What Skinner (1990) described works well with a school that has a high population of American Indian students that is homogenous. Most often those school are found in reservation or rural communities. The situation at off-reservation public schools, like Jumpers High School, is the priorities of the non-Native school board and mainly non-Native decision makers. So for Jumpers High School a list could look like this:

- Each school district should have an American Indian advisory board that must recognize unique relationship of language to culture and establish programs that use the languages and emphasize their importance within the context of their population.

- Teachers must be trained and retrained to meet the education needs of all minority children. Teachers should be required to have a minimum proficiency of how to contend with off-reservation American Indians.

- Districts that receive federal funding for Native students must be forced to include Native parents from local communities on committees that establish policies.

- The federal government must take the imitative and enforce the current legislation

A particularly important caveat is the ratio of parents on these committees should reflect the number of children in the district as well as the amount of money the endorsement of

those children generates. Native communities must be involved where local education agency expenditures include federal monies.

Underneath, on top of, on the side of, at the peripheral, or through the black clothes and "Goth" attire, their Indian-ness resides. Mrs. Clauschee and I were talking at the end of the school year. This is a time when graduating seniors feel their high school mortality and begin to recognize the importance of relationships.

One day after the last day of school, Mrs. Clauschee and I were packing up the items in her classroom for summer storage. Anne walked into the Native American room. She was smiling. We were both surprised and excited to see her and quickly engaged in conversation. After a litany of questions: "What are you doing this summer?"; "What school did you choose for next fall?"; "How is your mom?" Anne left the room. Then, Mrs. Clauschee started talking about Anne's graduation reception. Mrs. Clauschee said that the reception was nice and formal with lots of Indians. Then she told me about Anne making a speech and introducing herself in her Native language. Anne became emotional because her Native language-speaking ability is not strong.

As we continued to fill boxes and clear the walls, I asked Mrs. Clauschee what she thought about Anne's behavior at the graduation reception and the loss of Native languages among our Native students at Jumpers High School. She was not surprised by low level of Native language speaking ability, specifically at Anne's reception, she went up to her and hugged her, saying, "You don't lose your language, it's there, it's in you." (Personal Communication, May 22, 2009).

This reaction is typical of Mrs. Clauschee's approach to understanding her Native students. By recognizing the context in which these students live, go to school, play for

fun, work, and overall were brought up, Mrs. Clauschee accepts the Indian-ness of the student at that point. She is not fond of neither the past nor the absence of Indian-ness, but greatly interested and supportive of what and how the Native student interprets their Indians-ness as, at the moment. Perhaps that is why the Native students gravitate toward her in times of cultural information and social support.

Supporting American Indian students in off-reservation public high schools

The participants in my study provided their thoughts on how off-reservation public schools could enhance the relationship of school and the Native student populations. Much like Skinner (1990) advocated for, the examples included greater practical visibility and understanding, strengthening the inter-tribalness of support programs, and including critical perspectives of contemporary American Indians' issues and worldviews.

Billy recognized that Jumpers High School did not provide avenues for American Indian students to represent themselves within the larger context of the school.

Mr. Begay:	Did you go to the Cultural Assembly?
Billy:	Yeah, it was kind of really fast quick. I mean, what I would have is to go for the whole week … that's what I would do. Sounds nice.
Mr. Begay:	Yeah, so that I wouldn't be so quick.
Billy:	Yeah, cause when it goes to quick, I feel like people didn't know that much about it. Then again, to me, I feel tlike they didn't even care bout cause it went too fast. They just want to get it out of the way.
Mr. Begay:	Seems pretty quick, huh? For one time.

Billy: I mean it just came and gone. It was only an hour or 45 minutes in there. To me, that was too quick.

Billy describes an opportunity for the school to show its commitment to American Indians and their experiences. While Billy went to the Cultural Assembly, he felt that such events warrant deeper appreciation and attention. He suggests that such information sharing experiences be more prominent in the school structure, i.e. have more time. As discussed in the Indian Play rational, while these school experiences may peripherally appear generalizing American Indian-ness, it is the students who decide when and how they will represent themselves. This defining act of agency highlights how the students contextually perform American Indian.

Anne provided an interesting perspective for consideration in support programs for American Indians at public schools. She discussed how younger American Indian students conceptualize American Indian-ness differently than older American Indians.

Anne: I am not too familiar with [reservation town name], I just go with my grandpa. So I was like, I go to Earls and it was soooo good. I just sit there and order my food. The manager is really, really, nice he knows how to treat customers. And I go in there and I find this lady, she comes in very, very dressed up and she was like wearing this velveteen dress, her big bracelets, and her rings and her big squash blossom. I'm like dang! She's overdressed. I'm like dang! She likes to show off or something.

Mr. Begay: Was she older or younger?

Anne: Older. She was probably like in her 50's.

Mr. Begay: when you go back home do people dressed up in [Native], like [Native] clothes, are they older or younger people?

Anne: Mainly older.

Mr. Begay: You rarely see the younger people?

Anne: No, unless they're Miss Navajo or Miss Royalty, or they are going to accept an award, they want to show appreciation. Not all people my age will dress like that.

Anne brings up an interesting concept of how we define or describe Indian-ness. Clothes, jewelry and the like are strong indicators of cultural identity for American Indians. It is powerful statement that is easily accessible. When this woman walks into the restaurant, her clothing style immediately marks her identity as an older woman of the [Native] Tribe.

Anne reacts and responds with the lady "showing off" or being "too much!" Yet the woman might be contextually, casually dressed. The restaurant is a casual, informal and local eatery. Many Natives from the local communities visit and dine. Anne's reaction might be an indicator of the differences in defining American Indian-ness.

We recognize the differences in worldviews from generation to generation. The manner, in which younger, contemporary Natives define Native-ness, is differently appropriated when compared to older Natives. The definition of American Indian that Mrs. Clauschee and Mrs. Avon may support, could correspond closer to the image of American Indians that the study participants perform.

The students in this study were all participants of the SHIELD program and the Native American Club. All beginning participants, but one, provided their experiences and thoughts through interviews and observations. Jumpers High School was supportive in finding unique ways to contend with the challenging conditions of academic achievement for American Indian students. As a result, the SHIELD program was implemented to a neighboring junior high school.

The participants, and their families, held their education highly. Though the participants in the study did not achieve at the top level of their grade; they did achieve academically. Most participants planned to continue onto college because they felt they were prepared and personal ambition. Their families, too, were anecdotally supportive of these academic plans and decisions.

The participants' teacher and administrator also demonstrated strong influences for the student to academically succeed and attain personal ambitions. Mrs. Clauschee proved important to the cultural and social web of not only my participants, but most Native students at Jumpers High School. As the Native American Club advisor, she was able to draw upon the intertribal-ness of the Native students and create activities and events that were deemed valuable by the Club members.

Mrs. Avon negotiated well Sinagua School Districts aims with the practicality and ability of Native students. Through SHIELD, she mitigated Sinagua School District's rules and regulations with the direct student contact support and advisement.

Mainstream education is built upon the cultural capital of the students of a privileged class. "Just as economic capital is distributed more readily to those who already have it, so too is cultural capital taken from and distributed in schools to those whose class already "owns" it" (Apple & Wexler, 1978, p.38). Public high schools need to equalize the education system for its students, by acknowledging, accepting, and building onto the cultural capital of its Native students. However, through a critical interpretation at Jumpers High School, their goals may not be easy to accomplish.

Through community-based activities and a culturally appropriate pedagogy, off-reservation public high schools can produce curriculums that compliment Native

ideology. But to what extent is their mission becoming fulfilled? It is a crucial time in education politics. There must be recognition given to the importance of local control schools and curriculum. Without this recognition and local governance, any and all community ideals and values will be at risk.

It is clear that American Indian demographics are shifting. Many American Indians are deciding to live in urban communities and thereby leaving their tribal communities. To the extent that this study can interpret how off-reservation public high schools contend with their Native student population, I offer the perspectives of my participants and their Indian Play and Entertainments.

Research is a powerful tool in the politics of education. Favoring one approach over another is detrimental to the population it intends to serve. The issues that educators and future policymakers deal with should be an alarming wakeup call. Critical perspectives of education highlight the economic, historical based systems of education are unjust to America Indian students, self-serving for a privileged class, and reinforce individualistic forms of social stratification.

This movement will continue to poorly define identity, exclude racial/ethnic perspectives or worldview, and reassert a status quo. Much of the work that educators do falls into the discipline of education (teaching, administering, recess, nap time, lunchtime, etc.), I would argue that educator roles are much farther reaching. In our pluralistic society, it is our responsibility to strive for a just and equitable system of education.

The goal of education should not be formidable ends to attain a certificate of completion nor support a biased system of credentialing (Larabee, 1997). Rather the goal should be more *humanistic*, juxtaposed with a contextual *social*

serving mechanism – indicative of the individuals' experience, as my participants suggest. The battle for which perspective or worldview to promote as legitimate knowledge, will be a constant crusade for validation among policymaker who see American Indians existence as static, definitive, or singular. These narrow thinking bureaucrats must be enlightened to the possibility of a democracy of worldviews and social beings.

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APPENDIX A

INFORMATION LETTER – STUDENT 18 YEARS AND OLDER

INTERVIEW/OBSERVATION

Information Letter – Student 18 yrs. and older Interview/Observation
The Cultural Capital of American Indian Students in an Off-Reservation, Public High School

April , 2009

Dear _____:

I am a graduate student under the direction of Professor Eric Margolis in the College of Education at Arizona State University. I am conducting a research study to understand how American Indian students' participation in two high school programs impacts how they talk about themselves. This research study is partial fulfillment of the requirements in my degree program, Doctor of Philosophy.

You will be asked to be interviewed and observed during school. You will be interviewed no more than three times. Each interview will last 30 to 60 minutes. During this interview you are able to skip questions. I would like to audiotape this interview. The interview will not be recorded without your permission. Please let me know if you do not want the interview to be taped; you also can change your mind after the interview starts, just let me know. Once the interview is complete, the audiotape will be transcribed.

In addition to the 30 to 60 minutes, you will be able to read any early data, notes, vignettes or short stories. This may add additional two or three hours of time.

In addition to being interviewed, you will be observed. You will be observed in your full regular schedule of classes; as well as, if you attend, Native American Club meetings and/or activities. You will be observed for at least 3 regular school days.

In order to develop a total picture of your schooling experience, I would like permission to request a progress/grade report from your school administrator. I will ask that your name and any identifying information be removed from the progress report and replaced with only your pseudonym. This level of anonymity will protect your identity. This information will kept with the official research documents secured in my office. When the paper/printed material is longer needed, that material will be shredded.

Your participation in this project is voluntary and you may stop participating in this study at any time. If you choose not to participate, (it will not affect your grade or standing in school) in any way.

The results of this research study may be published, used in reports, presentations, and publications, but your name will not be used. You will not be identified. In order to maintain confidentiality of your records, I will keep all audio tapes and transcripts locked and preserved for at least five years. No one will have access to these materials, except me and my committee members.

If you have any questions concerning the study, please call me at (480) 570-3513.

Sincerely,

Victor Begay

By signing below, you are giving consent to participate in the above study.

_____	_____	_____
Signature	Printed Name	Date

If you have any questions about you or your child's rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you or your child have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

APPENDIX B

ADULT CONSENT

Adult Consent

The Cultural Capital of American Indian Students in an Off-Reservation, Public High School

March , 2009

Dear _____:

I am a graduate student under the direction of Professor Eric Margolis in the College of Education at Arizona State University. I am conducting a research study to build upon and enhance public school policy by understanding how high school programs influence American Indian students' identity. This study focuses on two policies: (1) Native American Club (a social and cultural student support organization) and (2) SHIELD Program (a study-skills based elective course). By examining the characteristics that influence American Indian student's identity, this research study will add to the knowledge base and inform public school policy development and implementation. This research study is partial fulfillment of the requirements in my Doctor of Philosophy program.

I am requesting your participation, which will involve one hour of interviewing. During this interview you will be able to skip questions. Your interview will be audio-taped for accuracy. Once the interview is complete, the audiotape will be transcribed. In addition to the one hour, I will give you the option of reading preliminary and final data vignettes or short stories. This may add additional one or two hours.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. As a parent, your participation will not affect your child's status in school. The results of the research study may be published, but your name will not be used.

The results of this research study may be used in reports, presentations, and publications, but you will not be identified. In order to maintain confidentiality of your records, I will keep all audio tapes and transcripts locked and preserved for at least five years. No one will have access to these materials, except me and my committee members.

If you have any questions concerning the study, please call me at (480) 570-3513.

Sincerely,

Victor H. Begay

By signing below, you give consent to participate in the above study.

_____	_____	_____
Signature	Printed Name	Date

If you have any questions about you or your child's rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you or your child have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

APPENDIX C

STUDENT/CHILD ASSENT

Student/Child Assent

The Cultural Capital of American Indian Students in an Off-Reservation, Public High School

I have been informed that my parent(s) have given permission for me to participate in a study to understand how high school programs influence American Indian students' identity. This study focuses on two policies: (1) Native American Club (a social and cultural student support organization) and (2) SHIELD Program (a study-skills based elective course).

I will be interviewed and observed during school. I understand that I will be interviewed no more than three times. Each interview will last 30 to 60 minutes. The interview will be audio-taped and then transcribed. During this interview I understand that I can skip or not answer questions. I understand that the interview will be audiotape. The interview will not be recorded without my permission. I will let you know if I do not want the interview to be taped; I also can change my mind after the interview starts, I just have to let you know. Once the interview is complete, the audiotape will be transcribed. In addition to the 30 to 60 minutes, I will be able to read any early data, notes, vignettes or short stories; as well as the final report. This may add additional two or three hours of my time.

In addition to being interviewed, I understand that I will be observed. I will be observed in my full regular schedule of classes; as well as, some Native American Club meetings and/or activities. I will be observed for 3 regular school days.

I understand that I give permission for my school administrator/teacher to give a copy of my progess/grade report for the research study. My name and any identifying information will be removed from the progress report and replaced with only my pseudonym. This information will kept with the official research documents secured in Victor's ASU office. When the paper/printed material is longer needed, that material will be shredded.

My participation in this project is voluntary and I have been told that I may stop my participating at any time. If I choose not to participate, it will not affect my grade or standing in school in any way. The results of the research study may be published, but my name will not be used.

If you decide to be in the study I will not tell anyone else how you respond or act as part of the study. Even if your parents or teachers ask, I will not tell them about what you say or do in the study.

Signing here means that you have read this form or have had it read to you and that you are willing to be in this study.

_____ _____

Signature Printed Name

_____

Date

If I have any questions concerning the study, Victor Begay can be reached at (480) 570-3513.

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS - STUDENTS

Interview Protocol - Students

These are examples of the questions that I will use in my interviews with the participants. These questions are ethnographic type interviews. This means these questions are posed to be open-ended and to draw out personal experiences and emotions. These questions will not necessarily be asked in this wording or order. Over the course of three interviews the questions will evolve and develop but will not stray far from the central research questions.

What tribe are you from?
    What tribe are you enrolled with?

Who is your mom? Who is your dad?
    What tribe are they from?
    What tribe are they enrolled with?

(added 3/31) Who are your grandparents?
    What are the connections of your culture with your grandparents?

Where did you go to elementary school?
    What was your experience with Natives in elementary been like for you?

What does the word 'culture' mean to you?

Describe your culture?

Do you speak your Native language? Does anyone in your household?

Where do you live?

How many brothers and sisters do you have?

Have you noticed any of your culture in school? How?

Describe a typical Native American event/activity.

Describe a typical non-Native American event/activity.

What experiences have you enjoyed with the Native American Club?

What experiences have you had with the SHIELD class/room?

How active are you in the Club?

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS – ADULTS

Interview Protocol – parents/teachers

These are examples of the questions that I will use in my interviews with the adult/parent/teacher participants. These questions are ethnographic type interviews. This means these questions are posed to be open-ended and to draw out personal experiences and emotions. These questions will not necessarily be asked in this wording or order. Over the course of three interviews the questions will evolve and develop but will not stray far from the central research questions.

What is your culture?

What tribe are you from?
    What tribe are you enrolled with?

Where did you go to school?
    What was your experience with Natives in school?

Do you speak your Native language? Does anyone in your household?

Where do you live?

Describe your immediate and/or extended family.

Describe a typical Native American event/activity.

Describe your experience in your high school.

Describe your students/childs familiarity with Native American culture.

What do you think the schools role should be in promoting or maintaining Native American culture?

How familiar are you with the SHIELD program?

Describe an ideal support education program for Native American students.

What characteristics are typical for Native American students in your (child's) school?

What does it mean to be Native American to you?

APPENDIX F

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY – IRB APPROVAL

RESEARCH AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

To:	Eric Margolis ED
From:	Mark Roosa, Chair Soc Beh IRB
Date:	03/30/2009
Committee Action:	**Expedited Approval**
Approval Date:	03/30/2009
Review Type:	Expedited F7
IRB Protocol #:	0902003724
Study Title:	Understanding "Indian-ness": An Ethnographic Interpretation of American Indian Identity in an Off-Reservation, Public High School
Expiration Date:	03/26/2010

The above-referenced protocol was approved following expedited review by the Institutional Review Board.

It is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to obtain review and continued approval before the expiration date. You may not continue any research activity beyond the expiration date without approval by the Institutional Review Board.

Adverse Reactions: If any untoward incidents or severe reactions should develop as a result of this study, you are required to notify the Soc Beh IRB immediately. If necessary a member of the IRB will be assigned to look into the matter. If the problem is serious, approval may be withdrawn pending IRB review.

Amendments: If you wish to change any aspect of this study, such as the procedures, the consent forms, or the investigators, please communicate your requested changes to the Soc Beh IRB. The new procedure is not to be initiated until the IRB approval has been given.

Please retain a copy of this letter with your approved protocol.

APPENDIX G

INTERVIEW OBSERVATION PROTOCOL

Interview Observation Protocol

Date:

Start Time: End Time:

Place:

Remarks: (context, special schedule, out of school location, unique circumstances)

Participant:

Behavior/mood:

Notes:

Q#	Observations – Follow-up

120

120

120