

Modern Day Boarding Schools

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Pōsōh, Sasānēhsaeh eneq āēs wīnseyan. Omāēqnomenēwakiw.

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Dedication

This project and work is dedicated to the next seven generations, may you carry it as part of your foundation to reclaiming and reimagining this Turtle Island. Wāēwāēnen.

“Walk like you have 3000 ancestors walking behind you.”
-Unknown

Abstract

Historically, Native communities have experienced one of the most significant and long-standing inequalities in the U.S. education system. Native scholars have attributed this disparity in educational opportunity and achievement as a lack of general understanding and invisibility of the Native populations in higher education. In this study, Critical Indigeneity and Critical Discourse Analysis were employed to identify the ways in which a higher education institution operated as a modern day boarding school. A focus was centered on the ways in which institutional policies and practices construct notions that define “doing school” and what it means to be a “student” as an approach to uncovering the guiding ideologies that maintain, sustain and reproduce the Western colonial context. Findings suggested that in order to successfully “do school” at the University, students must comply with the Student Experience Outcomes, which are steeped in market driven ideologies and aligned with an American citizenship. Just as notions of nationhood and capitalism shaped assimilation in the boarding school era, similar ideological notions of the marketplace and citizenship permeate how to “do school” today. For Native students, this means an alignment to an American identity at the demise of their tribal community. Findings in this study provide significant insight for non-Native academics and higher education practitioners. To have a better understanding of how universities may operate as modern-day boarding schools helps to better understand institutionalized whiteness and can help mitigate educational inequalities – in particular those attributed to the Native community.

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Chapter 1: Modern Day Boarding Schools

The purpose of this study is to focus on how policies and practices of higher education are intended to serve as an equalizer of opportunity. The goal was to understand how the social institution of higher education operates as an oppressive system for Native students through assimilationist ideals and policies. The purpose of this chapter is to challenge the dominant narrative of higher education through a social historical lens. Specifically, my intent was to critique the idea of a post-colonial society, arguing rather that colonialism continues to simply shape shift to fit the contemporary context. The boarding school metaphor is helpful to understand the lasting impacts of colonization not only on Native communities but also on the institution of higher education in the United States. Childs (2014) emphasized the boarding school/colonialism metaphoric connection. She explained that for Native people the role of the boarding school is useful in explaining their contemporary colonial context:

The intensity with which Indian people in the present day explain and respond to the role of boarding school in the broader history of their families and communities suggests that for many, boarding school is also a useful and extraordinary powerful metaphor for colonialism. (Childs, 2014, p. 268)

By conceptualizing the boarding school as a metaphor for colonialism, Native people can link each other to a “devastating common history, one that must be evoked, many argue, to understand our present conditions and social problems” (Child, 2014, p.268). To dismantle the inequalities of the higher education system is to understand the historical and continual oppressive system as a legacy of colonialism and a legacy of Whiteness. To undo the impact of colonialism and oppression requires first an acknowledgement that it

exists and the use of the boarding school as a metaphor is important in the acceptance of its' existence.

To challenge the narrative of higher education as the great equalizer, I begin by summarizing the current inequality in educational attainment and the idea of an education debt, with a particular focus on Native Students. Next I explore imperialism and settler colonialism as a multidimensional force that perpetuates the education debt for Native students. To more fully understand the historical legacy of colonialism, I provide a brief history of the education of Native communities and then discuss how this history has produced locked-in racial and ethnic inequality in the United States. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of my positionality as a researcher and my research questions.

Educational Inequality

According to the American Council on Education (2016, May), Native Americans and Alaskan Natives do not access higher education at the same rate as their non-Native peers, even with a population growth of 39% from 2000 to 2010. Native student enrollment in higher education remains unchanged representing just below 1% of total postsecondary enrollment (American Council on Education, May, 2016). According to the United Census Bureau (2015), in 2015 about 22% of the total Native American/Alaskan Natives population were enrolled in college or graduate school as compared to 28% of the entire United States population. Additionally, according to the U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (2014), as compared to their White counterparts, students who identify as Black, Hispanic/Latinx/Chicano, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Native American/Alaskan Native are receiving bachelor degrees at lower rates. Out of the total number of bachelor's degrees conferred in 2012-

2013, White students received approximately 68.8% of the total. Of the same cohort, approximately 10.8% of Black students, 10.5% of Hispanic/Latinx/Chicano students, 7.3% of Asian/ Pacific Islander and .6% of Native American/Alaskan Native students received a bachelor's degree from a postsecondary institution. These statistics demonstrate what is most commonly referred to as an achievement gap. According to the U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (2015): "the achievement gap occurs when one group of students (such as, students grouped by race/ethnicity, gender) out performs another group and the difference in average scores for the two groups is statistically significant" (<https://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/studies/gaps/>).

Native Americans and the Education Debt

According to Ladson-Billings in her 2006 American Educational Research Association presidential address, the achievement gap is "one of the most common phrases in today's education literature...the term produces more than 11 million citations in Google" (2006, p. 3). She advocated a greater focus on the achievement gap as a way of "explaining and understanding" the perpetual inequality that exists in the United States education system. Ladson-Billings encouraged re-conceptualizing the notion of the achievement gap to an education debt (2007, p.4). She argued, "rather than focusing on telling people to 'catch up' we have to think about how we will begin to pay down this mountain of debt we have amassed at the expense of entire groups and their subsequent generations" (Ladson-Billings, 2007, p.316). Gilborn (2008) also problematized the achievement gap concept. He argued, "gap talk is a deception and hides the true scale and locked-in nature of racial inequality" (p.68).

Horsford and Grosland (2013) also critiqued the ahistorical approach of the achievement gap. They argued that the current short-term ahistorical approach in addressing these disparities through the achievement gap have “fallen short” (2013, p. 161). They argued that these approaches have fallen short because of the lack of acknowledgement of “substantial historical evidence,” which they believe accounted for the inequality that continues to exist within and among United States education (Horsford & Grosland, 2013, p. 161). Therefore, they reasoned, “without taking a serious look at race and the history of education inequality in America, no gaps will be closed” (p. 161).

For that reason, it was important to understand the history of Native American education and its relationship within a system of deculturalization and violence.

According to Grande (2015) this means understanding:

The ‘Indian problem’ is not a problem of children and families but rather, first and foremost, a problem that has been consciously and historically produced by and through a system of colonization: a multidimensional force underwritten by Western Christianity, defined by White supremacy, and fueled by global capitalism. (p.23)

Encouraged by capitalism, supported by Christianity and defined by White supremacy, colonialism was used in early educational efforts in America to disenfranchise and subjugate Native communities.

The United States government historically and foundationally has used education as a form of social control and domination. According to Spring (2013) education was used in the United States to suppress communities and particular groups in different ways, to promote attitudes that reflect a unified American culture. The United States

created particular policies to promote and reflect American culture while traditionally serving those interested in taking advantage of others. In particular, the United States enacted different policies to control the populations they thought to be inferior like the Indian Removal Act, the Dawes Act, and the Civilization Act. According to Fixico (2002) “United States policy aimed at cultural transformation characterized by the word “assimilation. The ultimate solution to the Indian problem, reformers argued, rested upon bring Indian people into the main stream of white American life, economy, and culture” (p.385). Lomawaima (2002) described sentiments regarding the education of Natives from the Office of Indian Affairs from 1880s through the 1920s, “Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) policymakers had a pessimistic, racial, and segregationist view of morally, intellectually, even physically ‘inferior’ Indians who might be educated in the rudiments of American life as individuals; but whose societies would soon vanish” (p.427). Spring explained that these perspectives and policies incorporated concepts of racial, linguistic, and cultural superiority of the European colonializers and because of these perspectives and policies dominated groups in the United States have experienced cultural genocide, deculturalization, and denial of education (2013).

Historically, Native communities have experienced a significant and long-standing inequality in educational opportunity in the U.S. education system. According to Shotton, Lowe, & Waterman (2013) Native communities have consistently made up the lowest percentage of the population enrolled in higher education institutions, even with the population growth of 39% from 2000 to 2010 (American Council on Education, May, 2016). Additionally, within the last 35 years, the number of bachelor’s degrees conferred for students who identified as Native American or Alaskan Natives has remained

consistently low ranging from .4% in 1977 to .6% in 2013 (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, 2014). According to Brayboy, Fann, Castagno, and Solyom (2012) the underrepresentation of Native graduates can be described, “for every one American Indian or Alaska Native who has a bachelor’s degree, seven White individuals do” (p.56).

Native scholars have attributed this disparity in educational opportunity and achievement as a lack of general understanding and invisibility of the Native populations in higher education (Lin, LaCounte & Eder, 1988; Pavel & Padilla, 1993; Wells, 1997; Lowe, 2005; Shotton, Lowe, & Waterman, 2013). Fryberg and Townsend (2008) described this invisibility as a deliberate “writing out” of the narrative of a specific group, intent on serving the dominant group by maintaining the status quo (p.175).

Similarly, Shotton, Lowe, and Waterman (2013) presented the frustration of Native scholars and practitioners with the invisibility of Native populations in higher education:

Native scholars and practitioners have long struggled with the invisibility of Native people within the academy; we are often excluded from institutional data and reporting, omitted from the curriculum, absent from the research and literature and virtually written out of the higher education story. (p.2)

Here, Shotton, Lowe and Waterman (2013) named institutional data, the curriculum, and research as several ways in which Native populations struggle for visibility at institutions of higher education. Furthermore, they argued invisibility in these areas prevents inclusion in academia. Data on Native students is often omitted, not discussed or not reported in quantitative findings as low numbers are generally determined as statistically

insignificant. Scholars have labeled this phenomenon as the “American Indian research asterisk” (Shotton, Lowe, & Waterman, 2013, p.2). The absence of data on Native students supports the invisibility of Native communities. Additionally, in academia the asterisk phenomenon has also led to serious insufficiencies in the understanding of and ultimately lack of dialogue about, an appropriate intervention concerning Natives and the education debt (Shotton, Lowe, & Waterman, 2013).

Imperialism and Settler Colonialism

To fully understand the education debt, it is necessary to understand imperialism, colonialism, and settler colonialism. For this study, imperialism and colonialism were conceptualized as forms of structured dispossession and dominance, particularly European acquisition of valuable Western lands and subjugation of its peoples (Wunder, 1994). According to Smith (2012) “imperialism frames the indigenous experience. It is a part of our story, our version of modernity” (p. 20). Imperialism also frames the American experience. It is a part of American history and a part of the American story; a story full of discovery, conquest, exploitation, distribution, and appropriation (Smith, 1999; 2012). Thus, it is important to understand the complex ways in which imperialism has impacted and continues to impact Native communities.

Imperialism can be expressed in distinct ways, including economic expansion, subjugation of the other, knowledge discourse, and ideology (Smith, 1999; 2012). Although colonialism is just one manifestation of imperialism, in the United States it was the main facilitator and contributor to imperialism’s dominance and expansion. According to Wunder (1994) “colonialism has been defined in many ways. Indians recognized the concept in their initial relationship with the United States” (p.16). A

relationship based on dominance and dispossession of their lands. Smith (1999) argued that colonialism represented imagery of imperialism in the West. She explained:

Imperial imagination, imparted an image of the future nation [the United States] it would become. In this image lie images of the other, stark contrasts and subtle nuances, of the ways in which the indigenous communities were perceived and dealt with, which make the stories of colonialism part of a grander narrative and yet part also of a very local, very specific experience (p.23).

The imperial imagination fueled settler colonialism in the West. A form of colonial formation, “settler colonialism is a persistent social and political formation in which newcomers/colonizers/settlers come to a place, claim it as their own and do whatever it takes to disappear the Indigenous peoples that are there” (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013, p.12).

Within settler colonialism, the capitalization of land is central and in order for settlers to take possession of the land, “Indigenous peoples must be destroyed, removed and made into ghosts” (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013, p.12). According to Wolfe (2006) “settler colonialism destroys to replace,” and therefore the ultimate goal of the settler colonial project in the United States was the elimination of Native peoples (p.388). The United States is a nation defined by the genocide of Native Americans. This genocide was justified through colonialism and imperialism, which combine to create “a multidimensional force underwritten by Western Christianity, defined by White supremacy, and fueled by global capitalism” (Grande, 2015, p. 180). Further, this multidimensional force is ongoing, undone, always evolving and in progress as it is deeply embedded itself in United States institutions. It is important to note that scholars

refer to settler colonialism as the structures of societies, like democracy, patriarchy, or education rather than the events, like the “Indian Wars,” or Indian removal (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013; Wolfe, 2007). Settler colonialism is, therefore, a social formation based on colonialism producing a settler colonial context fueled and sustained by notions of capitalism, democracy, and Whiteness.

In this study settler colonialism, colonialism, coloniality, and sometimes imperialism are used interchangeably. I do recognize the distinctions drawn from these interrelated concepts provided by scholars like Wolf (2007), Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill (2013), Grande (2015), Smith (1999, 2012), Wunder (1994), etc. In particular, for this study, settler colonialism was referred to the infrastructure built on by the colonizer dispossessing the Indigenous nations that once occupied it. Additionally, settler colonial and colonial relations were also referred to the direct manifestations of maintaining and sustaining an imperial system of dominance (Coulthard, 2014).

Native American or American Indian?

One specific and very significant way settler colonialism has impacted Indigenous communities is through the various labels ascribed to Indigenous people – Indian, American Indian, Amerindian, and Native American. Scholars argued that the use of English to name Indigenous communities was a tactic of cultural genocide, “a dispersed strategy to destroy ethnic family solidarity, an isolating emphasis on individual rather than family behavior, and a disformative strategy to confuse Indigenous Peoples about their ethnic identity” (Pewewardy, 2000, p.18). According to Pewewardy (2000) the ability to name people can destroy historical consciousness. Destroying historical consciousness broke familial and community bonds, creating individuals and weakening

the communal Indigenous consciousness. Pewewardy (2000) asserted that as Indigenous people “we wrestled with the ascribed terms – Indian, American Indian, Amerindian, Native American – as if we had no power to define other choices” (p.13). After years of colonial oppression, scholars argued that Indigenous communities have developed a colonized consciousness. This consciousness is fueled by falsified stories that have transformed into universal truths in Whiteman society and have minimized Indigenous culture to Halloween costumes and sports mascots (Deloria, 1974; Wunder, 1994; Pewewardy, 2000). This distorted and fabricated reality misrepresents all Indigenous experiences, past and present. However, over the past few decades Pewewardy (2000) indicated a resurgence of individual nations taking back their original names for themselves.

Dine (formerly Navajo); Ho-Chunk (formerly Winnebago); Anishinaabe (formerly Chippewa); and Tohono O'odham Nation of Arizona (formerly known as the Papago Tribe of the Sells, Gila Bend, and San Xavier Reservations in Arizona). Therefore, it is generally agreed that, whenever possible, individual tribal names should be the precise terms used. (p.13)

In this study several terms are used interchangeably, including “American Indian,” “Indian,” “Native American,” “Native,” “First Nations,” and “Indigenous.” This is intentional, as all of these terms have been used by one or more Native organizations as a form of reference. My own preference was either “Native” or “Indigenous.” Similarly, “community,” “people(s),” “tribe,” and “nation” are also used interchangeably.

Coloniality

Capitalism, democracy, and Whiteness are the “long standing patterns of power” that survived colonialism and became tied to forms of domination and subordination and were central to colonial control in the United States (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 243). Maldonado-Torres (2007) refers to “long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism” (p.243). He explained, “coloniality is different from colonialism. Colonialism denotes a political and economic relation in which the sovereignty of a nation or a people rests on the power of another nation, which makes such nation an empire” (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 243). Coloniality outlasts colonialism as it is not the remaining form of a colonial relation, rather it is transpired in a particular socio-historical setting as the context for a massive colonial enterprise, in the United States it is tied to maintaining colonial control. Coloniality defined and continues to define United States “culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production” well beyond the colonial direction (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 243). Coloniality is maintained throughout the fabric of the American society, in books, in cultural patterns, in identity, in common sense, what we deem successful in education, and according to Maldonado-Torres (2007) “so many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and everyday” (p. 243).

Our modern experience of coloniality in the United States modeled power through two axes: race and the labor market (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Historically, the logics of race and capitalism worked together in order to support and strengthen the settler colonial project. In order for the settler colonial project to be successfully achieved, strategies to eliminate Native peoples through the logic of Whiteness and White

supremacy needed to be present. Strategies of elimination were often associated with systems of identification – racial identification. Examples of those strategies are representative in the logics of blood quantum policies attached to Native peoples and the one-drop rule attached to Blackness in the United States; both worked to preserve White supremacy. In addition to preserving White supremacy, those systems of identification worked together to create and sustain settler capital. Smith and Tuck (2016) argued, “both logics work to protect white supremacy, requiring the proliferation of black bodies as property and the accumulation of land as property, land stolen from peoples indigenous to it, which has been cleared of those peoples” (p.20). The logics of blood quantum were inserted in the racial construction of Native peoples, attesting to the notion that Native people need to become less Native over generations, or dissociate from their Native identity in order to become less empowered in making land claims, whereby settlers could become the inherited owners. The accumulation of land is at the core of the economic infrastructure and central to the colonial accumulation of capital in the settler colonial project (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013; Melamed, 2015). Colonial accumulation of capital occurred through coloniality and the logics of racial capitalism.

Melamed (2015) associated the development of the settler colonial project and White supremacy to racial capitalism. Melamed (2015) noted “we often associate racial capitalism with the central features of white supremacist development, including slavery, colonialism, genocide, incarceration regimes, migrant exploitation, and contemporary racial welfare” (p.77). Racial capitalism encompasses the notion of producing social separateness in order for capitalist expropriation to work. It does so by “displacing the uneven life chances” that are part of “capitalist social relations into factions of differing

human capacities, historically race” (Melamed, 2015, p. 77). Wolfe (2006) maintained that access to territory and accumulation of land were the primary motives for the settler colonial project; “Whatever settlers may say— and they generally have a lot to say—the primary motive for elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilization, etc.) but access to territory. Territoriality is settler colonialism’s specific, irreducible element” (p.388). The colonization of the United States has more than a historical significance. Settler colonialism became the model of power and the very foundation of modernity, framed by capitalism and a system of domination structured around race. Currently, ideologies of democracy have also become central to the settler colonial project and to coloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Melamed, 2015).

Democracy, like settler colonialism embedded itself in the deep structures of American society and its’ attendant institutions like education. Grande (2015) asserted, “from the perspective of American Indians, democracy has been wielded with impunity as the first and most virulent weapon of mass destruction” (p.50). At every juncture of its development, the United States’ treatment of Native communities contradicts the inherent goals of democracy. Instead of being a nation of laws governed by representation, the United States is a nation of power governed by executive order, standing as a “kingdom of ancestry and blood” and not as a “self-determined citizenry” (Grande, 2015, p.50). Education became central to production and expansion of democracy in the United States. A product of that expansion constituted a broad dissemination of a common culture through notions like citizenship and the American Dream. This common culture was centered around Euro-centricity which, according to Grande (2015), “further legitimized the ambitions of the nation-state [democracy] – that is, the naturalization of

White supremacy, the maintenance of class domination, and propagation of Protestant morality” (p.50). Thus the institution of education becomes the “mode of franchise for Westerners, an assimilating and ultimately dispossessing technique of settler colonialism for Indigenous peoples” (Simpson, 2015, p.80). Coloniality becomes the vehicle by which colonialism maintained its control, and in the United States the use of race/Whiteness and labor/capitalism have created a powerful context for the continued subjugation of non-White communities.

Documented Legacy of Inequality

Alexander (2012) argued the continuation of the unethical and immoral treatment of particular communities in the United States, specifically acknowledging certain social systems as tools for racial control. She argued that in the United States our collective understanding of racism is largely based on the imagery of the Civil Rights era. She reasoned:

Our understanding of racism is therefore shaped by the most extreme expressions of individual bigotry, not by the way in which it functions naturally, almost invisibly and sometimes with genuinely benign intent, when it is embedded in the structure of a social system. The unfortunate reality we must face is that racism manifests itself not only in individual attitudes and stereotypes, but also in basic structure of society. (Alexander, 2012, p.183-184)

Alexander highlighted an important notion of focusing on the social structures instead of singular events in understanding the legacy of inequality. When oppressive ideologies embed themselves in social structures, it is often more challenging to acknowledge as such.

Similar sentiments are shared about the higher education system. According to Dowd and Bensimon (2015) “many White Americans do not acknowledge that educational practices can be discriminatory in absence of conscious, overt, interpersonal acts of racial discrimination” (p.3) Those practices and policies are maintained through a legacy of racial injustice and are represented by the dramatic racial disparities that continue to exist (Dowd & Bensimon, 2015). Because of the “progress” that has been made since the Jim Crow era with desegregation and passing of the Civil Rights Act, it is often difficult for Whites to identify contemporary racial discrimination. Contemporary “racism is such a normal fact of daily life in U.S. society, that the assumptions of White superiority are so ingrained in political, legal and educational structures that they are almost unrecognizable” (Dowd & Bensimon, 2015, p.3). To address issues of contemporary racial inequalities, Dowd and Bensimon (2005) suggested developing awareness that education practices are rooted in culture and history, including racist practices.

Scholars have also documented the legacy of inequality that has created a U.S. historical disparity gap for several communities. From institutional participation in the transatlantic slave trade to the use of educational institutions in the assimilation of groups of people, the U.S. educational system has participated and contributed to the inequitable treatment of several communities, including Black communities, Latino communities, Chicano communities, as well as Native communities (Ladson-Billings, 2006; Patton, 2015; Spring, 2013).

In her 2015 piece on *Disrupting Postsecondary Prose: Toward Critical Race Theory in Higher Education*, Patton presented a historical overview around the formation

of U.S. higher education, specifically its deep-rooted oppression of enslaved Africans and Indigenous communities. She argued that making sense of the present inequalities in higher education “requires acknowledging its violent, imperialistic and oppressive past” (Patton, 2015, p. 3). She highlighted the egregious Native American educational history. Beginning with mission schools to convert Native peoples and use their labor for furthering the church mission, to later boarding schools that were used to assimilate Natives into “mainstream” culture. These experiences created groups of Natives that were displaced culturally; they did not fit into reservation life nor did they fit into the stratified mainstream (Ladson-Billings, 2006).

To more fully understand the imperialistic and oppressive past, I now provide a historical context of the Native experience in connection to citizenship and education in the United States. My ultimate goal, as Patton (2015) argued, is to make sense of the education debt and current inequalities by focusing on understanding general citizenship and education policies of the 19th and 20th centuries. Focusing on citizenship and education policies illuminates the treatment between and relationship of Native peoples and the United States. It is important to note the historical context provided is a brief overview of the United States’ relations with Indigenous communities, and that each community/nation had their own unique relations with the United States. This is not meant to be an all-encompassing historical narrative but rather provides more context into the imperialistic and oppressive past and its connection to current educational inequalities.

In the 19th and 20th centuries the United States enacted policies based on notions of colonization. Policies meant to dispossess and dominate Native peoples for European

acquisition of Western lands, resulting in subjugation, violence, deculturalization, and genocide. In order for settlers to take possession of the land, Native people needed to be removed and/or destroyed (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013, p.12). To do so, the United States government employed a number of different citizenship and educational policy efforts. Within those efforts, different types of attempts were used to enact certain policies; one was cultural superiority and citizenship, which included policies around removal and allotment. Another was using education to civilize, which included the boarding school movement and tribal education (Adams, 1994; Reyhner & Eder, 2004; Spring, 2013).

Historical Context

Cultural Superiority, Dehumanization & Citizenship

By the 19th century the Europeans had already established “systems of rule and forms of social relations which governed interaction with the indigenous peoples being colonized” (Smith, 1999, p. 26). One approach that shaped the systems of rule and forms of social relation was the notion of humanity. In order to justify extermination or domestication, Indigenous peoples were considered not fully human or not human at all (Smith, 1999). Referencing Smith’s (1997) work *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History*, Spring (2013) wrote that the leaders of the “new” world “sanctioned slavery and the conquest of tribes, often alleging their racial inferiority” (p.11). Historically, communities who were considered non-White or foreign were regularly dehumanized and often associated with being innately inferior and subservient to those considered White. According to Spring (2013), the writers of the U.S. Constitution and leaders of the “new” republic believed that a republican form of

government could only exist with a White homogenous population. One way to create a homogenous population and to access lands in the West was to eradicate and remove the Indigenous communities that occupied them. The United States made use of policies that would lead to the eradication and removal of Indigenous communities with the intent of accessing the lands they occupied, of which included the Indian Removal Act, the Dawes Act, and the Civilization Act just to name a few.

Removal.

In the 1830's President Andrew Jackson implemented the Indian Removal Act which set aside lands west of the Mississippi for the exchange of Native lands east of the Mississippi, forcing Indigenous communities off their land. As a part of the removal, these tribal communities were to be civilized through a segregated school system. According to Spring (2013), segregation was implemented because of the "risk posed to Anglo-American culture and the hysterical fear by European Americans during the common-school period that Africans and Indians would contaminate White blood" (p.12).

When President Jackson came into presidency in 1829, he believed that previous attempts to civilize and educate Indigenous communities through missionaries had failed because of the tribes' reluctance to sell their lands. According to Spring (2013), Jackson "worried that education was resulting in Indians gaining the tools to resist the policies of the U.S. Government" (p.28). For this reason, Jackson put into place relocation and removal policies that were meant to gain Native land.

As a result, Congress passed the 1830 Indian Removal Act authorizing lands to be set aside west of the Mississippi for the exchange of Native lands east of the Mississippi.

In addition to the lands set aside west of the Mississippi, this Act also authorized the President to provide removal and resettlement assistance to the tribes (Adams, 1994; Reyhner & Eder, 2004; Spring, 2013). Removal and relocation affected communities differently, however one of the most infamous removals occurred from 1831 to 1838. In accordance with the 1830 Indian Removal Act, members of the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Muscogee and Seminole nations were forced from their lands (also known as the Trail of Tears) suffering tremendous loss, falling to disease, exposure and contaminated food. Similar to the Trail of Tears, a number of other nations suffered tremendous loss during this period, as according to Wunder (1994) “removal in theory and removal in practice were worlds apart” (p. 24). Scholars have described this period as a time where the United States attempted to “implement a policy of genocide with singular felicity; tranquility, legally, philanthropically, without shedding blood” (Wunder, 1994, p.25). Along with removal, notions of citizenship were also employed by the United States to develop allegiances in order to access land.

According to Bush and Bush (2015) during the 18th and 19th centuries “citizenship became the architect of legitimate social inequality as individuals and groups were assigned different stations in society” (p.8). Those stations have historically and inherently corresponded to racial status. Dating back to the 19th century, the United States government’s policies in regard to citizenship have disadvantaged several racialized communities, including Natives. One way to assign legitimate social inequality was to exclude citizenship to particular communities. For example, the congressional approval of the Naturalization Act of 1790 excluded citizenship from all non-Whites, of which included Native Americans. This legislation emphasized the citizenship of “free White

persons” (Spring, 2013, p. 10). In 1867 the Indian Peace Commission provided for U.S. citizenship for Native Americans. However, the granting of citizenship to all Native Americans did not occur until 1924, with the passing of the Indian Citizenship Act (Adams, 1994; Reyhner & Eder, 2004; Spring, 2013). This legislation came after the United States “won” the Indian wars and seized most of the Native American lands and the U.S. Congress “magnanimously” declared “that all non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States be, and they are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States” (Spring, 2013, p. 22).

Allotment Movement - Deculturalization through Reservations & Education

In addition to forced removal and citizenship, reservation and allotment programs were also established in response to Native land seizure. Scholars have noted that in the 1850s-1860s the U.S. Government believed combining the reservation system with education was the soundest way to handle tribes who displayed more resistance to White settlement (Reyhner & Eder, 2004; Spring, 2013). Referencing Luke Lea, the 1850 Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and his ideas around controlling what he referred to as the wild tribes, “once concentrated in reservations where they could be controlled, the tribes would be compelled to remain until they proved to be civilized” (Spring, 2013, p. 32).

In addition to controlling resistance to White settlement, the 1887 General Allotment Act or the Dawes Act, was another attempt to force European values and deculturalize Native communities (Reyhner & Eder, 2004). The Dawes Act broke up the landmass of Native communities. Under this law, the President had the authority to set aside portions of reservations to individual Natives. Wunder (1994) maintained that most

tribal lands were lost between 1887 and 1934 when reforms under the Indian New Deal put an end to allotment. According to Wunder (1994) “Indian lands decreased from 138 million acres to 48 million acres, of the remaining 48 million acres, nearly half were desert lands” (p.33). The act also included sections on citizenship. Specifically, a section was included that made those Natives who accepted allotments citizens of the United States, and according to Wunder (1994) “they could also become citizens if they agreed to separate themselves from their cultural past” (p.32).

This idea of cultural superiority was a notion that was brought with the English colonists as they settled North America. Spring noted that “spreading Anglo-Saxon civilization and Protestantism provided the justification for English imperialism into the Americas, Africa and Asia... many English believed they could save the world by the imposition of their culture and religion” (p. 4-5). As a result, “North America acted as a hot house for the growth of White racism and cultural chauvinism (2013, p.5) Indigenous communities have suffered considerably at the hands of their conquerors, and in this case the European colonizers. According to Adams (1994) “European and American societies were civilized; Indians, on the other hand, were savages” (p.12). This dehumanizing narrative resulted in cases of inequality of educational opportunity and assimilation to White norms.

Education to Civilize.

For the tribes in the Americas, the attempts at deculturalization co-existed with their denial of U.S. citizenship and land seizure. More often than not, those attempts to conquer, deculturalize, and Americanize were executed through education. The first head of the Office of Indian Affairs, Thomas McKenny, believed in education as a powerful

cultural transformative tool, specifically as an instrument to culturally transform Natives into Americans (Reyhner & Eder, 2004; Spring, 2013). For that reason, McKenny convinced Congress to pass the 1819 Civilization Fund Act. This Act provided financial assistance to support schools among tribes. It provided an annual sum of \$10,000 to fund the establishment of schools. In particular these funds were to be used with tribes and communities that were connecting with the frontier settlements. This Act authorized the government to employ people to teach Natives agricultural skills and their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic (Reyhner & Eder, 2004; Spring, 2013). According to Spring (2013), McKenny's "opinion reflected the growing convictions among many European Americans that education was the key to social control and improvement of society" (p.23).

Boarding Schools.

A significant part of these policies was the introduction of the boarding school. These schools were designed to isolate Native children from their tribal language and culture by removing them from their community and their families. Martínez-Alemán (2015) referred to the catchphrase "kill the Indian and make the man" to describe the U.S educational federal policy of the boarding school era (p.22). Scholars have noted the Carlisle Indian School as the first off-reservation boarding school established by Army commander Richard Pratt. Pratt's educational philosophy paralleled the principles behind allotment, moving Natives away from their tribal socialistic communal way of life to an "American" capitalistic individual way of life (Adams, 1994; Reyhner & Eder, 2004; Spring, 2013). Frustrated with the missionaries and the government's previous attempts to civilize Natives, Pratt complained to the commissioner of Indian Affairs,

saying “pandering to the tribe and its socialism as most of our Government and mission plans to do is the principal reason why the Indians have not advanced more and are not advancing as rapidly as they ought to be” (Spring, 2013, p.34). In hopes that Native children would be civilized through removing them from their family and tribal influences, 25 off-reservation boarding schools were constructed throughout the U.S. between 1879 and the establishment of Carlisle Indian School in 1905 (Adams, 1994; Spring, 2013).

Due to the atrocious conditions being observed at some boarding schools, investigations were conducted in the 1920’s. Those conditions were said to be similar to military camps, including poor diet and overcrowding that contributed to the spread of disease. Boarding schools were also supported by the labor of the children who attended (Adams, 1994; Reyhner & Eder, 2004). Anthropologist Oliver La Farge also called boarding schools “penal institutions – where little children were sentenced to hard labor for a term of years to expiate the crime of being born to their mothers” (Spring, 2013, p.36).

After the conditions of these boarding schools were documented, the Institute for Government Research conducted an investigation, which resulted in the publishing of the Meriam Report in 1928. This report began the process to end the boarding school era (Adams, 1994). Spring (2013) asserted “the report stated the most fundamental need in Indian education was a change in government attitude” (p.37). As a result, the report argued for the reversal of educational philosophy, from moving Native children from the home environment to inserting education in the natural setting of home and family life. The report was especially critical of the isolation of children from their tribal

communities. It stressed that community day schools would better serve the purpose of integrating education with reservation life (Adams, 1994; Spring, 2013).

English and Patriotism.

To further solidify the deculturalization of Native children specific policies were also put in action in the late 19th century around the use of English and patriotism.

Commissioner J.D.C. Atkins argued, “no unity or community of feeling can be established among different peoples unless they are brought to speak the same languages, and thus become imbued with like ideas of duty” (Reyhner & Eder, 2004, p.77).

Congress created an Indian Peace Commission in 1867 in an additional attempt to control “warring” tribes. Members of the Peace Commission were not satisfied with previous attempts of the U.S Government to educate Natives specifically around language. In their 1868 report, they referenced the difference of language as the main reason why conflicts with Natives continue to exist (Adams, 1994; Spring, 2013). Scholars noted the report’s attention to teaching English as a major contribution in reducing conflict and civilizing Natives Americans; “through the sameness of language is produced sameness of sentiment and thought, customs and habits are moulded [*sic*] and assimilated in the same way, and thus in process of time the differences producing trouble would have been gradually obliterated” (Spring, 2013, p. 32). These policies forced the use of English in place of Native languages, destroyed traditions and customs, and taught allegiance to the U.S. government. In 1887 Commissioner Atkins also ordered the exclusive use of English in both off-reservation boarding schools and schools on the reservations (Adams, 1994; Reyhner & Eder, 2004).

In addition to requiring the use of English in schools, the government also created policies to develop allegiances to the U.S. government and ultimately a sense of community with the White population. In 1889 Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas Morgan implemented “Instructions to Indian Agents in Regard to Inculcation of Patriotism in Indian School” (Spring, 2012, p.34). This policy required the American flag to be flown and revered, the teaching of American history, the celebration of national holidays (Decoration Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, Christmas, anniversary of the Dawes Act, etc.), and the instruction of the principles of the U.S government at Indian schools (Spring, 2013).

During the 1930’s Native education emphasized the reconstruction of tribal cultures and community schools (Reyhner & Eder, 2004). According to Spring (2013), “the legacy of the allotment program and the education efforts of the latter part of the 19th century (lead to) the destruction of family life and Indian customs on the reservations. For the rest of the century, American Indians would attempt to rebuild what the federal government had destroyed” (p.37).

Throughout the 19th century, Indigenous communities were subject to policies consciously designed to destroy their cultures in an attempt to assume social control. These policies used educational systems to create uniform cultures and language usage as a means of maintaining and controlling social order (Adams, 1994; Grande, 2015; Reyhner & Eder, 2004; Spring, 2013). Acknowledging this unfair and violent treatment demonstrates how, historically, the U.S education system has developed an oppressive relationship with Indigenous populations.

Understanding how colonialism has impacted the Indigenous experience both in school and out of school requires outlining the “continuities, discontinuities, adjustments, and departures whereby a logic that initially informed frontier killing transmutes into different modalities, discourses and institutional formation as it undergirds” the history and complexity of the U.S. education system (Wolfe, 2006, p.402). Understanding how colonialism has impacted the Indigenous experience and the history and complexity of the U.S. education system underscores why it is more appropriate to label educational opportunity and achievement disparities between the education system and Indigenous populations as an education debt and not an achievement gap.

Ladson-Billings (2007) referred to this shift in discourse from achievement gap to education debt to force accountability to an accumulated problem of mistreatment and marginalization of entire communities. Ladson-Billings pointed out that,

It reminds us that we have consistently under-funded schools in poor communities where education is needed most. It reminds us that we have, for large periods of our history, excluded groups of people from the political process where they might have a say in democratically determining what education should look like in their communities. And, it reminds us that what we are engaged as we reflect on our unethical and immoral treatment of our underserved populations. (p. 321)

This acknowledges the accumulation of years and years of neglect, denial, and exclusion of education to entire communities. It is a reminder that for a large part of U.S history, there was unethical and immoral treatment of underserved populations (Ladson-Billings, 2007). Through the legacy of White supremacy, policies like removal and boarding schools resulted in severe and violent genocide of Native people, education served to be

the primary agent by which the unethical and immoral treatment transpired. The educational history of Native education has been plagued with racial and cultural conflicts. As Spring (1999) argued,

Violence and racism are a basic part of American history and the history of schools. From colonial times to today, educators have preached equality of opportunity and good citizenship, while engaging in acts of religious intolerance, racial segregation, cultural genocide and discrimination against immigrants and nonwhites. (2013, p.2)

In order to dismantle inequality and racism in the education system, it is important to acknowledge the U.S education system's historical oppressive relationship with different populations, including the Native community.

Locked-in Inequality

To acknowledge the legacy of institutional Whiteness is to examine how the education debt created for Native students has produced a locked-in racial and ethnic inequality.

Gilborn (2008), drawing on Critical Race Theory, examined the persistence of race inequality. He argued that the institution of U.S. education is an example of locked-in inequality, an "inequality so deep rooted and so large that, under certain circumstances, it is a practically inevitable feature of the education system" (Gilborn, 2008, p.64).

Drawing from work in economics, antitrust theory, and complex theory, Roithmayr (1997) initially defined locked-in inequality as existing when historical advantages established from conscious discrimination become institutionalized to such a degree that even the removal of all existing barriers cannot create a level playing field (Gilborn,

2008). According to Gilborn, (2008) this “concept appears especially useful as a means of shedding further light on the persistence of racial inequality in educational achievement” (p.65). Locked-in inequality as a concept accurately describes the notion of Whiteness and coloniality embedded and integrated in higher education. Because of the scale of historical discrimination and education debt that non-White communities have experienced, there is no longer a need to for any conscious intent to discriminate because of the scale, and persistence of colonial mentality and structures that have become normalized. According to Tippeconnic III (2015) “the purpose of education remains to assimilate Indigenous peoples into the mainstream without serious consideration to cultural, linguistic, values and the devastating and disrespectful treatment of Indigenous peoples since colonization” (p.39). Institutions of education continue to be a forceful weapon of colonialism that assimilates students by eradicating or weakening indigenous identity (Battiste, 2000; Grande, 2015). Within these institutions, “the contemporary settlers followed the mandate provided for them by their imperial forefathers’ colonial legacy” not by physical elimination but by cultural and historical elimination which provide the framework for Indigenous identity and sense of self (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005, p.598).

Especially for Native students, it is important to identify all of the old and new structures of colonialism that continue to distort, dehumanize, and disenfranchise. Wolfe (2006) argued that it is imperative to recognize colonialism and its forms as a structure rather than an event. That involves “charting the continuities, discontinuities, adjustments, and departures whereby a logic that initially informed frontier killing

transmits into different modalities, discourses and institutional formations as it undergirds the historical development and complexification of settler society” (Wolfe, 2006, p.402).

Positionality

As a native scholar, I am the type of student institutions like to celebrate and bring into their institution. I am a marker; a marker of deculturalization, a marker of assimilation, and a marker of educational success. Especially as I pursue a doctoral degree, I become a marker that the U.S. education system can work for Natives, an “example” of inclusion, equity, and equality. As a higher education practitioner, I am an agent acting on behalf of the U.S. education system. In my community I am an anomaly, just one out of a very few who goes on to pursue their doctoral degree and enter into the world of academia. For example, in 2010, out of the 140,505 doctoral degrees conferred, Native Americans represented only .7%, receiving only 952 degrees (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2012).

Through the support of my community and my ever-growing concern as to why there are significantly less Native representation in higher education spaces, I have committed myself to this work, a work that seeks to create authentic and significant change. I acknowledge that to be a marker of success and an agent of the same system, all while interrogating its core, demonstrates a significant amount of complexity.

I have only come to understand and be more familiar with this complexity during this research process. In the middle of investigating the 19th and 20th century educational policies concerning the Native community, it hit me. I am a product of deculturalization and for more than the obvious reason of successfully navigating the system. Rather it is even more deeply rooted in my identity as a Native woman. The way

in which I was choosing to identify myself was by primarily using the English version of my tribal name (Suzi), instead of my tribal and legal given name (Sasānēhsaeh). My conscious choice to use English and not my native language is a product of successful educational and federal policies to assimilate Natives. Those educational policies of colonialism and assimilation worked to assimilate me, as colonialism still exists in our current social systems.

The historical and oppressive past has set up an educational environment for Whiteness to thrive and be reproduced, so much so that it has become normalized in experiences in the current U.S. education system. It has been locked-in; Whiteness is the norm. This is why individuals who identify as non-White, like myself, feel like outsiders, like guests in someone else's home (Ahmed, 2012). Whiteness is felt in everyday interactions at education institutions. Whiteness is even attributed to educational success in non-White communities. For example, when I left the reservation schools to attend a majority white school outside of my reservation, my classmates from back home would jokingly mark my educational success to me "being White." It is important to not only acknowledge the complex and violent educational past of non-white communities, but to also acknowledge how deeply rooted institutional Whiteness is in our educational system.

Research Questions

Due to the complexity of my experiences and the social systems I intended to interrogate, the most fitting and appropriate way for me to investigate was to use a substantial lens toward critical theory, Indigenous paradigms, and theories around decolonization. The combination of the three paradigmatic perspectives (critical theory, Indigenous paradigms and decolonization) made up my theoretical perspective, which I

am calling Critical Indigeneity. Critical Indigeneity emerged from my strong predisposition toward a critical lens of viewing the world, my interest in theories of decolonization, and along with inspiration from critical indigenous studies, an emergence of scholars who have engaged in “(Western) critical theory as a means of unmapping the structures, process, and discourses of settler colonialism at the same time they use it to disrupt and redirect the matrix of presuppositions that underlie it” (Grande, 2015, p. 2).

Based on my critical theoretical lens and a social historical perspective, my research questions include:

- In what ways are today’s institutions modern day boarding schools?
- What colonizing mechanisms do Native/Indigenous students encounter that construct the institution as modern day boarding schools? By mechanisms, I mean the policies and practices that govern what it means to be a “student” and what it means to be “doing school?”
- What are the sites of colonization and how do students assimilate, acculturate, and resist colonization in those sites?

To acknowledge that colonialism continues to exist, my research questions were explored using Critical Indigeneity to examine the relative subordinate nature of Native students in the university setting and how racial inequality may be reproduced through educational policies at predominately White institutions. The argument is that policies and practices may situate and reveal the dominant discourse of White supremacy and coloniality that reproduces racial inequality, illuminating the use of Whiteness as a standard, especially for Native students. It is hoped that with this research, a better

understanding of institutional Whiteness can help to mitigate educational inequalities, in particular those experienced by the Native community. In the next chapter, I more fully explore Critical Indigeneity.

Chapter 2: Critical Indigeneity

Today's public higher education institutions serve the larger power structure by producing and operating as sites of assimilation and colonization. Colonization has evolved and has taken on new forms, and in order to demonstrate how higher education is one of those sites, it was important to make visible the current mechanisms that have retained colonization and that continue to morph. I argue that institutions operate as modern-day boarding schools by replicating policies and practices that work to assimilate, acculturate and colonize students into "Whitestream" society. Similar to the 19th and 20th century policies that were used as forms of social control, currently institutions are engaged in policies and practices encompassed in institutional cultures that socialize and acculturate Native students. Those cultures reinforce the power structure, thus creating present day settler colonialism. Critical Indigeneity along with Critical Discourse Analysis guided my epistemological stance to interrogate, disrupt and dismantle settler colonialism in educational settings.

Critical Indigeneity assumes settler colonialism, as ideology, is ever present and manifests itself through current and contemporary Western societal norms and institutional structures. Settler colonialism is often viewed as a historical event or series of events that took place in the past, something that has ended. However, Indigenous scholars have argued that settler colonialism continues to persist in the modern world. For example, Goldstein (2015) asserted that "(settler) colonialism in North America continues to be undone, it is unfinished and ongoing" (p. 43). As an example within current societal norms is the presence of Native inspired Halloween costumes or the celebration of Columbus Day, both of which are modern day representations of settler

colonialism. Critical Indigeneity incorporates three paradigmatic perspectives: critical theory, Indigenous paradigms, and theories of decolonization. The three paradigmatic perspectives work together in my study to interrogate, disrupt, dismantle, and advocate for a replacement of settler colonialism.

Critical Theory

Because settler colonialism is embedded socially, historically, and ideologically, I incorporate a critical approach as a means to interrogate the structures that produce and maintain it. Critical approaches have been used to analyze power differences, “to identify and locate the ways in which societies produce and preserve specific inequalities through social, cultural and economic systems” (Martínez-Alemán, 2015, p.8). More importantly, critical theory and research focuses on the cultural or material “uninterrupted production and preservation of structures that reproduce social inequalities” to liberate people (Martínez-Alemán, 2015, p.8). According to Martínez-Alemán (2015) “the desired objective of critical theories is to emancipate individuals from what has been socially regulated and thus assumed ‘natural’ or ‘normal’” (p.8).

Martínez-Alemán (2015) explains that critical theory is also used to develop research that is both empirical and historical in nature as a way to solve ‘socio-philosophical problems,’ by examining issues of dominance across communities (p.7). Most importantly Martínez-Alemán (2015) emphasized how important it is to understand and investigate dominance, particularly because of historical participation in subjugation. She cites Horkheimer (1993) explaining “human subjugation characterizes society, and thus liberating individuals requires that we should impart knowledge, on the basis of

observations and of a systematic study of facts as to how one achieves domination and how one maintains it” (p.7).

Critical theory used alone is not fully equipped to attend to colonialism as ideology because of its lack of disassociation of hegemonic frames and its lack of attention to solutions. For instance, critical theory has a strong influence in Western understandings of “truth” and knowledge creation, arguably associated with Whiteman hegemonic frameworks. One of the most powerful forms of oppression is internalized hegemony (Rodgers, et al, 2005). Critical theory promotes internalized hegemony by reproducing Whiteman hegemonic frameworks. It does so by reproducing powered knowledge and a ‘regime of truth’ (Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mossly, Hui, & O’Garro Joseph, 2005). Yancy (1998) (as cited by Rodgers et al, 2005), explained, critical theory is often “the words of White men engaged in conversations with themselves” (p.3). Evidence of this can be seen in “the striking absence of issues of race in much of the early critical theory work” (Rodgers, et al, 2005, p. 368). Fortunately, other critical standpoints and research methods have emerged that engage issues outside of critical Whiteman perspectives, like critical feminist theories, Black feminist thought, critical race theories and, most salient to this project, tribal critical race theory.

Tribal critical race theory (TribalCRT) is Brayboy’s (2013) attempt at relating critical race theory (CRT) to Indigenous peoples. CRT seeks to show the inseparable relationship between inequality and race (Dixon & Lynn, 2013). TribalCRT was built to extend CRT “in order to more directly account for the history and role of U.S. colonization on the modern-day experiences of Indigenous peoples” (Brayboy, 2013, p.90). TribalCRT began to re-center the experiences of Indigenous peoples, “with the

recognition that colonization is endemic in society” (Brayboy, 2013, p. 93). In addition to using TribalCRT and other approaches built upon critical theory, like theories centered in decolonization, scholars have observed the need for a more thorough approach in the examination of colonialism and decolonization. The TribalCRT lineage is still associated with critical theory, providing a shift in perspective to Indigenous concerns but not in process (Smith, 1999, Battiste, 2000; Kovah, 2010; Grande, 2015). Critical theories and approaches are very helpful in identifying power differences and inequalities but are not helpful in identifying a solution or response to the power differences and inequalities. Theories in decolonization and critical Indigenous perspectives help to identify a solution and responses to power differential and inequalities. Theories in decolonization and critical Indigenous perspectives help to enact a centering of Indigenous concerns and worldviews as well as come to know and understand theory and research from an Indigenous lens and for Indigenous purposes (Smith, 2012). Setting up a research agenda on self-determination of Indigenous peoples, involved “the processes of transformation, of decolonization, of healing and of mobilization as peoples” (Smith, 2012, p.120).

Decolonization

Decolonization is an approach that offers both perspective and process. Decolonization offers a theoretical positioning that seeks to actively resist colonial paradigms. Scholars have suggested that decolonization can only occur when colonialism and colonization are recognized as ever present and as a naturalized part of societal norms and individual experiences (Grande, 2015; Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004; Pochedly, 2015). Mihesuah and Wilson (2004) referenced Winona Wheeler, a Cree scholar who offered thoughts on awareness, decolonization, and empowerment:

A large part of decolonization entails developing a critical consciousness about the cause(s) of our oppression, the distortion of history, our own collaboration and the degrees to which we have internalized colonist ideas and practices.

Decolonization requires auto-criticism, self-reflection and rejection of victimage.

Decolonization is about empowerment - a belief that situations can be transformed, a belief and trust in our own people's values and abilities, and willingness to make change. It is about transforming reactionary energy into the more positive rebuilding energy needed in our communities. (p.71)

Wheeler provides valuable insight into decolonization being an internal process, a process that requires constant reflexivity in our own participation in colonization.

Similarly, other Native scholars have offered insight on how decolonization can begin to break or disrupt colonized systems in our everyday lives. They suggest that decolonization can only take place when we observe, "our realities, lives, and experiences are colonized" (Pochedly, 2015, p. 289). Pochedly (2015) continued to explain that in the past the focus was on treaties and today the focus is on the institution of education "and how it can be an assimilating and colonizing system" (p.289). According to Pochedly, in order to decolonize (2015) "we must begin to refuse and re-think, re-imagine our traditions in our everyday lives - how we think about land, government, education, etc." (p. 289).

Thus, decolonization is key to resolving the long history of colonization; it is a process. Decolonization is something to take action with because it is a theoretical positioning that works to actively resist colonial paradigms through a position of refusal and resistance (Miheuah & Wilson, 2004). Scholars maintained that decolonization

should not operate as a binary to colonialism nor as an “analogy for struggles against domination,” rather it is thought to be similar to democracy, in that it “is neither achievable nor definable, rendering it ephemeral as a goal, but perpetual as a process” (Grande, 2015, p.73). Decolonization is a varied arrangement of strategies in response to the colonial conditions from which it emerged. Critical Indigenous scholars and activists have built their work on decolonization approaches.

Critical Indigenous Scholarship & Paradigms

Critical Indigenous scholarship was an approach taken up specifically by scholars of critical Indigenous studies, a subfield of Native American and Indigenous studies. Scholars in this field have engaged in Western critical theory as means of “unmapping the structures, processes, and discourses of settler colonialism at the same time they use it to disrupt and redirect the matrix of presuppositions that underlie it” (Bryd, 2011 as cited by Grande, 2015, p. 2). In this area, scholars have also advanced the notion of refusal, similar to standpoint theory, “the negation of what negates us” (Grande, 2015, p. 6). “Refusal” is less oriented around affirmation or inclusion to the settler-state and society, but more interested in critically re-examining, rebuilding and re-establishing traditions and culture to indicate a revolutionary alternative to the products of colonial domination (Smith, 1999; Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Grande, 2015). Scholars have also theorized “refusal” as a space to insert Indigenous knowledge as disassociated from Western understandings of knowledge production. Indigenous knowledge takes up a different space, an alternative site that represents a paradigmatic break from Western understandings of knowledge (Grande, 2015).

Critical Indigenous scholars centered their epistemological stance on tribal and Indigenous knowledge. Indigenous epistemology is relational to people and place and therefore cannot be standardized; prioritizing context, for that reason is largely dependent on the integration of the researcher. However, distinctively rooted in Indigenous knowledge and praxis, Kovach (2010) presented shared qualities that can be associated with an Indigenous paradigm. She explained that Indigenous epistemologies are often described as “interactional, interrelational, broad-based, whole, inclusive, animate, cyclical, fluid and spiritual” (Kovach, 2010, pp.56). Tribal knowledge is “non-fragmented, holistic [in] nature, focusing on the metaphysical and pragmatic, on language and place, and on values and relationships” (Kovach, 2010, pp.57). Scholars explain that Indigenous knowledge is grounded through the connection of language, culture and knowledge. Kovach (2010) explained:

Language bridges gaps by acting as a mechanism to express divergent worldview. Like inward knowing, language is so powerful because it reminds us who we are; it is deeply entwined with personal and cultural identity...language matters because it holds within it a people’s worldview. Language is the primary concern in preserving Indigenous philosophies and it is something that must be thought through within research and epistemologies. (p.59)

Kovach (2010) provided significant insight on the importance of language within Indigenous paradigms. Language holds significance to a way of thinking and being for Indigenous people, one that has been severely impaired by colonialism.

All three of these paradigmatic perspectives - critical theory, Indigenous paradigms, and theories of decolonization - give space and acknowledge the intricacy

around systemic inequalities, colonization, and Indigeneity. Centered in Critical Indigeneity is language. Building on Kovach's (2010) work, Critical Indigenous scholar Grande (2015) offered an explanation of the importance of focusing on language in examining both colonization and decolonization:

Just as language was central to the colonial project, it must be central to the project of decolonization. Thinking in one's own cultural referents leads to conceptualization in one's own world view which, in turn leads to disagreement with and eventual opposition to the dominant ideology. Thus, where a revolutionary critical pedagogy compels students and educators to question how knowledge is related historically, culturally, and institutionally to the processes of production and consumption. Red pedagogy compels students to question how (whitestream) knowledge is related to the processes of colonization. (p. 73)

Along with the utilization of Critical Indigeneity as a lens, it was also utilized to explore my research questions related to modern day boarding schools along with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Critical Discourse Analysis & Language

CDA is a system that brings critical social theories into conversation with theories of language, rooted in the constitutive relationship between discourse and the social world. A particular focus of CDA is to examine power and ideology and their relationship to language (Fairclough, 1992). According to Rodgers (2011) "critical discourse analysts are generally concerned with a critical theory of the social world, the relationship of discourse in the construction and representation of this social world and a methodology that allows them to describe, interpret, and explain relationships" (p.3). van

Dijk (as cited in Patton, 2014) described CDA as a type of research that predominantly examines the way in which “social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social political context” (p.731). Rogers (2011) offered a strong argument to the use of CDA in educational practices;

First, educational practices are considered communicative events; it therefore stands to reason that discourse analysis would be useful to analyze the ways in which the texts, talks, and other semiotic interactions that learning comprises are constructed across time and contexts. Second, discourse studies provide a particular way of conceptualizing interactions that is compatible with socio-cultural perspectives in educational research. A shared assumption is that discourse can be understood as a multimodal social practice. (p.1)

CDA provides tools and a framework to identify and deconstruct social issues.

Analytically, “CDA is used as a lens and framework to disrupt, challenge, and generate alternative perspectives of reality mediated by power relations and hegemony” (Patton, 2014, p.732).

Fairclough & Social Practice

For this study, I used CDA as a theoretical framework, a methodology, as well as a research tool, drawing upon Fairclough’s approach to discourse analysis and social theory of language. Within Fairclough’s (1992) social theory of language, discourse is described as “language use as a form of social practice, rather than a purely individual activity or a reflex of situational variables” (p.63). Fairclough (1992) argued that discourse is three-dimensional, simultaneously operating as “a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice” (p.4). This study is particularly

focused on the instance of social practice, which is characterized as a dimension that “attends to issues of concern in social analysis” (Fairclough, 1992, p.4). Fairclough illustrated that a “social practice analysis centers upon concepts of ideology, and especially hegemony in a sense of a mode of domination which based upon alliances, the incorporation of subordinate groups, and the generation of consent” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 9-10). And thus power, ideology and hegemony materialized to be central concepts to social practice analysis. Below is a deeper explanation of what is understood as power, ideology, and hegemony.

Power.

Fairclough, Foucault, and Gramsci all offer valuable insight in regard to their conceptions of power. Although these scholars may be at philosophical odds with each other, they each offer astute understandings of power. For example, Fairclough (1992) argued that power is embedded in everyday social practice that are extensively dispersed at “every level in all domains of social life and are constantly engaged in; moreover, it is tolerable only on condition that it masks a substantial part of itself. Its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms” (p.50) Thus power effectively incorporates its subjects by shaping them to fit its’ needs (Fairclough, 1992). Power is also ever present and occurs uninterrupted in societal relations. Similarly, power in Foucauldian tradition applies itself to everyday life. But Foucault goes a bit deeper beyond shaping the individual; he argued that power categorizes the individual, marking them by their own individuality, attaching them to their identity, imposing a law of truth, which others will recognize. In agreement with both Fairclough and Foucault, Gramsci argued that power is omnipresent and comes from everywhere but insists that power is

linked to ideology (Daldal, 2014). Combining Fairclough, Foucault and Gramsci's understanding of power together helped to frame a more robust understanding of how power operating as ideology influences individual and societal relations.

Ideology.

Fairclough (1992) conceptualized ideologies as “significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination” (p.87). Ideologies are tied to action, as they become a conception of the world that is implicitly manifested in social societies and its institutions, like education (Fairclough, 1992; 1995). Thus, ideologies arise in social societies through relations of domination and power; however they are not a “form of social cement which is inseparable from society itself” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 82). Ideology works by disguising its ideological nature, thereby becoming naturalized and automatized as common sense. One way that ideologies become naturalized is through language or specifically language use, or what Fairclough (1992) described as discourse. Fairclough (1992) noted that “certain uses of language and other symbolic forms are ideological, namely those which serve, in specific circumstances, to establish or sustain relations of domination” (p.87). According to Fairclough (1992) the ideologies rooted in discursive practices are most powerful when they are naturalized and become common sense.

Hegemony.

Hegemony is the power over society as a whole; it is about creating alliances and integration of subordinate groups through ideological means (Fairclough, 1992; 1995).

Hegemony represents ideological predominance of the dominant values, norms over subordinate groups that ultimately accept as normal or common sense (Daldal, 2014). Fairclough (1995) described hegemony as a model and matrix of ideological dominance. A model where the dominant group exercises power through forming alliances and integrating subordinate groups to achieve an unstable equilibrium through discourse and ideology (Fairclough, 1995, p. 78). Additionally, Fairclough (1995) described hegemony as a matrix where the integration of “local and semi-autonomous institutions and power relations” is achieved at a larger societal level. Then institutions and power relations become somewhat shaped by “hegemonic relations,” and become linked across institutions (Fairclough, 1995, p. 78). Fairclough (1992; 1995) explained that hegemony is a focus of constant ideological struggle between groups and takes place within societal institutions, including education. Discourse operates at a more local level, “being located in or on the edges of particular institutions”, whereas hegemony is a process at the societal level (Fairclough, 1995, p. 78). For that reason, hegemony provides a framework for analyzing ideology and discourse.

To understand how today’s public higher education institutions, serve the larger power structure by producing and operating as sites of assimilation and colonization, it is important to understand how settler colonialism operates as an ideology. Ideology is naturalized and normalized by power, hegemony and language. Critical Discourse Analysis helped to examine the power and hegemonic relations created through language. The language examined in my study focused on institutional policy. Critical Discourse Analysis was used to better understand the ways in which dominant discourses construct

realities around “doing school” that support and advance the hegemonic relations embedded within institutional policy.

Policy.

Colleges and universities are challenged with undertaking a range of initiatives. A principle method for demonstrating an institution-wide commitment is through the development and implementation of policy. “Policy documents codify a university’s ‘comprehensive and institution wide approach’ and serve to influence and determine decisions” to promote integrated and coordinated institutional efforts (Iverson, 2005, p.5). Martinez – Aleman (2015) advocated for critically informed policy making in higher education. She explained “the goals of critically informed higher education policy – education equity and social justice – would be to target those specific root causes of disparity...and articulate the ways in which each root cause can be addressed in relation to the other” (Martinez – Aleman, 2015, p.17). She described in order to target specific root causes of disparity there is a need to “map the graph of causes and the various interactions (relationships) between causes” and this may “reveal that current or past policies have themselves been responsible for the introduction of a new casual relationships, or perhaps the exacerbation of historic causalities” (Martinez – Aleman, 2015, p.17). In my study, a focus on policy was important in order to be able to understand the institutional approach to “doing school,” as policy documents were helpful in understanding the root causes of educational disparities as it relates to Native students.

In my study, Critical Indigeneity worked in tandem with Critical Discourse Analysis and to locate the ways in which societies produce and preserve specific

inequalities. Critical Indigeneity assumes settler colonialism, as ideology, is ever present and manifests itself through current and contemporary Western societal norms and institutional structures, like education. Because settler colonialism is embedded socially, historically, and ideologically, it was only appropriate to incorporate a critical approach as a means to interrogate the structures that produce and maintain it. Critical Indigeneity gave space to acknowledge the complexity around systemic inequalities, colonization, and Indigeneity. Critical Discourse Analysis helped to uncover the dominant discourses around “doing school.” A focus on institutional policy helped to locate the institution-wide approach around how to “do school.” These approaches in tandem worked to help to interrogate in what ways are today’s institutions modern day boarding schools.

Terminology

With language an important focus of this study, it was necessary to provide further clarification on specific terms used throughout the study. It is also important to acknowledge multiple uses and perspectives for particular terms. To provide context of this study, I describe how terms are utilized in this study.

Institution.

The term “institution” was conceptualized sociologically. In this study “institution” was referred to as a social institution. Mills (1959) suggested institutions “are made up of a plurality of interdependent role-patterns or components of them” (p.29). Essentially institutions are established or standardized patterns of governed behavior, of which include family, economic, and educational institutions. For this study, the education institution is the structure of social order that govern the behavior of individuals within its community.

Western.

The term “Western,” was referred to an idea or a concept, a language for imagining a set of complex stories, ideas, historical events, and social relationships. According to Smith (2012) this concept functioned in ways to assist in characterization and classification of societies, provided a dominant model for comparison, and offered criteria for evaluation for other societies. Smith (2012) argued, “these are the procedures by which Indigenous peoples and their societies were coded into the Western system of knowledge” (p.45). In this study, this term was most used in reference to Western systems of knowledge and conceptions of the world. Western system of knowledge and Indigenous knowledge systems have always provided grave differences.

Whiteness/Whitestream/White Supremacy.

Ideologically, these terms suggest the dominance of White superiority in the mainstream American society that is not only dominated by the White population but also principally structured on the basis of White, middle-class experience, serving their own interests, which is merely an offspring of the parent system of imperialism and colonialism. These terms were closely related to the term “Western.”

Imperialism.

According to Smith (1999) imperialism can be expressed in distinct ways, including economic expansion, subjugation of the other, knowledge discourse, and ideology (Smith, 1999; 2012). For this study, imperialism was understood as forms of structured dispossession and dominance, particularly European acquisition of valuable Western lands and subjugation of Native peoples (Wunder, 1994). The imperial imagination fueled settler colonialism in the West.

Settler Colonialism.

A form of colonial formation, “settler colonialism is a persistent social and political formation in which newcomers/colonizers/settlers come to a place, claim it as their own and do whatever it takes to disappear the Indigenous peoples that are there” (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013, p.12). In this study, settler colonialism was conceptualized as the system that destroyed Native peoples to replace with settler colonial relations. In particular, in this study, settler colonialism referred to the infrastructure built on by the colonizer dispossessing the Indigenous nations that once occupied it. Settler colonial relations were also the direct manifestations of maintaining and sustaining an imperial system of dominance (Coulthard, 2014).

Coloniality.

Capitalism, democracy, and Whiteness are the “long standing patterns of power” that survived colonialism and became tied to forms of domination and subordination that were central to colonial control in the United States (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 243). In this study, coloniality referred to those long-standing patterns of power that result from settler colonialism. Those long-standing patterns of power in the United States are framed by race and the labor market (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). In this study settler colonialism, colonialism, coloniality, and sometimes imperialism are used interchangeably.

Decolonization.

Decolonization is an approach that offers both perspective and process. In this study, decolonization offers a theoretical positioning that seeks to actively resist colonial paradigms. Decolonization also offers something to take action with because it is a theoretical positioning that works to actively resist colonial paradigms through a position

of refusal and resistance (Miheuah & Wilson, 2004). Thus decolonization can be used begin to break or disrupt colonized systems in our everyday lives.

Chapter 3: Critical Discourse Analysis: Methodology and Methods

The combination of three paradigmatic perspectives (critical theory, Indigenous paradigms, and decolonization) made up my theoretical perspective: Critical Indigeneity. Within the context of education and, in particular, higher education, critical approaches have been more readily utilized only recently. According to Martínez-Alemán (2015) although critical approaches have been used in many different disciplines, “the study of higher education, particularly in the United States, has only recently begun to develop research using such essential approaches as critical feminist theories, critical race theories, critical discourse analysis, state theoretical approaches or theories of power and marginalization” (p.5). My study had a particular focus on using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in an effort to determine the relationships between discourse and social circumstances that inform it. Martínez-Alemán (2015) explained that scholars like Gee have previously utilized CDA to study the institution of education in an attempt to “identify those discursive practices in schools, colleges and universities that signify the ideologies and values that produce educational and social inequity (p.21).

According to Patton (2014) CDA does not have a standard approach to analysis. The ways in which discourse is analyzed is heavily dependent on the genre from which it emerges as well as how the genre is situated in the social context. All genres have a given structure and in this case the genre was institutional policies and practices at a higher education institution. For my study I relied on Fairclough’s general guidelines to conducting CDA (1992; 1995; 2015). The general objective to this study was to identify the nature of “doing school” through analyzing institutional policies and practices. Within the study, “doing school” was identified as the social practice and the institutional

policies and practices identified as the discourse practice. It is also important to note, the social practice is also the source for why the discourse practices (institutional policies and practices) operate in the manner that they do (Fairclough, 1992).

For my study, the social analysis focused on examining the social practice of “doing school” at a higher education institution in order to explore and answer my research questions. My overarching question sought to examine in what ways are today’s institutions modern day boarding schools. In order to do so, first it was important to understand the colonizing mechanisms that Native/Indigenous students encountered in constructing the institution as a modern day boarding school. This was uncovered by understanding what it meant to be a “student” and what it meant to “do school.” Understanding the colonizing mechanisms and what it meant to be a “student” and to “do school” helped to give insight to the sites of colonization at the institution and specifically how students assimilate, acculturate and resist in those sites. CDA was used to examine institutional policies and practices to identify connections to settler colonialism and coloniality. My analysis was framed using my following research questions:

- In what ways are today’s institutions modern day boarding schools?
- What colonizing mechanisms do Native and Indigenous students encounter that construct the institution as modern day boarding school? By mechanisms, I mean the policies and practices that govern what it means to be a “student” and what it means to be “doing school.”

- What are the sites of colonization and how do students assimilate, acculturate, and resist colonization in those sites?

My study is centered on Fairclough's (1992; 1995; 2015) guidelines and analytical tools for social practice analysis as well as textual analysis.

Social Practice Analysis

A central focus to this discourse analysis was on the analysis of social practice. Fairclough (1992) described the general objective is to specify “the nature of the social practice of which the discourse practice is a part of, which is the basis for explaining why the discourse practice is as it is; and the effects of the discourse practice upon the social practice” (p.237). Fairclough (1992) offered guidelines for analysis, which included the following analytical topics: social matrix of discourse, orders of discourse and the ideological and political effects of discourse.

Social Matrix of Discourse

The objective was to identify the social and hegemonic relations and structures that compose the matrix of a particular instance of social and discursive practices. In particular, to specify how this instance of social and discursive practice is positioned in relation to hegemonic structures and relations and what affects it contributes to reproduction or transformation (Fairclough, 1992). For example, in this study my focus was on identifying how the social practice of “doing school” was positioned in relation to colonialism and colonality, and does it work to contribute or transform to social and educational inequality.

Orders of Discourse

Orders of discourse represent the network of social practices in a social institution, and the relationships between them. The aim is to identify the relationship of the occurrence of social and discursive practice to the “orders of discourse it draws on and the effects of reproducing or transforming orders of discourse to which it contributes” (Fairclough, 1992, p.238). Fairclough suggested that the “articulation of the orders of discourse is decisive for the constitution of any one discursive formation, and ought to therefore be a central focus of discourse analysis” (p. 43). One way to specify the discourse types that are drawn upon in the discourse sample under analysis is the principle of interdiscursivity. Interdiscursivity suggests the orders of discourse have dominance over particular types of discourse. and the particular type of discourse make up formations of diverse elements of orders of discourse. Fairclough (1992) mentioned that interdiscursivity “applies at various levels: the societal order of discourse, the institutional order of discourse, the discourse type, and even elements which constitute discourse type” (p.124). Fairclough (1992) provided an explanation of the elements that constitute a discourse type (genre, activity type, style, and discourse). He argued that “genre” umbrellas the other types, “in the sense that genres correspond closely to types of social practice and the system of genres which obtains in a particular society at a particular time determines which combinations and configurations the other types occur in” (Fairclough, 1992, p.125). Genre implies both a particular text type but also processes of producing, distributing and consuming text, it also “cuts across the distinction between ‘description’ and ‘interpretation’...” (Fairclough, 1992, p.126).

Ideological and Political Effects of Discourse

Fairclough (1992) argued that it is productive to concentrate on the ideological and hegemonic effects of systems of knowledge and belief, social relations' and social identities. Fairclough explained that institutions construct subjects ideologically and discursively, when there is a presence of an unambiguously dominant ideological discursive formation (IDF). Fairclough described ideological discursive formations as "the inseparability of ways of talking and ways of seeing" (p.40). Those ways of talking and seeing represent the interests of the dominant social class. Naturalization of IDFs occur when the dominance of an IDF is unchallenged and is seen as the norms of the institution itself. Fairclough illustrated in addition to being perceived as norms of the institution these norms are also viewed "as merely skills or techniques which must be mastered in order for the status of competent institutional subjects to be achieved. These are the origins of naturalization and opacity" (p.42).

The use of Fairclough's analytical tools of social matrix of discourse, orders of discourse and the ideological and political effects of discourse in an analysis of a social practice revealed how "doing school" is situated in a Western colonial context and works to reinforce settler colonialism.

Textual Analysis: Constructing Social Reality

Fairclough (1992) asserted that textually oriented discourse analysis is a form of ideological critique and can relate to general statements about social and cultural change to precise mechanisms of the effects of change in practice. Textual analysis relates to the ideational function of language, "the ways in which texts signify the world and its processes, entities and relations" and to ideational meanings that construct a social reality

(Fairclough, 1992, p.64). The focus in this type of analysis was on the “role of discourse in signification and reference – which incorporates the “role of discourse in constituting, reproducing, challenging and restructuring systems of knowledge and belief”

(Fairclough, 1992, p.169) and “reference to reconstituted objects, as well as the creative and constitutive signification of object” (Fairclough, 1992, p.60). Fairclough (1992) argued the “impact of discursive practice depends upon how it interacts with the preconstituted reality” (p.60). In this study, my particular focus was on the Fairclough’s analytical topics of cohesion and vocabulary.

Cohesion

Fairclough (1992) described the objective of cohesion is to demonstrate how clauses and sentences are connected together in the text. In particular focusing on the overall mode of structuring clauses into text, which may be of ideological significance. This provided a way into “looking at the sort of argumentation that is used, and the sort of standards of rationality it presupposes; this in turn will give some insight into the sorts of social identity that are constructed in the text” (Fairclough,1992, p.171) A particular focus was on cohesive markers (reference, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion). Fairclough (1992) asserted cohesive markers as a dynamic perspective of the text producer, as they “actively set up cohesive relations of particular sorts in the process of positioning the interpreter as subject. Consequently, cohesion seen in these dynamic terms turned out to be a significant mode of ideological ‘work’ going on in the text” (Fairclough, 1992, p.133). When setting up cohesive links, the producer is under the assumption that the interpreter is able to discern these collocational relationships, which

“succeeds in doing ideological work in constructing subjects for whom these connections are common sense” (Fairclough, 1992, p.177).

Concentrating on cohesion was a way to identify intertextuality. Intertextuality is “the constitution of subjects through text and the contribution of changing discursive practices to changes in social identity” (Fairclough, 1993, p.133). In my study, intertextuality was important in identifying the interpretation of institutional policies and practices on “doing school” and what constitutes being a “student.”

Vocabulary

Fairclough (1992) explained vocabulary as the “processes of wording (lexicalizing, signifying) the world, which happens differently in different times and places for different groups of people” (p.77). Fairclough (1992) described that one concentration of analysis is on alternative wordings and their ideological significance. Another focus was on word meaning, and how the meanings of words come into contention with hegemonic struggles, as alternative ways of giving meaning to particular domains of experience. The last focus was on metaphor and upon the “ideological and political import of particular metaphors, and conflict between alternative metaphors” (Fairclough, 1992, p.77). Fairclough (1992) illustrated that cohesion can be achieved through “using vocabulary from a common semantic field, repeating words, using synonyms” (p.77).

The use of Fairclough’s analytical tools of cohesion and vocabulary in a textual analysis uncovered how institutional policies and practice constructed notions of what it means to be a “student” as well as uncovered assimilative language that was being used in constructing institutional policies and practices.

The textual analysis focused on the analysis of the policy and practices themselves and the examination of the social practice focuses on how those policies and practices worked to maintain the Western colonial context.

Data Selection & Collection

In line with Fairclough's (1992) CDA guidelines and analytical tools, a corpus of discourse samples was collected. A corpus of discourse samples is a collection of material, written or spoken that is representative of the discursive formation, which is "that in a given ideological formation [that] determines what can and should be said" (Fairclough, 1992, p.31). In my study, the discourse samples focused on "doing school." The corpus of discourse samples was collected from a large public 4-year land-grant higher education institution, an institution residing in a state that had historical and current relations with Indigenous communities. I employed a multi-phase process to identify the sample for this investigation.

Corpus of Discourse Samples

Fairclough (1992) explained that the composition of a corpus itself represents an assumption "about the existence of one or more discursive formations which dominate its constitutive text" (Fairclough, 1992, p.32). Thus assembling a corpus together on the basis of an assumption is similar to "imposing homogeneity upon the domain of texts" (Fairclough, 1992, p.32). Fairclough (1992) suggested "in order to yield as much insight as possible into the contribution of discourse to the social practice under scrutiny samples should be carefully selected on the basis of a preliminary survey of the corpus" (Fairclough, 1992, p.230). He explained that to do this, it might require taking advice from the subjects of the research themselves. In this study the preliminary survey of the

corpus was administered through constant comparative qualitative methods, with a primary concentration on focus groups.

Focus Groups

In my study, focus groups were facilitated as a preliminary survey of potential discourse samples to be a part of the corpus. Native identified undergraduate and graduate students were invited to participate in the focus groups, with a particular emphasis on students who engaged and participated in Native based student organizations and entities. The focus on students engaged in the Native campus community helped to foster a sense of commonality and insight in sharing of experiences around particular assimilative policies and practices of “doing school” (Krueger & Casey, 2015). Native students were significant to understanding the practice of “doing school.” Students are the social actors (subjects) in the social practice of “doing school” therefore it was most appropriate to have worked with them to make decisions about which samples were typical or representative of their experience and the social practice of “doing school.”

In total five focus groups lasting around 60 minutes each were conducted to reach a range of participants and experiences. Four initial focus groups were conducted; two centered on the experience of Native identified undergraduate students and two around the experience of Native identified graduate students. The students brought with them a range of experiences and came from a variety of backgrounds. Some students came from reservations, some students came from urban settings, and some students came from suburban settings. Some of the students had experience at a regional public predominately white institution and others had experience at a predominately Native

institution. The last focus group was a follow-up with Native identified graduate students around my preliminary document review results and initial framework. Due to the potentially personal nature of experiences being shared, the size of the focus groups was intended to be small and intimate. Each focus group was audio recorded and accompanied with my own research notes, where I marked time codes next to notes I thought were significant to refer back to. Questions were constructed to identify the critical data points or “cruces” around the social practice of doing school for Native identified students. Fairclough (1992) recommended finding cruces or “moments of crisis” because they “make visible aspects of practices which might be naturalized, and therefore difficult to notice; but they also show change in process, the actual ways in which people deal with the problematization of practices” (Fairclough, 1992, p.230). The intent was to find general patterns to send me to cruces, moments of crisis, and then organize those by 1) what students talk about, 2) what students identify is ever-present/common sense and 3) anomalies around “doing school.” The focus groups were semi-structured, which meant, at times were more conversational in nature. Focus group questions were intended to learn about their identity as a Native student, their experience at the institution, and what they may have learned from their family about “doing school” before coming to the institution. Other questions were intended to learn about their perspectives on institutional policies and practices, sense of belonging at the institution, and their perspectives on how the institution may operate as sites of colonization, acculturation, and assimilation. See Appendix A for the focus group protocol used during the focus group with the undergraduate students and Appendix B for the focus group protocol used during the focus group with the graduate students.

The knowledge and insight gained from the focus groups dictated what was included in the corpus of discourse samples. General patterns were identified from 1) what students talk about, 2) what students identify is ever-present/common sense, and 3) anomalies around “doing school.” The general patterns established a common narrative around “etiquette” and “professionalism” in reference to being successful at the institution. The common narrative translated into a focus on institutional expectations for student success, corresponding documents were selected with that focus in mind.

Document Selection

The documents selected presented students with a guide and offered advice on how to behave and what is expected of them while navigating the institution. The documents that were selected for the corpus of discourse samples included documents that were identified as formal, official, and written texts produced by the institution to be consumed by students. The documents that were chosen centered on their activity type and purpose, of which included practices and policies that aided in navigation of the institution and also documented expectations of what it meant to be a student. They represented formal, official, and written documents produced by the institution to be consumed by new and current students. The initial document collected was a publication created by the institution’s orientation office to be disbursed to first year students, including both new freshman and new transfer students, to be called the *Orientation Book*. According to the *Orientation Book*, the purpose of the publication was to help students be successful, supporting their transition by introducing them to resources and ways to navigate the institution. See the following excerpt from the book:

It [*Orientation Book*] will introduce you to some of the University’s departments

and services—and the people, places, and things that will be a part of your daily life. In order for you to thrive, you need to understand how to navigate the campus and its many resources. This guide will introduce you to the resources that will help you understand academic expectations.

As a result the *Orientation Book* functioned as my primary document because of its strong focus on introducing resources that facilitate student success and provide academic expectations. I was also able to find a number of additional documents within the *Orientation Book* that also offered important insight into student expectations in “doing school,” including the “Student Experience Outcomes,” the Student Conduct Code, and syllabi for the institution’s First Year Experience classes.

Data Collection

Data was collected throughout the 2016 - 2017 academic year. The first round of focus groups was conducted during the fall of 2016 and the follow-up focus group conducted in January 2017. The document collection occurred in the later months of 2016 and early 2017. Most data was accessible and retrieved via the Internet, since institutions increasingly maintain and archive information electronically. Only two documents were not available electronically, syllabi for the institution’s First Year Experience classes, these were emailed to me by my contacts at the institution and then scanned to be catalogued electronically.

The data collection process involved numerous electronic searches on the institution’s website, using the following search terms, “orientation” and “expectations.” Once a document was collected, I spent time with each document in order to discern how and/or if it contributed to institutional expectations for student success as well as if it

directed me to additional documents. The process of data collection both through the focus group and document collection also served as a first level of data analysis, since some patterns and themes emerged as I read and re-read the materials.

Memos & Student Experience

Kovach (2009) described “Indigenous researchers count inward ways of knowing as part of knowledge construction and referencing methods, subsequently legitimizing them in academic research” (p.127). Throughout my data collection, written memos strongly influenced my analytic process. For instance, I wrote a memo after every focus group in reference to significant discourse that occurred. I marked time codes at each instance I heard students talk about “doing school” or other insights that resonated. Memos captured ongoing interpretations and allowed for a preliminary analysis of the data. For example, after one of the focus groups, this idea of “walking in two worlds” resonated with me as it strongly paralleled the boarding school experiences in the 19th and 20th centuries.

This notion of “walking in two worlds” came up when talking about school, this idea that one won’t ever fit into the “Western world” or back into the “Indigenous world” – or home community. This notion is very similar to the experiences of Native students who attended boarding schools in the 19th and 20th century. The idea that students don’t “fit,” in either world demonstrates the stark differences within each world.

In addition to written memos the transcription of the focus groups was another way that strongly influenced my analytic process. Transcription was another significant source of analysis during the data collection. With around two hundred total hours of audio files

recorded, I relied on my marked time codes to determine which parts of each audio files needed to be initially transcribed. I re-listened to all of the audio related to the marked time codes and conducted my own preliminary transcription. The entirety of each audio file was later transcribed by a transcription service. The transcriptions represented the student experience. The student experience was critical in my study and analysis. Their insights provided a significant understanding into “how to do school” and to select the corpus of discourse samples.

Enhancing the Corpus: Auto-ethnography & Critical Reflexivity

Fairclough (1992) offered suggestions around enhancing of discourse samples with supplementary data. In this study, auto-ethnography or critical autobiography was used to further explore discourse samples around doing school. As a Native researcher, who has been “successful” in doing school, as well as a participant in administering the policies and practices of “doing school” at a higher education institution, my experiences offered helpful insight into the analysis. Auto-ethnography helped to make sense of my own perceptions and practices toward creating more powerful understanding of “doing school.” Jacobs (2005) argued, “auto-ethnographies of educational spaces encourage critical thinking, in which being critical means something more than simply fault-finding. It involves understanding the sets of historically contingent circumstances in which we live” (p.28). In particular for me, auto-ethnography was a practice of decolonization, an effort to better understand my own experiences as being colonized and move into a state of resistance. A way to practice decolonization was to employ both indigenous epistemologies and the notion of self-location, which is further explicated in chapter 4.

In this auto-ethnography project, I employed Jacobs (2005) technique of articulation. Jacob (2005) explained that articulation “helps us to understand the two-way interaction of personal biography and the operation of social structures” (p.28). He maintained that articulation provided insight on 1) the connection of social issues and personal challenges with specific interests and power, and on how 2) these connections are unnatural and created through discourse, and can be dismantled by discourse and “replaced with different understandings” (Jacobs, 2005, p.28). According to Ducan (2004) autoethnography uses self as a source of data, as myself as the researcher, I am an insider in the research setting where the context is my own. Autoethnography was my opportunity as the researcher/participant to facilitate a more personal point of view through employing my own reflexivity and personal voice, recognizing “that research as representative of a multilayered lifeworld, itself self-worth of expression” (p.3). Ducan (2004) argued, “through autoethnography, those marginalized individuals who might typically have been the exotic subject of more traditional ethnographies have the chance their own stories” (p.3). My own story as it relates to my experience “doing school” and being a student are weaved through my analysis and discussion.

In order to be able to challenge the narrative around the neutrality of higher education through a social historical lens, it was important to understand how colonialism has shape shifted to fit the contemporary context. Critical Indigeneity, as a central lens worked to interrogate, disrupt and dismantle colonialism and that was crucial in the analysis of the social practice of “doing school.” Critical Indigeneity provided a solid framework to conduct a critical discourse analysis to “identify those discursive practices

that signify the ideologies and values that produce education and social inequity” (Gee, 2008 as cited by Rodgers, 2011, p.21).

To be able to reveal the ways institutions are creating and sustaining inequitable environments for Indigenous communities, it was important for me to understand the student experiences at these modern day boarding schools, but just as important was my ability to interrogate my own experiences as a Native student, university practitioner, and Native scholar. These three perspectives provided an intricate lens to this project and most significantly my analysis. Each lens provided valuable insight into different parts of the analysis. As a Native student, I was able to relate to and understand the student experiences in my focus group. For example when students brought up notions of feeling removed from their families and battling two different types of knowledge systems, I too had and still have these same feelings. As a university practitioner, I was able to locate the student experiences as well as my own to corresponding institutional policies and practices. For instance when students brought up the idea of “expectations” – this led me to the investigation of institutional “orientation” practices. As a Native scholar, the lens to which is most natural and dominant for me is the Native lens, this was important to me when interrogating the institutional practices. This helped me make sense of the “doing school” and situate it in both Indigenous thought and Western thought to get a better understanding of how “doing school” is colonized and can be decolonized. During my own interrogation, I developed a more keen awareness of colonized systems at work in my everyday life experiences. For example, during the time I was working on this project, the Standing Rock Nation formed their own very public resistance to colonized systems at work. I was very fortunate to be invited by my friend to Oceti Sakowin to visit

a camp at Standing Rock and, while I was there, I began to reflect on what does it mean to be Native and its relation to colonialism.

What does it mean to be Native? Colonialism has affected outward violence but also inward violence, especially violence on what it means to be Native and who gets to define what it means to be Native. Not only is physical violence and genocide affecting these Nations, but the genocide of our identity, the deculturalization of whom we are as people through language loss and being removed from our ancestral lands. The genocide of our languages, cultures, values and who we are as members of our Nations.

I started to interrogate what this means for me as a Menominee woman and how I participate in colonization.

What does it mean to be Menominee? What does it mean to be a Menominee woman? How do we inflict violence on our own people – through blood quantum, notions around who is Native and what it means to be Native? How do we police each other as colonial subjects? How do we continually colonize ourselves? Where the colonizer doesn't have to directly do it anymore, where we do their work for them. How do I continually colonize those around me and operate as a colonizer. What is my definition of being Native? How do I harm others?

Auto-ethnography was an approach that enabled me to interrogate my own experiences but to most importantly develop insight on how decolonization can begin to break and disrupt colonized systems in my everyday life. As I developed further insight around my own decolonization, Critical Indigeneity and auto-ethnography worked together to manifest my own critical reflexivity and self-location, engaging as a researcher, a

participant, and a higher education practitioner, garnering a greater understanding of my research purpose and motive. As a researcher, I was able to locate myself in the system that I was studying. By situating myself in my study, I was able to critically reflect on my own experiences as a practitioner and a student. Those experiences provided significant insight in recognizing the complexity of my study, a complexity that required a multi-phased and iterative analysis. Auto-ethnography, Critical Indigeneity, and CDA (social practice, textual practice) all worked together to understand the complexity of how the institution of higher education operated as an oppressive system for Native students.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis – Warrior for what?

The analysis of this study was multi-phased, iterative, and non-linear. It was compromised of different types of analyses, analyses that occurred simultaneously, analyses that built upon each other, and analyses that repeated themselves. Throughout the analysis, Critical Indigeneity guided my epistemological lens in order to interrogate, disrupt and dismantle settler colonialism at the institution. Critical Discourse Analysis was used to examine institutional policies and practices to locate connections of settler colonialism in what it means to be a “student” and what it means to “do school.” The common thread throughout my analyses in this study was my role as the instrument carrying out the analyses. As a part of my role, three main sources helped to guide my interpretation throughout each analysis, critical reflexivity and self-location, research memos, and the students’ experience.

Researcher as Instrument

I approached the study and specifically the analysis of data with an understanding of my role as an “instrument” in the research process. While scholars have noted the potential problems of reliability that can occur when researchers are instruments, several have also argued that reflexivity can help to overcome potential reliability problems (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Creswell, 1998; Kovach, 2009; Rogers, 2011). Scholars explained reflexivity as a type of inner interrogation in relation to others as well to social contexts and vice versa (Guba and Lincoln, 1981; Rodgers, 2011).

Indigenous scholars use self-location as form of reflexivity. According to Kovach (2009) “self-location anchors knowledge within experiences, and these experiences greatly influence interpretations” (p.111). Sharing experiences and finding

commonalities helped in sense making of particular phenomenon, self-location “ensures that individual realities are not misrepresented as generalizable collectives” (Kovach, 2009, p.111). Tribal knowledge and Indigenous knowledge is inherently subjective and acknowledges the existence of other truths. For example, Kovach (2009) made mention of Cree scholar, Winona Stevenson, as an illustration of how elders signify subjectivity and acknowledgment of other truths in practice: “Cree Elders will most often preface statements by stating, ‘I believe it be true’ (2000, p. 19). These words expose relational validity, qualify knowledge as personal reflection from one’s own life experience, and recognize other truths” (p.111).

Indigenous epistemologies are rooted in self-location and cannot be separated from a subjective perspective in research. To embrace Critical Indigeneity is to embrace subject knowledge. Within this research I employed critical reflective self-location, which gave me the opportunity to examine my research purpose and motive. Kovach (2009) described critical reflective self-location as a tactic to bring about the awareness of the “power dynamic flowing back and forth between researcher and participant” (p.112). Critical reflective self-location elicits consciousness of the “extractive tendency of research and endorses tending to the personal and cultural in research” (Kovach, 2009, p. 112). In this study, critical reflective self-location manifested itself within my auto-ethnography, eliciting a more critical form of auto-ethnography.

Locating the self-validates expression of personal experiences, those reflections of life planted in our earlier experiences that mold our understanding of the world (Kovach, 2009). In relation to the data that is presented and as I already alluded to in my positionality in chapter 1, I hold a variety of unique roles and perspectives that shape my

understanding of the world; I am a higher education practitioner, I am a Native graduate student and I am a Native researcher.

As a method of reflexivity during my research, I kept a reflective journal. This went beyond my research notes to more of a chronicling my auto-ethnography. The journal encompassed any strong reactions or reflective thoughts I had while conducting this research. I shared one of my first reflections in my positionality, where I reacted to seeing myself as a product of deculturalization and the use of the English version of my name. Similar occurrences transpired throughout my study and one of the more notable reflections came about after I spent a week home right before our annual pow-wow. Below is an excerpt from my journal reflecting on my time home and my feelings returning to the cities.

As I returned to my “normal” routine at work and back to the cities after returning from a week home, I found myself a little more aware of the feelings I was experiencing as I re-entered back into things. As I come to think about it, I always feel a sense of lonesome-ness coming back. As I thought about it a bit more -- my extended time home -- I had feelings of peace, community, and belonging, especially in a place that is suffering so much from colonialism to a place where I always feel like I don’t belong and is thriving from colonialism.

As a result of inundating myself with notions of colonialism and its effects, it was at this moment where I became more aware of how my life has been affected by colonialism, both my home life and my school/work life. This was also a moment where I begin to examine my research purpose and motive.

This made me think of a moment from this weekend where a language-

speaker/teacher spoke at our pow-wow, he said “people have said that it took about 200 years to take away our language and that it will take about 200 years to get it back.” He called those working to revitalize language, “language warriors,” his words were the most inspiring words expressed. I thought about all of this as I enter this work - being a “warrior” - but a warrior of what? Education has always been this double-edged sword, one of destruction and deculturalization, another a source of mobility and reproduction of the status quo and inequalities. We are sent away to school from our communities to come back and serve/better our communities with education, warriors for language and culture?

It was at this time that I began to grasp the true complexity of what I was about to embark on, a complexity that if not attended to appropriately could in fact result in contributing to a continued destruction and deculturalization of Native people. My reflective journal was mix of past and current experiences as it related to the topics being brought up in my research. It was a process of consistently self-locating that assisted me in my own relational validity and understanding what “I believed to be true.”

In the context of the CDA, Fairclough (2015) asserted that in order for the analyst to gain access to the discourse being analyzed they must engage in the discourse that they are investigating. Similar to reflexivity and self-location, Fairclough (2015) explained self-consciousness is important in CDA because it helps the analysts distinguish themselves from the discourse they are analyzing. “Again for the critical analyst, the aim is to bridge the gap between analyst and participant through widespread development of rational understanding of, and theories of society” (Fairclough, 2015, p.176) and what “I believe to be true.”

Locating the Corpus

In my data analysis I made use of two strategies of data analysis: constant comparative analysis and critical discourse analysis. In order to carry out the critical discourse analysis, constant comparative analysis was applied to the initial data. I began by using constant comparative analysis in my interpretation of the focus group data to establish themes across the data in order to select the corpus of discourse samples (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Coding was used to constantly compare the data. Open coding was conducted on my preliminary transcription and the transcription provided by the transcription service. I began coding for my research questions then looked for patterns within those codes.

The most significant patterns, as shown in Table 1, emerged from my questions relating to assimilation and colonization in schools, along with advice on how to deal with it. The intent was to find general patterns to send me to cruces, moments of crisis, and then to organize those by 1) what students talk about, 2) what students identify is ever-present/common sense and 3) anomalies around their experience “doing school.” During this part of the analysis, the dominant lens utilized corresponded to my experiences as Native student. This lens was valuable in helping to discern the experiences (data) into initial codes.

Table 1
Initial Coding

Initial Codes	Focus Group Data
Things have to be done a certain way in school	“I think honestly the way that school is set up in general is a way that, and I've had a lot of conversations about this this semester, in which we're only given a set amount of time to learn something, and then report back on it. And then suddenly

	<p>be experts in it, is like not...I really have a lot of problems with that. I don't think universities like this, I mean honestly, it's probably the schools systems in general across the country. I don't think our school systems allow for other ways of learning..."</p>
Standard student profile = white student	<p>"There's a single student profile, so if they are expecting a white kid who got like a 28 on their ACT who can pay all those fees upfront. And then you have the poor Native kid who although their aptitude is great enough to get in, but their grades are like C's and they can't afford the fee. Like how could you judge those two students. So, I think that's like, it reminds me of like assimilation. Like, you're not assimilated enough. You didn't follow the procedure to get in."</p>
School takes away from family	<p>"Yeah. I got to come from my ancestral lands, my tribal lands, over here to get a fancy degree in this specific area. To come back to my tribal lands to tell them, or to help explain how we've been managing for the past 150-200 years. I think just the removal of geographic place is colonization, because it's taking me out of my natural element. Where I'm used to being, and where I have my roots, and translating me into an area where I don't necessarily feel a connection to. I mean I'm starting to develop a connection, I've been here what a year and a half now, and I'm just now starting to feel comfortable in the area. But it's the removal in order to gain knowledge that feels assimilated. Cultural genocide, you know it's really working, it's still working in the education system I guess."</p>
Indigenous knowledge vs. Western knowledge	<p>"I think for me it's the whole experience. Again, it's that whole battle of the two systems of knowledge that constantly going on in my head. Some days it's like I'm learning how to study my own people, and write down the knowledge, or publish</p>

	the knowledge or whatever I'm going to do with it. So, that feels very assimilative to me, versus I don't even know what you would call a traditional way of doing it nowadays, because it's become so influenced by mainstream society, mainstream culture.”
Maintaining ties to community is important	<p>P3: “You got to maintain your roots back home. Maintain your sense of self. You know call mom, call dad, call grandparents. Reach out, and you really got to find those other Native students, or else you're not going to survive. At least from my perspective, that's how I feel.”</p> <p>P1: “I think the same thing. Make sure you have good support, back home and where you are. And try not to think of it in terms of time. Because it can be a long time away from home, so try not to think about how much you're going to miss. Just kind of stick it out, and you probably won't miss a whole lot when you go back. For real.”</p>

The initial coding helped to locate moments of assimilation, colonization, and resistance within the students’ experience. The first four codes (“things have to be done in a certain way,” “standard student profile =white student,” “school takes away from family,” and “Indigenous knowledge vs. Western knowledge”) shown in Table 1 paralleled similar notions scholars presented about the 19th and 20th century boarding school era. When describing their experience at the institution, students expressed ideas connected to removal, acculturation, and assimilation. During my initial transcription, my experience as a student assisted in the discernment of those connections and parallels.

My own experiences helped to locate moments of removal, acculturation, and assimilation. The very idea of having to leave ancestral lands to obtain “an education” was always a personal point of contention. Reflecting back to my first of many

experiences leaving the reservation for a “good” education, where I transferred from the reservation school district to a predominantly White school district bordering the reservation. During the initial transfer, removal from my friends was just as devastating as my current understandings of the impact of me leaving the reservation school had on my connection to my community and my longstanding struggle to “fit in” White school spaces.

This struggle to “fit in” into White school spaces became very visible to me as I attended the predominately White school district for the rest of my secondary school experience. At the time, I could not quite locate why I always felt different. I can remember instances where I felt “behind” most of my peers because they all seemed so much “smarter” than me. But reflecting back, I think those instances could be attributed to them understanding how to “do school,” and knowing that “things have to be done in a certain way.” My peers had already been acculturated in knowing how to “do school” in this school district. Although, the reservation school district was just as steeped in similar ways of “doing school,” the contention between Indigenous knowledge and Western knowledge was not as present in the schools back home. By contention, I mean my personal point of contention, where there was an absence of Indigenous knowledge at the predominately White school. I did not see myself reflected in the school environment structurally, culturally, and within the school population. This phenomenon would continue within my experiences as an undergraduate and graduate student, also at a predominately White institution. However, these experiences hid under the guise of understanding what it meant to be a “college student,” which scholars have argued historically has been oriented toward middle class White male experiences as the most

commonly situated norm (Iverson, 2007). My own experiences as student helped to locate general patterns in the students' experiences and to extract the first four codes ("things have to be done in a certain way," "standard student profile =white student," "school takes away from family," and "Indigenous knowledge vs. Western knowledge") as shown in Table 1.

The last code ("maintaining ties to community is important") shown in Table 1 connected and paralleled ideas of survival and resistance. This also resonated within my own experience. As stated before, leaving the reservation school district had an impact on my connection to my community. Although I was only a ten-minute drive away from my reservation, the physical time spent away made me feel disconnected and desire for those back home. These connections had to be intentionally maintained outside of school. Thinking back, my desire to maintain connections have kept me grounded and helped me to survive and excel in "doing school." So when the students in the focus group provided advice around maintaining connections, it immediately resonated with me and helped me to extract it as a significant pattern and code.

Locating myself within the student experiences through critical reflective self-location helped to recognize and associate the student experience to ideas connected to removal, acculturation, assimilation, and resistance. Extracting ideas and general patterns assisted in identifying more focused codes and ultimately the moments of crisis in the data.

Focus Group Analysis: Cultural Erosion for Student Success

The initial codes provided a framework to develop focused codes. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2017), focused codes are more conceptual and selective than initial

codes. The focused codes helped to sift through the rest of the focus group transcriptions, to help to capture and synthesize the data. They helped to best capture what was happening in data and emerged into tentative conceptual codes. Denzin and Lincoln (2017) described conceptual codes as “giving these categories conceptual definitions and specifying relationship between them” (p.426). Making constant comparisons between the initial codes, the focus group data, and memos helped to establish the focused codes as shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Focused Coding

Focused Codes	Focus Group Data
Expectations <i>What is expected of students when they are “doing school”</i>	“deadlines” “school first” “to be the same” “no time to be anything else but students” “school is restrictive” “wasn’t made for us (Natives)”
Etiquette/Professionalism <i>Student behaviors when “doing school”</i>	“have to act a certain way” “things have to be done in a certain way” “acting white – how to communicate, access resources, office etiquette”
Community/Family	“community is important” “when in school, not maintaining connection with community” “family is important” “school takes away from family/community”
Different cultures/perspectives	“in classroom/curriculum” “walk differently in the world and interact with others” Indigenous knowledge vs. western knowledge/ systems of knowledge Cultural incongruence “doesn’t feel natural”
Not Fitting-In	“isolation” “crab in the bucket mentality – better yourself to better your community”
Homogenous group	“urban Natives vs. reservation Natives”

The focus codes represented a transition from my lens as a student/participant to my lens as a researcher, with the use of critical reflective self-location (Kovach, 2009). The transition was framed by the following question: how can I represent the student experiences authentically while best capturing what was happening in data? The main approach I took while trying to best capture what was happening in the data was referring back to my research questions and trying to locate more insight into “doing school” and the distinctive experiences of a Native student. As I was comparing the focus group data and the initial codes, this idea of “etiquette” surfaced. Etiquette connected to the idea that in school, things have to be done in a certain way and require students to act accordingly, to essentially assimilate. One student quote provided significant insight into this notion of “etiquette,” the student expressed frustration on having to conform in order to receive services at the institution.

So, I have to like put aside who I am and what I need. And like this state I'm in, like the mental and physical state I'm in, just to meet their office etiquette. So, they would be more respectful and receiving to me and my needs.

In this instance the student acknowledged and identified a set of rules at the institution. They felt that they were expected to follow rules that were incongruent with their identity and, in order to follow those rules, they had to set themselves aside and be “professional.” Other students also identified behaving “professionally” as an expectation of “doing school.”

I don't think I am myself on campus, especially I'm in a professional program, maybe I'm just not professional. You are expected to carry yourself a certain way,

especially in front of your professors and colleagues, so I don't feel like I could really go outside of that. I don't think on campus that's a thing.

Similar to the student's experience with feeling incongruent in terms of the "office etiquette," this student also felt a similar conflict with their perceptions of professionalism on campus and feeling like they are not "themselves" on campus, like they didn't fit in. Consistent with my experience as a student, the students did not see themselves reflected in the school environment and what was expected of them structurally and culturally. This inability for the students to see themselves reflected within what they believed to be true about how to "do school" demonstrated moments of crisis. Fairclough's moments of crisis, or critical data points or "cruces" around the social practice of doing school for Native identified students made visible the practices at the institution that were naturalized in "doing school." The focus codes provided concentrated insight into the moments of crisis and their relationship in the student experience "doing school."

To better understand the student experience, the moments of crisis are further explicated and organized by "what students talk about," "what students identify as ever present/common sense," and "anomalies around doing school." Focusing on the moments of crisis helped to reveal practices that were naturalized while "doing school" and guided in better capturing and synthesizing the data. Below are excerpts of the focus group data that provided insight for the moments of crisis.

Moments of Crisis

"What students talk about."

When identifying "what students talk about" in order to be successful at the

institution, one prominent conceptual code emerged –“expectations.” Encompassed in this code were students’ notions around school being “set up” a particular way, and how that translated into being a student.

The American public school system is set up in a certain way, you know. This whole thing about testing. Testing all the time, especially standardized testing... And I just think that it's just set up from the get go once you start school, that this is how you're supposed to be a student, and yeah. This is how you do it.

Students also mentioned universities being set up through colonization and White men.

I mean I think, I think the way that universities, predominantly white universities, have been set up is definitely through colonization, right. They were created by white men. Which have been the dominating power of this country for a long time, or America as a country.

In addition to insights around the institution being set up a particular way, students also expressed understandings of institutional expectations.

Let me think, ok it's just like you're expected to do, like we're all in the same class, all 108 of us. We do all the same things, and like there's no time for anything else. You're a student so can't be Native. Like, I couldn't go home for Ceremony or a pow-wow, or anything because I had to study. So, I feel like, when you're a student it's like you're a student, you can't have time for anything else really, unless it's in the city, or where you are.

In this instance the student expressed beliefs that “being a student” was the primary concern, leaving no room for anything else. No room to be themselves, and ultimately no room to be Native.

The main theme of “expectations” encompassed ideas around school as being an institution that is focused on making students the same, that is restrictive, that is above everything else, and isn’t made for Native students. This is also something I understand to be true in my own experiences. I can think of several times where I had to negotiate my responsibilities as a student and my cultural responsibilities. As an undergraduate student I was involved in a program that supported students who were interested in attending graduate school. An expectation of the program was to attend particular meetings or workshops, some landed on the weekends. I remember a few of those weekends; I wanted to go home to participate in a cultural event. When I asked for permission to miss the workshop, the director of the program did not excuse my absence. I ended up going home anyway and missed the workshops; as a result I had to sit down with the director and “face” program sanctions, as well as a lecture on why the workshops were important for me to be successful. This was just one time out of many where I felt like I needed to choose between being “successful” in school and my community, things that were clearly incongruent with each other.

“What students identify as ever present/common sense.”

When distinguishing what students identify as ever present or common sense about “doing school,” one dominant code manifested notions around – “etiquette/professionalism.” Comprised in this code are students’ experiences of understanding how to “professionally” navigate resources at the institution.

And even like, communication differences, especially if you don't have the office etiquette to talk to someone. It's just like you're not meeting their expectations, it's like learning a whole new language sometimes. Like this is not how you talk to

someone. This is not how you reach someone. You don't call. And it's just like I just set up an email for the first time. So, it's an entire new process, and it seems kind of like ironically foreign to me. Like, I'm still trying to understand some of these people and how they work, and where do I fit within their work. At the end of the day, like I will be running on the University schedule. Not mine ever.

In addition to learning how to navigate the institution, students also experienced the feeling of having to carry themselves in a particular way.

I don't think I am myself on campus, especially I'm in a professional program, maybe I must not be professional. You are expected to carry yourself a certain way, especially in front of your professors and colleagues, so I don't feel like I could really go outside of that...

Within these instances the students expressed understandings of how they were supposed to carry themselves as a student, acknowledging and identifying a set of rules prescribed by the institution. Along with identifying the set of rules, students also presented some dissonance with the set of rules and themselves as Native students.

The “etiquette/professionalism” code encompassed ideas around a set of rules that students should follow to be successful in school, rules that made it difficult for the students to be themselves, to be Native. In my experience, this is also something that I believe to be true. Throughout my academic career, and more prominently in graduate school where there is an increased emphasis in dialogue and discussion I came to understand the expectation of classroom engagement. In order to be “engaged” or a “successful student,” it was important that I contributed my thoughts and “expertise” on the subject. This was always difficult for me for two reasons: humility is a large part of

my cultural values and respecting elders/teachers is another. The way we are taught to “engage” in class always felt counter to both of those values, but in order for me to be successful it was important for me to comply.

Anomalies around “doing school.”

When discerning what students identified as anomalies doing school, two dominant principal codes emerged – “community/family” and “different cultures and perspectives/not fitting in.” Included in this code were students’ feelings around the primacy of their community and family.

Yeah. I think because, again as Native people our families and our communities come first. A lot of the time we are going to school because of our families and our communities so we can go back and contribute to them or be supportive in the ways that we can with our education.

This student provided insight into the important role family play for Native students, often serving as motivation for educational success. Family also provided students a source of support to survive school.

You got to maintain your roots back home. Maintain your sense of self. You know call mom, call dad, call grandparents. Reach out, and you really got to find those other Native students, or else you're not going to survive. At least from my perspective, that's how I feel.

In addition to talking about their family and communities as important and a source of support, they also mentioned how they felt like they don't fit in.

I really don't feel [I belong in] any space on campus. Honestly. I've been to a couple of events, ok let's rephrase that. I feel that way but maybe that's not true. I

feel like when I've been invited to events that are predominantly students of color I felt comfortable there.

They also felt like they didn't fit in because of their cultural differences. This was especially evident in their relationships with their classmates.

I'd say my relationships with other students in my class. I am the only Native in my class as well, and my cohort. But also, I've noticed like certain things I do, like the other students don't understand why I'm doing that. Like, I will lay out like tobacco if I'm feeling really anxious. And they don't understand that. I try to like compare it to like Christianity, but it comes out wrong and I don't like doing that anymore. I guess little like traditional things I do.

Their cultural differences affected their classroom experiences and interactions with their professors.

I think with professors because we have like bench (clinical) professors, and I have had to tell them right away like, like I'm Dakota or whatever, because they think I'm standoffish. I'm just like no, I'm listening to you, I'm trying to learn.

When students do choose school success, they feel like they are not Native anymore.

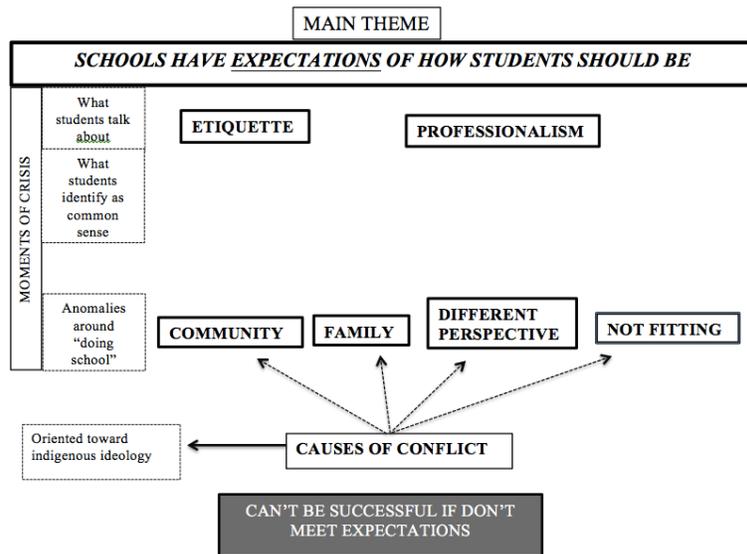
I think once we do graduate with whatever degrees, we are graduates not Natives any more. Like I'll be a professional, not really like a Native professional. It's kind of like you're now this you're not what you used to be, kind of thing. I get that vibe.

The expectations and etiquette set forth in being successful in "doing school" caused conflict for students culturally. In order to meet expectations, students have to choose between school and their culture and family. When choosing school, they don't feel like

they fit it, they feel like a “guest,” someone never really welcomed or welcomed on condition. Scholars have described this phenomenon as “conditional hospitality,” where students are welcomed on condition that they will work to assimilate into institutional culture (Ahmed, 2012). This conditional hospitality proved to be a point of contention for the students and resonated with my experiences as a student at a predominately White school.

To better understand the student experience, focusing on Fairclough’s moments of crisis helped to better reveal practices that were naturalized at the institution. It also guided in better synthesizing the data to understand the foundational practices of “doing school.” In order to better understand how the initial codes in Table 1 and the conceptual codes in Table 2 networked together to illustrate these foundational practices and the students experience, I created a preliminary analytic framework as shown in Figure 1, to help organize what students talk about, what they identified as common sense and what they identified as anomalies around “doing school” within the moments of crisis.

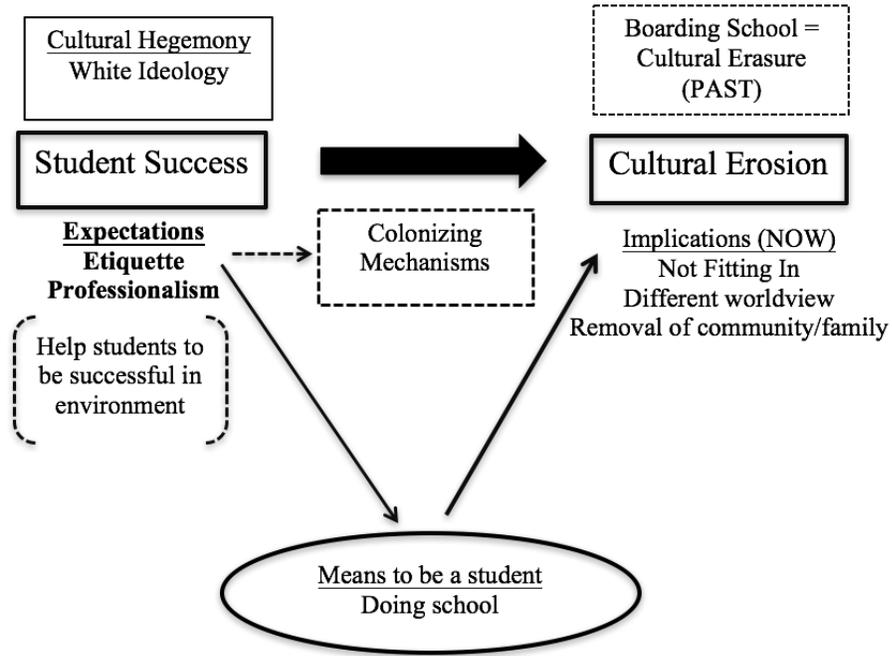
Figure 1 – Preliminary Analytic Framework



The bolded box at the top of the framework represents the main theme of the framework, which suggested that schools have particular expectations of how students should be while “doing school.” The focused codes are illustrated just below the main theme, “etiquette,” “professionalism,” “community,” “family,” “different perspective,” and “not fitting.” The top two codes “etiquette” and “professionalism” represent “what students talk about” and “what students identify as common sense in “doing school.” The codes below “etiquette” and “professionalism” represent “anomalies in doing school,” of which included “community,” “family,” “different perspective,” and “not fitting it.” The anomalies were oriented toward Indigenous ideology and the students’ associated them with causing conflict while “doing school.” Overall the students understood and expressed that in order to be successful in “doing school,” meeting the expectations was crucial.

Continued analysis of the focused codes in “what students talk about,” “what they identify were common sense,” and anomalies in “doing school” occurred throughout the data collection to solidify final codes. The narratives from the focus group data and Figure 1, emerged a framework to guide my data analysis. This framework incorporated a grand narrative used to describe students having to accept cultural erosion as a condition of their success in school as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2 Analytic Framework – Cultural erosion for student success



The figure can be broken down in two different silos, student success and cultural erosion. The student success silo incorporated the idea of students having to perform particular expectations, etiquette, and professionalism in order to be successful in school. The expectations, etiquette, and professionalism originated from “what students talk about” and “what they identify was common sense” in “doing school.” These expectations, etiquette, and professionalism were steeped in White ideology. The cultural erosion silo encompassed the student conflicts while “doing school.” Not fitting in, different worldview and removal of community/family arose from identified anomalies in “doing school.” These anomalies forced cultural erosion. This cultural erosion was similar to the experiences of Native students during the boarding school era. During the boarding school era, the colonizing mechanisms consisted of removal, the use of the English language, and fostering of American patriotism; the current colonizing mechanisms consist of expectations, etiquette, and professionalism. And in order for

students to be successful in school at the institution they must comply with expectations that erode their culture.

Through identifying what students talk about, what students identify as ever present/common sense, and anomalies around their experience “doing school,” the analytic framework encompassed an overarching narrative and led to a refined focus on data collection and further clarity in document selection. This framework guided both the document review and the document collection. The goal was to identify categories that resonated across students’ experience to determine the types of documents that should be collected and analyzed through CDA.

Identifying the Corpus

The main analysis of this study focused on investigating documents to discern institutional policies and practices around “doing school.” The overarching narrative shown in Figure 1 translated into a focus on institutional expectations for student success; therefore, corresponding documents were selected with that focus in mind. In order to understand institutional expectations for student success, two questions guided my document selection, 1) in what ways does the institution teach incoming students how to be “students” and 2) how do students learn how to be a “student.” I reflected back on my experience as an incoming student and the ways in which I learned how to be a “student.”

Remembering back to my time spent in college, I was fortunate enough to participate in a summer bridge program. This bridge program was intended to make the transition easier for incoming students of color. It was my first experience in “doing school” before starting the school year, almost like my trial run, a head start, an orientation before the actual orientation. After looking back

on it, this experience laid the groundwork for my undergraduate experience, academically, culturally and socially.

As a result of my experience in a summer bridge program and orientation, I focused on the institutional practice of orientation. The initial document selected was a document produced by the administrative office that oversees orientation and first year programs. The publication was created for all new first year students, both freshman and transfer students, and I renamed it the *Orientation Book*. Similar to my experience with the bridge program, this document was meant to make students transition to college life a smooth one.

The process of data analysis in the initial document review was informed by established methods of qualitative inquiry that made use of deductive coding strategies (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017). Analysis began by reading the *Orientation Book*, and recording analytic notes on the electronic version of the document. This initial coding phase employed a deductive process in response to my analytic framework. Through the use of ATLAS.ti, computer software designed for qualitative analysis, I conducted a line-by-line analysis of the *Orientation Book* to identify and code conceptions of how students where to behave and what is expected of them while navigating the institution. The key words and phrases I identified as makers included, “expectations,” “best practice,” “should know/do,” “success/successful/thrive,” “resource/access,” “navigate/help” and “outcomes,” as shown in Table 3.

Table 3
Document Analysis Codes/Key Words & Phrases

Documents (Institution)	Transcription (Student)
Expectations	Community

Best Practice	Indigenous identity
Should know/do	Indigenous knowledge/perspective
Success/successful/thrive	Race/Whiteness
Resources/access	Erasure
Navigate/help	Assimilation
Outcomes	Removal
	Conflict

The key words and phrases in the “documents” section as shown in Table 3 were selected as markers because of their ability to locate institutional expectations within the *Orientation Book*. Expectations that gave specificity to “what students talked about” and “what they identified as common sense” in “doing school” in addition to what it meant to be a successful student. As a result, the key words and phrases incorporated indicators of things students should know or do or expectations of them to help to navigate in order to be successful. Along with identifying key words and phrases, I also identified additional documents mentioned in the *Orientation Book* as additional documents to be reviewed. Those additional documents consisted of the Student Experience Outcomes, the Student Conduct Code, and syllabi for the institution’s First Year classes. Not only were the additional documents identified in the *Orientation Book* important resources but it was also important for them to be reviewed because of their orientation toward providing students further understanding of how to “do school.” As a result, I repeated the line-by-line analysis in ATLAS.ti that I conducted on the *Orientation Book* to the additional documents (“Student Experience Outcomes,” the Student Conduct Code, and syllabi for the institution’s First Year classes).

In addition to a focus on the institutional documents, I also conducted the same line-by-line analysis on each transcription of my focus group, using my analytic framework and the key words identified above, along with notions related to students’

cultural experience and or identity. Those key words or phrases included, “community,” “indigenous identity,” “indigenous knowledge/perspective,” “race/whiteness,” “erasure,” “assimilation,” “removal,” and “conflict” as shown in Table 3. The key words and phrases in the “transcription” section as shown in Table 3 were selected as markers because of their ability to locate the students’ cultural experience and identity within the focus group data. The students’ cultural experiences and identity gave specificity to the anomalies in “doing school.”

The key words and phrases in Table 3 became the initial codes used in ATLAS.ti for the remainder of the analysis. The goal was to find a regulatory pattern of how students where to behave and what is expected of them while navigating the institution, that was embedded across the University text and disseminated to students (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017).

Once all the documents were coded with the codes above, I used ATLAS.ti and my analytic framework to create a data display or map of the codes to establish pattern codes, as way of grouping them into themes or sets of constructs (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017). In an effort to include the particular codes into a more focused code, I visually mapped, patterns and themes. The patterns and themes were framed around settler colonialism. This resulted in the development of more focused codes that illustrated an emerging regulatory pattern of neoliberalism.

Once focused codes emerged in the documents, in response to my research questions I finalized my documents for my next phase in the analysis, with particular focus on documents that had a strong narrative around how to “do school.” The most salient document, “Student Experience Outcomes,” demonstrated a framework for the

student experience at the institution, both in and outside of the classroom. Additional key documents consisted of documents that focused on the Student Experience Outcomes. In total three different documents were selected, the *Orientation Book*, the Student Experience Outcomes website and the official Student Experience Outcomes policy. These three documents made up my corpus of discourse samples in analyzing how students learn how to “do school” at the institution.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis was the most prominent analysis in my study because of its usefulness in determining relationships between discourse and social circumstance that inform it (Fairclough, 1992; 2015). Within my critical discourse analysis I chose to focus on the social circumstance of “doing school” and used Fairclough’s analytical tools to carry out a textual analysis and an analysis of social practice.

Textual analysis

A textual analysis was helpful to be able to understand how discourse and aspects of texts work to construct a social reality. Fairclough (1992) argued, “both objects and social subjects are shaped by discursive practices” and “take place within a constituted, material reality, with preconstituted objects and preconstituted social subjects” (p.60). In a textual analysis, an emphasis is placed is on the role the discourse play in both signification and reference to preconstituted objects as well as in its’ role constituting, reproducing, challenging and restructuring systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough, 1992). In order to do so, in my study Fairclough’s analytical topics of cohesion and vocabulary were useful in helping to identify the ideational function of language, “the ways in which texts signify the world and its processes, entities and relations” and the

ideational meanings that construct the social reality of what it meant to “do school” at the institution (Fairclough,1992, p. 64).

In this study, cohesion was used to demonstrate how sentences were connected together within and across the text, which according to Fairclough (1992) poses ideological significance. Fairclough (1992) suggested that focusing on cohesion is helpful in identifying “various rhetorical schemata according to which groups of statements may be combined,” which assisted with distinguishing modes of rationality in the discourse (p.174). In my study cohesion helped to provide further insight around institutional narratives around student success, values of an undergraduate education, and expectations of students.

A particular narrative around student success was revealed through an analysis of cohesion in the *Orientation Book*. In this analysis of cohesion, the functional relationship of elaboration was used to identify this finding. According to Fairclough (1992), “elaboration occurs when one sentence elaborates on the meaning of another by further, specifying or describing it, that is by rewording it, exemplifying it or clarifying it.” (p.175). In the *Orientation Book* the following two sentences incorporate a cohesive feature, utilizing “resources” as the connector.

“In order for you to thrive, you need to understand how to navigate the campus and its *resources*.”

“Knowing how to access *resources* from the very beginning of your college career can lead to excellent outcomes.”

The assumption is that successful students know or will quickly learn how to navigate and access resources on campus. The sentences combined helped to further clarify what it

meant to “do school” successfully at the institution. There is also an expectation that achieving these Outcomes will also position students for success. Lexical cohesion, “cohesion through repetition of words, linking expressions in meaning relations” (Fairclough, 1992, p.176), helped to reveal more understanding of the institutional expectations of student success.

In the *Orientation Book* when describing the Outcomes, they dedicated three pages to describing the Outcomes. One of the pages is titled “Expectations for your Experience.” Within that page the following sentences contain a lexical cohesive feature, utilizing “outcomes” as a connector.

“By advancing these **outcomes** you are positioning yourself for success.”

“You can begin working toward achieving these **outcomes** today...”

The assumption is that in order to be successful students should work to achieve these outcomes. Additionally, within the same three pages, reference as a cohesive marker uncovered the areas the institution expects students to be involved in to become life-long learners and effective citizens. According to Fairclough (1992) reference as a cohesive marker is a “matter of referencing back to an earlier part of a text...using items such as personal pronouns, demonstrativeness, and the definite article” (p.176). Within the same pages the following sentences use “these” as a pronoun to refer back to the Outcomes.

“The (**outcomes**) help students become lifelong learners and engaged and effective citizens.”

“You are expected to be involved in activities that will help you build on **these** areas such as service learning programs, volunteer programs, internships, learning abroad programs and student activities.”

The assumption is that the Student Experience Outcomes will assist students to be lifelong learners and engaged and effective citizens and in order to do so students should be involved in service learning programs, volunteer programs, internships, learning abroad programs and student activities. In addition to revealing institutional conceptions of students' success, elaboration, along with lexical cohesion, provided further insight into the values the institution holds in regard to what embodies an undergraduate education.

In the policy document the following sentences contain cohesive features, utilizing "undergraduate education" and "characterized" as connectors.

"Until recently, an **undergraduate education** was **characterized** most often by its input characteristics."

"The emphasis in **undergraduate education** has shifted in a dramatic way to focus on what students have learned and what they are able to do when they complete their bachelor's degree."

"These outcome measures **characterize** the values that an institution has articulated across a number of areas."

The assumption is that the institution holds a high regard and focus on what students have learned and what they are able to do post-graduation as their conception of what an undergraduate education is supposed to be. Using cohesion (elaboration, lexical, and reference) gave more meaning to how the institution signified its process, entities and relations around "doing school." It revealed the ways in which students were expected to be successful and institutional values of an undergraduate education.

In this study, vocabulary was also used to give meaning to particular domains of

experience, which entails interpreting text in a particular way, from a particular cultural or ideological perspective (Fairclough, 1992; 1995; 2015). One analysis of vocabulary is focused on alternative wordings and their ideological significance. For instance, across the corpus of discourse samples (*Orientation Book*, Student Experience Outcome policy, Student Experience Outcome website) parallel statements emerged in describing the Student Experience Outcomes. The following sentences incorporate alternative wordings in each description of the Student Experience Outcomes.

Orientation Book: "...these outcomes provide a framework for undergraduate experience."

Policy: "...these outcomes will frame our concept of an undergraduate education."

Website: "...(outcomes) are entwined as critical elements of the student experience.

Present in the different wordings from the corpus of discourse samples, there is a discourse associated with the Student Experience Outcomes as a framing mechanism both for the students experience but also institutionally as to what it means to be "doing school" as undergraduate student.

Orientation Book: "The (outcomes) helps students become lifelong learners and engaged and effective citizens."

Policy: "Students need a set of skills that will allow them to function as citizens of the University and the broader community."

Website: "These outcomes assist students to become lifelong learners and engaged and effective citizens when they leave the university."

Present in the different wordings from the corpus of discourse samples, there is a discourse associated the Student Experience Outcomes as assisting students in becoming citizens and lifelong learners as a part of their student experience in “doing school.”

The textual analysis was helpful in identifying the ideational function of language in the texts, revealing the “ways in which the text signify the world and its process, entities and relations” (Fairclough, 1992, p.64). As such, cohesion and vocabulary helped to demonstrate the discourses embedded in the Student Experience Outcomes and their impact on the pre-constituted reality created around “doing school” at the institution. In my study, the textual analysis helped to analyze the social practice of “doing school” in praxis.

Social Practice Analysis

Central to this study was the analysis of what it means to be a “student” and “doing school” as a social practice. An analysis of social practice is particularly instrumental in understanding the relationship between praxis and its social context. According to Fairclough (2015) “part of what is implied in the notion of social practice is that people are enabled through being constrained: they are able to act on condition that they act within the constraints of types of practice – or of discourse” (p.60). Therefore, understanding the nature of the embedded discourses around “doing school,” is a basis for explaining why the discourse is as it is. In order to understand the nature of the embedded discourses around “doing school,” Fairclough’s analytical topics of social matrix of discourse, orders of discourse and the ideological and political effects of discourse were utilized in my study.

In this study the orders of discourse were used to identify the network and

relationships of the social practice of how to “do school” at local level. They also helped to identify the relationship of “doing school” to the discourse(s) it draws upon at the institutional level. In this study, an analysis of Fairclough’s principle of interdiscursivity was utilized. Interdiscursivity constitutes the rules of formation of discourse (Fairclough, 1992). In order to discern interdiscursivity, or ways in which discourses constrain how to “do school,” I focused on Fairclough’s topics of genre and activity as the elements that helped to discern the constitution of discourse(s) of “doing school” at the institution. Genre focused on a particular text type and also the processes of producing, distributing, and interpretation of “doing school” as a social practice.

Table 4
Activities in “Being a successful student in college”

Engaging in self-interest & individualism	Focused on post graduation	Focused on being a responsible & engaged citizen	Engaging in high impact practices
<p>“The hope is that the [outcomes], in the bold below, prepare you to speak about your experience and knowledge”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can identify, define & solve problems - Can communicate effectively - Have acquired skills for effective citizenship & life long learners” <p><i>(Orientation Book)</i></p>	<p>“The emphasis undergraduate education has shifted in a dramatic way to focus on <u>what students have learned and what they are able to do when they complete their bachelor’s degree</u>” (Policy)</p>	<p>“Have acquired skills for effective citizenship & life-long learning” <i>(Orientation Book)</i></p>	<p>“These outcomes can be assessed in the context of student employment, undergraduate research experience, service-learning opportunities, their internships, and learning abroad, as well as a variety of curricular and co-curricular activities.” (Policy)</p>
<p>“Can identify, define & solve problems” →</p>	<p>“[Outcomes] that define what</p>	<p>“Help students become lifelong</p>	<p>“You are expected to be involved in</p>

Demonstrate your ability to plan out your degree requirements to put yourself in a position to graduate in a timely manner” <i>(Orientation Book)</i>	students will be able to do when they have completed any undergraduate degree, regardless of major, at the University...” <i>(Policy)</i>	learners, engaged and effective citizens” <i>(Orientation Book)</i>	activities that will help you build on these areas such as service-learning programs, volunteer programs, internships, learning abroad programs, and student activities.” <i>(Orientation Book)</i>
“Can communicate effectively → have the ability to articulate how your interest, strengths, values and motivations relate to your intended major”		“Students need a set of skills that will allow them to function as citizens of the University and the broader community.” <i>(Policy)</i>	

In my analysis, I defined the genre as “being a successful student in college,” which is the overarching theme as shown in Table 4. The activities associated to “being a successful student in college” are located in bold across the top of Table 4. The genre in this study consisted of the four following activities: “engaging in self-interest and individualism,” “engaging in high-impact practices,” “focus on being responsible & engaged citizens,” and “focused on post graduation plans” as shown in Table 4. A textual analysis helped to reveal the four activities listed. The four activities listed represent the summation of analysis across the three documents. The summation captured and synthesized the data across the corpus. The synthesis of the data was informed by the main messages revealed about how to “do school,” as well as the emergent regulatory pattern of “doing school” that was revealed when identifying the corpus. Each activity provided unique insights on how to successfully “do school” and/or what it meant to be a successful student at the institution. For example, in order to be a successful student it was important to be

engaged in high impact practices, such as service-learning programs, volunteer programs, internships, learning abroad programs, and student activities. Additionally, students at the institution needed a set of skills that will allow them to function as citizens of the University and the broader community. Through the analysis of activities as shown in Table 4, discourses around citizenship and individualism emerged as the primary discourses in how to “do school.” Understanding the discourses that control how to “do school” was significant in understanding how “doing school” interacted socially, hegemonically, and ideologically. In doing understanding the discourses that control how to “doing school,” it was helpful to describe the patterns that emerged in the social practice analysis, developing all three analytical topics (orders of discourse, social matrix of discourse, ideological/political effects of discourse) locally, socially, hegemonically and ideologically. All three of these analytical topics will be discussed in chapter 5. It is critical, however, that I first reflect on limitations of this study.

Critical Indigeneity: Decolonizing Research – Trustworthiness/Limitations

To establish credible Western research, considerable emphasis has been invested into standardizing research methods and analysis (Kovach, 2009). Indigenous scholars argued that individuals who in one way or another have been trained and socialized to perform Western research activities have similar ways of thinking, defining and making sense of the known and unknown. They regard Western research as a field of experts with advanced education and access to specific skills and language (Smith, 2012; Kovach, 2009). However, the use of mechanisms that organize knowledge to Western research terms restricts Indigenous cultural inquiries. Thus Indigenous researchers have a fundamental challenge of dual accountability “to culturally and epistemologically

divergent communities,” the Western research community and the Indigenous community (Kovach, 2009, p.164). During this study, I experienced the challenge of dual accountability. Specifically, in chapter 4 and chapter 5, I had a particular challenge of having to write in a linear way. CDA is iterative and non-linear and for that reason Critical Indigeneity was a helpful and useful lens because it does not try to standardize knowledge. At the same time the complexity provided it difficult to “write up” my study in a Western way. There were several moments, I felt like a translator, moving back and forth from Indigenous knowledge and Western forms of understanding trying to be accountable to “culturally and epistemologically divergent communities” (Kovach, 2009, p.164).

In the Western research community, Kovach (2009) explained, “the credibility of research findings is generally evaluated according to the trustworthiness of the methodology used for accessing said information” (p.133). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2017) the Western notion of trustworthiness consists of four components, creditability, transferability, confirmability and dependability. In this study because it centers itself on Indigenous methodology, the applicability of Denzin and Lincoln’s four components are limited to creditability and confirmability. One way to signify both creditability and confirmability is triangulation. This study combined multiple data sources in answering the research questions. This study made use of student experience through focus group data, document analysis through critical discourse analysis, and researcher reflexivity through autoethnography or critical self-location. The use of these different data sources contributed to promoting quality Western research by confirming creditability in the truth of the findings.

However, what limits this study in a Western research perspective (transferability), actually affirms it from an Indigenous research perspective. This study is highly contextualized, therefore not highly transferable. Indigenous scholars like Deloria (1991) acknowledged Indigenous knowledge systems as highly contextualized and not generalizable. These knowledge systems are comprised of patterns and observations that are not assumed to be or should be generalized to other instances (Kovach, 2009). In order to uphold an Indigenous methodology that is congruent with an Indigenous scope, Kovach (2009) suggested a necessity to “commit to its values and demands.” Those values and demands require Indigenous researchers to return to the local context “to validate claims because our truths are found in our places” (Kovach, 2009, p.140). In order to return to the local context, it is important to engage in research that makes sense to our communities (Deloria, 1991; Kovach, 2009; Smith, 2012). A part of engaging our communities means recovering our individual tribal stories from the past to help make meaning of our experiences in the present, in essence to contextualize our experiences in a subjective way. According to Smith (2012) to recover our individual tribal stories from the past to help make meaning of our current experiences, Indigenous researchers need to decolonize the Western research process, and thus she suggested understanding theory and research from our own perspectives.

Decolonization, however, does not mean and had not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centering our concerns and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our perspectives and for our own purposes. (p.41)

As a site of struggle, Indigenous researchers have to be accountable to both the Western

research community and the Indigenous community, which mean struggling to make sense of our own world while also attempting to transform what counts as research in Whiteman society. Smith (2012) explained, “We live simultaneously within such views while needing to pose, contest and struggle for the legitimacy of oppositional or alternative histories, theories and ways of writing” (p.40).

While doing this research project and locating myself as a researcher, I felt a similar struggle of making sense of my project through an indigenous lens and what I believe to be true while also attempting to transform it to be accountable to Western research. During the process I felt myself acting like a translator having to figure out how to translate what I believe to be true into Western forms of understanding. While acting like that translator, I reflected back to my feelings on being a warrior—but a warrior for what? What does it truly mean to be a warrior in education? An education that once represented the destruction of what my ancestors “believed to be true;” and now I am using education to make available what I believe to be true, only to have then to translate it into Western forms of understanding.

Chapter 5 – Patterns of Constraint in “Doing School”

Chapter 4 was predominately focused on the institution, where I began by locating and identifying the corpus of discourse samples on “doing school.” After identifying the corpus, a textual analysis was completed to get a better understanding of how discourse and aspects of texts worked to construct what it meant to “do school” at the institution. Identifying primary institutional discourses of what it meant to “do school” was crucial to understanding how “doing school” interacted socially, hegemonically, and ideologically. In this chapter, I compose a matrix developing Fairclough’s analytical topics of social practice, by revealing how “doing school” emerged locally, socially, and ideologically. The matrix was developed in relation to my second of three research questions: What colonizing mechanisms do Native/Indigenous students encounter that construct the institution as modern boarding schools?

Uncovering institutional discourses was significant in understanding how “doing school” interacts socially and ideologically. Fairclough’s notion of social matrix of discourse was used to understand how the discourses around citizenship and marketplace constrain how to “do school.” During this part of the analysis my lens as a university practitioner was helpful in revealing the discourses that control “how to do school” at the institutional level. As a practitioner, I am an agent acting on behalf of the institution. My concern is both student focused and institutional focused, operating on the best interests of both the students and the institution. However, most often times than not I inhibited liminal spaces as a Native scholar, student, and practitioner. Those liminal spaces provided for unique tensions of competing interests.

Patterns

The goal of the study was to find a regulatory pattern of how students were to behave and what is expected of them while navigating the institution. In this section, I will describe the two groups of patterns that emerged in the examination of “doing school” at the University. Since “doing school” at the University was framed within the Student Experience Outcomes, the first grouping is focused on what the Student Experience Outcomes are in relation to the institution, where they are located, and how the outcomes are enacted. The next grouping of patterns concentrate on what the Student Experience Outcomes are ideologically.

“Doing School” – Institutional Expectations

The Student Experience Outcomes provided significant insight into the University’s expectations, values, and practices around “doing school.” Uniform patterns across the corpus revealed the strong significance the University put on the Student Experience Outcomes in shaping what it means to successfully “do school” for students as well as where the Outcomes are enacted in the student experience. Collectively these documents described the Outcomes as a “framework” or “frame” of an undergraduate experience, “critical elements of the student experience”, example of “exceptional” education and helpful in “positioning for success” as shown in Table 5.

Table 5
Framework of successfully “doing school”

Orientation Book	<p>“By advancing these outcomes you are positioning yourself for success”</p> <p>“This is an example of the University’s commitment to exceptional teaching and learning”</p> <p>“These outcomes provide a framework for your undergraduate</p>
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	experience”
Policy	<p>“...these outcomes will frame our concept of an undergraduate education”</p> <p>“These outcomes measure characterize the values that an institution has articulated across a number of important areas. The [University] has developed two sets of outcomes...”</p> <p>“...to be the recipe for a successful graduate with a baccalaureate degree.”</p>
Website	“The University is committed to providing the best undergraduate experience possible for its students and to prepare them for the next stage in their lives together the [outcomes] are entwined as critical elements of the student experiences”

In addition to the Student Experience Outcomes providing a framework for the undergraduate experience, patterns in the corpus also revealed where and how the Outcomes should be enacted into practice by both the institution and the student. Across the documents, the Outcomes highlighted ways in which faculty members are able to enact the Outcomes in the student learning experience, particularly in their curriculum, syllabi and assessment of student learning. Additionally, the Outcomes also provide insight into what the University believed the students should be doing in school. Those activities include things like “service-learning programs, volunteer programs, internships and learning abroad programs” as shown in Table 6.

Table 6
Institutional & Student Expectations

<i>Orientation Book</i>	“You [students] are expected to be involved in activities that help you build on these areas [outcomes] such as service-learning programs, volunteer programs, internships, learning abroad programs and student activities.”
Policy	“[Outcomes] will guide faculty across the University to help develop curricula, plan individual courses, design syllabi, construct learning activities, and assess student learning that occurs in every aspect of the student experience – their classes, their undergraduate research experiences, their service-learning opportunities, their internship, and their learning abroad.”

	<p>“In addition, faculty will be able to refer to these outcomes as they discuss expectations for student engagement and participation in the classroom”</p> <p>“In addition, they [outcomes] should also provide a framework for students and advisers in discussion of the goals of the undergraduate curriculum”</p> <p>“...the outcomes can be assessed in the context of students’ employment, undergraduate research experience, service-learning opportunities, their internship, and learning abroad, as well as variety of curricular and co-curricular activities.”</p>
Website	<p>“The University is dedicated to finding ways for students to participate in activities and programs that build on these areas [outcomes].”</p>

In addition to revealing patterns of how the Outcomes define and shape “doing school,” at the University, ideological patterns emerged. The policy document provided insightful background on the University’s ideological shift in what it meant to “do school.” The policy document acknowledged a shift in how the University characterized undergraduate education.

Until recently, an undergraduate education was characterized most often by its input characteristics. The combination of a student who demonstrated excellent achievement in high school and excellent performance on standardized tests and a curriculum that addresses both broad liberal education goals and the focus of a major field taught by exceptional faculty were presumed to be the recipe for a successful graduate with a baccalaureate degree.

Previously the University focused on inputs to characterize what it meant to “do school.” An undergraduate education was characterized by what the students brought with them (previous achievement in high school and standardized tests) and what faculty brought to the curriculum. The current focus has shifted such that:

The emphasis in undergraduate education has shifted in a dramatic way to focus on what students have learned and what they are able to do when they complete their bachelor's degree. These outcomes measures characterize the values that an institution has articulated across a number of important areas.

The Outcomes helped to frame the ways in which the University conceptualizes what it means to “do school” for students. This shift from focusing on an education that is concerned with who is coming into the institution to what students can do afterward is indicative of shifting ideologies, restructuring the very foundation of how students are expected to “do school.”

Dominant Ideological Patterns

The second set of patterns revolved around particular ideologies that emerged across the corpus of “doing school.” These particular sets of beliefs are present within the explanation and purpose of the Outcomes, within specific outcomes, and within student interpretation of specific outcomes.

Marketplace Ideology.

Patterns of marketplace ideology were present in the *Orientation Book*. In the *Orientation Book* the Outcomes were described as commodities or skills students can use to their advantage post-graduation and prepare them for their next phase of life. For example, according to the *Orientation Book*, “the hope is that [outcomes], in bold below, prepare you to speak about your experience and knowledge.” Additionally, the Outcome's website emphasized student preparation post-graduation, “the University is committed to providing the best undergraduate experience possible for its students and to prepare them for the next stage in their lives together the [outcomes] are entwined as

critical elements of the student experiences.” Furthermore, marketplace ideology was similarly evident in how current students interpreted particular Student Experience Outcomes in the *Orientation Book* see examples in Table 7.

Table 7
Outcomes & Student Interpretations

Outcomes	Student Interpretation
Can communicate effectively	Have the ability to ability to articulate how your interest, strengths, values and motivations related to your intended major(s)
Can identify, define, and solve problems	Demonstrate your ability to play out your degree requirements to put yourself in a position to graduate in a timely manner
Have mastered a body of knowledge and mode of inquiry	Use what you learned in your coursework with what interests you to find out more about something new
Have acquired skills for effective citizenship and lifelong learning	Embrace the liberal education requirements, as it will prepare you for the continually shifting increasing complex world we live in

Each outcome shown in Table 7 is very individualized in nature. Focusing on “doing school” in this way, steeps identities of students “in forms of competitive, self-interested individualism that celebrate their own material and ideological advantages” (Giroux, 2002, p.451). The students are expected to “define their identities as commodities and present themselves simply as objects to be advertised and consumed” (Giroux, 2002, p.426). According to Giroux (2002) as corporate culture gain dominance in higher education, there is a need for “people either to surrender or narrow their capacities for engaged politics in exchange for market-based values, relationships, and identities. Market forces have dramatically changed the language we use in both representing and evaluating human behavior and action” (p.426). As a consequence, “individual and social agency is defined largely through market-driven notions of individualism, competition, and consumption” (Giroux, 2002, p.426). Thus, in market oriented discourse, corporate

culture becomes the framework “for the good life and the paradigmatic sphere for defining individual success and fulfillment” (Giroux, 2002, p.428). The Student Experience Outcomes define individual student success, according to the Student Experience Outcomes Policy, “[outcomes] define what students will be able to do when they have completed any undergraduate degree, regardless of major at the University.” Those notions of student success are wrapped up in marketplace ideology emphasizing students as commodities and to present themselves simply as objects to be advertised and consumed (Giroux, 2002). Giroux (2002) argued the concern of “such circumstances is not simply that ideas associated with freedom and agency are defined through the prevailing ideology and principles of the market...” (p.428). Additionally, according to Dowd and Bensimon (2015) marketplace ideologies mask racial inequalities in school.

The dominant themes of democratic equality, social efficiency, and social mobility are so ideologically embedded in education policy discourse that they function as ‘majoritarian’ master narratives. Practitioners who have a majoritarian worldview do not see evidence of racial injustice in racial equity gaps because they believe that existing educational structures provide equal opportunity and social mobility. They tend to attribute unequal participation and achievement in education to the cultural pathologies and deficit of minoritized groups, or to the failure of individuals from those groups to do what is necessary for academic success. (p.14-15)

Marketplace ideologies affect “doing school” in praxis by both the student and the practitioner.

Citizenship Ideology.

In conjunction with marketplace ideology, the Student Experience Outcomes also presented a strong pattern around citizenship. The pattern emerged largely around what type of graduate the University sought to produce, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8
Producing citizens

<i>Orientation Book</i>	“The [outcomes] help students become lifelong learners and engaged and effective citizens.”
Policy	“The outcomes provide comprehensive goals that ensure the University graduates are responsible and engaged citizens to participate and meet the challenges of a complex, diverse and global society.” “Students need a set of skills that will allow them to function as citizens of the University and the boarder community.”
Outcome	Have acquired skills for effective citizenship and lifelong learning

Similar to the boarding school era and the ideology around using education as a powerful cultural transformation tool and the key to social control and improvement, “doing school” at the University is also steeped in sharing a common identity of what it means to be a citizen. According to Bush and Bush (2015) citizenship is tied to the benefit of belonging. At the University, in order to belong at the institution, an emphasis is put on being a successful student. Furthermore, being a successful student is defined by the Student Experience Outcomes, which are saturated in marketplace ideology, shown in Table 9 from a textual analysis of the *Orientation Book*.

Table 9
Belonging at the University: Textual Analysis

<i>Orientation Book</i>	“In order for you to thrive , you need to understand how to navigate the campus and its many resources.”
	“The goal of this publication – and of everyone on campus – is to help you thrive in this great living and learning environment so you feel like you belong here.”
	“By advancing these outcomes [referring to the Student Experience

	Outcomes] you are positioning yourself for success. ”
Textual Analysis	“Thrive” and “Success” embody cohesion and connect all three sentences, using “success” (noun) and “thrive” (verb) in elaborating creating the social reality of what it is meant to be a successful student at the University

Connecting student success in “doing school” with notions of citizenship at the University parallel government policies in the 19th and 20th century to develop allegiances and a sense of community with the White population. Similarly, in the United States, according to Bush and Bush (2015) during the 18th and 19th centuries “citizenship became the architect of legitimate social inequality as individuals and groups were assigned different stations in society” (p.8). Those stations have historically and inherently corresponded to racial status. Bush and Bush (2015) argued those individuals who have been able to transcend those assigned stations have successfully assimilated “because of their ethnic (American) values...for those who have not done so, it is due to shortcomings in their cultural values” (p.16).

A common identity evokes the question of who belongs. According to Bush and Bush (2015) “the question of who belongs (and which entitlements their belonging implies) has vacillated between tangible notions of naturalization and citizenship, unambiguous birthrights, and an ambiguous notion that being ‘American’ corresponds to a particular belief system” (p.18). As the University focuses on producing graduates who are responsible and engaged citizens, together with a marketplace ideology in what it means to be a “student,” they create criteria for what it means to belong as a student. Belonging is steeped within the language and images of corporate culture. According to Giroux (2002), “within the language and images of corporate culture, citizenship is portrayed as an utterly privatized affair whose aim is to produce competitive self-

interested individuals vying for their own material and ideological gain” (p. 428).

Scholars like Giroux (2002) argue within education, as the marketplace ideology extends, the creation of engaged citizens is sacrificed to corporate culture.

One wonders where this type of madness is going to end. But one thing is clear:

As society is defined through the culture and values of neoliberalism

(marketplace), the relationship between a critical education, public morality, and

civic responsibility as conditions for creating thoughtful and engaged citizens are

sacrificed all too willingly to the interest of financial capital and the logic of

profit-making. (p.427)

Thus, higher education becomes less about higher learning but more about gaining a better opportunity in the job market and of upward mobility, transcending any previous stations in society. The ideologies presented in the Student Experience Outcomes provide imagery that reinforces the “American Dream,” a dream built on notions of upward mobility and Euro centrism.

American Dream

The American Dream is based on the idea of opportunity for upward mobility.

According to Bush and Bush (2015), upward mobility can be associated with “economic mobility (home ownership, education, wealth, endless opportunity), family and community ties, political notions of freedom, and/or spiritual well-being” (p.95).

The narrative of the American Dream was historically constructed within the European conquest and the colonization of Indigenous peoples and “the existence of the United States as a ‘presumed’ White nation for most of its history is of great significance to the maintenance of the story of the American Dream” (Bush & Bush, 2015, p.95).

Bush and Bush (2015) offer insight into individuals who have been excluded from the American Dream in the “presumed White nation.”

Nothing is clearer to those who have historically been excluded from the benefits of the American Dream than the fact that the United States is a deeply divided society in which inequalities are justified by the supposedly different cultures of some groups, which in turn isolate them from the economic mainstream and its values. This U.S. civic nationalism has been the glue of the U.S. civil society, serving not only as the basis for the idea of U.S. exceptionalism but also the focus of a set of counterhegemonic discourses and practices from those at the margins of U.S. society and those in the periphery of the U.S. dominated world-system, whose strengths have varied over time. (p.16)

The University provides a vehicle for individuals to obtain the American Dream. For non-White individuals this means successfully assimilating to American notions of success and upward individual mobility. The American Dream offers the notion that upward mobility is both possible and limitless, which Bush and Bush (2015) argued “provided just the rationale to garner loyalty to ideological rules and principles of capitalism and white supremacy. This justification implied that those who succeed are worthy, while those who do not succeed are not worthy or deserving” (p.95). Just as notions of nationhood and capitalism shaped assimilation in the boarding school era, similar ideological notions of the marketplace and citizenship permeate how to “do school” today. It has become hegemonically embedded in our institutions. Thus, practices and policies like the Student Experience Outcomes become mechanisms of coloniality,

coloniality that seeks to assimilate students into a White nation by using marketplace tactics as markers of success.

At the University, in order to belong at the institution, an emphasis is put on being a successful student. For Native students, being successful at an institution is less about social mobility and opportunity but more aligned with helping their communities. For example, one student in the focus group expressed “a lot of the time we are going to school because of our families and our communities so we can go back and contribute to them or be supportive in the ways that we can with our education.” For students, like myself, “doing school” was never motivated by wanting to belong to the mainstream or institutional community; “doing school” was motivated by wanting to help our communities back home. We already have a community back home, and for me being a member of the Menominee Nation is always more important than being an American citizen. Do Native students need to “belong” in order to be successful at the institution? What does this “belonging” mean to the institution and the students?

Scholars like Ahmed and Iverson offered insight on non-White students, like Native students as a guests and/or and outsiders of higher education institutions. Iverson’s work focuses on diversity discourses in higher education that construct subordinate images of non-White students and “reinscribe a racially neutral conception of educational policies” (2007, p. 593). One of the discourses that she presented constructs images of racially minoritized groups, including Indigenous people as outsiders of the institution. She labeled this discourse, the diversity discourse of access. It is concerned with the improvement of recruitment, retention and advancement of practices developing three discursive strands of discourse, entrée, representation and affirmation of diverse

individuals. Iverson suggests that these discourses come together to produce the idea that the diverse individual is an outsider of the institution and dominant culture (Iverson, 2005, pp.196-197). Iverson also argued this type of emphasis of diversity is concerned with “opening access for people of color, supporting their entrance to and participation in the university, and increasing numbers of people of color to achieve ‘critical masses’” (2007, p. 593). This discourse works to produce “sameness” in the student body experience, with the White, male experience as the most commonly situated norm (2007).

Similarly, Ahmed (2012) presented an understanding of diversity as a structural position of institutional guest. She has made the case for higher education institutions as White spaces that have been historically oriented to value middle class White norms and have a dominant narrative around Whiteness. She explained the nature of “diversity work is often described in terms of the language of integrating or embedding diversity into the ordinary work or daily routines of an organization” (Ahmed, 2012, p. 23). When institutions work to embed or integrate diversity into their institutions she argued it is often times analogous to notion of “conditional hospitality” where diversity is welcomed with conditions. Specifically, welcomed on condition that diversity will work to integrate into organizational culture or allow institutions to celebrate their diversity. In this explanation, she referenced Kuokkanen’s work around hospitality. Kuokkanen (2007) offered an understanding of hospitality as “practices of welcoming guests into a space that is considered to be somehow belonging to the host, whether the host is an individual or a group” (p. 128). She explained that hospitality suggests a “relationship and is other-oriented in the sense that host and guest are expected to look to each other’s needs and well-being” (Kuokkanen, 2007, p. 128). Kuokkanen, (2007) also referenced the “law of

hospitality” as an unconditional unquestioned welcome and argued, “the academy represents itself as a welcoming host, but not without conditions” (p.131). Institutions only welcome diversity on the conditions that represent “legacies of structures of domination and mechanisms of control” and continue the institutional “complicity in colonialism” (Kuokkanen, 2007, p.131). Ahmed explained, “this very structural position of being the guest, or the stranger, the one who receives hospitality, allows an act of inclusion to maintain the form of exclusion” (2012, p.43). Historically and currently this proves to be true around access of individuals who have been labeled as non-White, like Native Americans.

Chapter 6: Warrior for what – The good guy or the bad guy?

In this study, Fairclough's analytical tools in Critical Discourse Analysis were used to find the patterns in "doing school" at the University. Critical Discourse Analysis represented the critical approach of my theoretical framework, Critical Indigeneity. CDA was used to interrogate higher education and its production and maintenance of colonialism, with a focus on understanding how it is embedded locally, socially, ideologically and hegemonically. This chapter sought to dissociate from Western understandings of 'truth' and knowledge creation, decolonize and move forward Indigenous knowledge. Critical Indigenous scholars focus on Indigenous knowledge that is relational to people and place and for that reason student stories are used in this chapter to make meaning of the insight drawn from my CDA analysis. According to Kovach (2009), the approach of "interpreting and making meaning within Indigenous inquiry is equally systematic, though less linear. For Indigenous researchers, there is a propensity to present findings in story form...the truth of the stories are held within the life context of the storyteller" (p.131). As a result, this chapter seeks to use the insight from Critical Discourse Analysis to reveal understanding on how the ideologies that constrain "how to do school" at the University work hegemonically on Native students to create sites of colonization. My third of three research questions guides my interpretation: What are the sites of colonization and how do students assimilate, acculturate, and resist colonization in these sites?

According to Fairclough (1992), hegemony occurs when ideologies become naturalized through action, when they become conceptions of the world, that are implicitly manifested in social societies and its' institutions, like education. One way that

ideologies become naturalized is through language, specifically discourse. In this study, the notion of ideological and political effects of discourse were used to identify how the institutions construct subjects ideologically and discursively, in the presence of an unambiguously dominant ideological discursive formation(s) (IDF). Fairclough (2015) argued along with being perceived as norms of the institution these norms are also viewed “as merely skills or techniques which must be mastered in order for the status of competent institutional subjects to be achieved” (p.42). The ideological discursive formation, or the inseparable ways of talk and seeing of “doing school” are guided by notions of the marketplace and Americanism. Those ideologies have been unchallenged and are perceived as norms of the institution as revealed through the analysis of the Student Experience Outcomes.

Navigating Multiple “Worlds”

In order to successfully “do school” at the University, students must comply with the Student Experience Outcomes, which are steeped in marketplace ideologies and aligned with citizenship. For Native students, this meant an alignment to an American identity at the demise of their tribal community. As I reflect on my own experience, I have always felt this sense of conflict with being American. That is not an identity that is salient for me, I identify as being Menominee. Attending school on the reservation, my nationhood was always aligned with my tribal community. Our Menominee values and mission were incorporated in how we “did school.” For example, in the morning we recited both the American Pledge of Allegiance and the Menominee Pledge of Allegiance, “I dedicate my efforts of this day to my own bright future the honor of those who love me and the dignity and progress of the Menominee Nation.” Additionally, our

language and our flag were visible in our institutions and became my dominant lens through which I saw the world, through my Menominee-Indigenous lens. It was not until going to school off the reservation where I noticed that my dominant lens was in opposition with “how to do school.” My dominant lens became something I used outside of school, understanding that I have to navigate multiple worlds and realities, my home-community world and my school world, the White man’s world. In college, I experienced a collision of these multiple “worlds,” during a protest of Columbus Day, the Native student group organized an Indigenous Peoples Day event. This event included presenting facts about Columbus and his ties to genocide and violence of Native people, as well as a few of us wearing our pow-wow regalia. While I had my regalia on, my fellow non-Native students felt the need to touch me without my permission. It reminded me that my presence as Native student on campus was a “spectacle” for non-Native students, something foreign to the space, something that doesn’t belong. Similarly, for Native students in my focus group, advancing these outcomes created sites of conflict, just like the logic of the boarding schools of the 19th century, they felt “doing school” at the University was working to assimilate and acculturate them.

The students in my focus group, when asked about “doing school” and its association with assimilation, felt a conflict within “doing school,” the conflict of having to navigate multiple “worlds” and constantly having to negotiate one over the other.

This one's really at the forefront of my whole research. So I'm interested like I said in traditional ecological knowledge, you know the Indigenous way of knowing the world, and that's contrasted to Western Science. So, it's right at the forefront of my research. What I'm looking at, it's like when we go to school, you

know it's arithmetic, it's science, that's what's being drilled into our heads, from preschool all the way up. There's nothing bad about that stuff, it's stuff that we need, tools we need to survive in the world, but it goes counter against our identities as indigenous people.

Students felt a level of dissonance with “doing school,” because historically “doing school” meant the colonization, the eradication, genocide and assimilation of their people.

You know through our teaching, whether it's oral teaching versus literature, the written word. And like, with the research that I'm doing it's like how can we take oral knowledge, traditional ecological knowledge, and apply it to climate change, something that affects both Western science, and traditional ecological knowledge. You know, without writing it down for non-Indigenous people to utilize. So, I think that's something that I wrestle with like every single day, because I think we all know how beneficial Indigenous knowledge is to the rest of the world, but we shouldn't necessarily make it accessible to non-Natives.

Because then that leads to exploitation, that leads to them coming into our communities and taking that knowledge from us. Which leads to eradication, genocide, assimilation, colonization. But yeah, that's just something I wrestle with every single day. It's like am I the bad guy or the good guy?

Counter to the type of graduates that the University seeks to produce, Native students' main motivation in “doing school” is give back to their communities, because their communities and family are a main priority.

Yeah. I think because, again as Native people our families and our communities

come first. A lot of the time we are going to school because of our families and our communities so we can go back and contribute to them or be supportive in the ways that we can with our education.

Students intend on going back home to their communities and fully recognize that “doing school” is not aligned with who they are and their belief systems back home.

This wasn't made for us, like the schooling, the professional school, and graduate school is not designed around the way we were brought up, so just know that we came into this and we have to go back home after. That we are very aware that we don't belong here.

Not only do students feel like they don't belong at the University, they felt a strong focus on individualism, citing the American Dream as a focus of “doing school,” believing that hard work manifests in individual social mobility.

I think it's a blend of the American dream. You know, it's like you got to go get yours. And leave the community behind or leave where you came from behind. I think it's what we're trained to do from birth. In the broader society. Maybe not from our families or in our cultures or communities. So you get that rub, that we're always thinking about how to go get this degree and earn this much money. So, I can get the things that I want. Not necessarily need but want. So I think about that a lot. Like, [other student] said how it's more positioning yourself to make yourself better versus the original plan, and the original instructions of how to contribute to your community, or your family, or your society, whatever that might be. So, that's just something I think about.

For Native students, “doing school” encapsulated the feeling of needing to navigate and

negotiate multiple “worlds.” These feelings posed a strong internal and ideological conflict, from feeling like their home and school communities were incongruent. A symptom of colonization, Garner (2014) argued we need to be attentive to the complexity of colonialist interactions. Those interactions have posed internal ideological conflicts for students. We must be careful to not extend the controversial “walking two worlds” troupe - Indigenous scholars have argued “to attend to the layered and complex interactions so common in a settler colonialism” which require a “delicate dissection of the past and present” (Buss & Genetin-Pilawa, 2014, p.8). With that being said, the perceived incongruence provided for strong implications for the ways in which the University operate similar to the 19th and 20th century boarding schools, incorporating notions of removal, assimilation, acculturation and elimination for Native students.

Removal

Similar to boarding schools, the likelihood of assimilation and acculturation occurring increased when the child was removed from their home community. At the institution, students felt that in order to “do school” that they had to endure that same sense of removal from their home communities.

Yeah. I got to come from my ancestral lands, my tribal lands, over here to get a fancy degree in this specific area. To come back to my tribal lands to tell them, or to help explain how we've been managing for the past 150-200 years. I think just the removal of geographic place is colonization, because it's taking me out of my natural element. Where I'm used to being, and where I have my roots, and translating me into an area where I don't necessarily feel a connection to. I mean I'm starting to develop a connection, I've been here what a year and a half now, and I'm just now starting to

feel comfortable in the area. But it's the removal in order to gain knowledge that feels assimilated. Cultural genocide, you know it's really working, it's still working in the education system I guess.

Similar to Pratt's educational philosophy in the boarding school era, the University continues to move Natives away from their tribal socialistic communal way of life to an "American" capitalistic individual way of life (Adams, 1994; Reyhner & Eder, 2004; Spring, 2013). Just like the boarding school era, the University is working to create a uniform culture, operating like a forceful weapon of colonialism that assimilates students by eradicating or weakening indigenous identity (Battiste, 2000; Grande, 2015).

Assimilation & Acculturation

In the boarding school era, the United States Government used educational opportunity as a form of social control through the idea of citizenship. At the University, the idea of citizenship still strongly prevails, as the goal of "doing school." According to Student Experience Outcomes policy, "students need a set of skills that will allow them to function as citizens of the University and the boarder community." In order to be able to function as citizens, students need to perform school in a particular way; this performance is based in a Whiteman hegemonic framework. For Native students this comes into conflict with their Native identity, constantly battling two systems of knowledge. This performance and conflict are both recognized by students.

I think for me it's the whole experience [of doing school]. Again, it's that whole battle of the two systems of knowledge that constantly going on in my head.

Some days it's like I'm learning how to study my own people, and write down the knowledge, or publish the knowledge or whatever I'm going to do with it. So, that

feels very assimilative to me, versus I don't even know what you would call a traditional way of doing it nowadays, because it's become so influenced by mainstream society, mainstream culture. I mean I think we were talking earlier about graduation. Putting on the funny gowns, and funny hats, it's like that's what we do to celebrate, and that's backwards. It's like why are we putting on these weird hats and robes, it's like Hogwarts man. I don't know. It doesn't feel natural to me.

In addition to a battle of two systems of knowledge, students also felt like they couldn't "be Native" in school.

You're a student so [you] can't be Native. Like, I couldn't go home for Ceremony or a Pow-Wow, or anything because I had to study. So, I feel like, when you're a student it's like you're a student, you can't have time for anything else really, unless it's in the city, or where you are.

Because being Native meant they "did school" different than what was expected.

I think with Professor's because we have like bench [clinical] Professor's, and I have had to tell them right away like, oh, like I'm Dakota or whatever, because they think I'm standoffish. I'm just like no, I'm listening to you, I'm trying to learn.

The students made mention of interacting differently with their professors.

I agree. I think sometimes teachers don't think I'm participating because I like to really like reflect before I say something, and give an honest answer. I've definitely had like students and professors say like why aren't you talking, and I'm like I'm thinking about it, give me a second. I'd rather have a thoughtful answer than to give a quick, thoughtless answer.

They felt their “differing” interactions were incorrectly attributed to their personality and not to their cultural values, “So I think that people, because like the way we were raised, to listen and be quiet, they think it's a personality trait.” The students also felt like the learning environment was restrictive and not inclusive for Native students.

Ok, so I think that Professors kind of have a one set mind track of how to teach a certain class. And it's kind of difficult to be a Native student, and learn from that, and also be able to take that on into your future career. I think you said something before about having your hair a certain way. And for me, it was like certain ideas of how to handle your clients and stuff like that. Just I think Professors have one big truth that think is correct for how to teach their students how to be a professional. It's not going to align with at least me but I also think other Native students as well.

Not only do students not feel comfortable to “be Native” when “doing school,” they also feel like their success in school is at the demise of their Native identity.

I think once we do graduate with whatever degrees, we are graduates not Natives any more. Like I'll be a Professional, not really like a Native Professional. It's kind of like you're now this you're not what you used to be, kind of thing. I get that vibe.

In order to be successful in “doing school” Native students felt the need to assimilate and acculturate into Whiteman society. To move forward the settler colonial state, the University becomes the “mode of franchise for Westerners, an assimilating and ultimately dispossessing technique of settler colonialism for Indigenous peoples” (Simpson, 2015, p.80).

Elimination

Elimination of the Indigenous people is the ultimate goal of the settler colonial state and students certainly felt a sentiment of elimination while “doing school.” They associated feelings of elimination with University’s practice of creating a homogenous Native student population.

I think what they like to do specifically Native students is make it very broad and clump us all together. Like me I'm Oneida, I don't have like certain beliefs that are the same as Dakota or something like that. I had to teach that to my class one time, like their two totally different tribes, and I think the school I think likes to clump us all together, and that kind of sucks to me.

The students emphasize the diversity of tribes and implications of serving all different tribal needs.

I guess just the most important thing is that there are different sub-groups, within the Native American student population and they all have their own needs. It's not kind of a one size fits all for the whole groups. Just like there are different tribes, there are different needs.

Instead of recognizing individual tribal needs, students felt the University homogenized their experience as a Native student. Additionally, students also provided insight on how the University further homogenized their experience, by distinguishing experiences in the Native population.

I never thought about this until I came here. The Native American student group population in general, they always clump us together. Like you said, we are all different tribes, but the institution just sees us as one homogenous group. We're just

brown kids, you know, coming from poor areas, so we have to help them as much as we can. Yet we all come from different backgrounds and different privileges, whether it is Urban Indians or Res [reservation] Indians, but even within those two groups there's multiple groups. People who went to school off Res [reservation], people who went to school on Res [reservation]. People who went to Private schools in Urban settings, people who went to Public settings, so we all come equipped with different school sets in communities, and different backgrounds.”

Not only is “doing school” at the University created through a White hegemonic lens, it also works as a successfully strategy to eliminate unique tribal identities and communities. In order for settler colonial project to be successfully achieved, strategies to eliminate Native peoples through the logic of Whiteness and White supremacy are needed to be present.

Sites of resistance & survival – “Negate what negates us”

According to Smith (2012) the “Indigenous peoples’ project” for the past 500 years had one priority, survival” (p.111). She explained that this involved survival from the aftermath of war with the colonizers, disease, dislocation from lands, and “the oppression of living under unjust regimes; survival at a basic human level and as peoples with our own distinctive languages and cultures” (Smith, 2012, p.111). While for many Indigenous people basic human survival is still a priority, decolonization has become a source of empowerment and resistance. Decolonization seeks to actively resist colonial paradigms and, according to Cree scholar, Winona Wheeler, decolonization is empowering. It offers “a belief that situations can be transformed, a belief and trust in our own people’s values and abilities, and willingness to make change. It is about

transforming reactionary energy into the more positive rebuilding energy needed in our communities” (Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004, p.71). Students offered similar notions of transformation and empowerment about their experience at the University. Explaining how their connections back home help them survive and resist.

You got to maintain your roots back home. Maintain your sense of self. You know call mom, call dad, call grandparents. Reach out, and you really got to find those other Native students, or else you're not going to survive. At least from my perspective, that's how I feel.

Another student suggested having a good support back home and to just “stick it out” in school.

I think the same thing. Make sure you have good support, back home and where you are. And try not to think of it in terms of time. Because it can be a long time away from home, so try not to think about how much you're going to miss. Just kind of stick it out, and you probably won't miss a whole lot when you go back. For real.

Students also suggested involving family as much as possible in the education experience to help maintain ties back home and eliminate removal from happening.

Involve your family as much as you can. Bring your family here, give them tours. Get them familiar with the Native programs here so they don't feel like they're detached from their kid anymore. It kind of feels like you're swallowed up in the “[school mascot],” you see tailgating, and you don't see like saging. You don't see this anymore. So, I think involve your family. Bring them to events. Like, I know I try to bring my mom to everything just so I can feel like this is where I'm at 90%

of the time, but this is who I grew up with 90% of the time. So, I think just being on campus as much as you can with your family, and making them feel like they're a student too. Like, they are the ones whose spirit I bring with me to take the class, so I want to keep them all involved. I think that's it.

According to Pochedly in order to decolonize (2015) “we must begin to refuse and re-think, re-imagine our traditions in our everyday lives - how we think about land, government, education, etc.” (p. 289). These students are re-imagining what it means to “do school” for them, they understand that these spaces are not meant for them, one student mentioned, “I think the way that universities, predominantly White universities have been set up is definitely through colonization, right. They were created by White men. Which have been the dominating power of this country for a long time...” Scholars have suggested that decolonization can only occur when colonialism and colonization are recognized as ever present and as a naturalized part of societal norms and individual experiences (Grande, 2015; Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004; Pochedly, 2015). Instead of being removed from their families like the boarding school era, students are finding ways to maintain those connections and keeping them a priority, refusing removal and re-thinking their educational experience. Similar to their ancestors and their resiliency in the boarding school era, Child (2014) explained “the extraordinary part of the boarding story emerges because Indians, even children, refused to act powerless” (p.268).

In what ways are institutions modern day boarding schools?

Indigenous communities have suffered tremendously and students recognize that survival of their communities is important and vital. Ironically, a large part of the suffering that has historically occurred to Native communities is at the hands of colonial

education institutions. These institutions were designed to control Indigenous people, according to Child and Klopotek (2014), “to make them into safe neighbors and subjects of the state, with the expectation that with enough effort on the part of the pupils and their ‘superiors,’ they might eventually become integrated citizen in some degree” (p.4). During this time, colonial education institutions “used every conceivable means to eradicate indigenous knowledge and lifeways, keeping children away from their families and communities during times of their lives when they would typically learn vital information about what it means to be Ojibwe, Mohawk, or Hopi” (Child & Klopotek, 2014, p.3). As a result, vital information and knowledge systems were eliminated or severely obstructed, forcing Native families to “seek out educational opportunities so their children could survive in the new world order, but even in these circumstances, the kinds of education Native people received in colonial education institutions never matched their hopes” (Child & Klopotek, 2014, p.3). For these students, the motivation to pursue a college education is to help their communities.

Yeah. I think because, again as Native people our families and our communities come first. A lot of the time we are going to school because of our families and our communities so we can go back and contribute to them or be supportive in the ways that we can with our education.

They recognize that college educated tribal members are something that their communities need to survive in this world.

What I'm looking at, it's like when we go to school, you know it's arithmetic, it's science, that's what's being drilled into our heads, from preschool all the way up. There's nothing bad about that stuff, it's stuff that we need, tools we need to

survive in the world, but it goes counter against our identities as indigenous people.

Similar to the 20th century, current Native people are seeking out educational opportunities at colleges and universities to help themselves and their communities survive the effects of the colonial educational institutions of the past. However, this puts students in quite the predicament, in order to access the tools for their communities to survive in this settler state they need to be educated by the very institutions that help to create, maintain and sustain the settler state. Participation in these institutions has come at the detriment of the students' culture, identity, language, and tribal ways of knowing. In order to be successful at these institutions, like the University in this study, students have to conform to specific ways in "doing school." In this study, the Student Experience Outcomes govern what it means to be a "student" and what it means to be "doing school" at the University. Through Critical Discourse Analysis of the Student Experience Outcomes, it was revealed that "doing school" required students to participate in a marketplace, individualist society, focused on producing "engaged and effective citizens." With this in mind, scholars like Child and Klopotek (2015) ask a very important question, "After all, is the curriculum of most public schools that indigenous students attend today really radically different from the curriculum of the boarding schools in the 1930s?" (p.13).

Similar to their grandfathers and grandmothers in the boarding school era, students in this study, offered important insights on their experiences as Native students at the University. Their insights revealed sites of colonization, of which included feelings of removal, assimilation, acculturation, and elimination. Although, the boarding school

era has come and gone, its lasting effects of colonialism are still felt by current Native students but also by the institutions of today. The conditions created during that era is so deeply rooted and so large that, under certain circumstances, it's a practically an inevitable feature of higher education today (Gilborn, 2008). Coloniality has been embedded and integrated in higher education, so much so that it has become normalized in how we "do school." Similar to the boarding school education, according to Tippeconnic III (2015) "the purpose of education remains to assimilate Indigenous peoples into the mainstream without serious consideration to cultural, linguistic, values and the devastating and disrespectful treatment of Indigenous peoples since colonization" (p.39).

Implications

According to Kovach (2009) Indigenous researchers have a demand to engage in three audiences in transferring the knowledge of our research, the Indigenous community, the other Indigenous researchers, and the non-indigenous academy and practitioners.

For Indigenous researchers, there are often three audiences with whom we engage in transferring the knowledge of our research: a) findings from Indigenous research must make sense to the general Indigenous community, b) schema for arriving at our findings must be clearly articulated to the non-Indigenous academy, and c) both the means for arriving at the findings and the findings themselves must resonate with other Indigenous researchers who are in the best position to evaluate our research. (Kovach, 2009, p.133-134)

The findings of this study suggest something different for each of these three audiences. For the Indigenous community the findings are helpful in making sense of our realities,

helping to make assumptions and predictions about the world we live in (Smith, 2012). For other Indigenous researchers the findings can assist in moving forward in the already established research agenda centered on decolonization and Indigenous knowledge. Lastly, for the non-indigenous academy and practitioners the findings are helpful in understanding the relative subordinate nature of native students in the university setting and how racial inequality may be reproduced through education policies at predominately White institutions.

For the Native community, understanding how institutions may operate as modern day boarding schools is helpful in making sense of the world we live in. It helps to deal with the contradictions and uncertainties we face, but also “gives space to plan, to strategize, to take greater control over our resistances (Smith, 2012, p.40). It is important to identify all of the old and new structures of colonialism that continue to distort, dehumanize and disenfranchise. In identifying the old and new structures of colonialism, the Native community can actively participate in their own decolonization, to begin to break or disrupt colonized systems in our ever day lives. According to Winona Wheeler, a Cree scholar, “a large party of decolonization entail developing a critical consciousness about the cause(s) of our oppression, the distortion of history, our collaboration and the degrees to which we internalized colonist ideas and practices” (Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004, p.71).

Just as it is important to move forward decolonization in the Native community, it just as important to move forward scholarship centered in decolonization and Indigenous knowledge. Understanding how institutions may operate as modern day boarding schools works to unmap the structures, process, and discourses of settler colonialism that occur in

higher education. Critical Indigenous scholars in this area have advanced the notion of “refusal” and negating what negates us, with the goal of creating an alternative, rather than to be included (Grande, 2015). Understanding the colonizing mechanisms and sites of colonization at a University, is helpful in critically re-examining, rebuilding, and re-establishing traditions and culture in education alternative to the products of colonial domination. This work is important to advance Indigenous knowledge as an alternative, disassociated from Western understanding of knowledge production. According to Smith (2012) “indigenous work has to ‘talk back to’ or ‘talk up to power’” in order to sustain for future generations (p.226).

Findings in this study provide significant insight for non-Native academics and higher education practitioners. To have a better understanding of how universities may operate as a modern day boarding school helps to better understand institutional Whiteness and can help mitigate educational inequalities – in particular those attributed to the Native community. In gaining insight in how policies and practices may situate and reveal the dominant discourse of White supremacy and coloniality helps to understand the reproduction of racial inequality in higher education, demonstrating the education institutions as White spaces. According to Dowd and Bensimon (2015) White superiority is so embedded in these White spaces that White students and practitioners are less aware of discrimination of non-White students.

...White students and practitioners are much less likely than their peers of color to see occurrences of racial discrimination and or to acknowledge that educational practice can cause “social harm.” Racism is such a “normal fact of daily life in U.S. society” that the ‘assumptions of White superiority are so ingrained in

political, legal and educational structures that they are almost unrecognizable.

(p.3)

These White spaces have been historically oriented to value middle class White norms and have a dominant narrative around Whiteness, which in this study is demonstrated in the Student Experience Outcomes and the sites of colonization.

When institutions work to integrate or include more racially diverse students, like Native students, into their institutions, scholars like Ahmed (2012) described that it is often times analogous to the notion of “conditional hospitality” where these students are welcomed with conditions. Specifically, Native students are welcome on condition that they will work to integrate or assimilate into the organizational culture or allow institutions to celebrate their diversity. Ahmed (2012) explained this type of hospitality suggests a practice of welcoming guests into a space considered to belong to a host. Institutions only welcome Native students on the conditions that represent “legacies of structures of domination and mechanisms of control” and continue the institutional “complicity in colonialism” (Kuokkanen, 2007, p.131). Ahmed explained, “this very structural position of being the guest, or the stranger, the one who receives hospitality, allows an act of inclusion to maintain the form of exclusion” (2012, p.43).

Scholars argued the significant role practitioners must play to resolve educational practices that resulting in inequitable educational experiences involve developing an awareness that “educational practices are rooted in culture and history, including racist practices, is necessary to address issues of racial inequalities” (Dowd & Bensimon, 2015, p.3). This study can help to give light to how educational practices are rooted in a historical and continual oppressive system.

This study was not a historiography, but couldn't be ahistorical, it was not solely a critical piece but needed to be critical in nature, it was not focused on students but needed student insight. My hope is that in bringing all these different pieces together, this study can provide helpful insight for the Indigenous community, Indigenous researchers, and the non-Indigenous academy and practitioners. I am hopeful that this study helps us to learn from our complicated history, a history engrossed in pain and struggle, and to expose wounds as a means to chart new education practices and policies that work to liberate all communities.

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Appendix A

Undergraduate Student Focus Group Protocol

The focus group questions are designed to gain a better understanding of what it means to be a student and how to “do school?” The ultimate goal is to get a better understanding of whether the policies and practices at the University of Minnesota operate as a modern day boarding school.

The semi-structured questions for the focus group include:

Why the University of Minnesota/Higher Education

- 1) Why did you decide to go to college?
- 2) When did you decide to come to the University and how did you make that decision?

Advice (“how to do school”)

- 1) What advice would you give to a prospective Native student about being successful at the University of Minnesota?

Family vs. University of Minnesota

- 1) What did you learn about college from your family?
- 2) For your perspective, how would your family describe your experience as a college student?
- 3) Describe the first time you visited your family/community after your first semester of at the University of Minnesota?

Identity (Native vs. Student)

- 1) What is one thing that symbolizes your Native identity?
- 2) In what ways does your Native identity show up on campus?
- 3) In what ways does your native and student identity work together in a college setting?
- 4) Are there parts of your student identity that don’t welcome your Native identity and vice versa?
- 5) Are there times were you had to hide your Native identity in your student experience?

Policies and Practices

- 4) Describe how you see yourself as a student?
- 5) Describe a time when you felt like your whole selves at the institution?
- 6) What are, if any spaces of belonging on campus?
- 7) What buildings do you frequent and why?

Refer to definition handout

- 8) Are there requirements and policies that feel assimilative? If yes, tell me more.
- 9) Are there ways in which the University is a site of colonization, acculturation, and assimilation?

- 10) Of all of the questions we talked about today what is the most important for me to take away?
- 11) Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix B

Graduate Student Focus Group Protocol

The focus group questions are designed to gain a better understanding of what it means to be a student and how to “do school?” The ultimate goal is to get a better understanding of whether the policies and practices at the University of Minnesota operate as a modern day boarding school.

The semi-structured questions for the focus group include:

Why Higher Education

- 1) Why did you decide to go to college?
- 2) Why did you decide to come back and get a graduate degree?

Advice (“how to do school”)

- 1) What advice would you give to a prospective Native student about being successful in college and graduate school?

Family vs. College

- 1) What did you learn about college from your family?
- 2) For your perspective, how would your family describe your experience as a college student?
- 3) Describe the first time you visited your family/community after your first semester in college?
- 4) Describe how your family treated or talked about you after you graduated with your bachelor’s degree?

Identity (Native vs. Student)

- 1) What is one thing that symbolizes your Native identity?
- 2) In what ways does your Native identity show up on campus?
- 3) In what ways does/did your native and student identity work together in a college setting?
- 4) Are there parts of your student identity that don’t welcome your Native identity and vice versa?
- 5) Are there times were you had to hide your Native identity in your student experience?

Policies and Practices

- 1) Describe a time when you felt like your whole selves at the institution?
- 2) What are, if any spaces of belonging on campus?

Refer to definition handout

- 3) Are there requirements and policies that feel assimilative? If yes, tell me more.
- 4) Are there ways in which the University is a site of colonization, acculturation, and assimilation?
- 5) Of all of the questions we talked about today what is the most important for me to take away?
- 6) Do you have any questions for me?