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California Tribal Nations and the University:  
Examining Institutional Relationships, Responsibility and Reciprocity

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy  
in Education

by

Theresa Jean Ambo

2017

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## ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

California Tribal Nations and the University: Examining Institutional Relationships,  
Responsibility and Reciprocity

by

Theresa Jean Ambo

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor Sylvia Hurtado, Chair

There is an educational attainment crisis among American Indian students in California's public colleges and universities, who continue to have the lowest college completion compared to any underrepresented group. California tribes believe that higher education can assist in the achievement of nation-building goals. However, close examination of how tribes and postsecondary institutions work together to ensure the success of American Indian students and their communities is necessary. This study examined contemporary relationships between tribal nations and public postsecondary universities in California. This nested, multiple case study used Tribal Critical Race Theory and community-campus partnership frameworks to understand how institutional agents articulate formal and informal relationships with local tribes. Case study sites consisted of two University of California campuses, non-federally recognized tribes, and proximally located federally recognized tribes. Documents and interviews with senior

administrators, American Indian unit heads, and tribal representatives were collected and analyzed to understand different perspectives on relationships with, responsibility to, and educational needs of tribes within and across sites.

Several findings emerged related to the limited knowledge university administrators had regarding American Indians broadly and the state of relations with California tribes. Findings demonstrate that formal relationships focused on federally recognized tribes and were dictated by federal, state or system-wide policies, educational resources, and economic opportunities. Conversely, informal relationships with non-federally recognized tribes were primarily maintained by university-based American Indian programs or departments. Representatives from American Indian units expressed the responsibility of universities to include and serve American Indian students and communities for democratic, reconciliatory, and ethical reasons. Last, participants identified current tribal needs for academic preparation, educational resources to support nation-building, and assistance with federal recognition applications, but also stressed the importance of consulting with tribes to address evolving needs.

Overall, this study offers significant recommendations for the case study sites, as well as public universities in California and nationally. From a substantive standpoint, this analysis adds to our understanding of factors that are important to advancing tribal-university relationships and partnerships. This study also expands on existing community-campus partnership frameworks, introducing a cultural-specific approach for incorporating tribes into university government and community relations activities.

The dissertation of Theresa Jean Ambo is approved.

Walter R. Allen

Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy

Teresa L. McCarty

Sylvia Hurtado, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2017

**DEDICATION**

For

Carmelita MaryLouise Gonzales Aguila

and Dolores Maria Aguila Stewart

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## VITA

- 2002            La Puente High School  
                  La Puente, California
- 2007            Bachelors of Arts, American Indian Studies  
                  University of California, Los Angeles  
                  Los Angeles, California
- 2013            Masters of Education in Student Affairs  
                  University of California, Los Angeles  
                  Los Angeles, California
- 2007-2008      Associate Director  
                  Seven Generations Program, United American Indian Involvement  
                  Los Angeles, California
- 2008-2013      Retention of American Indians Now Director  
                  University of California, Los Angeles  
                  Los Angeles, California
- 2013-2016      Graduate Research Analyst  
                  Higher Education Research Institute  
                  University of California, Los Angeles  
                  Los Angeles, California
- 2016-2017      Graduate Student Research Assistant  
                  Graduate School of Education and Information Studies  
                  University of California, Los Angeles  
                  Los Angeles, California

## PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

**Stewart Ambo, T.J.** (in press) Caregiving as refusal in the academy. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*.

**Stewart, T.J.** (in press) Predictors for American Indian/Alaska Native student leadership. In Minthorn, R. & Shotton, H. (Eds.) *Reclaiming Indigenous Research in Higher Education*. New York: Routledge.

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- Ruiz Alvarado, A., Hurtado, S. & **Stewart Ambo, T.** (2016). *The high-achieving low-income college student experience study: Jack Kent Cooke Scholars and a national comparative sample*, 134 pages. Los Angeles, CA: Higher Education Research Institute.
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- Agoyo, P, **Stewart Ambo, T.**, & Springer, M. (October 2016). *Developing Indigenous leadership in higher education*. Presentation at the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) convention preconference, Reno, NV.
- Hurtado, S., Ruiz-Alvarado, A., Halualani, R., & **Stewart Ambo, T.J.** (June 2016). *Organizing for equity and student success*. Presentation at the National Conference on Race and Ethnicity in American Higher Education (NCORE), San Francisco, CA.
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- Stewart, T.J.** (November 2015). *Building California Indian tribal communities: An in-depth examination of California Indian college student completion*. Paper presented at the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE) annual conference, Denver, CO.
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## CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

There is an educational attainment crisis among American Indian students in California's public colleges and universities. Findings from a recent report by the California Indian Cultural and Sovereignty Center (CICSC) at the California State University, San Marcos (CSUSM) on the state of American Indian and Alaska Native education in California demonstrated that students across the California State University and University of California systems continue to have the lowest four-year graduation rate compared to any underrepresented group – at 14 and 48 percent respectively (Proudfit & San Juan, 2012, p. 128). These rates compare to the national four-year completion rate of 19.8 percent for American Indian students at public institutions; lower than any underrepresented group, except Black students who complete at 18.1 percent (U.S. Department of Education, 2012). A recent report from the CICSC explains the importance of higher education for tribal nations, stating, "higher education is vital for tribal nations to effectively build sustainable economies, preserve Native language and cultural traditions, and advance in digital technologies" (Proudfit & Gregor, 2014, p. 6). Other scholars in American Indian education would agree that the health of tribal nations throughout the country is contingent on creating successful pathways for American Indian students to and through higher education (Brayboy, Fann, Castagno, & Solyom, 2012 & Solyom, 2012). In Indian Country, this means building pathways that also lead students back to their tribes to advance economic, political, and health outcomes.

The low educational attainment of American Indians in California's in public schools, and nationally, bring attention to what efforts of postsecondary institutions make to support California Indian student and community goals, and whether these efforts coincide with the needs and goals of tribal nations. To advance the educational and communal goals of tribal

members and communities, it is imperative that investigations are undertaken that begin to examine the relationships between postsecondary institutions and tribal nations. To begin to understand and address the low postsecondary enrollment and completion of American Indians in California, this multiple case study examined the relations between tribal nations and two public postsecondary institutions in California, as well as the education needs of tribes.

### **Problem Statement**

Central to this study is the advancement of California tribal nations and the educational attainment of American Indian students in California, specifically California tribal members. This study, therefore, focused on California Indian tribal nations in relation to specific public postsecondary institutional contexts. California presents a compelling case for examining community-campus relationships and partnerships between tribes and postsecondary institutions. California is home to the greatest number of tribes in the country compared to any other state – with over 150 federally and non-federally recognized tribes residing within the state’s borders (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). Additionally, tribes in California have collectively found the greatest success with economic development efforts (e.g. Indian gaming) (Rossum, 2011). Of the nearly 570 federally recognized tribes in the nation, 224 participate in Indian gaming or have casinos, and 68 of these tribes are located in California (Native American Rights Fund, n.d.). Evolving into a phenomenon, 45 percent of California tribes now have the economic resources to invest in tribal and non-tribal programs and services that advance the welfare of their tribal communities, as well as communities outside their immediate location or those from neighboring communities. In recent years, tribes with economic means have generously invested in public and private postsecondary institutions for the benefit their tribal members (Champagne & Stauss, 2002). Student scholarships, programmatic grants, endowments for academic and student

service programs, and even building and renovating campus structures on college and university campuses are some of the ways tribes have started to invest in postsecondary education (Champagne, 2003, 2005).

In California, there are several examples of tribes that have partnered with private and public programs in their local city, county and state, including secondary and postsecondary institutions. For example, San Manuel Band of Missions Indians gifted \$3 million to California State University, San Bernardino for the renovation of a student union (Champagne, 2005). Similarly, the same tribe gifted \$4.5 million to the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 2003 for the development of the Tribal Learning Community and Educational Exchange (TLCEE) program, which is aimed at the education of California Indian community members (Champagne, 2005; Collins & Rivera, 2013).

An incentive for California tribes to invest in postsecondary education, and American Indian tribes broadly, is to improve the educational attainment of tribal members, placing education the nexus of advancing tribal nations (Champagne, 2005). Therefore, it is concerning that American Indians in California, and nationally, continue to have the lowest academic attainment at nearly all levels. In California, these issues come to a head where low secondary and postsecondary educational outcomes of American Indians, low overall academic achievement, and increased dependence on private investments continue to fall under scrutiny because of tensions resulting since the introduction of the Master Plan and neoliberal influences (Burdman, 2009). However, it is uncertain whether relationships developed between tribes and postsecondary institutions have adequately satisfied the expectations and needs of Native nations. The answer to this question largely depends on the state of relationships between the tribes and universities, understandings of tribal needs, and expectations of reciprocity.

The investment of economic resources by tribes in postsecondary education broadly has shifted the relationship between tribal nations and higher education institutions – both colleges and universities – where tribes are seen as viable community partners. However, there are significant challenges universities should consider when partnering with tribes. The consistently low levels of educational attainment at all levels for American Indians in California is a compelling indicator of the relationship between tribes and higher education institutions. Not only do they reflect complicated colonial relationships between California tribes and institutionalized education, they also represent the relationships, respect, responsibility and reciprocity educational institutions have toward California Indian students and communities. The historic and contemporary context pertaining to tribal-institutional relations is outlined in the following section.

### **Tension with Historical Purpose and Mission of Higher Education**

Since its introduction to the United States in the late 1500 and early 1600s, higher education institutions have had a contentious relationship with American Indians (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; B. Wright, 1991; B. Wright & Tierney, 1991). The assimilative intentions of Western education have resulted in a long-term tension with American Indian lifeways and worldview. Reflecting on the historical purpose and mission of Western education – namely assimilation into non-Native epistemologies – we learn that higher education continues to present challenges to Native student success.

The Colonial Period gave birth to Indian colleges, including the College for the Children of the Infidels, Harvard University, William and Mary College, and Dartmouth College (Carney, 1999). While these early colleges were committed to serving American Indian students, the motivation was to assimilate Native people into the dominant colonial culture. Responses varied

to these attempts. However, this initial experience with Western education, decades of federally-mandated Indian boarding schools, failure to acknowledge Indian values, and efforts to eradicate Native cultures are suggested to be the primary reasons why American Indians continue to be weary of institutionalized education (Grande, 2015; B. Wright, 1991). This context is necessary for situating American Indian students within United States higher education today.

Today, the tension that continues to exist between American Indians and higher education is reflective of the assimilative nature of colonial education (Calloway, 2002; Carney, 1999), and is amplified by how institutions continue to “serve,” or fail to serve, Indian students and communities. Institutional missions are a driving force behind how colleges and universities prioritize their research, teaching and service agenda. The institution type determines and shapes institutional agendas, and for that matter, the nature of efforts engaged in on a daily basis. Universities and masters-granting comprehensive colleges, for example, adhere to a mission of teaching, research and service (Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, n.d.). For example, Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs) were founded primarily to advance the cultures and economic needs of tribal communities and were recognized in 1987 by the Carnegie Classification system for their distinct institutional mission with separate institutional classification from other degree granting institutions, including Minority Serving Institutions (Griffin & Hurtado, 2011). While American Indians are inherently included within the missions of colleges and universities, many institutions do not intentionally demonstrate a commitment, responsibility, or obligation to American Indian students or tribes. This lack of institutional commitment to American Indian students and nations is demonstrated in many ways – low student enrollment, retention and graduation of Native students, underfunded or nonexistent

support programs, hostile campus climates, or lack of acknowledgement of the tribe whose land on which the campus resides (Hurtado, Gasiewski, & Alvarez, 2014).

In recent years, institutions have expressed a commitment to the importance of student, faculty and staff diversity to campuses and students' learning in diverse environments (Hurtado, Alvarez, Guillermo-Wann, Cuellar, & Arellano, 2012). However, postsecondary institutions continue to be inhospitable places for Native students and unwelcoming to Indigenous epistemologies. Literature on American Indian college student persistence indicates that many students experience a cultural dissonance at their institution (Bickel & Jensen, 2012; Brayboy, 2004; Huffman, 2003). In other words, students experience an inherent discrepancy between their culture, values and worldview, and that of mainstream culture in college (Bickel & Jensen, 2012; Brayboy, 2004; Huffman, 2003). Furthermore, Brayboy et al. (2012) point out that the fundamental purpose of higher education is often at odds with Native student cultural values and worldview. For example, mainstream institutions focus on individual success that often conflicts with the Indigenous value of collective success. Additionally, classroom settings in mainstream institutions tend to be based on competition rather than collaboration. Huffman (2003) asserts that cultural dissonance is especially acute for students who lived their entire life in a community of Native people.

Brayboy et al. (2012) also assert that postsecondary institutions continue to be hostile places for Native students. Past studies addressing the topic of racism and discrimination show that American Indian students report higher rates of discrimination and hostility while on college campuses (Jackson, Smith, & Hill, 2003). For example, a 2011 report on the results from the Diverse Learning Environment survey at the University of California, Los Angeles (one of the case study sites) shared that American Indian and Black students reported greater experiences of

discrimination and bias compared to White students, who reported significantly lower proportions experiencing discrimination on campus (Student Affairs Information and Research Office, 2013). This same study also showed that American Indian students self-reported the highest level of negative cross racial interactions and experiences of harassment.

### **The Relationship Between Tribes and Postsecondary Institutions**

Taking into account the past relationship between tribes and academic institutions and the educational outcomes of American Indian students brings to light a nearly unexamined area – current tribal-university institutional relations. We do not know how or whether these relationships have transformed as a result of changing tribal economic outcomes and investments in the last 20 years. Furthermore, one could argue that the low educational attainment of American Indians – that is college enrollment and completion – can be associated with the failure of institutions to respond to the needs of American Indian students and communities as research suggests that hostile climates, lack of cultural engagement, and failure to address needs negatively impact the academic progress of students (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008; Yazzie-Mintz, 2010). Valuing and including Native cultures and worldviews are noted as critical determinates to student’s sense of belonging, transition, and persistence in education (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008). One could argue that many institutions have yet to effectively engage American Indians students and tribes because Native students continue to fall behind other racial minority groups in educational attainment at alarmingly low rates; however, this is an area that needs further investigation.

There is limited research exploring the nature or evaluating the quality of tribal-university relationships. In the last decade, many universities have become increasingly attuned to the challenges facing American Indian students and the need to address these concerns; often at the



outrage of American Indian students, staff, faculty, and local community. Research conducted on tribal-university institutional partnerships reflect several types of relationships between American Indian communities and universities. For example, some studies document exemplar models between American Indian studies programs and tribal nations, while others document research or service learning partnerships, and there continues to be a concentration scholarship focusing on health science and public health programs (Champagne & Stauss, 2002; Norman & Kalt, 2015; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006, 2010). However, this research focuses on American Indian centers and programs, as well as internal institutional relationships with American Indian students, staff and faculty. Existing scholarship does not address the institution-wide role or relationships with tribal communities, particularly local tribes. Heth and Guyette (1985) and Locke (1973) conducted nationwide studies exploring the higher education needs of American Indian students, alumni and community members. These studies, however, did not explore partnerships between specific institutions and local tribes.

As mentioned, in recent years there has been a movement by colleges and universities to investigate the academic achievement of American Indian students within states, including higher education (Akweks, Bill, Seppanen, & Smith, 2009; Proudfit & Gregor, 2014; Proudfit & San Juan, 2012). Many of these investigations have resulted in the creation of campus task forces or advisory councils that address the inclusion of American Indian students and community at their institution (e.g. Northwestern, Denver University, California State University, San Marcos). Arizona universities, for example, have been at the forefront of developing community-campus partnerships. The Arizona Board of Regents in collaboration with the Inter-Tribal Council of Arizona, approved revisions to their tribal consultation policy that recognizes the importance of collaborating with sovereign tribal communities in a manner

that “respects the culture, traditions, laws and beliefs of the sovereign tribes” (Laskey, 2016, p. 4). In response to this initiative, Maria Dadger, executive director of the Inter-Tribal Council of Arizona, responded, “We believe this is the new era of working with tribes” (Laskey, 2016, p. 4). This action alone represents recent efforts taken by boards of trustees and universities to collaborate with tribes and create inclusive campus environments for American Indian students. While examples and models exist, little research has been done that rigorously and empirically examines the relationships between tribes and postsecondary institutions. This study, therefore, addresses a significant gap in the literature on tribal-institutional relationships, focusing specifically on California, home to over 150 non-federally federally recognized Native nations and 362,800 American Indian people (Norris, Vines, & Hoeffel, 2012).

### **California Tribal Partnerships in Education**

The capacity of California tribes to partner with postsecondary institutions is a phenomenon unlike any other, as many take on the form of large scale monetary gifts. For example, in 2014 the San Manuel Band of Missions Indians donated \$4 million to Claremont Graduate University to develop the first Native American Tribal Administration program (Claremont Graduate University, 2014). This \$4 million gift was one part of a total \$7.4 million gift to the University. A challenge with these investments is that we know little about the specific nature of these relationships, as agreements between tribes and universities are confidential and individuals involved in negotiations have yet to be formally interviewed to ascertain knowledge on the nature of these relationships. How are these relationships initiated and develop? Who was involved? What are the respective and shared goals? How are the relationships maintained? What are the outcomes? What or is there an expected return on tribal

investments? These are some of the questions that come to mind when considering newly developed economic relationships between tribes and educational institutions.

The investment of tribes in public education, however, are complicated by the colonial histories, and as such, the current relationship between tribes and educational institutions is also complicated. This brings to mind the moral and ethical questions about the obligations states have to American Indians, specifically the responsibility of public higher education to California American Indians and tribes. Tribes that give money and provide resources to universities have expectations that these investments will benefit to their tribes and tribal members, and American Indian students broadly. There are few established accountability measures for colleges that receive investments from tribes, however. As a result, we do not know the benefits or whether tribes are receiving a return on their investments. Perhaps more importantly, there is little empirical evidence documenting what tribes articulate as their primary needs and expectations from state postsecondary institutions.

Literature on American Indian students argues that tribes have implicit, if not explicit, expectations that their students will return to their communities after college (Brayboy & Castagno, 2011). To this point, Brayboy and Castagno (2011) assert that, “[tribal] leaders have unique expectations when it comes to higher education for their students. They want American Indian students to soak up Western knowledge, place that knowledge within the context of their cultures and languages, and return home to better their communities” (p. 150). Although there is a clear understanding that Native students are expected, and often desire, to return to their tribes following graduation (Guillory, 2009), there may be dissonance between what tribes and institutions expect from students upon graduation. Furthermore, we know little about the specific needs of students at this point in time in relationship to their tribal communities. Given

the growth and development of California Indian tribal governments and the investment in nation-building, there is a need to investigate the expectations tribes have of educational institutions because these needs may differ across tribal groups that have entered into new and complex philanthropic and political relationships with institutions.

### **Purpose and Research Questions**

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationships and partnerships (e.g. monetary, political, educational) between California public postsecondary universities and local tribes. Concerned with the nation-building of local federally and non-federally recognized California tribes, I focused on whether and how public institutions fulfill their missions, uphold and demonstrate their responsibility, and understand the education needs of California Indian students and tribes. This study examined California tribal-university relationships in three ways. First, I examined contemporary relationships between institutions and specific California tribes. Second, I investigated how Native and non-Native university staff and administrators from two purposively selected public institutions articulate their responsibility to serve American Indian students and tribes. Finally, I explored what tribal and university representatives articulate as their postsecondary education needs of California tribes that would advance tribal nations, and documented their expectations and investments with specific postsecondary institutions. Focusing on California public postsecondary universities and tribes, a multiple-case study design was used to examine two universities in the University of California (UC) system and the tribe(s) neighboring these institutions with formal investments/agreements. This study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What kinds of formal and informal relationships exist between the case study postsecondary institutions and local American Indian tribes?

- a. How, if at all, does this differ by federal recognition status?
2. What responsibilities are articulated by the case study postsecondary institutions with regard to specific local American Indian tribes?
  - a. How, if at all, does this differ by federal recognition status?
3. What do California tribes articulate as the postsecondary education needs of their communities?
  - a. How do tribal perspectives on postsecondary education needs compare with those expressed by postsecondary institutional representatives?

### **Scope of Research**

Working with California Indian communities, I was interested in conducting this study in a manner that was respectful to tribes and individuals who participated and shared their time, and, perhaps more importantly, knowledge with me (Brayboy, Gough, Leonard, Roehl, & Solyom, 2012b). Therefore, it is imperative to note that I used an Indigenous research methodology as the foundation for developing the study design. There are several key aspects of Indigenous research methodologies that set this research apart from standard qualitative research. First, Indigenous research methodologies account for the difficult relationship Indigenous communities have historically had with researchers (L. T. Smith, 2012; Tuck, 2009; Wilson, 2008). Secondly, this methodological approach emphasizes that research should not be conducted *on* Native people but *with* them (Wilson, 2008). Finally, Indigenous research methodologies are inclusive of Indigenous epistemologies. This ethical approach to research was critical to me – a California Indian researcher – as I conducted research with California tribes and within my ancestral homelands.

I employed a nested, multiple-case study design to examine the relationships between two public research-one universities in California – the University of California, Berkeley and the UCLA – and tribes proximal to each institution (i.e. local tribes). To conduct a comparative case study analysis, I selected both sites based on a set of criteria. First, both institutions are the first and oldest campuses in the University of California system, and happen to be among the first universities in the state. This fact inextricably connects both institution to the colonial history of California, including the dispossession of California Indians (Dundjerski, 2011; Madley, 2016). As such, this criterion was a primary determinant for selecting campuses from the University of California system. Both campuses are a part of a larger university system of ten campuses located throughout California. UC Berkeley, the first campus established in the University of California system, is in the northern region of the state. On the other hand, UCLA, founded in 1919, is in the southern region of the state. Second, both institutions are public research-intensive and land-grant institutions. Both institutions have similar undergraduate student enrollment, which hovers between 25,000 and 28,000 students. In addition, American Indian students comprise less than one percent of the total student population at each campus. Lastly, both institutions have formal and informal relationships with local California tribes. The intentionality between selecting similar type institutions from opposite regions was to identify relational patterns and lessons within and across institutions that are transferable to other colleges and universities across the state and nation.

The tribes identified for this study – Gabrieliño-Tongva Nation, Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, San Manuel Band of Mission Indians, and Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria – were identified for this study for two reasons. Location was a primary determinant for selecting tribes. Tribes whose ancestral territories are currently occupied by the case study institution was one

criteria. The Gabrieliño-Tongva Nation and Muwekma Ohlone Indians are descendants of the first and original inhabitants of territory that is currently occupied by each case study institution. Never leaving the region, many tribal members continue to reside in the vicinities of each universities. The other criterion used to select tribes was based on the formal and informal relationships had with the designated institution. The tribes selected have a preexisting relationship with the case study institutions. The San Manuel Band of Mission Indians and Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria are the closest federally recognized tribes to institutional sites and have established partnerships with the institutions, one of which has made a formal investment in their respective university.

Document analysis and one-on-one, semi-structured, open-ended interviews were used to implement this case study design (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2009; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Yin, 2003). I examined historical and contemporary documents pertaining to tribal-institutional partnerships to determine if expectations and accountability have been outlined in agreements that drive practice. Semi-structured open-ended interviews helped gain insight into the various perspectives on institutional relationships, including how institutions serve California Indian students and tribes. Additionally, interviews offered insight into educational needs and expectations of tribes.

Interviews took place with institutional and tribal representatives to learn about the differing perspectives on existing and potential partnerships. Leaders within the institutions and tribes were interviewed. At the institution, top and mid-level university administration, including chancellor, vice-chancellors, vice-provosts and deans were identified and interviewed. Additionally, I targeted staff managing American Indian or Native American programs to gain their perspectives on relationships, possibly a more critical insider perspective. Interviewees

were strategically selected based on the roles and responsibilities of the person's institutional and tribal position. With each tribe, elders and tribal council members (i.e. tribal leadership) were targeted for interviews because these individuals hold distinguished roles in their communities as cultural knowledge keepers and leadership. In total, I interviewed 26 individuals for this study and collected over 100 documents that reflected relationships and agreements between the case study case study universities and four California tribes. In the end, 21 interviews were analyzed for this study and five were withheld for future analysis after consultation with tribal members.

Two theoretical frameworks were used to explore and explain the relationship between Native and non-Native institutions. Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit) (Brayboy, 2005a) was selected as a primary framework because it is an Indigenous lens that can be used to interrogate the Western world, as opposed to a Western lens used to interrogate the Indigenous world. TribalCrit, discussed more fully in chapter 2, was developed to address the complicated relationship between American Indians and the United States federal government, and to understand the unique place American Indians hold as legal and racial/political people and groups in society.

Two community-campus partnership frameworks were also used to recognize and evaluate the relationship between universities and tribal communities (Barrera, 2012; Norman & Kalt, 2015). After reviewing numerous civic engagement, and community-campus partnership models, Barrera (2012) cited four elements that appeared across the literature that he identified as vital components of a successful community-campus partnerships – trust, respect, communication and shared goals. These four elements specifically articulate how institutions may approach relationships, and thus partnerships, with community stakeholders. The development and maintenance of trust, the demonstration of respect for resources that exist



within the community (including cultural and intellectual resources), the creation of an organizational structure that allows for consistent communication between all parties, and the formation of shared goals characterize successful partnerships (Barrera, 2012). Additionally, Norman and Kalt (2015) offer four nation-building principles for fostering tribally centered community partnerships – respect and support for tribal sovereignty, recognition of tribal cultures in governance, understanding of institutional infrastructures in tribal governance, and importance of formal and informal university leadership in tribal governance. These frameworks were used in three ways to examine tribal-university institutional relationships. First, they offered key characteristics of recognizing how or whether institutions are working formally and informally with tribes. Second, these frameworks were used to evaluate the various perspectives on community-campus partnership, with a focus given to university administrators and American Indian staff perspectives. Finally, the four principles of institutional partnerships offered a lens to examine institutional relationships and salient nation-building concerns.

### **Contributions of the Study**

Although there have been recent investigations by select colleges and universities on the state of American Indians at their institution (John Evans Study Committee, 2014; Proudfit & Gregor, 2014, 2016; Proudfit & San Juan, 2012; Steering Committee for the University of Toronto, 2017), these studies have been limited to institutional reports. Furthermore, little research has been done to examine the past and present relationship *between* specific tribes and postsecondary institutions. The dearth of research on tribal-institutional educational relationships presents vast opportunities for practical, empirical, and theoretical contributions to tribal communities, postsecondary education, educational research, and American Indian and California Indian Studies.

Furthermore, the educational research on California Indians and tribes in higher education is virtually nonexistent. Of the research focused on California (Proudfit & Gregor, 2014, 2016; Proudfit & San Juan, 2012), findings pertain to American Indians as a whole as opposed to those aboriginal to the state. Given this, the present study is the first of its kind and has the potential to make meaningful contributions to Indian education literature. My hope is that this study serves as a research model that can be replicated on a larger scale with multiple institutions. In a practical sense, this study increased institutional awareness of tribal needs and serves to identify areas of agreement that may assist students in completing goals consistent with tribal community needs and expectations. I also provided recommendations to institutions taken from university representatives on how to improve their relationships with neighboring tribes, contributing to those offered in previous research on relationships with Indigenous communities and community-campus partnerships (Lipe, 2014).

Understanding the relationship of postsecondary education with tribal groups, this study primarily explored the responsibility and obligation that institutions have to serve American Indians and their communities. These commitments are articulated in institutional mission statements, which have not been critically examined in educational research (Paricia J Gumport, 2000; Kezar, 2004). In California, this study is particularly compelling given the increasing divestment of state resources from public education (Leonhardt, 2017). As universities develop partnership with tribes for financial support, closer attention should be given to how postsecondary institutions are accountable to American Indian donors.

Theoretically, this study employs TribalCrit and community-campus partnership frameworks. Few studies have applied either framework to study California Indian communities and their relationship with postsecondary education. Therefore, the application of these

frameworks fill a gap in educational research. This study also expands on community-campus partnership literature by using this lens to examine tribal partnership. The study extends the partnership framework with a culturally-specific focus, and illustrates aspects that may extend the current TribalCrit framework and literature.

### **Overview of Dissertation**

The following chapters discuss key aspects of this study, offering detailed explanations how this study was designed, conducted, analyzed, and findings. The subsequent chapter (i.e. chapter two) offers a review of relevant literature on the relationship between American Indians and institutions of higher education, contemporary tribal-university relationships, and theoretical frameworks. Chapter three outlines the methodology and methods used to conduct this study, and details steps for data analysis. Chapter four, five and six presents study findings. Specifically, chapter four describes the relationships between the case study universities and tribes. Chapter five reveals perspectives of university representatives in relation to institutional responsibility. Lastly, chapter six explains how participants articulated the postsecondary education needs of tribes. The final chapter concludes the study by discussing major findings, contributions of the study, and implications for research and theory.

## CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW

There continues to be severe limitations in the extant scholarly literature on American Indian students and communities. This chapter reviews terms, relevant literature, and provides the historical and contemporary context that informed this study and its design. Additionally, I present the theoretical frameworks that were used as heuristic and interpretive lenses. The first section of this chapter operationalizes a number of key terms used throughout the study. For clarity, I review these terms to provide readers with the necessary political context for understanding the American Indian people and communities in present day. Following, I review the past relationships between American Indians and postsecondary institution, thusly offering a historical context for California Indian communities throughout. The subsequent section reviews contemporary relationships between American Indians and postsecondary institutions to offer readers a current context of tribal-university institutional relationships. Integrated in each section is a discussion of the theoretical frameworks guiding this study – Tribal Critical Race Theory (Brayboy, 2005a) and Community-Partnership Framework (Barrera, 2012, 2015). The five subsequent sections are organized as follows: 1) key terms, 2) historical overview of tribal-institutional relationships, 3) Tribal Critical Race Theory, 4) contemporary tribal-university relationships, and 5) community-partnership and nation-building frameworks.

### Key Terms

To provide readers with the knowledge needed to understand this study, it is important to operationalize several terms used throughout the study. Throughout this study, the term *American Indian*, will be used interchangeably with the terms *Aboriginal*, *Indigenous*, *Native American*, *Native*, and *Indian*. Like Brayboy et al. (2012), I use these terms to refer to the individuals and communities with ancestral ties to a place before outside people were introduced

to the land. Additionally, these terms are intentionally capitalized to “indicate that this references a people with inherent rights because of their status as original peoples” (pg. 4). Likewise, the term *California Indian* or *California American Indian* refers to original inhabitants of what is now the State of California and their descendants with ancestral ties to the region (Field, 2009). Today, California is home to the largest concentration of American Indians (Norris et al., 2012). This is largely because of federal relocation policies that moved American Indians from reservations and rural communities across the country to metropolitan cities, with the promise of employment, education and affordable housing (Fixico, 1986). As such, it is essential to make the distinction between California Indians and American Indians who have migrated and reside in California.

A common inquiry by non-Natives is what constitutes being an American Indian. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) defines an American Indian person as “someone who has a blood degree from and is recognized as such by a federally-recognized tribe or village (as an enrolled tribal member) and/or the United States” (Bureau of Indian Affairs, n.d.). This definition highlights the unique legal status of individuals as enrolled members of tribes. This legal status also acknowledges the sovereign rights of federally-recognized tribal members. The BIA definition also recognizes the acknowledgment of individual American Indians by the federal government through a Certificate Degree of Indian Blood (CDIB). CDIBs are given to descendants of individuals that can be identified on a United States census roll, which were conducted during the land allotment period in the late 1800’s. In California, the *Indians of California Census Rolls Authorized Under the Act of May 18, 1928 as amended, approved May 16-17, 1933* approved the collection of records of from California Indians throughout the state, including name, gender, age, birth date, census date, relationship to head of family marital states

and tribal affiliations (United States National Archives Records Administration, 1998). While no new roll numbers are given to California tribal members, these records continue to be used by descendants of California Indian tribes to obtain CDIBs.

The BIA definition of American Indian, however, is not inclusive of personal and communal understandings of American Indian identity. Racial political and DNA testing challenge traditional notions of identity and community; wherein other factors outside of blood degree are ways an individual is also recognized as Indian or part of a community (TallBear, 2013). These definitions account for factors such as “a person’s knowledge of his or her tribe’s culture, history, language, religion, familial kinships, and how strongly a person identifies himself or herself as American Indian or Alaska Native, are also important” (Bureau of Indian Affairs, n.d.). It is worth noting that Indian identity is a complicated topic and highly debated today. Tribal disenrollment and identity fraud constantly surface across tribal communities (Galanda & Dreveskracht, 2015). In understanding these two definitions, it is important that we acknowledge the limitations of federally-constructed definitions.

The term *nation*, otherwise referred to as Native nation, tribe or tribal nation, pertains to Indigenous communities in the United States. Nation refers to a specific combination of kinship, government, shared territory, worldview, and spiritual community (Champagne, 2007). Indigenous nations throughout the United States predate the formation of this country and were omitted from the United States constitution (Pommersheim, 2009). As such, the federal government has made several attempts to bring tribes under its jurisdiction, with some success. However, tribes are *sovereign* entities, meaning, tribes have “the inherent right to direct their futures and engage the world in ways that are meaningful to them” (Brayboy et al., 2012, p. 17).

Arguments of political and cultural sovereignty complicate our discussion of relationships with institutions, as they are intimately linked to the federal acknowledgement of tribes.

Tribal nations in the United States have a long and complex history with the federal government, some receiving *federal acknowledgement* and others not. In addition, some Native nations are recognized by their respective states, but not by the federal government. Those receiving federal recognition from the United States government are afforded a *political sovereignty* that is distinguished by a government-to-government relationship between tribes and the federal government (Wilkins & Stark, 2010). This is not to say that non-federally recognized tribes are not sovereign entities. In fact, tribal sovereignty is exercised or operationalized through self-governance, self-determination, and self-education (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). As culturally and politically sovereign nations, these entities have the inherent right to self-govern, as well as determine the direction of their community culturally, linguistically, economically, politically, socially, and so on (Wilkins & Stark, 2010).

Lastly, *Native nation-building* is rooted in the sovereignty, self-determination, and self-reliance of tribal nations. Nation-building, as presented by Brayboy et al. (2012), is “the conscious and focused application of Indigenous people’s collective resources, energies, and knowledge” including developing language, behaviors, values, institutions, and physical structures to clarify the community’s history and culture, infuse and protect knowledge of the past and present day practices, and ensure the future identity and independence of Native nations and communities (p.12). Nation-building promotes the development of infrastructures in Native communities that necessitates the return or involvement of conscious tribal citizens.

According to Brayboy et al. (2012), a prevailing model of nation-building is *economic development*. Although not always the case, this model commonly presents itself in the form of

Indian gaming. The 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, established a jurisdictional framework for Indian gaming that delegated regulatory authority over Indian gaming to states (Wilkins & Stark, 2010). Through this enterprise many tribes, but not all, have found success and generated revenue allowing them to invest in their tribal governments, programs, and businesses – including education, language and health. As mentioned, central to nation-building is the idea of promoting the well-being of tribal community, which includes maintaining tribal identity, territory, culture, and ways of managing relations with the non-Indian world (Champagne, 2007).

While brief, these explanations will aid readers in understanding key aspects of this study. The following section overviews key events that shape the relationship between tribes and postsecondary institutions.

### **Historical Background on Tribal-University Relationships**

The purpose of this section is to offer an overview of historic tribal-university relationships broadly to contextualize contemporary relations between tribes and universities. The first experiences American Indians had with higher education began as early as the colonial era. Across the literature, scholars agree that Europeans viewed Natives to be lacking education and assumed responsibility for civilizing the Indigenous populations (Grande, 2015; Lomawaima, 2014). According to B. Wright (1991), there was a range of responses to early colonial education. B. Wright and Tierney (1991), however, point out that the majority of Natives rejected formalized education and religious conversion. This history lays the bedrock of Indian education over the next several centuries (Lomawaima, 2000), and provides some insight into the contemporary landscape of Indian education. Grande (2015) characterizes three major eras of Indian education, that will be further discussed in the subsequent sections: 1) missionary domination, 2) federal government domination, and 3) a self-determination period.



## **Missionary Domination**

According to American Indian studies and education scholars, the church and state conspired in the theft of Native America during the colonial era, “robbing Indigenous peoples of their very right to be Indigenous” (Grande, 2015, p. 11). Education was the primary mechanism used by settlers to “civilize” Native people. Between the 1500s and 1600s, numerous Indian colleges were established, and tasked with converting Indians to Christianity and integrating Native youth into mainstream culture through the adoption of Western norms. After many failed attempts, Harvard became the first college in the colonies. Harvard was not intended to be a school to educate Indian students; however, after financial difficulty the college secured funds from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Indians of New England. This fund was established to support the education of Indian students (Carney, 1999). As a result, Harvard revised its charter in 1650 to include “the education of the English and Indian Youth of this country in knowledge and godliness” (Carney, 1999; Graham & Golia, 2002; B. Wright, 1991). Additional Indian colleges followed Harvard, including William and Mary College, and Dartmouth. Over the last few decades and at the urgencies of American Indian programs, staff and/or faculty, each college has made various reconciliatory efforts with American Indians by reasserting their commitment to Native students (Champagne & Stauss, 2002). For example, in 1997, Harvard officials along with the Harvard University Native American Program (HUNAP) staff, faculty, tribal leaders, elders, and students unveiled a plaque on campus commemorating the history and contributions of American Indians to the campus (Graham & Golia, 2002). The plaque states,

Near this spot from 1655 to 1698 stood the Indian College. Here American Indian and English students lived and studies in accordance with the 1650 Charter of Harvard

College calling for the ‘education of the English and Indian youth of this country.’ The Indian College was Harvard’s first brick building and housed the college printing press where from 1659 to 1663 was printed the first bible in North America. (p. 128)

Additionally, in 2011, Harvard posthumously awarded Joel Iacoomes, one of the first Native American students to attend Harvard, with his diploma after nearly 350 years. The Chairman of the Mashpee Wampanoag tribe indicated that the presentation of the degree symbolized “the historic bond between Harvard and the Native American community” (Seo, 2011, p. 8). While these recent narratives of reclamation are documented, little empirical research exists recording the relation between tribes and universities or the perspective of local tribes’ who were severely impacted by the introduction of Western institutions.

At nearly the same time of contact with colonizers on the eastern shoreline, Indians in California came into contact with Spanish explorers in the mid-1550s (Sandos, 2004). These colonizers depicted California and its original inhabitants as, “an unmapped land not yet broken to the uses of civilization, and inhabited by very primitive people useless in the world as their fathers had been before them since the beginning of time” (Schneider & McGroarty, 1933). The depiction of California Indians as “primitive” individuals, led to the assimilation of Natives by settlers similar to what occurred on the east coast. One aspect that differentiates California from eastern colonies was the introduction of the Franciscan mission system by Father Junipero Serra (Hackel, 2005). Between 1769 and 1833, Serra led the establishment of 21 missions from present day San Diego to Sonoma (Castillo, 2015; Sandos, 2004), with a primary goal of bringing education, civilization and religion to Native people. In reality, California Indians were used as a labor and workforce to run each mission (Castillo, 2015; Rathbun, 2006). Education through missions was in the form of religious conversion. Around this time, a select group of

California Indians, such as Pablo Tac (Luiseño), were taken to Europe for formal schooling (Haas, 2011). Tac attended Collegium de Propaganda Fide in Rome in 1834 and researchers have identified Tac as the first California Indian scholar (Haas, 2011). However, outside of these documented cases, there is less research discussing the postsecondary education of California Indians during colonization as well as the role of these institutions on the colonization of California's first inhabitants.

### **Federal Government Domination**

The era of federal government domination marks a critical time point in Indian education – both secondary and postsecondary education. During this period, the federal government had little desire to uphold its obligation of providing American Indians with educational services that were set forth in treaties. Under the supervision of federal government, the status of American Indians in higher education proceeded to worsen (Carney, 1999). There was a resistance toward American Indian efforts to pursuing higher education by key political figures. For example, the Secretary of War William Wilkins and Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Medill argued that higher education for Natives produced “excessively limited results” (Carney, 1999). This argument supported vocational training of Indians and funds were diverted to lower-level education programs. According to Carney (1999), during the nineteenth century the federal government did not maintain any higher education institutions for American Indians despite its “trust responsibility.” Rather, policymakers placed priority on building a new government, and the assimilation and dispossession of American Indians from their homelands (Crosby, 2011).

In California, the federal period was marked by the secularization of the mission system. During this time, proselytizers established themselves in Indian communities as missionaries and educators. Conspiring with the Bureau of Catholic Missions and the federal government, settlers

established a network of Catholic Indian schools both on and off reservations modeled after labor system of the missions (Harley, 1999). The aim of these schools was to continue the work of Father Serra. Among these schools was Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School in Banning, California. Additionally, other schools were established throughout California by other religious organizations and the federal government. In 1892, for example, the Perris Indian School, now known as Sherman Indian Institute, was established in Perris, California (Harley, 1999). Key aspects of these institutions, and most Indian boarding schools, was the removal of Indian children from their homes, families and communities, and forceful indoctrination of students into the mainstream educational systems. Schools provided a range of academic, domestic, agricultural, vocational and religious education. Saint Boniface, much like the California missions, relied on Indian students as a source of labor. In the last few decades, stories have surfaced from California Indian elders about the inadequacies of schools. For example, Dorothy Ramon, a Cahuilla elder, shared the following: “long ago my father went to that famous school known as Saint Boniface... The teachers there, they were supposed to teach the Indians their language, the white people’s language...They did not learn anything, he said” (Ramon & Elliot, 2006, pp. 327-328).

During the period of federal domination there is significantly less documentation on American Indians in higher education. However, during this time Congress did pass the Morrill land-grant Acts of 1862 and 1890, which made it possible for public lands to be donated to states for the benefit of providing a land base for educational institutions (Cohen & Kisker, 2010; National Research Council, 1995). These acts allowed land to be donated to the state or purchased by the state using federal appropriations that were allocated to each state to establish colleges for teaching agriculture, mechanics, and engineering. Recent scholarship in American

Indian and Gender Studies discusses the violent practices of “land transfer” to appropriate property for land-grant universities (Goeman, 2014). Goeman (2014) contends that the first land-grant universities were established during the reservation era, when the “United States government herded Native peoples onto contained reservations and away from populations it chose to protect” (p. 1-2). Although less is known about American Indians in postsecondary education during the federal period, the procurement of land through the first and second Morrill Acts are key to future discussions about institutional mission and responsibility as the 1890 Morrill Act clearly prohibited the discrimination of racial minorities, stating the forbiddance of “racial discrimination in admission to colleges receiving funds” (National Research Council, 1995, p. 9).

### **Self-Determination Period**

According to Carney (1999), American Indians found themselves in the “worst state they had been in since the invasion of Europeans” moving into the self-determination period (p. 95). This period would, however, spawn the most dramatic policy changes by the federal government in Indian education policy. The self-determination era was presaged by the 1928 Meriam Report, officially titled *The Problem of Indian Administration* was published by the Institute of Government Research (Meriam et al., 1928). This report highlighted the conditions of Indians under the authority of the federal government, including the state of Indian education. Although the report did not exclusively examine higher education, it asserted that “higher education should be encouraged, not just allowed, by restructuring federal schools to furnish adequate preparation and by the provision of more financial aid and funding” (Carney, 1999, p. 101). This report had some major implications for federal policy, such as the Indian Reorganization Act, which featured a “renewed recognition for tribal governments and sovereignty” (p. 102). The Indian

Reorganization Act diverted \$250,000 to support college loans for Indian students as well as the ability for tribes to contract with the BIA for education services. This resulted in a 40 percent increase in Native college student enrollment, from 385 students in 1932 to 515 students in 1935 (B. Wright & Tierney, 1991).

The establishment of tribal colleges and universities (TCUs) is arguably the most significant development in American Indian higher education history (Carney, 1999). The first tribal college, Diné College (originally known as Navajo Community College) was established in 1968 by the Navajo Nation, which presented a significant movement toward self-education for Indian communities. The aim of tribal colleges during this time was to offer culturally-based education that promoted tribal cultures, histories and language (Carney, 1999; Hurtado, Cuellar, & Guillermo-Wann, 2011). In 1971, Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University near Davis, California was established by the late Jack D. Forbes and members of the California Indian Education Association (Reyhner & Eder, 2004). According to Reyhner and Eder (2004), the school was originally a Hispanic-Indian college and enrolled a majority of urban Indians and Lakota students; when the college received funding from the Tribal College Act in 1978 all Hispanic board members resigned. The 1970s also brought forward several other bills supporting American Indian higher education, including the Indian Education Act of 1972, the Indian Self-Determination Act and Education Assistance Act of 1975, the Education Amendments Act of 1978 and the Tribally Controlled Community College Acts of 1978 (Carney, 1999; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006).

Advancements in Indian education speak to the evolving relationships between American Indians and postsecondary education. However, the progress made since colonization does not speak to the continually low enrollment, retention and completion of American Indian students at

public and private colleges and universities across the nation, including California schools. Indian education scholars contend that these issues have been instigated by this initial relationship between American Indians and higher education at the time of contract. Before presenting Tribal Critical Race Theory, a theoretical framework used in this study to help examine existing tribal-university relations in higher education, I offer some additional context on the present state of educational attainment of American Indians nationally and within California. The purpose of providing this background to connect the educational history to present educational achievement.

### **American Indian Academic Achievement**

Compared to all other racial groups, American Indian students continue to be the least likely to complete college preparation courses in high school, have the highest high school drop-out rate, lowest college entrance rate, and lowest college retention rate in the country (Brayboy et al., 2012). These facts alone serve as a clarion call in education to better understand the academic achievement of American Indian students. When presented with the rates of academic achievement, however, educators should be all the more concerned with how they support American Indian students. Tierney (1992) described the American Indian educational pipeline as follows. Out of 100 American Indian students enter the ninth grade, 60 will graduate from high school and 20 will enter a postsecondary institution. From those 20 students, Tierney (1992) contended that only three students would receive a four-year degree (p. 9). This data is fairly consistent with Faircloth and Tippeconnic (2010) who more recently found that less than 50 percent of American Indian high school students receive a diploma. The following section presents the rates of academic achievement of American Indians in California to better contextualize the need for understanding the role of community-campus partnerships.

In existing empirical research, American Indians often constitute an asterisk in descriptive statistics showing the breakdown of students by race – a phenomenon referred to as the “AI research asterisk” (Shotton, Lowe, & Waterman, 2013). American Indians are also homogenized in research and tribal communities, such as California tribes, continue to be understudied in education (Brayboy et al., 2012). Until recently, little was known exclusively about the educational achievement of California’s American Indian students. However, beginning in 2012, California State University, San Marco has published three reports on the state of American Indian/Alaska Native education in California that synthesize matriculation data on Natives students from primary through public postsecondary schools (Proudfit & Gregor, 2014, 2016; Proudfit & San Juan, 2012). The following summarizes the data primarily compiled by Proudfit and San Juan (2012).

According to Proudfit and San Juan (2012), California is home to the largest population of American Indians at 723, 225 residents – growing 15.2 percent since the 2000 United States Census. While American Indians make up 1.9 percent of the state population they continue to be underrepresented in the state’s education system. For example, the California state K-12 system enrolls 0.7 percent Native students, which has decreased in the last 10 years. The high school graduation rate for American Indian seniors in the 2011 graduating class was reported at 76.3 percent. Furthermore, of the students completing secondary school, only 27 percent complete California State University (CSU) or University of California (UC) eligibility requirements, which is 13 percent lower than the states average.

The California Community College system, an open education system, enrolls 0.6 percent American Indian students, which accounts for 15,307 individuals. The success rates of community college students reported were separated into distance and non-distance education,



organized by basic skills, credit, degree applicable, transferable and vocational courses. Overall, the retention rates of students in distance and non-distance were 74 percent and 84 percent respectfully. However, the success rate reported for students in distance and non-distance were below the state average, 50 percent and 66 percent respectfully. Proudfit and San Juan (2012) reported that during the 2010-2011 academic year, 0.9 percent of all associates degrees awarded were given to Native students, a total of 770 students.

Similarly, enrollment for American Indian students in the CSU system totaled 0.5 percent or 2,005 students. This represents a 36 percent decline over the last ten years. The 4-year, 5-year, and 6-year graduation rates reported for American Indian students across the CSU's were 14 percent, 35 percent and 45 percent respectively. Finally, in 2011 the CSU system awarded 559 bachelor's degrees to American Indians, or 0.7 percent of total degrees awarded. CSU Long Beach ranked among the top schools to award bachelor's degrees to Native students, at 193 degrees total.

Last, enrollment for American Indian students in the UC's ranked at 0.7 percent or 1,539 students. This is the lowest enrollment of any ethnic group at the undergraduate and graduate level. The 4-year, 5-year, and 6-year graduation rates reported by Proudfit and San Juan (2012) for first-time Native freshmen entering in 2004 in the UC's were 48 percent, 69 percent, and 71 percent respectively. These rates are also lower than the university average. However, at different points American Indian students continue to have a higher completion compared to African American and Chicano/Latino students. The exception, American Indian had the lowest graduation rate of all students at six years. Lastly, in 2011 the UC's awarded 252 or 0.5 percent of the total bachelor's degrees that year to American Indian students. According to Proudfit and San Juan (2012), this was in fact a drop 17 percent drop from since 1996.

The data presented above reflects how American Indian student college enrollment, persistence and completion in California continues to fall behind other racial minority groups. These rates call into question the social, educational, cultural and institutional barriers that impact American Indian student achievement. It also highlights the role and responsibility of public institutions to better serve American Indian students, and by nature of this serve tribes. With hope, the data presented brings to mind the question: How do we better address educational inequities in a way that includes American Indian students and communities?

The following section provides an overview of TribalCrit, one of the theoretical framework used in this study. TribalCrit (Brayboy, 2005a) was selected to help recognize, explore, and interpret systemic and racialized aspects of higher education pertaining to American Indians. In the following, I offer greater detail on TribalCrit and explain why and how it was used in the present study.

### **Tribal Critical Race Theory**

Critical race theories offer frameworks that seek to identify, analyze and transform structural and cultural aspects of society that maintain subordinate and dominant racialized positions (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Under this umbrella is Critical Race Theory (CRT), which emerged in the mid-1980's as an expansion of Critical Legal Studies (CLS). At the time, CLS exposed contradictions in the law and illustrated the ways that the law creates and maintains a hierarchy in society. However, Critical Race Theory surfaced out of concern that scholarship was not moving quickly enough to critique and change societal structures that focused on race and racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). TribalCrit serves as an extension of CRT, and addresses limitations in its application the Indigenous communities. The goal of TribalCrit is to

provide a theoretical lens that addresses the unique political and legal status of American Indians.

TribalCrit was selected as a theoretical framework because it offers a more culturally specific and accurate perspective on issues related to Indigenous communities (i.e. an Indigenous lens) (Brayboy, 2005a; Castagno & Lee, 2007). More specifically, TribalCrit offers a lens for examining racism and colonization experienced by Indigenous communities in education and can provide explanations for experiences within academia (Brayboy, 2005a). This theory is also rooted in commonalities of tribal beliefs (i.e. epistemologies and ontologies), while simultaneously recognizing the range and variation that exists within and between tribal communities. Within the context of these elements, Brayboy (2005a) offers nine TribalCrit tenets that guide assumptions in design, data collection, and analysis:

1. Colonization is endemic to society.
2. United States policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain.
3. Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of our identities.
4. Indigenous peoples have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification.
5. The concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an Indigenous lens
6. Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation.

7. Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups.
8. Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being.
9. Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change (p. 429-430).

Brayboy (2005a) points out that TribalCrit offers a new and more nuanced way of examining the lives and experiences of Indigenous people since contact with European people. He goes on to assert that TribalCrit provides a lens for addressing many issues facing American Indian communities today. Aligning this study with this perspective allowed me to make sense of nuances particular to the experiences of Indigenous students, staff and community in relation to postsecondary institutions. Although all TribalCrit tenets are pertinent to this study, there are some that are more relevant than others.

For example, the first tenet of Tribal CRT asserts that “colonization is endemic to society” (Brayboy, 2005a, p. 429). To this regard, Brayboy (2005a) asserts that "European American thought, knowledge and power structures dominate in present day society in the United States" (p. 430). Literature reminds us that the goal of Western education was to civilize American Indians by "replac[ing] heritage with English, replac[ing] 'paganism' with Christianity, replac[ing] economic, political, social, legal and aesthetic institutions" (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002, p. 282). Through secondary and postsecondary educational institutions, dating back to the colonial period, the United States has found some eradicating Native culture with features of the

dominate culture. Therefore, this tenet helps us to examine the role of educational systems in the colonization – historically and currently.

Another tenet applicable to this study applies to the impact of government and educational policies on assimilation (i.e. tenet 6). Brayboy (2005a) asserts that “governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation” (p. 429). The most notable throughout United States history are federally operated boarding schools, whereby Congress approved policy and operated secondary board schools aimed at assimilating American Indian youth (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). In 1878, the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania was founded by General Richard Henry Pratt and the United States government (Almeida, 1997). This tenet also helps us to understand and examine the relationship of American Indians to education.

These tenets, and others, encourage us to be critical of the colonial implications of educational institutions, therefore providing a lens for examining issues facing American Indian communities in the past and today. TribalCrit is still a relatively new theory, and more studies in education are using this framework (Keene, 2013; Tachine, 2015; Waterman & Lindley, 2013). However, these works focus on undergraduate and graduate student experiences and TribalCrit can also serve as a theoretical framework for examining organizational issues in higher education. Additionally, other Indigenous scholars have started to use TribalCrit as a framework for developing cultural specific frameworks – Kanak Oiwí Critical Race Theory to be specific (E. K. Wright & Oliveira, 2016). TribalCrit was primarily selected for this study because it serves as an Indigenous lens that can be used to interrogate the Western world, as opposed to a Western lens used to interrogate the Indigenous world. I have also selected it to assist in

examining structural and cultural inequalities, and differing worldviews and expectations as they pertain to tribal-institutional relationships in higher education.

### **Contemporary Tribal-University Relationships**

There is a growing field of research on relationship and partnership models between tribes and universities. A majority of this research concentrated in the public health and health science research (Christopher, Watts, McCormick, & Young, 2008). This research focused on community based participatory research and offers exemplar models for building and maintain trust, conducting research, and building relationships between academic and community partners to address health disparities (Wallerstein & Duran, 2006, 2010). Although there are several exemplar models offered that can advance partnerships between tribes and universities, a limitation of this scholarship is that it focuses on community-campus relationships between tribes and research units (e.g. departments, programs, teams), not entire institutions. In recent years, there is a growth in the number of institutions engaging local tribes (e.g. Arizona State University serving as an exemplar institution). While growing, scholarship has yet to capture this work through empirical research and these exemplar relationships continue to serve as narrative examples to educators.

The following offers multiple examples of collaborations between tribes, American Indians communities, and universities, which serve as models for tribal-institutional relationships when considering conceptual models for tribal-university relationships frameworks.

#### **University Collaborations with American Indians**

*American Indian studies centers and programs.* There is existing research focusing on partnerships and relationships between Native communities and American Indian studies programs at universities. For example, Champagne and Stauss (2002) explored numerous

partnership models between American Indian studies programs and Indigenous communities throughout the country. The authors address specific tactics and challenges in developing American Indian Studies at private and public institutions across the continent. Calloway (2002) and Graham and Golia (2002) discuss the reaffirmed commitment by Dartmouth College and Harvard University to serve Native students. Calloway (2002) wrote of Dartmouth President's rededication of the college to its "long deferred and reaffirmed... commitment to Native American education," which led to the active recruitment of students and a Native American studies program (p. 37). Similarly, Calloway (2002) writes about the establishment of the American Indian Studies Center at UCLA in 1970 with the support of a Ford Foundation grant, which Chancellor Young later committed to additional funding to the following 25 years. These examples present commitments by institutions to American Indian programs, but do not address specifics about universities working directly with local Indigenous communities.

*Human subjects/Institutional Review Boards.* Efforts by universities working to address concerns of American Indians broadly can be demonstrated through human-subjects review board practices for research with American Indians, the repatriation of museum collections back to tribes, and preferential review in university admissions. Many scholars have probed at the ethics of conducting research within Indigenous communities, some expressing concern about the personal gain for scholars, the exploitation of Indigenous communities, the harmful effects of research, and the failure to politically or socially advance of Native nations (Goldberg & Champagne, 2005; L. T. Smith, 2012; Tuck, 2009). Some tribes have proactively or reactively addressed these concerns as well as unethical research practices by developing their own policies or human-subjects review boards to regulate research conducted within their community. Additionally, academic institutions also have become increasingly concerned with research

procedures with Indigenous communities, what they term a vulnerable population, because of increased liability of human rights. Some institutions have responded by altering some practices when research studies are submitted for review that pertain to research with American Indians. Such institutions require researchers to obtain consent from tribes to conduct research. Other institutions work collaboratively with American Indian studies programs to review the merits of applications, such is the University of Arizona (Lomawaima, 2000). While these efforts represent significant collaborations to respect and protect American Indians, they do not exclusively reflect partnerships with tribal groups nor do they operate perfectly and across institutions across the nation. Additionally, Goldberg and Champagne (2005) point out that most institutions are not equipped to “manage relations with collective tribal culture and interests” (p. 62).

*Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act.* The implementation of federal and university-wide Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) practices also presents a shift in collaborations with tribal groups, particularly across the University of California (UC) system. Before the passage of NAGPRA, in 1994, American Indian communities were concerned with the unethical approaches taken by university research, particularly anthropologists, which often led to the improper study, use, or storage of Native American human remains, sacred objects, and cultural artifacts in museum archives. NAGPRA mandated that federally funded museums and repositories, many of which are located at major research universities, to publicly share lists of collections in their possession and work with tribes to repatriate collections as requested (Henson et al., 2008). Among these groups was the UC system, which is home to one of the largest collections of California Indian cultural artifacts



and human remains in the nation. How universities and UC campuses have fulfilled these federal mandates has varied, as has the willingness to repatriate items.

Within the UC system, individuals and campuses have varying reputations for collaborating with tribes to access and repatriate archived collections. This is also the case with museums nation-wide. There are also many bureaucratic layers that complicate the easy return of Native American human remains and cultural artifacts from UC institutions. Beyond NAGPRA as a federal policy, some UC campuses simply have anti-repatriation perspectives and practices. This is reflected in perspectives of university officials, institutional selected NAGPRA Coordinating Committee representatives, and the willingness of campuses to repatriate museum and archeological collections. Campuses with anti-repatriation reputations have impacted the institutions' relationship with American Indian tribes and groups, particularly local California Indian tribes whose collections are primarily held at UC campuses because universities served as repositories (Paddock, 2008). On the other hand, there are UC campuses that proactively and enthusiastically work with tribes to provide access to and repatriate human remains and cultural artifacts.

Furthermore, the UC system also reflects the complexities of system-wide bureaucracies that hinder relationships with tribes because of differing cultural perspectives regarding the use and maintenance of culture objects. With regard to repatriation, the University of California Office of the President (UCOP) oversees all NAGPRA requests across the UCs. Although each campus reviews individual repatriation requests, the UCOP NAGPRA Board has final review and decision over requests. While individual campuses, such as UCLA, intend to repatriate items and actively work with tribes to return cultural items, the UC Office of the President and UC-wide NAGPRA Committee as ultimate authority. As a result, campuses

find varying degrees of success to repatriate culture items back to tribes that are in their possession.

In 2016, for example, the UCLA NAGPRA Coordinating Committee collaborated with the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Mission Indians and San Manuel Band of Mission Indians, two southern California federally recognized tribes, to repatriate human remains, ceremonial items, and cultural objects belonging to Fernandino-Tataviam and Gabrieliño-Tongva Nation, two non-federally recognized tribal groups (Department of the Interior, 2016; Edwards, 2016). This example represents collaborations between specific tribes and universities that have occurred because of a federally mandated policy, but is not necessarily a relationship initiated by choice of the university to collaborate with tribes on repatriation efforts. It represents a response to compliance with federal law, or extensions of the spirit of the law.

*Undergraduate and graduate admission policies.* Admissions policies are yet another way that postsecondary institutions have attempted to be more inclusive of American Indian communities and conscientious of social barriers impacting the educational attainment of Native students. To account for historic, social and political barriers, colleges and university board of trustees have developed undergraduate and graduate admission policies that allow for the consideration of enrollment in a federally recognized tribe in admission. These policies have come in the light of anti-affirmative action policies, and affirm the political/legal status of enrolled tribal members with government-to-government relationships with the federal government first established in federal treaties (Neconie, 2012).

One university system to pass such an admission policy in 2008 was the UC system. The UC Board of Regents agreed to the consideration of membership in a federally-recognized tribe as a “plus factor” in undergraduate admissions process at all UC campuses (Reynoso & Kidder,

2008). This was significant touchpoint in Indian education policy reform in California because legal scholars determined that state proposition 209, which prohibits racial and gender preferences in admissions, does not apply to federally-recognized tribes and its members because such recognition was necessary to meet longstanding federal obligations to these American Indians (Goldberg, 2002). In this case, the University of California (i.e. Academic Senate, administrators, and faculty) acted on behalf of federally-recognized tribes for admissions despite the state voter referendum to rule out special considerations for underrepresented groups. This system-wide change affected special attention given to American Indian applicants, as well as an ability to transform organizational perceptions and policies. However, once again these efforts do not reflect partnerships between tribes and the University of California system or its universities.

### **Tribal Specific Collaborations**

There is a dearth of literature on tribal-university relationships and partnerships. At the time of conceptualizing this study, there were few, if any, studies explicitly examining the relationships between universities and tribes. Furthermore, there are few empirical studies specifically examining and documenting what tribes articulate as their educational needs, particularly of their neighboring colleges and universities. In recent years, there has been an increase number of institutional reports documenting the education needs of on-campus Native communities (e.g. Northwestern, Denver University, and University of Toronto). There has also been a growth in signed agreements that constitute informal treaties between institutions and

tribes. All aspects, formal and informal relationships and needs, require a more systematic study and analysis.

*Memoranda of understanding.* In recent years, many institutions have signed agreements or memoranda of understand (MOU) with tribes in the spirit of cooperation and collaboration. These agreements vary in scope in terms of what is stipulated and who is included. Many agreements stipulate the formation of task forces, advisory boards, presidential advisory councils, or tribal relations staff on campus. Some agreements also state a commitment to collaborating with tribes on programs or projects, such as language revitalization initiatives (McCarty, 2013). Research is sparse in this area, but public documents shed light on the nature of these agreements and, thusly, relationships.

There is a range of examples with regard to who participates in these agreements. Some institutions have signed agreements with specific and multiple tribes. For example, in 1997, an inter-tribal agreement was signed between Washington State University with six local American Indian tribes: Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, the Yakama Nation, the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation in Oregon and the Kootenai, Coeur d'Alene and Nez Perce in Idaho. This agreement was renewed in 1998, 2002, 2013 and in 2015 to include five more tribes: Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation, Cowlitz Indian Tribe, Kalispel Tribe, and Spokane Tribe. In contrast, few other institutions work collaboratively to develop one committee of tribes, staff, faculty, and students as an inter-institutional agreement.

More common, in fact, are agreements between individual tribes and institutions. The University of Utah, for example, signed a memorandum with the Ute Indian tribe that expressly states,

The Ute Indian Tribe acknowledges that its association with the University of Utah – the flagship institution of higher learning in the state of Utah – raises tribal visibility and community awareness, and generates a source of pride to members of the Ute Indian Tribe. The Tribe desires to reaffirm the long and valued relationship between the University and the Tribe to promote educational benefits for its youth. (University of Utah, n.d.).

While contentious, this agreement also sanctioned the use of the tribe’s name and the image of a Ute Indian as the university mascot.

Similarly, California State University, Chico (CSUC) signed a memorandum with the Mechoopda Tribe. A unique aspect of this document is the acknowledgement that the campus sits on the traditional lands of the Mechoopda. The memorandum articulates

That the California State University, Chico, and the Mechoopda Indian Tribe of Chico Rancheria shall seek to remove procedural impediments to working directly and effectively with each other, and practice open, candid, respectful, timely, and effective communication in a cooperative process that works toward agreement, before a decision is made or an action is taken affecting the University, the Tribe, or their interests.

(California State University Chico, 2005).

This agreement articulates an institutional commitment by CSUC to the Mechoopda Indian Tribes, and contains language for how this relationship should proceed. Such agreements are becoming more common between tribes and postsecondary institutions. Most important, these statements affirm the institutions understanding of tribal sovereignty, demonstrate commitments to local tribes, and present a structure for tribal-institutional relationships.

Yet another example of a signed memorandum is between the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma and Miami University (MU), who have had an established relationship since the 1970s. MU occupies the ancestral homelands of the Miami Tribe. This place-based relationship led to formalizing a relationship between MU and the Miami Tribe relate to the university's mascot – formerly the Redskins. The interactions between both campus eventually evolved into a formally established relationship, and commitment by the University to the tribe in the form for tuition waivers for tribal members. Since, the commitment has now allowed nearly 80 tribal students to attend MU at an unprecedented completion rate – 77 percent (Baldwin, Ironstack, & Olds, 2013; Mosley-Howard, Baldwin, Ironstrack, Rousmaniere, & Burke, 2015). Years following this agreement, Baldwin et al. (2013) and Baldwin and Olds (2007) shared how a proposal was prepared and submitted to MU to develop a language revitalization project – the Myaamia Project – in partnership with the University. Baldwin et al. (2013) indicated that the long-term relationship with the University permitted conversations to take place and proposals to be submitted to MU. Since 2001, the Myaamia Project has been operating as a jointly controlled and funded initiative between the tribe and MU. The project has seen continued success over the years, presently offering a summer youth program, adult workshops, courses for MU tribal students, and home learning resources. In 2012, Baldwin was the recipient of the MacArthur Fellows Program, commonly referred to a “genius grant,” for his work with the Myaamia Project (MacArthur Foundation, 2016), which has brought resources and attention to both the Miami Tribe and MU. This exemplar partnership represents potential relationships that can be fostered between tribes and universities as a resulted from institutional commitments. Furthermore, working collaboratively for over 40 years, this relationship also illustrates the role of time, consistency, and trust building when developing tribal-institutional partnerships. Overtime, MU

and the Miami Tribe have forged a relationship that is mutually beneficial, supporting institutional goals of service, research, and teacher as well as tribal goals related to sovereignty, self-determination, and self-reliance.

While there has been progress in forging tribal-institutional partnerships at select universities, it is important to note that a majority of institutions do not have established relationships or agreements with tribes, particularly in California. Moreover, universities that have entered into formal relationships through MOUs have yet to provide demonstrated success like to the relationship between MU and the Miami Tribe. Overall, these formal agreements present an area of research that more information is needed in order to further tribal-institutional partnerships.

*Gifts and Donations.* A complexity added to tribal-university institutional relations in higher education lies within the rise of monetary gifts from tribes to colleges and universities. Today, American Indians and tribes continue to be stereotyped, often viewed to be recipients of government benefits and casino royalties (Treuer, 2012). As a result, some college or university leadership perceive American Indians or tribes as prospective donors regardless of whether they have the financial means. Of the tribes that have economic resources, many approach charitable giving as a way to increase educational access for tribal members. The Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, located in Palm Springs, California, recently signed a MOU with George Washington University to provide funding for Native American students' participation in the summer Native American Political Leadership Program. This agreement established the Richard M. Milanovich Fellowship and supports American Indian students who are members of federally-recognized California tribes to study, live, and work in Washington, D.C. while enrolled in the program (George Washinton University, 2015).

The San Manuel Band of Mission Indians, frequently referred to as San Manuel, is a small tribe located in Highland, California and has less than 100 total enrolled members over the age of 18. San Manuel has given multi-million-dollar donations to postsecondary institutions throughout southern California as a way of investing in the local region and economy. California State University, San Bernardino, the University of California, Los Angeles, and Claremont Graduate University have all been recipients of these large-scale gifts. In 2003, for example, San Manuel gifted UCLA with \$4.5 million for the development of the Tribal Learning Community and Educational Exchange program. During the same year, San Manuel also gifted \$3 million dollars to California State University, San Bernardino for the renovation of a student union (Champagne, 2005). More recently, the Claremont Graduate University received a second gift from San Manuel for a total of \$7.4 million to expand the San Manuel Tribal Administration Certificate Program that provides training and education for tribal management and employees. Most of these initiatives are aimed at the education and creation of professional development opportunities of California Indian tribal members (Champagne, 2005; Collins & Rivera, 2013).

Research on these particular partnerships indicates that tribes who invest in postsecondary education do have an expectation of improving the educational attainment of their members in order to advance their tribal communities (Champagne, 2005). These examples demonstrate a relationship between postsecondary institutions as a whole with a local tribal community, which is what this study seeks to further examine. A limitation of the previous work is information on how relationships such as these develop and evolve, and how they address the needs of tribal communities. These latter cases are unique examples of relations bound together by a monetary relationship. I was particularly interested in exploring tribal institutional



partnership more broadly, focusing on how or whether institutions are working with tribes and also meeting their institutional, diversity, and land-grant missions to serve students and specific tribal communities.

***Tribal liaison.*** Finally, another way that universities have attempted to engage with local tribes is through the creation of positions who serves as tribal liaisons and/or special advisors to senior leadership regarding American Indian community relations and affairs. Francis-Begay (2013) indicates that several public postsecondary institutions have created liaison or advisor positions to “advise the university president on issues relevant to Native American communities and to serve as an advocate for students” (p. 82). These institutions include Montana State University, University of Idaho, University of New Mexico, Washington State University, University of Oregon, Northern Arizona University, Arizona State University, and University of Arizona (UA). Francis-Begay (2013) shares details on the responsibilities of UA’s “Special Advisor to the President” and how this position came to fruition. For example, the primary responsibility of the special advisor is to serves as a liaison between tribes and the university by providing leadership and guidance on working with national, state and tribal entities. In its early stages, the special advisor reported directly to the president and was referred to as “the associate of the president for American Indian affairs and ambassador to American Indian nations” (Francis-Begay, 2013, p. 84). According to Francis-Begay (2013), the president “foresaw the benefits of having an ambassador to tribal nations at a public land-grant university situated in a state with 21 federally recognized tribes” (Francis-Begay, 2013, p. 84)(p. 84). Additionally, the university established an American Indian advisory council comprised of the highest elected tribal leaders from six tribes, two tribal college presidents, community leaders, and student representatives to advise the presidents on workforce development student recruitment and

retention and research. This commitment affirmed “UA’s commitment to understanding and valuing tribal sovereignty” (Francis-Begay, 2013, p. 86).

Similar to MOUs, tribal liaisons and advisors reflect a commitment by the university to partnership with tribes. Furthermore, these positions represent the universities acknowledgement that specialists are needed to support and guide tribal engagement efforts as well as the reflect the value universities place on partnering with tribes. This example illustrates serves as a model to other postsecondary institutions seeking to develop tribal relations. Additionally, the growing number of tribal specialists as public institutions reflect the necessity to better understand barriers to fostering tribal-institutional relationships.

### **Understanding the Needs of Tribal Communities**

Studies examining the education needs of tribes also present a compelling area for expanding research. Heth and Guyette (1985) conducted a nationwide survey exploring the higher education needs of American Indians. This study focused on recommendations of students, alumni and American Indian community members broadly. Some broad findings from the report articulate the needs of American Indian students to successfully complete college (e.g. financial aid). A limitation of this study was the broad polling of American Indians, as it limits the opportunity to connect needs of participants to specific tribal communities. Still, the study is a starting point for understanding those areas of need common to most tribes.

In recent years, the development of a new tribal college in California has surfaced with the support of over 58 tribes across the state (California Tribal College, 2017). To understand the feasibility of the undertaking, a survey was administered by the college’s board of directors to assess the needs of the California Indian community. The survey asked respondents about desires for college programs, course curriculum, and student availability for enrollment. The

survey was administered online through survey monkey, and open to any participants. Findings were presented at the California Indian Education Association Annual Conference, in 2014, stating that respondents desired training and certificate programs that would offer viable skillsets for employment. This study represents progress in consulting American Indians on the development of college curricula, particularly because it occurred at the initial stages of the college formation. However, similar to the studies conducted by Heth and Guyette (1985) the study was open to any respondent and not systematically conducted to obtain information about the needs of specific California tribes. More importantly, it suggests that only a tribal college should take the needs of local tribes into account, when clearly other public institutions in the state derive funds from Indian taxpayers and are the beneficiaries of Indian gaming profits.

### **Community-Campus Partnerships Framework**

A community-campus partnership framework (Barrera, 2012, 2015) and nation-building principles (Norman & Kalt, 2015) were two theoretical frameworks used to examine existing tribal-university relationships in higher education. Grounded in community voice and drawing from a wealth of literature on civic engagement, the community-campus partnership framework (Barrera, 2015) was selected to help identify and examine components of current tribal-university relationships. The nation-building framework offered the same assistance, however provided a cultural lens for examining relationships rooted in principles of sovereignty, self-determination and self-reliance (Norman & Kalt, 2015). The following section presents each framework and address why and how these theories will be used in the study.

Guajardo, Guajardo, Janson, and Militello (2016) offer multiple exemplar case studies and frameworks for approaching community partnerships. Additionally, Conner (2014) offers one of few studies examining the relationships between tribes and educational institutions – in

this case public school secondary Indian education programs. Interviewing program heads of Indian education programs and surveying 150 Indian education directors in public schools, (Conner, 2014) characterize the positive aspects of relationships or identify challenges, such as limited consultation with tribes or poor communication. Being one of few to examine tribal-public educational relationships, this study offers significant insight to secondary education relationships, however more research is needed that probes at the complexities and characteristics of tribal-institutional relationships to understand how to advance partnerships.

Barrera (2012) offers four elements key in a successful community-campus partnership, which will be used to identify and evaluate the relationships between universities and tribal nations. According to Barrera (2012, 2015), partnerships between higher education institutions and community partners happen for various reasons. Some of these partnerships form to address a specific issue, such as educational access or health research. And, in most cases, partnerships result in gaining access to university resources that stakeholders are in short supply of or do not possess (Barrera, 2012). This framework is defined by four elements; *trust*, *respect*, *communication*, and *shared goals*. After reviewing numerous community-campus partnership studies, Barrera (2012) cited the four elements that appeared across the literature that are vital to successful community partnerships. Barrera (2012) indicated that regardless of study method, the following four factors emerged across the literature as necessary for building partnerships. These elements are articulated below:

- 1) The development and maintenance of *trust*
- 2) The demonstration of *respect* for resources that exist within the community (including cultural and intellectual resources)

3) The creation of an organizational structure that allows for consistent *communication* between all parties, and

4) The formation of *shared goals* (p. 41)

Barrera (2012) used this framework to evaluate aspects working in existing relationships and motivations for partnership with a California university. For this study, this framework offered a foundation for recognizing and evaluating how institutions have or may approach working with tribes. The four elements served as evaluative measure in examining relationships, analyzing whether partnerships embody these elements. In doing so, I was able to gauge the quality of relationships and whether institutions were working in partnership with tribes and meeting key elements of successful partnerships. At the same time, this utility of this community centered partnership/relationship framework allowed for the expansion of a more robust community-partnership framework from a cultural lens that is specific to California tribes and their relationship with public institutions.

I also used principles of nation-building presented by Norman and Kalt (2015) in their case study monograph on university and Native nation-building partnerships. Similar to Brayboy et al. (2012), Norman and Kalt (2015) define nation-building as “the enhanced capacity of Indigenous nations to realize their own cultural, educational, economic, environmental, and political objectives through foundational actions of their own design and initiation” (p. 4). They offer four principles that serve as a framework for guiding nation-building partnerships between tribes and entities outside of Indian Country, including universities. They contend that universities must learn a new to work with tribes, as they “have used Native communities and Native affairs as subjects and objects of academic study” for far too long (p. 5). Like Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991), Norman and Kalt (2015) argue that adopting these principles can enrichen

the academy by allowing individuals involved in partnerships to “develop perspectives and experiences that lead to better research and teaching” (p. 5).

The four principles presented as the nation-building framework are: *sovereignty*, *culture*, *institutions*, and *leadership*. These principles are articulated below:

- 1) Universities respect and support tribal *sovereignty*
- 2) Universities recognize that *culture* is central to the design and effectiveness of tribal policies and institutions
- 3) *Institutional* infrastructures work cooperatively and all-encompassing to support nation-building goals
- 4) Formal and informal university *leadership* guide the academy to have more productive relationships with Native communities (p. 6-11)

As previously mentioned, there is a wide range of partnerships between tribes and higher education institutions that are evolving because of changes in higher education and tribal communities. These relationships have been under constant tensions because of historical and political issues. In some instances, institutions have made honorable and symbolic commitments to collaborate and serve local tribes. In other cases, tribes and institutions have, and continue to, work together on mutually beneficial projects, such as language revitalization projects or with academic outreach programs. In recent years, partnerships have become increasingly complex because of the ability of tribes to make large financial investments in postsecondary institutions. Of the tribes that have provided charitable donations directly to the university or university programs, we know little about how partnerships or relationships developed and how they are presently sustained beyond contracts, agreements and gifts. Combined, these theoretical

frameworks provided a lens for examining current relationships between the case study universities and tribes.

### **Summary**

This chapter reviewed terminology and literature relevant to the study, including an overview of historical and contemporary relationships between universities and tribes. Specific attention was given to the assimilative nature of postsecondary institutions during the colonial period, which is said to have initiated the distrust between American Indians and formalized education systems. Additionally, readers were given an overview of the state of Indian education during the federal and self-determination period. I purposefully followed this section by linking past American Indian educational experiences to present day educational attainment data, with a focus on California, and probed readers to think about ways to address educational inequities experienced by American Indians. The data revealed that American Indians continue to have the lowest education attainment compared to other racial minority groups nationally and state-wide. Most relevant to this study, I presented a summary on contemporary tribal-institutional relationships, reviewing relationships between universities and the broader American Indian community as well as tribal specific initiatives (i.e. memoranda of understanding and tribal liaisons). Last, this chapter offered an overview of the theoretical frameworks used in this study, TribalCrit and two campus-community frameworks. The following chapter describes, at greater length, the various facets the study design, including research paradigm, methodology, method, data analysis, and presentation of findings.

## **CHAPTER THREE – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: PARADIGM AND METHODS**

This qualitative study investigated the relationship between California Indian tribes and public postsecondary institutions in the state. A multiple case study design was chosen to gain a deeper, comparative understanding of the nuances of these relationships. I was specifically interested in understanding the range of perspectives of these relationships, as well as the intricacies of how the selected universities work with tribes and American Indian students. Additionally, the nesting of two tribes per site provided a compelling comparison of what California tribes articulate as their educational needs, how institutions serve tribes, and perspectives on partnerships. In the first part of this chapter, I present my relationship to the research topic as a Luiseño/Tongva researcher. Second, I present my methodological stance by describing the transformative paradigm and the methodological assumptions that guide this study (Hurtado, 2015; Mertens, 2009). Thereafter, I discuss at length how this multiple case study was conducted, including site selection, unit of analysis, sample, and data collection and analysis.

### **Researcher's Positionality**

Before discussing research methods, I believe a fundamental part of conducting this research is acknowledging my relationship to this topic as a Luiseño/Tongva woman and researcher. Creswell (2014) explains this as reflexivity, otherwise the role of acknowledging how “the background of the researchers actually may shape the direction of the study” (p. 186). Doing so identifies my relationship to the study, sites, and participants; as well as recognizes the role my position has on this study. Commenting on Indigenous positionality, L. T. Smith (2012) states,

For researchers, the skills and reflexivities required to mediate and work with these dynamics are quite sophisticated (i.e. that is the skills to navigate the Indian community).



Indigenous researchers have to be clear about their intentions. They need to have through about the larger picture of research and have a critical analysis of their own process. (p. 138)

L. T. Smith (2012) is essentially discussing the complexities of conducting research in Indian communities, and the importance of knowing one's self and intentions within the context of research. While some may challenge the subjectivity of Indigenous researchers conducting Indigenous research, she goes on to write that, "being Māori (in this case an Indigenous researcher) does not preclude us from being systematic, being ethical, being 'scientific' in the way we approach a research problem" (p. 189). Furthermore, the methods used for conducting research in American Indian communities is a highly debated issue in an effort to avoid deficit assumptions and move toward decolonizing strategies (Champagne, 2015; L. T. Smith, 2012; Tuck, 2009; Wilson, 2008). For this reason, I was concerned with conducting a study that allows me to be a "good Indian" and a "good researcher" simultaneously (Brayboy, 2000) – meaning that I desired to "conduct good, rigorous research" in an ethical manner, that accounts for the past injustices of educational research (Brayboy, 2000). Concurrently, I desired to remain true to myself as a Native woman and to honor my community. Reconciling both identities, a "good Indian" and "good researcher," begins with my own story.

### **My Story**

I am youngest daughter of Dolores Aguila-Stewart and Lane Stewart, the granddaughter of Carmen Gonzales and Calistro Aguila, and the great-granddaughter of Louis Florian Gonzales and Ramona Ballesteros. My maternal grandparents are the original inhabitants of California, and through this lineage I am from the San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians (Luiseño) and also of Gabrieliño-Tongva, Tohono O'odham descent. Being a Californian Indian, born and raised

within my ancestral homelands, continues to be one of the most salient aspects of my life. My lineage shapes my relationality to California – where I live, attend school, conduct research, and work.

My academic journey, like that of other American Indian students, is long and complicated. For me, it begins in my parents' home in La Puente and especially my grandparents' backyard in San Bernardino. As a child, my parents took us to visit my maternal grandparents nearly every weekend. Just outside the heart of downtown San Bernardino, I spent long hot days playing in the dirt with my cousins on a half-acre parcel of land that was riddled with oddities from my grandfather's past life as a garbage man. When I was not playing in the dirt, my memories fixate on listening to my grandparent's stories – stories that I cling to now that I have lost both my grandparents. My Grandma Carmen, who passed away in January 2015 at the age of 93, rarely shared her stories with us because many of these memories were difficult to retell. On the rare occasion that she did share, she would dip far back into her childhood and speak vividly about living in San Timateo Canyon with three generations of her family on a land allotment, about attending Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School in Banning, California, and about caregiving for her father before his passing. Now that she is gone, I have burned these narratives into my memory so that I will never forget them. Throughout my life, I have carried my grandmother's stories with me and they shaped my work in the Indian community when I was an undergraduate in college, especially in education.

In 2002, I left the loving embrace of my family and planted my foot on the UCLA campus. For me, it was not difficult to leave home. UCLA innately felt like home because it is within my traditional homelands – the land I have always known to be the home of my ancestors. At the time, I was one of a handful of self-identified American Indian undergraduate students

entering UCLA. I was also the first person in my family to attend a four-year university. During my five years as an undergraduate, I faced many academic challenges but found tremendous success in the American Indian Studies program. I attribute much of my success to the stories I heard during my childhood. Stories that my grandmother shared that spoke to her strength, resilience, determination, and compassion and a Luiseño/Tongva woman. The years following my entrance to UCLA were spent trying to understand my grandmother's life, and by nature of that, trying to understand myself.

Fast forward to 2017. I have a Bachelor's degree in American Indian Studies, a Master's of Education in Student Affairs from UCLA, and I am working on completing a doctorate of philosophy in education when this study began. During the decade leading up to this research, I worked professionally on-campus as a Student Affairs Officer in the Community Programs Office directing the Retention of American Indians Now! (RAIN!) program, the first student-run and student-initiated American Indian retention program in the nation. And, as an undergraduate and graduate student, I have had the privilege of interacting with UCLA's highest-ranking administrators while presiding over the American Indian Student Association, Campus Retention Committee, and Student Fee Advisory Committee. At every step of the way, I carried my family and community with me – always conscious of the need to prioritize and center American Indian needs, presence, voice, and perspective in non-Native universities. This is the context of my relationship with UCLA – and why I want to continue to do this research.

As a UCLA staff and graduate students, I have spent most of my weekdays on-campus before 7am over the last eight years; during these mornings, the campus is uninhabited. The buildings are barely opening, so I walk campus taking pictures of the sun rising. As the sun illuminates brick buildings and evaporates the morning dew off the grass of Royce Plaza, I catch

glimpses of jack rabbits by Kinsey Pavilion and imagine the land as it once was. In these moments, I feel alive on campus. I think about the first inhabitants – my ancestors – who walked the same land generations before me. I picture the land before it was seized, gifted to the University of California, and developed into one of the most elite public universities in the nation. I think about a land once exclusive populated by Tongva people, that now occupied by invaders that have no recognition of the first inhabitants.

As the day progresses, students, staff, faculty and guests ascend onto campus and I disappear into the landscape of campus. Despite being actively engaged on campus for nearly fifteen years, the sense of being invisible on a campus that occupies your homelands leaves me feeling displaced. There is little acknowledgement or recognition by the university for my community. Over the years, but much more recently, these feeling have led me to call into question the relationship between California tribal communities and higher education. More so, I have come to question the responsibility postsecondary institutions have to Indigenous communities who have been displaced so that their institutions can exist. This concern has led me to examine the relationship between tribes and public postsecondary institutions in California.

Being Luiseño/Tongva not only influences the commitment I have to my tribes, but it reinforces the responsibility I have to tribal members, tribes in Southern California, and American Indians as a whole. In recent years, I have become more familiar with the critiques of educational research and research conducted with American Indian communities. But my work is much deeper than wanting to be a “good Indian” and a “good researcher” (Brayboy, 2000; Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000). I seek to be a warrior of the truth. I seek to give voice to a community that would otherwise be absent from education literature. I seek to bring a new voice

to research that adds a different dimension to work previously conducted on Indians an education (Brayboy, 2000). And, I yearn to transform California institutions to places that are inclusive, accountable, and responsible to California Indian communities.

I understand the importance of conducting rigorous and trustworthy research. In knowing this, I am aware of the importance of acknowledging that my relationship to this topic can lead to biased assumptions. While I view my identity as a Luiseño/Tongva researcher and relationship with tribal members as a strength, I recognize the value of acknowledging that my identity may influence this study as a whole. On one hand, “being an insider in American Indian communities enhances the validity of the research process, data collection and analysis” (Brayboy, 2000). My relationships with California tribes also provide unique access into tribal communities with an element of trust. On the other hand, some may argue that my intimacy detracts from the research. Moving forward, I discuss the mechanisms that I implemented to ensure the trustworthiness of this study.

### **Paradigmatic and Methodological Stance**

As with any research, this study was guided by a set of axiological, ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions – or a *research paradigm* (Creswell, 2013; Hurtado, 2015; Mertens, 2009). A research paradigm refers to how we understand the world and assumptions we adhere to when conducting research. Broken down, axiology refers to set of ethics, values or guiding principles; ontology refers to the nature of reality (singular vs. multiple realities); epistemology refers to the nature of knowledge and the relationships between the knowledge of the researcher and those being researched, and methodology refers to the approach of systematic inquiry (Creswell, 2013). The underlying assumptions for this study align with a transformative research paradigm (Hurtado, 2015; Mertens, 2009). This paradigm is

emancipatory in nature, permitting the researcher to “consciously situate their work in response to the inequities of society and within a goal of enhancing social justice” (Mertens, Bledsoe, Sullivan, & Wilson, 2010). Furthermore, this paradigm aligns with Indigenous research methodologies. The following explains the transformative and Indigenous research paradigms and methodologies, which lay the foundation for this inquiry.

### **Transformative Paradigm**

The transformative paradigm gives attention to the experiences of marginalized communities by focusing on power dynamics and relationships. The principles, or axiology, of this paradigm is to advance a transformative agenda that address social inequities with respect for marginalized communities. These principles inform the ontological assumption that there are multiple realities that coexist, often informed by power and legitimacy. To this end, this study examined the relationships between select California Indian tribes and universities, assuming that existing power differentials shape current relationships. By providing recommendations to universities on how to improve relations with tribes, this study also seeks to advance a transformative action agenda that will improve tribal-institutional relationships.

Epistemologically speaking, the transformative paradigm focuses on the relationship between the researcher and participants. These assumptions inform a methodological approach that focuses on conducting research ethically and for the purpose of enhancing social justice. For this reason, researchers often work in partnership with members of the community that they are studying (Mertens, 2009). Acknowledging that other paradigms often assume the researcher is distanced, Hurtado (2015) expands on the participatory feature of the transformative approach by addressing the multiple ways that higher education researchers can work with communities along a participatory continuum that ranges from simply informing communities of results, to various

forms of engagement in the research process, toward involvement in empowerment/action and implementation. This extends possibilities for multiple points of collaboration with tribal communities where the end goal is empowerment. According to Mertens (2009), “indigenous peoples and scholars from marginalized communities have much to teach us about respect for culture and the generation of knowledge for social change” (p.6). As such, the following connects the transformative paradigm to aspects of an Indigenous Research Paradigm (Wilson, 2008) and Critical Indigenous Research Methodology (Brayboy et al., 2012b) to situate the present study and methodologies on Indigenous communities.

### **Indigenous Research Paradigm**

The purpose of employing a transformative paradigm for this study was to explore and analyze the current relationship and practices by institutions in relation to their local tribe that can lead to institutional transformation. The central tenets of the transformative paradigm serve as an umbrella for a variety of approaches of research conducted in numerous marginalized communities, such as feminist, critical race, and resilience approaches (Mertens, 2009; Mertens et al., 2010). Included with these groups are the American Indian or Indigenous scholars, who have worked at great lengths to address the issues of invasive and deficit-oriented research conducted on Native communities (L. T. Smith, 2012; Tuck, 2009). When designing this study, I made the point of connecting the transformative paradigm to ethical research principles within Indigenous communities because alignment with principles were to guide this inquiry.

Several Indigenous scholars have spoken against research done on Indigenous communities and questioned the ethics of this research (Brayboy et al., 2012b; Champagne, 2015; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; L. T. Smith, 2012; Tuck, 2009; Wilson, 2008). Among these critics is the late (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001) who offered a scathing critique on research

conducted by anthropologists in American Indian communities. More arguments build on this work, and argue that current research methods perpetuate stereotypes of Indigenous people, using concepts such as racial inferiority and incivility, are harmful to perspectives by others of Indigenous peoples, and do not necessarily prioritize the advancement of Indigenous nations or communities (L. T. Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008). In response, some scholars have called for a moratorium on research that negatively impacts Native communities (Tuck, 2009). Similarly, scholars have asserted that research should be done to benefit and advance Native communities (Brayboy, 2005b; Lomawaima, 2000).

Suggestions have also been made to improve the Indian-researcher relationship. For example, a leading scholar in this area, L. T. Smith (2012), called for de-colonial approaches when researching Indigenous communities in her book *Decolonizing Methodologies*. Tribes have also responded, as previously mentioned, by adopting their own Institutional Review Board (IRB) policies and practices (Champagne, 2015; Goldberg & Champagne, 2005). Additionally, some postsecondary institutions have adapted their IRB assessments to encourage research proposals that encourage collaborations with tribes or to include American Indian studies programs in sanctioning research on American Indians (Lomawaima, 2000). A fundamental element of these efforts is to ensure that research is not conducted *on* Indian people or participants, but *with* them (Wilson, 2008).

Similar to the transformative paradigm, the Indigenous Research Paradigm is informed by notions of relationality (i.e. the primacy of relationships) and accountability. These notions are best explained by Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) and Brayboy et al. (2012b) as relationality, respect, reciprocity and responsibility, otherwise referred to as the four Rs. These four Rs are recognized as values found in every Indigenous community, therefore any research within



Indigenous communities should encompass these values. Within this framework knowledge is viewed as relational; research should cultivate a mutual respect; reciprocity encourages accountability to tribal communities; and the moral responsibilities of researchers are emphasized (Brayboy et al., 2012b; Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991; Wilson, 2008).

It is this discourse that compelled me to be conscious of my research approach, by ensuring that this study considered and accounted for the worldview, culture, goals, and values of Indigenous people. I also desired to conduct a study that was respectful of tribal participants. This desire differs from the goals of typical research and research institutions, but aligns with a transformative research paradigm. Like the aforementioned scholars, I agree that “the research that we do as Indigenous people is a ceremony that allows a raised level of consciousness and insight into our world” (Wilson, 2008, p. 11). Given this, I consider my role as a researcher and the responsibility I have to my community and southern California tribes in my work. Wilson (2008) argues that “relationality and accountability can be put into practice through choice of research topic, methods of data collections, form of analysis and presentation of information” (p. 97). The present study, therefore, emphasizes an approach that is cognizant of the historical relationship between Indians and researchers. As such, this study used paradigmatic principles and research methods that are grounded in an Indigenous worldview with regard to relationality and accountability. These research assumptions informed the design of this study, including research questions, site and participant selection, engagement with participants, interview procedures, analysis of data, and presentation of findings.

### **Research Questions**

With the exception of Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs) and a select group of other postsecondary institutions, few colleges and universities actively partner with the tribe

whose land their campus occupies. This relationship, or lack thereof, was highly influential in developing a study that examines the relationships between universities and local tribes. Using a multiple case study method, this study examined institutional perspectives on the relationships and responsibilities existing between two California public postsecondary institutions (UC Berkeley and UCLA) and their local tribes. This study also explored what these tribes articulate as educational needs for advancing their communities. The following research questions guided this study:

1. What kinds of formal and informal relationships exist between the case study postsecondary institutions and local American Indian tribes?
  - a. How, if at all, does this differ by federal recognition status?
2. What responsibilities are articulated by the case study postsecondary institutions with regard to specific local American Indian tribes?
  - a. How, if at all, does this differ by federal recognition status?
3. What do California tribes articulate as the postsecondary education needs of their communities?
  - a. How do tribal perspectives on postsecondary education needs compare with those expressed by postsecondary institutional representatives?

### **Multiple Case Study of Tribal-University Relationships**

When designing this study, I was specifically interested in exploring a contemporary phenomenon as it takes place and unfolds within a real world context (Yin, 2009). For this reason, a multiple case study design was used to investigate the issue of tribal-university institutional relationships. In case study research, researchers explore a bound system – or in this case multiple bound systems – overtime. According to Stake (2006) and Creswell (2013), the

purpose of a multiple case study is to focus on one issue or problem, and draw on multiple cases to illustrate that issue. This is accomplished through a detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information – including interviews, observations, and document analysis (Creswell, 2013). Together, the sources of data help to understand a specific problem, and the cases study sites selected illustrate the issue.

Conducting multiple case studies allowed me to understand patterns within individual sites, as well as conduct cross-case analysis that is representative of patterns across institutions and tribes. Although it is difficult to make generalizable arguments in qualitative research, the use of logical replication when conducting this study and the strategic selection of study sites aided in the subsequent presentation of collective arguments that represent both institutions and tribes' perspectives. When designing and conducting the study, I expect each case to yield different findings, but replicating the procedures for each site assisted in presenting unique and general findings across cases.

### **Unit of Analysis**

I used an illustrative case study research approach, wherein the unit of analysis examined was foregrounded and the case study settings are then placed in the background (Kezar, 2011). Although location and the proximity between the tribes and institutions are essential to understanding the relationship, the focus of this study is on the tribal-university institutional relationships or partnerships. Meaning, relationships reflect the foreground of this study, and the respective institutions provide the context for studying these relationships. Making the relationship the unit of analysis has allowed me to equally interrogate the university and tribes during analysis. Therefore, the “issue” for this study is the existing tribal-institutional relationship or partnership between the selected California Indian tribes and public

postsecondary institutions. The educational needs of tribes were also explored in this study, as they are intimately intertwined with relational issue being examined. The following will discuss the site selection in greater depth.

### **Site Selection**

The sites for this study were made up of two higher education institutions and four California tribal nations – two federally recognized and two non-federally recognized – two within each site. The institutions selected are the oldest public research-one universities in the University of California system – the University of California, Berkeley (UC Berkeley) and the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Additionally, the four tribes selected for this study include two non-federally recognized tribes and two federally recognized tribes. The two non-federally recognized tribes are the Gabrieliño-Tongva Nation and Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, and the two federally recognized tribes are the San Manuel Band of Mission Indians and Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria. The northern California site for this study was comprised of the University of California, Berkeley, Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, and Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria. The southern California site was comprised of the University of California, Los Angeles, Gabrieliño-Tongva Nation, and San Manuel Band of Mission Indians.

Although this study centered advancing tribal nations, I developed criteria for selecting institutional sites as opposed to tribal groups. Therefore, selecting the universities determined the affiliated tribes. The intention behind selecting the institution first was to identify the sites that espouse similar relationships toward the local Native community. Identifying two institutions with similarities in context assisted me in examining the phenomenon of interest, regardless of idiosyncrasies. Tribes remained central to this study, because the focus of the advancing tribes, improving relationship and responsibility to tribes and understanding the

education needs of tribes. To select sites, I used the following three criteria: 1) institution type, 2) geographic location, and 3) reputation of supporting American Indian students (e.g. prevalence of Native programs) and tribal connections.

Yin (2009) points out that every possible site will have multiple unique features, and collective case studies can show different perspectives. Knowing the diversity of college and universities across the nation, I was conscious of not selecting two extremes – that is two sites representing either exemplar or deviant cases in their relations with tribes. For example, a postsecondary institution in Arizona may be considered an extreme case given the recent revision of the tribal consultation policy, the approval of in-state tuition for members from federally recognized tribes within the state, or the enrollment number of American Indian students. Many would cite these institutions as exemplars with regard to their relationship with Arizona tribes. Rather, I intentionally selected two similar sites that may yield similar and transferable findings, meaning the findings are will offer transferable lessons for other postsecondary institutions and tribal nations. While these institutions are the epitome of selective public institutions, both have similar institutional features structurally, historically and culturally. For example, both institutions are land-grant, research-one, public institutions. Additionally, both have a shared goal or mission of teaching, research and service. Last, as land-grant institutions both have an articulated commitment and inherent responsibility to serve their local communities as stipulated in both Morrill Acts (National Research Council, 1995). Compositionally, both campuses have similar student demographics, academic programs, and student programs. Both UC Berkeley and UCLA are selective admission institutions.

The second criterion used to select sites was the geographic location of the institution. Because this study focuses on advancing California Indian nations, sites obviously need to be

located within the state. Additionally, the research questions posed solicit a comparison between federally and non-federally recognized tribes therefore making California and ideal state because of presence of non-recognized tribes and their proximity to both sites.

The third criterion used to select sites was the institutions' reputation with supporting American Indians – both students and tribes – given the number of campus programs. Both sites have a reputation for demonstrating a commitment to American Indian communities based on existing academic and student programs (based on initial review of websites). For example, each campus has an American Indian studies or ethnic studies program and center. Both institutions have American Indian student support programs on-campus, as well as participate in outreach initiatives targeting the local American Indian community and regional reservation high school students. Lastly, these sites also have student affairs staff tasked with Native student development. Using these criteria allowed me to demonstrate across institutions key aspects of this study that I consider to be unique and generalizable to similar kinds of institutions.

The basis for identifying federally and non-federally recognized tribes in this study was, in part, influenced by the institutions selected. For example, the tribes' proximity to the campus was essential considering that this study focuses in on the relationship institutions have with their “local” tribe (i.e. tribes whose traditional homelands are in close proximity to the institution). I used the following two criteria to select tribes for this study: 1) federal recognition status and 2) shared geographic location.

The first criteria used for selecting tribes was their federal recognition status (i.e. federally or non-federally recognized). To have a comparative understanding of the relational differences between federally and non-federally recognized tribes, and universities, I selected two tribes for each institution site with differing federal recognition statuses; that is, being

recognized by the federal government and not being recognized by the federal government as tribes. Four tribes in total were selected. The rationale for this selection was being able to compare tribes to each other within the sites and across sites. The conscious selection of different tribal statuses allowed me to conduct an analysis between the two federally recognized tribes or two non-federally recognized tribes across-cases, as well as conduct an analysis within each site that compared and contrasted the tribes to each other. This analysis offered a comparative understanding as to whether and how relationships differed based on recognition status.

Recognition was a determinant because of the opposing legal rights and federal obligations afforded to tribes based on this distinction. For one, recognition by the federal government affirms the government-to-government relationship between tribes and the United States, and upholds the legal obligations of the federal government to tribes. As a result, recognized tribes are addressed in specific federal and state laws and policies that articulate formal relationships with and obligations to federally recognized tribes alone (i.e. NAGPRA). Additionally, federal recognition has also had an implicit and explicit impact the development and application of UC-wide policies (e.g. UC NAGPRA, and graduate and undergraduate admissions policies). The lack of federal recognition (i.e. being non-federally recognized) was a determinant within this criteria because of the geographic link that tribes have with universities, which is further explained in the following criteria. Because of the ancestral relationship that California tribes have to land through creation (Bauer, 2016), universities have an inherent connect to tribes that needs to be affirmed. Last, preliminary documents collected for this study revealed several examples as to how the case study universities have fostered formal and informal relationships with tribes. There was an obvious difference in relationships based on

recognition status, which compelled me to include tribes with different recognition status in this study.

The second criterion for selecting tribes for this study was accounting for the shared geographic location between tribes and the university. Because I seek to examine institutional relationships with local tribes, geographic location is critical to this selection. When accounting for relations to the land, it is critical to acknowledge that all of the present day United States was once solely Indian territory prior to contact (Pommersheim, 2009). Therefore, it can be, and has been, asserted that all colleges and universities in the nation rest on Indian land (Gould, 1992; Lipe, 2014). All of California, for example, was home to vibrant communities of Indigenous people before contact. The systematic dispossession and displacement of California Indians through settler colonial tactics does not cut the ancestral ties these individuals have to their homelands, as many still live in the region today. Under these notions, I have determined that the expression “local tribe” refers to the tribe whose ancestral or traditional homelands are where the university is presently located. As such, I use ancestral territories to associate tribes with universities throughout the state, and vice versa. This determination has helped me in selecting tribes, because I was able to identify what tribes had “shared” connections to the current geographic location of the institutions. The following section explains at greater length the universities and tribes that compose the two case study sites.

### **Site Description**

*Institutions.* Out of the ten University of California institutions, Berkeley and Los Angeles were identified as sites for this study. Both schools are noted as flagship institutions of the UC system. UC Berkeley was the first UC campus founded in 1860, with UCLA following in 1919. Both campuses have undergraduate student populations ranging between 25,000 and



27,000, with American Indians accounting for less than one percent of the student body. In 2005, 2010 and 2015, the number of enrolled American Indians at UC Berkeley was 127, 145, and 180, respectively (UC Office of the President, 2016). Similarly, the number of enrolled American Indians at UCLA for these same years was 112, 128, and 158, respectively (UC Office of the President, 2016).

Both universities have academic programs in American Indian or Native American studies and centers. UCLA's American Indian Studies Interdepartmental program was established in 1982, and was the first Masters of Arts program in AIS in the nation. UC Berkeley, on the other hand, has a concentration in Native American studies that is housed within the Ethnic Studies program. Additionally, each campus has Native focused research centers. The American Indian Studies Center being located at UCLA, and the Joseph A. Meyers Center for Research on Native American Issues being located at UC Berkeley. The Linguistic Department at each university also collaborates with local tribes on language revitalization programs in partnership with the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival (AICLS) (Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival, 2017). Together, UC Berkeley and AICLS host an annual week-long institute, the Breath of Life Archival Institute for Indigenous Languages, focuses on the revitalization and maintenance of California Indian languages.

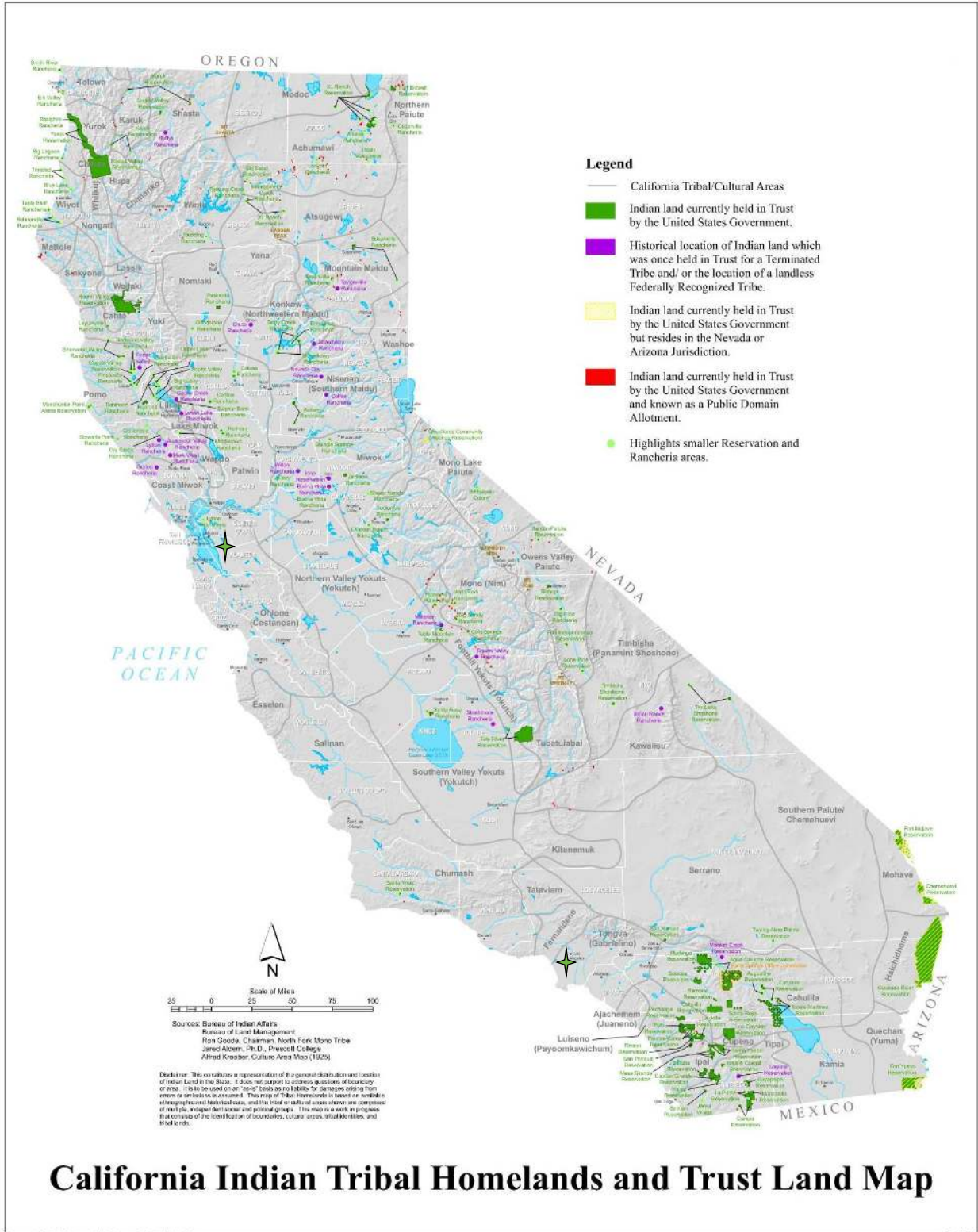
Both institutions have American Indian student organizations, including Native student councils and American Indian Science and Engineering Society chapters. In addition, these campuses have vibrant Native student support programs (i.e. Native American Recruitment and Retention, Retention of American Indians Now!). Each campus also has Native American staff persons in Enrollment Management that is dedicated to and specializes in Native American

recruitment. Their responsibility is to engage local American Indian students and communities, and recruit students to their respective campuses. Related to admissions, the University of California system agreed to the consideration of membership in a federally-recognized tribe as a “plus factor” in undergraduate admissions in 2008, which both campuses have implemented (Reynoso & Kidder, 2008).

***Non-federally recognized tribes.*** Two non-federally recognized tribes were identified for this study as well – Gabrieliño-Tongva Nation and Muwekma Ohlone Tribe. Both universities are located within the ancestral territories of these tribes. Additionally, both tribes have varying degrees of relationship with the universities, including individuals and the institution as a whole. The tribes are, however, inextricably connected to these universities because of geography and the universities land-grant responsibility to serve the local community.

***Federally recognized tribes.*** Two federally recognized tribes were also selected for this study – the San Manuel Band of Mission Indians and Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria. These two tribes are geographically located approximately 60 miles or one hour from the case study universities, and are the closest federally recognized tribes to the institutions. They also have established partnerships, both giving charitable donations to their respective institutions. These contributions range in size, and have offered personnel and programmatic support to American Indian programs and services at each respective university.

The following map, *California Indian Tribal Homelands and Trust Land Map*, indicates the location of each university site (starred within the map) in relation the case study tribes (California Department of Water Resources, 2011).



# California Indian Tribal Homelands and Trust Land Map

Note. Taken from California Department of Water Resources, South Central Region Office.

## Final Sample and Data Sources

Case studies require that multiple data sources are gathered in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the site (Yin, 2009). This study relied on interviews, documents and fieldnotes as sources of data. The collection of these sources is detailed in the following section.

### Sample

My interest in understanding the relationship between the previously indicated tribes and universities, led me to target university and tribal representatives at primary sources of data for this study. Participants were purposively selected to ensure representation from both parties of interest in this study. Purposive sampling was selected to construct the sample that would maximize the variation across the site. A criterion for selecting participants was developed based on the research questions, or areas of interest, and theoretical frames. Within each university and tribe, leadership were primarily targeted for interviews. A complete list of all study participants, including university site, position, race, and gender can be viewed in the appendices (Appendix A: Table 1A).

*University representatives.* To understand the university perspective of tribal-institutional relationships, I sought out interviews with senior and mid-level university administrators who have a role in university campus and community relations. The chancellors of universities, for example, are charged with the responsibility of external relations, garnering support, and articulating the goals and direction of the institution. Similarly, vice chancellors, associate vice chancellors, vice-provost, deans and faculty, all have a role in shaping academic initiatives and student life experiences as well as some duties in improving university relations with external communities. Within the university, I also sought out participants that work in American Indian units (i.e. departments, centers, or programs), including Native and non-Native individuals. The

purpose of targeting these individuals to is gain an alternative perspective of the relationships, and a more authentic picture of the universities partnerships with tribal communities.

The final sample of university administrative representatives included 13 total participants, five from UC Berkeley and eight from UCLA. Eight total representatives from American Indian units participated in the study, which include Native and non-Native staff. Two staff from UC Berkeley participated and six individuals from UCLA. Appendix A: Table 1A reflects a breakdown of individual participants by institution.

***Tribal representatives.*** Participants from the four partnering tribes were selected based on leadership roles, knowledge, and work experience within education to hone in on individuals with perspectives relevant to the study. Participants currently holding leadership positions within their respective tribes were selected because I believed that these individuals have the best knowledge of past and present partnerships, and have the greatest understanding of their tribe's educational needs. In my mind, these individuals were tribal elders, and past or current tribal council members. Overall, the number of tribal representatives available to interview was substantially fewer than university representatives because of the number of enrolled tribal members and leaders within each identified California tribal nation.

I also sought out a number of tribal members of the identified tribe who were alumni of the respective institutions (i.e. member of San Manuel Band of Missions Indians and UC Los Angeles Alumni). These individuals were few in number, one individual per institution. This was done for several reasons. First, these individuals acted as a bridge between their tribe and the university, providing an insider and outsider perspective. Having attended the school, these individuals can offer an "insider" perspective to these relations. Some may have firsthand

knowledge or role in other partnerships. Second, they were referred to me by other interviewees through snowball sampling.

The final sample of tribal representatives to participate in this study was five; one participant from the Ohlone Tribe, one from the Tongva Nation, one from Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria, and two from the San Manuel Band of Mission Indians. Appendix A reflects a breakdown of tribal representatives that participated in this study. While the number of tribal representatives to participate in this study were fewer in number compared to university representatives, it should be noted that these individuals too held senior leadership positions and had unparalleled knowledge related to their tribe's history, cultural, and relations with organizations external to the tribe, including universities. The number of tribal participants also reflects the experience of engaging in research with California tribes, and the section following sampling procures in this chapters is dedicated to discussing my experiences in navigating California tribes and interviewing tribal members.

***Purposively selected divergent cases.*** I expected that there may be a disconnect between university and tribe; therefore, I also decided to select participants who would be identified to have divergent and convergent perspectives. An example of this may be an American Indian Studies faculty member who conducts research with local tribal groups. One would assume that this individual has a defined perspective and experience of tribal-institutional relations. However, I have decided on selecting these unique cases to ensure that multiple perspectives are captured.

***Snowball sampling.*** I also used snowball sampling to develop my participant sample, and received several referrals to participants at each site. With snowball sample, I asked participants if they could recommend any other participants for the study (Creswell, 2013). I believe that

allowing for snowball sampling ensured that I identified people with the most specific knowledge about relationships with the case study tribes.

### **Participant Outreach**

Employing purposive sampling warranted that participants were directly contacted for participation in this study. An introductory email was sent to university representatives to present the research topic and study (Appendix B). Follow-up phone calls were made when necessary to make contact with identified participants, however more often than not, university participants quickly responded to emails – the quickest response being only 15 minutes and the longest being two-days. To outreach to tribal members, in-person and phone outreach was critical in connecting with tribal community leadership. As mentioned, several times before, there is a continued distrust between American Indian communities and educational researchers, therefore personal contact helped to alleviate some apprehension to participate in the study. In addition to emailing and call tribal representatives, I was present at community events to interact and engage community members. This presence was primarily in southern California, as Los Angeles is my home and permitted a continued presence with and engagement among local tribal members. Additional details on outreach to tribal representatives is provided in the section, “Navigating Research with California Tribal Nations.” Last, interviews times and locations were scheduled in consultation with participants at times and locations of their convenience.

### **Interviews**

Merriam (2009) identifies interviewing to be a “process in which a researcher and participant engage in a conversation focused on questions related to a research study” (p. 87). The content of interview questions addressed facts about specific relationships based on initiatives as well as perceptions and expectations that surround the relationship, focusing on the

significant questions that were set forth to guide the study. This was done to ensure that interviewees provide information needed to generate emergent findings as well as findings that align with theoretical frameworks for the study. Interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 90 minutes, depending on participant. Interviews were recorded and sent to a reliable company to be transcribed verbatim for subsequent coding and analysis.

*Semi-structured interviews.* Semi-structured, open ended interviews were conducted with tribal representatives and university officials. Semi-structured interviews consist of flexible open-ended and less structured questions (Merriam, 2009). Using a semi-structured format allowed for the interviewer and interviewee to reflect on questions and responses. It also allowed for additional questioning or discussion to occur on related topics that may seem tangential to the question at hand (Creswell, 2013). Brayboy (2000) argue that in qualitative inquiries the “researcher’s quests directly contradict the Indian way of interacting,” which offered additional rationale for using semi-structured open protocols (p. 165). Using semi-structured interviews was particularly useful when working with tribal representatives because it was a non-invasive approach that allowed participants to be comfortable when responding to questions. Interviews were guided by a protocol consisting of a series of questions related to tribal-institutional relationships, the educational needs of tribes, and how universities serve tribal communities. I approached interviews as conversations with participants, moving through the protocol naturally and dialoguing with them on topics they had insights or questions about. Final interview protocols can be referenced in the appendices (Appendix D, E, F, and G).

### **Document Collection**

As mentioned, case studies require multiple sources of data to build a rich, in-depth case (Yin, 2009). A general list of university and tribal documents reviewed for this study can be



viewed in the appendices (Appendix H). In addition to data collected from interviews, I collected campus and tribal documents as a second source of data. The rationale behind document review in this case study is the need to have an additional set of data that reflects information that cannot be learned from interviews or are referenced as the basis for the relationship. This data offered more context to understanding the case study institutions, and also corroborated findings during the data analysis phase of the study.

The purpose reviewing documents was to examine current and historical documents pertaining to tribal-institutional partnerships, as well as understand tribal needs and university services. Both public and private documents were gathered. Public documents included newspapers, minutes from meetings, official reports, mission statements, service agreements, and/or memorandum of understandings, and documents on donor requests/restrictions of monetary gifts from tribes (Barrera, 2012; Creswell, 2013). In addition, I explored each campus' historical record (i.e. old campus newspapers) to help contextualize any historical relationship each campus has had with tribes and/or American Indian students. Some documents were gathered via internet searches or "web scraping."

A majority these documents were collected prior to interviews. The rationale behind this approach was to develop a background or understanding of the site before finalizing protocols, identifying interviewees, and scheduling campus visits. Participants were also asked for relevant documents that were referenced in interviews. Gathering the documents revealed areas further inquiry with interviewees that needed to be involved to understand the site or issue being studied.

Private documents were collected from participants that include personal emails and letters that reflected informal agreements or relationships between tribes and universities. If participants volunteered these private documents, they were added to the corpus of data for

analysis. Private documents may not be confidential in nature, but rather inaccessible via the internet. The collection of private documents has been included so as to be responsive to items that may also lead to new areas of exploration. Omitting private items, may result in a “blind spot” in data and analysis that is critical to the issue being studied.

### **Researcher Journal**

Last, I implemented and relied upon notes in my research journal throughout the study to ensure reflexivity. Creswell (2014) states that reflexivity allows the “inquirer to reflect about how their role in the study and their personal background, culture and experiences hold potential for shaping their interpretations” (p. 186). Journaling throughout the study process will allow for later analysis of the role my positionality has had on advancing themes or making meaning of the data. Accounting for how the researcher’s biases and values impact the study will ensure a level of trustworthiness.

### **Navigating Research with California Tribal Nations**

Before discussing steps to data analysis, it is worth mentioning the steps taken when establishing a formal research-participant relationship with the California tribal nations participating in this study, as well as the complexities of navigating research with Indigenous communities. Over the last 18 months, I have worked earnestly to establish relationships with the four tribal nations in this study; two in northern and two in southern California. Although I am in the unique position of being an insider to California Indian tribes, as a woman of Luiseño and Tongva descent, this does not guarantee open access to all California tribes. The following outlines the steps I took to establish relationships with the four case study tribes.

As a California Indian and researcher, or rather a California Indian researcher, I am every conscious of my approach to conducting research in California Indian communities. From the

onset of this study, I witnessed the distrust that Indigenous people have toward university research because these feelings were directed at me regardless as to whether I was an Indigenous woman. This first occurred when attending a meeting of Southern California Indian tribal chairmen to present a pilot study I conducted on California Indian student college experience in October 2015. Being that my target audience was, and always is, tribal communities, tribal leaders were ideal individuals to present these findings to. Among the times this study has been presented, the consortium of chairmen offered me the *most* feedback and questions that I have received to date on this project. At the same time, they were critical of the fundamental role of research in advancing California tribal communities. At the end of the presentation, I posed a question to these leaders, asking, “As a researcher committed to advancing California tribal nations, what research in education do you believe needs to be done that would benefit your tribes?” Silence. Eventually they offered responses, but there was a sense of reluctance. A month later, I met with Joely Proudfit (Luiseño) a well-established educator in California Indian Country and Director of California Indian Culture and Sovereignty Center at California State University, San Marcos. I shared my experience and she politely explained, something to the extent of, “It is likely that no one has ever asked tribal leaders that question.” We talked about some of the comments that came out of that meeting with tribal leaders and other ideas for research. The concept for this study continued to evolve, and it was clear that tribes were a critical piece to this study. Despite this initial interaction with tribal leaders, I persisted in designing this study – one that engaged Southern California tribes.

When designing this study, I spoke to a few individuals with the case study tribes and was assured a certain level of access, although not full access. When I began to engage the case study tribes and members to participate in the study and collect interviews, the experience I had

was quite different than expected. It was not anything that I was not prepared for, but responses ultimately altered how the case study findings are presented in this manuscript. In short, the time it took to establish trustworthy and communicative relationships with tribes and their leaders led me to question the ethics of using the voice of tribal representatives in this study at the present time. These concerns coincide with the transformative paradigm, and bring to light real challenges in establishing researcher-community relationships, conducting research ethically, and working in partnership with community members from marginalized communities (Mertens, 2009).

***Outreach strategy.*** One of my top priorities was to follow proper protocol when approaching tribes to seek their participation in this study. I proceeded one of two ways to establish initial contact. First, I used close relations as points of contact to introduce me to tribal leaders; essentially identifying an insider in the tribe to help me gain access to members of the tribe. The second approach was to reach out directly to tribal leadership, such as tribal chairmen or tribal council. My goal was to engage with the appropriate leaders of each tribe by taking the necessary and respectful steps to make contact.

I should point out that I did not experience resistance. Every tribe and individual that I connected with was responsive and eager to participate. The low response rate, I do not believe, is not a reflection of lack of responsiveness. Rather, I believe that the response rate reflects the tribe and tribal members distrust toward university research. It also reflects an over commitment of tribal leaders personal, professional and tribal responsibilities. Moreover, I perceive the response, or rather lack of response, to be the communities' form of refusing to engage in research (Simpson, 2007; Tuck & Yang, 2014). Based on her research experience, Simpson (2007) suggests that Indigenous people engage in a process of actively deciding when and how

to share information about their cultures and experiences with the academy, such as avoiding topics they do not wish known, retold or misinterpreted. She refers to this process as refusal, which is often conflated with resistance. However, the processes are not the same. Simpson (2007) points out that refusing “affiliations, identities, and relationships in ways that are not about domination or class struggle but instead about staking claims to the sociality that underlies all relationships, including political ones” (p. 320). A fundamental component to refusal is protecting and maintaining sovereignty, not a power struggle. This is to say that participants are not refusing to participate, because, in fact, they never did such a thing. Instead, they are deciding “when and how” to participate. In this case, it would be a matter of time and trust that determines when these individuals and tribes share their perspectives.

A primary reason that I believe this is because over 18 months I constantly engaged with prospective participants at community and personal events, but was not able to secure the number of desired interviews with key tribal leaders. Yet another tension of navigating researcher-participant relationships as a Native researcher in the American Indian community (i.e. being an insider-outsider researcher) (Brayboy, 2000) is sometimes having a close relationship with prospective study participants. This is especially the case when operating in small tribal communities, which was the case for this study. In some instances, I found myself having long established relationships with individuals that were coincidentally essential to this study. While these individuals expressed an interest in participating in the study, they have always been supportive of all my research projects but I could not secure an interview. There was an irony in consistently seeing individuals at social or community events but not being able to successfully secure an interview.

***Persistent outreach.*** As mentioned, I received a range of responses when reaching out to tribes. In some instances, I received prompt responses to emails and/or phone calls. In some cases, these responses led to an immediate discussion and subsequent interview. Conversely, in other instances I received no response to emails that were sent or voice messages that were left. I intentionally followed-up numerous times to no avail. On other occasions, I received a response to an email or call, to which I replied; however, the reply was unfortunately met with a delayed returned response. More often than not, these resulted in no scheduled interview.

***Meetings with general council.*** Most tribes in California have General Councils. General Councils are typically comprised of all voting members over 18 years of age. In addition, monthly General Council meetings are held, where tribal members have voting privileges and decision-making authority in tribal affairs. This process is a form of checks and balances, never giving the Tribal Council full executive power over tribal affairs. To work with each federally recognized tribe, I was asked to attend and present my study to members of General Council at a monthly meeting, at which time, they discussed and voted on my engagement with the tribe. Thereafter, I was invited back to a meeting to hear concerns, field more questions, and attend the General Council meeting. For travel reasons, I was unable to attend meetings in northern California but have maintained a relationship with tribal leadership.

***Informal engagement.*** Conversely, to work with non-federally recognized tribes in northern and southern California engagement was much less formal. My focus shifted to engaging the appropriate leaders and community members. This process first required an extensive review of the documents collected for this study that demonstrated the relationships the university had with each local tribe. From there, I identified individuals, particularly leaders, within these documents to connect with for interviews. Once I had determined a set of tribal

leaders, I spoke with American Indian staff at each campus to confirm these were the appropriate individuals and seek additional recommendations (i.e. snowball sampling). Thereafter, I connected directly with tribal leaders regarding the study and interviews.

***Working with legal counsel.*** In addition to attending General Council meetings and gaining approval from tribes to conduct research, I was also required to work with the legal counsel of both federally recognized tribes – San Manuel and Graton – who drafted contracts that detailed on our relationship. Drafting these agreements required several meetings and calls with legal counsel to discuss the details of the project, going over particulars of who was engaged, what would be done with data and findings, and how information would be disseminated.

***Current state of research relationships.*** Currently, I have continued to engage with each tribe and its leadership to continue conversation about tribal-university relationships with the hope of fostering greater discussions between the case study universities and tribes on relationships, responsibility and reciprocity. In hindsight, I learned a significant number of lessons through this process related to working with tribes but particularly the case study tribes. First and foremost, it takes time to foster relationships. Second, it is important to not conflate personal and academic relationships. Third, it is critical to go through the proper channels to work with tribes, and have the correct approach. Navigating Indian Country is something that I innately know how to do, but navigating it as a researcher is not something that was taught in any of my courses. While I may have been told the steps, it was something I had to learn through experience. Last, I learned that tribes have formally or informally instituted mechanisms for safeguarding themselves against and vetting researchers seeking to work with their tribes. Tribal leaders do not want to be subjects in a study or participate in interviews, they want to

partner with individuals and institutions, or be in conversation with others that ultimately advance their nation-building goals.

### **Data Analysis**

According to Merriam (2009), the purpose of qualitative data analysis is to make meaning out of data. To understand what is happening within and across sites, data analysis was conducted at four levels: 1) individual interviews, 2) within site, 3) across site, and 4) nested cases. The following describes at greater length the methods of data analysis used in this study, including the developing of the codebook, coding procedures, analysis of code matrices, reporting of findings, and analytic memos.

To ensure thoroughness, data analysis occurred throughout the study, meaning that data analysis took place during and after data collection (Merriam, 2009). In preparation for data analysis, all recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim by an outside company and subsequently checked for accuracy. Additionally, all handwritten journals and fieldnotes were typed. All documents, interview transcripts, documents and journals were imported into MAXDQA version 12 and sorted by case study site for the purposes organization and analysis. Yin (2009), Creswell (2013, 2014), and Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2013) all recommend the use of computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) for large data sets. According to Miles et al. (2013), analysis can be done manually without software. However, they encourage researchers to use CAQDAS because the advancement in software functionality has dramatically assisted the analytical process.

### **Coding and Codebook Development**

Codes, or categories, were developed from the corpus of data that include interview transcripts, documents, and researcher journals, as well as relevant literature and theoretical



frameworks (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Merriam, 2009). The coding process offered the opportunity to link the data and to an explanation, where codes represented “words or short phrases that symbolically assign a summative... attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data” (Saldaña, 2012). An inductive and deductive process was used to develop codes for data analysis Miles et al. (2013).

First, deductive codes were developed using literature and theoretical frameworks (Miles et al., 2013). These codes consisted of broad, over-arching themes that can be identified across the literature or theory (i.e. TribalCrit or community-campus frameworks). Second, I open coded five interview transcripts (i.e. 24 percent of the interview transcripts), where I labeled the data with codes developed during the deductive stage, and simultaneously identify and labeling emerging themes. These codes were added to the existing inventory of codes – or codebook. The process of inductive coding, or open coding, specifically consisted of identifying and labeling categories that emerge from interviews. To refine the codebook, I used a constant comparative method to refine the codes and codebook (Miles et al., 2013). This process involved comparing and grouping similar codes that were duplicative or overlapping into like themes, that resulted in a more refined inventory.

The codebook also consisted of definitions that were developed for each code that described the codes key characteristics to ensure consistent application when coding. These descriptions include how and when the theme occurred, when to exclude the code, and examples of the code used in the data to avoid confusion (Charmaz, 2006). Organizing the codes into preliminary themes based on how they conceptually grouped together helped me understand each individual site, as well as across site patterns. The across case analysis helped to identify

common themes that transcend individual cases and respond to the issue being studied (Yin, 2009).

#### **Four-Level Data Analysis**

The purpose of a four-level analysis was to build overall cross-case descriptions as well as articulate distinctions that emerged within cases and between individuals. First and foremost, attention was given to all evidence gathered for this study – interviews, documents and journals (Yin, 2003). Next, attention was given to interviews, within case, across case, and nested case analysis.

***Individual interview.*** The first level of analysis occurred at the individual level, with every interview transcript being coded and analyzed for major themes. Each participant serves a specific function in their institution as well as within tribal-university relationship. Within this study, individual participants offered insight to relationships, therefore analyzing individual interviews offered insight to the specific roles that individuals, or rather their respective positions, had on relationships within the larger organizational structure.

***Within case.*** The goal of conducting a within case analysis was to describe, understand, and explain what was observed and gleaned from interviews within the single context – in this case one university site (Miles et al., 2013). To assist with this analysis, institutional reports were drafted of each case study site (Kezar & Lester, 2011). Reports consisted of descriptive university information available online, site visit observations and notes, as well as interpretations based on interviews. Once analyzed, the codes were clustered together based on larger themes. Case-order descriptive meta-matrices were used in the last step of analysis to help make comparisons and contrasts within cases, to note relationships between variables, and to observe patterns and themes that are emerged from the data (Miles et al., 2013). Using these

steps not only helped with cross-case analysis and transferability of findings, it also allowed for more comprehensive and robust findings to emerge (Miles et al., 2013). Once this analysis was complete, a cross-case analysis was conducted to compare both institutional sites.

*Cross-case.* After an analysis of each case, attention was given to a cross-case analysis to have a comparative understanding between tribes and institutions. Because I am working with multiple cases, the prior analysis helped me to identify themes within each case, or a within-case analysis (Creswell, 2013). Conducting a cross-case analysis allowed me to have a deeper understanding of the themes that are represented across case study sites (Stake, 2006). This also enhanced the generalizability or transferability of this study to other contexts (Miles et al., 2013). For example, it was useful to compare the differences in the level of trust as an element of a relationship perceived by tribes and campus representatives and reasons behind these differences.

The cross-case analysis was done using a meta-matrix approach (Miles et al., 2013). According to (Wendler, 2001), this analytical method consists of “creation of the matrix itself, transcription of data into the matrix, coding data and noting reactions, seeking common phrases and isolating patterns and processes” (p. 522). Using the MAXQDA version 12, I constructed initial meta-matrices using the “code matrix” feature, which allowed me to create multiple matrices organized by codes and sites. The overarching themes examined by matrices were relationships, responsibility, and needs of tribes. In addition to providing a visual matrix, this feature provided a numerical count of how often a code was present in a document or whether a code appeared at least once in a document. Once the data was in a visually mapped format, I was able to reflect and consider patterns represented across both sites.

The visual presentation of data helped organize the themes across cases, and move the study from themes appearing within interviews, sites and across sites to understanding and

presenting patterns occurring across sites. For example, the volume of data presented in each matrix frequently required that these I partitioned, or subdivided, codes in order to “unbundle” or unpack a code, such as the later presented in Chapter 4 on exploitation. First themed exploitation, this code was unbundled to understand the exploitation of Native culture, knowledge, people and resources, which is presented as an emerging finding in this study.

*Nested cases.* Within each site, there are different relationships that have developed with different tribes. These relationships are considered nested cases and are “created by analyzing all individuals involved in a particular initiative” (Kezar, 2011, p. 49) and within a particular site. Any comments, documents and references were linked to the nested case. Ideally, a nested case will have several data elements and will characterize the tribal relationships. These cases may be more prominent reference points on campuses, and possibly indicate a more structured and established relationship with one tribe and less formal relations with another. Therefore, these nested cases within each site were also examined in a cross-case fashion.

## **Reporting Findings**

The following chapters use several descriptive terms when describing study findings. To understand how these terms are applied throughout the following chapters, the following section offers a brief explanation on how these terms were defined. When indicating that “most” participants articulated specific perspective, this term referred to the majority of participants across institutions. When indicating “few,” this term refers to a small number. These perspectives are nonetheless important and thusly shared with readers. Differences between participants from different universities are discussed as necessary. Quotes are provided to illustrate points, and have been edited so that conversational fillers were removed but the integrity of the quote is maintained (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011).

Last, readers should note that university administrators voices are often privileged in the reporting of findings and recommendations. This is not to make American Indian representatives or communities more invisible than they already may be perceived to be. Rather, I strategically used this tactic to illuminate the perceptions, perspectives, and recommendations provided by university leadership – those individuals in positions of power with the ability to change tribal-university relationships. Some findings shed light on serious issues experienced by American Indian at the case study campuses and help to explain challenges faced when entering into relationships with tribes, such issues as acknowledgement of local Indigenous communities. The perspectives shared are not intended to demonize or criticize university leaders. Rather, the purpose of highlighting these perspectives and experiences was to focus attention on continued issues or concerns that can be seen as barriers when fostering community and government relations, in this case with tribes. Additionally, a fair amount of attention is given to stories of administrators on highlight prior efforts to and possible recommendations for engaging Native communities. Overall, the purpose of highlighting the perspectives of administrators was to demonstrate current initiatives and illuminate the knowledge already held by administrators for improving tribal-institutional relationships.

### **Analytical Memos**

Additionally, I drafted analytical memos throughout the study to capture emerging insights, and to start making sense of the data (Miles et al., 2013). According to Saldaña (2012), the role of analytical memos is to “document and reflect on: your coding processes and code choices; how the process of inquiry is taking shape; and the emergent patterns, categories and subcategories, themes and concepts in your data” (p. 41). Memos, like journals, were drafted during the analytical process to ensure reflexivity on the corpus of data.

## **Trustworthiness**

To ensure the trustworthiness of this study, I implemented several mechanisms to ensure the reliability of data and data analysis. During analysis, I coded divergent cases or individuals whose views may differ from the majority or whose views contradict existing themes. This ensured that I did not neglect a perspective or one that counters my own assumptions and interpretations. Also, as previously mentioned, the use of a researcher journal and analytical memos for the purposes of reflective writing, assisted in being cognizant of my own biases throughout the data collection and analysis. Reflecting on these documents during the analysis process helped to ensure assumptions that I made were explicit and open when results countered any held assumptions.

As an added measure of reliability, I also implemented “peer debriefing” as a way of assessing my assumptions. Hurtado (2015) identifies peer debriefing as “a method where a peer researcher poses questions to enhance consciousness about assumptions, clarify understanding of the research process, [and] facilitate relationships between the researcher and study participants” (p. 302). Peer debriefing occurred with my faculty supervisor, Ananda Marin, an Assistant Professor in Education and Clementine Bordeaux in American Indian Studies, who did not participate in this study. Problem posing with a peer, regardless of whether they are or are not familiar with the idiosyncrasies of a specific American Indian community, helped me to develop more “ethically and culturally responsive research” (Hurtado, 2015, p. 302).

The triangulation of data, otherwise understood to be the use of multiple and different sources, methods and theories, was used to corroborate my findings. Triangulating information across data sources will help to provide validity of findings (Creswell, 2013). Last, member checking occurred in two formats. First, out of respect for participants, transcribed interviews

were sent to interviewees to ensure accuracy of representation of participants' responses (Merriam, 2009). Second during data analysis, participants were contacted to assist in verifying findings. This was done to solicit feedback on emerging findings from participants and ensure respondent validity (Merriam, 2009).

### **Confidentiality and Anonymity**

While conducting this study, I was constantly mindful of the impact this research could have on tribes and universities. Throughout the process of collecting data and preparing findings, I made careful ethical considerations because of the importance of protecting all study participants. Yin (2009) points out, "the study of a 'contemporary phenomenon in its real-world context' obligates you (i.e. the researcher) to important ethical practices akin to those followed in medical research" (p. 78). Being that participants were/are in distinguished leadership roles within their universities and tribes, I felt personally obligated to consider the confidentiality and anonymity of participants. It became more pressing that I ensure participants were not harmed as seemingly controversial findings continued to emerge from the data. The following explains steps taken to best provide confidentiality and anonymity to participants.

First and foremost, before conducting this study I underwent the human subjects process at my university and prepared the necessary consent documents that allowed me to obtain informed consent from participants. The informed consent form stated, "Any information obtained in connection with this study and that can identify you will remain confidential. Information will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law" (Appendix C). At the beginning of interviews, all participants were given and signed the informed consent document. Interviewees were also assured that they would be sent a clean transcript of our interview and asked to approve all quotes used in this manuscript. After all transcripts were

reviewed and cleaned, I engaged in member checking with participants to gain approval from participants to use specific quotes when presenting study findings. I also conducted member checking to ensure that content of quotes was accurately captured.

Yin (2009) also addresses the importance of offering participants anonymity when a “case study has been on a controversial topic” (p. 197). I encountered personal, ethical, and political tensions when considering ways to offer participants a level of anonymity in this study. When presenting findings, I intentionally presented the university sites, tribes, and the positions of university participants. However, I omitted names and descriptive identifiers, such as gender and race, with the exception of American Indian participants. Because certain university have a significant role in determining university goals, including institutional relations, I have hopes that readers will foreground the position and not the individuals when reading findings. I also believe that individuals will become less significant over time, and that the positions themselves will remain important. To protect participants further, especially university leaders, I was mindful of perspectives shared in the findings of this manuscript and intentionally did not present the most controversial findings that may be detrimental to their reputations. Again, this is all within the understanding that participants approved quotes presented to them.

As for American Indian university representatives, I decided to identify American Indian participants to highlight that the directors of American Indian programs are not necessarily American Indian. This procedure was significant to the study because within American Indian university affairs Native voices can often be discredited while non-Native voices and perspectives are privileged or validated. This was affirmed by the fact that university representatives in this study constantly referred to a non-Native staff as their source of knowledge on and way of engaging with the American Indian community. I believe that is it



critical to highlight the perspectives of Native participants, while also illustrating that non-Native voices often affirmed these perspectives. Also, I believe that it is important to validate the perspectives of Native university participants as credible sources of knowledge and information because their perspectives can be discounted within institutions. The following section describes how findings will be disseminated to institutions, tribes and the broader public.

### **Disseminating Findings**

Relational accountability was presented at the beginning of this chapter when discussing paradigms. While some researchers may not be concerned with consulting with or contributing to their study participants or populations, the nature of transformative research is to enhance social justice or improve conditions for marginalized communities (Hurtado, 2015); therefore, it is important to be conscious of the impact public dissemination of study findings can have on the tribes and universities participating in this study, individual participants, and American Indian communities broadly.

At the end of drafting study findings, I reflected on the need to consult with participants and institutions to ensure that findings and study recommendations do not negatively impact either community, but particularly tribes. One way this was done was through member checking, but the other way this will be done with through a public presentation to all study participants. Presentations will take place at each university site and tribes' General Council meeting. Additionally, smaller written reports will be prepared for each institution and tribe with recommendations for next steps in research. This part is important, as there are additional interviews that can, and should, be collected from tribal representatives to better understand the relationship with the case study universities. This study does not only aim at examining relationships but also improving tribal-university relationships; therefore, I will continue to work

with and between tribes and universities representatives to foster conversations about tribal-institutional relationships, responsibility and needs with the goal of using this study to facilitate or center some discussions.

The process of consulting with universities and tribes is an important part of maintaining trusting relationships with study participants, especially given the noted distrust the American Indian communities have of educational research (L. T. Smith, 2012). I believe this is an essential component for future public presentations, such as research conferences, as participants should have a role in dictating how they are represented and how their stories are shared.

### **Limitations**

Before proceeding, it is important to recognize limitations of this study and research design. First, the use of a multiple case study method limits this study to two institutional sites. Although I strategically selected these sites and used cross-case analysis to develop findings across institutions, it is difficult to generalize findings of any qualitative study. Second, there were several challenges faced when navigating and interviewing tribal members from case study sites. Although these are not unfamiliar challenges to conducting research in Indian Country, it did require adjustments to ensure ethical decisions were being made and marginalized participants were protected. Lastly, case studies typically present the challenge of reaching the correct and/or correct number of participants, meaning, not all people will be reached within the institution or tribe for many reasons, such as time or availability. Therefore, it is important to point out that, although many voices will be heard, not every voice will be represented.

### **Summary**

This chapter offered specific details on how the study was conducted and the data was analyzed. I addressed at greater length the transformative research paradigm that used when

designing this study and the implementation of cultural and ethical principles from an Indigenous Research Paradigm. This chapter also discussed the nest-multiple case stud design that groups public university, non-federally recognized and federally recognized tribes into study sites. Sample, participant outreach, interview procedures, document collection and data analysis were also addressed. Important to this study, I also address issues of confidentiality and anonymity of participants. The following chapters review findings that emerged from the data, as well as findings relevant to the research questions.

## CHAPTER FOUR – TRIBAL-UNIVERSITY RELATIONSHIPS

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the relationships between the case study tribes and universities as expressed by senior university administration and American Indian program representatives. These perspectives are inclusive of Native and non-Native individuals. The sections that follow describe the nature, characterization, and explanation of relationships. These were derived from several interview questions focused on institutional relationships that asked participants to share their perspective on “the university’s relationship with local California Indian tribes.” The themes presented herein are derived from cross-case analysis, meaning the findings emerged from the cross-case analysis and appeared across both sites. Additionally, unique site-specific findings are presented as well as divergent perspectives within case study sites.

To adequately describe tribal-university relationships, I first describe the nature of relationships between each case study university and tribes. These findings emerged from the interviews and presented themselves as a necessary component in orienting readers to participants’ inherent understandings and perceptions of American Indians, California Indian, and/or tribal-institutional relationships. These perspectives frame subsequent responses related to types of formal and informal relations as well as how individuals describe relationships, and could not be overlooked. Following, I characterize formal and informal relationships between tribes and institutions, which include political, curricular, economic, and educational relationships. The within and cross-case institutional analysis allowed me to identify specific and general findings related to the kinds of relationships that were integrated into each context. Specific acknowledgement is given to existing relationships uniquely manifested at each site.

Third, I present participants' rationale and perspectives on the state of these tribal-university relationships.

### **Situating Place**

The specialized nature of research on California Indian tribes requires the contextualization of the diverse group of tribes geographically located in the state of California. This section offers some contextualization on California tribes and their members, or California Indians, for readers. California Indians are often omitted from academic research on American Indians in education. Few educational researchers conduct research with American Indians in higher education and much less on California Indians. This can be attributed to the very low representation of California Indians in educational data, for which American Indians are often generally underrepresented, and due to lack of identification as members of California tribes. It can also be attributed to the small number of researchers working with California tribes and tribal members, which results in dearth of literature on these communities already marginalized in the field of education. As such, there is significant knowledge gap among many educators and lack of the public awareness, including among other American Indians, regarding California tribal communities. It is important to make this distinction and acknowledgement before diving into a discussion on nature of institutional relationships because, although nearly rendered "invisible," California Indian tribes and members continue to maintain their relationships with the land currently occupied by UC Berkeley and Los Angeles – and all universities in the state, for that matter.

UC Berkeley and UCLA occupy the unceded ancestral homelands of the Ohlone and Tongva, respectively. Since time immemorial, the Ohlone and Tongva have maintained their relationship with this land, which was given to their ancestors by their Creator (Margolin, 1978;

McCawley, 1996). The relationship the Ohlone Tribe and Tongva Nation have with their respective homelands was never severed, nor were these communities eliminated. Similar to the Ohlone and Tongva, the Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria and the San Manuel Band of Mission Indians have similar ties to their ancestral homelands – just outside of Berkeley and Los Angeles near Santa Rosa and Upland, respectively. Being in California, these four tribes share a colonial history that resulted in the elimination or forced removal of California’s first inhabitants from their homelands that often resulted in death. In fact, it has been estimated that the population of California Indians throughout the state dropped by 90 percent to about 17,000 in the 1850s (Costo & Costo, 1987). Despite this tragic history, descendants of the Ohlone Tribe and Tongva Nation have sustained their connection to these territories – many of them never entirely being removed from their homes (Madley, 2016).

Today, the United States is a “settler state,” or what Wolfe (2006) describes as a form of colonization centered on the occupation of land. A part of establishing the settler state is eliminating, both literally and figuratively, the Indigenous inhabitants (Wolfe, 2006). In California, the erasure of California’s original inhabitants began with a systematic process of intentional genocide and continues today through the annual teaching of the virtues of the California mission system in public schools throughout the state (Madley, 2016). According to this narrative, including California’s Department of Education secondary education curriculum, the greater public would assume that California Indians no longer exist (Rosenthal, 2012). Therefore, it is not surprising that university administrators participating in this study lack the basic knowledge about California Indian tribes or those in the general vicinity of their university – communities that once shared the same land their university now occupies.

I make this distinction because how Indigenous people understand their relationship with place, territory and/or geographies is distinct from non-Native individuals. Moreover, we must recognize that social science research is embedded in place; we need to be more aware of how “our orientations to [place] are informed by, and determinants of, history, empire, and culture” (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015, p. 1). These points offer important context for the situation of university representatives in this study, which will later have implications for institutional-tribal relationships. The following section presents emergent findings to contextualize how study participants understand and perceive American Indians, California Indians, and California tribes.

### **The Nature of Institutional Relationships**

The findings regarding the nature of institutional relationships describe how university representatives understand and perceive American Indians and tribes. The nature of relationships is presented before characterizing relations because this knowledge offers us some context necessary for understanding how senior university administration and American Indian program directors have varying priorities, articulations and understandings about tribal-institutional relationships, perspectives that ultimately influence what individuals said about these institutional relationships. Included in this section is a descriptive analysis of how participants referenced Indigenous terminology. Thereafter, I describe how participants implicitly and explicitly discussed the following themes: cultural, personal and intellectual exploitation; relational absence; delegation of responsibility; reactionary relationships, and the desire to improve relationships.

### **Use of Indigenous Terminology**

Given the specialized nature of this study, I anticipated some reluctance from university administrators to participate in this study when conducting initial outreach for interviews.

Although there was some resistance, particularly by a select group of senior university administrators, I received responses from administrators interested in this study and willing to participate in an interview. However, most of these responses were met with cautionary statements across both institutions. In emails and interviews, individuals frequently stated, “I’m not sure I can help you all that much, but I’m happy to help if I can.” The significant number of responses prompted an interest in conducting a “discourse analysis” that examined the use of general and specific terms used by study participants when referencing Indigenous communities. The purpose of conducting a discourse analysis on terms used is to better understand “the relationships between language and behavior” (Bazeley, 2013, p. 214). I was particularly interested in whether participants made specific reference to local tribes, the Tongva and Ohlone, and what other terminology was most commonly used to reference American Indians. Table 5 depicts a summary of findings from the discourse analysis across both case study sites separated by senior university administration and American Indian program directors.

Across interviews, the generic term *Native* was used by interviewees to refer to American Indians or Native Americans generally; a total of 16 interviewees used this terminology to be exact. The terms Native American and American Indian were the next most commonly used terms, with 14 and 12 participants referencing these terms during their interviews. The term California Indian, however, was only used by four interviewees, all of which were American Indian program directors. The study at hand is specifically about California Indian tribes; therefore, it is of some concern that so few individuals referenced this term. Furthermore, participants were given material in preparation for their interviews to orient them to California tribes. The infrequent use could be symptomatic of other issues linked to colonial erasure of California tribes; however, it is not possible to discern at this point.



Table 1

*Counts on Generic and Specific Indigenous Terminology by Respondent*

	<b>Program Representatives</b>	<b>University Administrative Representatives</b>	<b>Total</b>
Native Tribes	8	8	16
Native American	8	7	15
American Indian	5	9	14
Indian	6	6	12
Tongva	5	3	8
California Indian	4	1	5
San Manuel	4	0	4
Ohlone	2	0	2
	2	0	2

*Note.* Source from interviews of university representatives.

Tribal names were also referenced by a select group of American Indian program heads and one university administrative representative. Most references to Tongva and Ohlone were by American Indian program directors, with four mentioning the Tongva and two mentioning the Ohlone. Additionally, two American Indian representatives referenced the San Manuel Band of Mission Indians, the federally recognized tribe included in this study for comparative analysis. The sole administrative representative, UCLA's Vice Chancellor of Equity, Inclusion and Diversity, referenced the Tongva when stating the following about his knowledge on the state of relationships, "I don't know of the official relationship. I know that the local community is the Tongva. But as for a relationship, I could not speak to that."

The low numbers of interviewees referencing local tribes or California Indians broadly is of interest given that representatives were specifically asked and probed about California Indians, California tribes, and local tribal communities. It is difficult to make assertions as to why generic terminology was used to reference American Indian communities or California Indians. These tendencies may reflect implications of California's colonial history and thusly the

presence of California Indians throughout the state. The use of terminology may also reflect jargon commonly used in the American Indian community. Regardless, the use of generic terminology or the lack of specific terminology to reference California Indians or tribes can perpetuate the erasure and invisibility of California's Indigenous population.

### **Exploitation**

The case study sites, UC Berkeley and UCLA, are deeply connected to the early formation of California as a state. As the first UC and a land-grant institution, Berkeley has benefited from the removal of California Indians in the state to reservations through federal treaty making in 1850 (Madley, 2016). The same can be said for UCLA, established in 1919 by similar means of land procurement (Wanamaker, 2010). The study of California Indian peoples, cultures, and languages by ethnographic and anthropological researchers has taken place at both institutions since their establishment (Dundjerski, 2011). This work has largely benefited the university, researchers, and students across disciplines, and has placed tribes at odds with universities over storage, maintenance, and repatriation of archeological collections. For example, on and off-campus newspapers (i.e. *Los Angeles Times*) gathered from UC Berkeley indicated several instances of tension between the university and local tribes over cultural objects, human remains and land issues (Paddock, 2008).

Interviewees were acutely aware of these tensions and shared perspectives on the historic and continued exploitation – tensions that continue to be palpable at UC Berkeley. Discussed at greater length in this section is the exploitation of land, culture, knowledge, and people, and, more recently, economic resources. The perspective of American Indian program directors on exploitation provide a clearer understanding of how the case study sites are rooted in the

colonization of California and linked to education policies that exploit American Indians (Norman & Kalt, 2015) – best understood through a TribalCrit perspective.

*Of land.* As stated at the onset of this study, all United States colleges and universities rest on Indian land and benefit from occupying the homelands of Indigenous communities. In recent years, specific colleges and universities have started to acknowledge their relationship with the first inhabitants (e.g. Harvard, Dartmouth, University of British Columbia) (Calloway, 2002; Graham & Golia, 2002; Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991). While there are a significant number of universities that have acknowledged these relationships, or have articulated in written agreements commitments to tribes (i.e. Miami University and Miami Tribe of Oklahoma), a majority of the United States universities’ do not acknowledge their relationships with the nation’s first inhabitants. The case study institutions are no exception. Not only do these sites fail to acknowledge their historic ties to tribes, they have resisted opportunities to make affirmations when information about these connects are made evident. According to a prior Director of the UCLA American Indian Studies Center (AISC), and UCLA faculty, initiatives to recognize local tribes on campus were met with resistance by the university administration. Comparing impressions on the visibility and American Indian institutional representation between the University of Oklahoma and UCLA, the participant shared the following.

It’s just ubiquitous, [the presence of American Indians] is everywhere. The population is large. There is a large percentage of Native people. There are a lot of tribes. It’s always struck me how ignorant, and I don’t mean that in demeaning way, but I just think our education system doesn’t teach people in California about Native people in a real way... And to me [it] was a real priority and I thought would be a really important legacy. But I just felt so much resistance to it from university administration, I mean both at a

bureaucratic level [in that] they don't want any more permanent structures (i.e. plaques, buildings, anything) on the campus, [and] if we do one for you, do we have to do one for x group and y group.... There seemed to be a complete absence of understanding of why there might be something unique about the fact that this is Indian land. – *American Indian, former AISC Director, Los Angeles*

In this explanation, the director shares how the administration lacks a basic understanding that the campus rests on Indian land. She also indicated that the knowledge of administrators regarding local tribes, and California Indians broadly, were minimal in comparison to other states where the presence was “pervasive.” Other participants also commented on the lack of education about local tribes and resistance to acknowledgement as two primary observations. Broadly, American Indian interviewees at both institutions questioned the role of the universities in the displacement of tribes from their homelands, and the resistance in acknowledging or including these communities into the fabric of campus life.

*Of culture, knowledge and people.* Related to this, interviewees also expressed the irony of the fact that case study universities occupy Indian land with no acknowledgement, yet California universities have a legacy of collecting, studying artifacts, and conducting research on California Indian cultures across multiple disciplines. As such, both universities have amassed significant museum collections containing California Indian audio recordings, human remains, sacred and ceremonial objects that are preserved, used in curated exhibits, and studies. These ethnographic collections can be attributed cultural and linguistic anthropologist such as Alfred Kroeber and John Peabody Harrington). Several participants indicated and document analysis affirmed, have been points of contention at different times over the universities' history. The following expresses the perspectives of the Director of Native American Student Development

(NASD), an American Indian student support program, related to the Hearst Museum's reputation at UC Berkeley.

The Hearst collection, has not just the bones [of ancestral tribal members] but the baskets and all things that they view as property [of] the university... they don't understand the value that those items have to the communities in a very different way that is enmeshed with the culture and their whole worldview. If they did really understand that, they would be more inviting in and recognize how meaningful, particularly for California Indian tribes, how that could interrupt cycles of colonialism and attempted genocide... Berkeley still remains this institution that owns things that shouldn't be owned, and is full of a lot of non-native people who view themselves still as experts... There are a lot of bad things that Berkeley was very proud of as an institution and has done nothing to address, or even recognize, that it was the reality. – *American Indian, NASD Director, Berkeley*

The NASD Director explained the high value UC Berkeley places on these collections when asserting that non-Native researchers study these collections and are considered experts for this research, using the term “expert” to emphasize a level high rank or level of achievement acquired in an academic discipline. She contends, however, that California communities should have access to these collections, or that the university should not own these items regardless of their value to the university.

Related to this, an American Indian staff member recently retired from UC Berkeley Undergraduate Admissions Office, jokingly suggested that the university must place value American Indian culture and knowledge, otherwise it would not commit resources to such collections. In this line of thinking, both are questioning the energy and resources that

universities put into collecting, preserving, and studying American Indian culture, which are not similarly reflected in the relationships with local tribes, or actions such as the respectful return of human remains or the enrollment of American Indian students.

Why would you collect all of these things if you didn't have a high regard for Native people and Native intelligence? Why would you collect all these artifacts? Why would you build a huge building with drawers and drawers of sacred objects, if you didn't see value in them? And why would you refuse to give the bones back [to the tribal communities] if you didn't see value in them? – *American Indian, Former Undergraduate Admissions staff, Berkeley*

The former staff questions not only probe the value the university places on past and present American Indian wisdom and worldview but bring to light issues of universities valuing and researching ancestral lives and Native epistemology. She exposes an irony in the value placed on archival collections. What does it mean when a university values a tribe's knowledge, intelligence, and culture to the extent of preserving its baskets, songs, human remains but it will not admit or enroll the descendants of these tribes? Although it may not be fair to say that universities, in this instance the case study sites, value ancient Indian artifacts more than investing in the intellectual development of current American Indian students but distribution of campus resources would suggest otherwise.

Similarly, the UCLA Curator of Archaeology at Fowler Museum, shared, "I've been asked in some ways to 'go fetch' Tongva community members for programs, and that is just like they're not dogs and I'm not there to fetch them. And I don't think it's intended to sound like that bad, but it is." Like the prior analysis on the exploitation of Native culture and knowledge, this comment demonstrates the literal exploitation of local tribal members – of individuals. While

not intended, the perspective offered by the UCLA staff person reflects the value placed on local tribal communities and people. In this instance, little value is placed on local Tongva community members by the university, whether a Native or non-Native unit – meaning even the American Indian programs are not immune to exploitation of American Indians when lacking reciprocity in activities.

*Of economic resources.* In recent years, some California tribes have found success with economic development through Indian gaming (Rossum, 2011). Of these tribes, some have started to partner with colleges and universities to provide educational opportunities to tribes and American Indians regionally. These partnerships have motivated postsecondary institutions to look at tribes as prospective partners, especially given the steady divestment of the California state government from public higher education (Leonhardt, 2017). Interestingly, senior administrators and American Indian program heads had differing impressions related to partnering with tribes for economic gains.

Several American Indian program representatives expressed concern related to their university's motivation and move to foster relationships with tribes for economic resources, which they did not see to be "mutually beneficial." One American Indian program director poignantly stated, "There are a few tribes in California that now have resources. That's when the university suddenly gets interested in tribal nations, when they have resources, because then suddenly they want to have relationships with them, which is ironic." Adding to this, current AISC Director at UCLA, explained the insensitivity of universities in seeking funding from tribes, stated:

I think there is again probably a range of issues, but the most obvious one is that these are communities that were historically underserved by this institution and have been long

ignored by this institution... to then go to them when they have money and ask them to give us money after we gave them nothing for decades. But there is a sensitivity that I don't think the universities often are aware of in the ways that tribes are evaluating our approaches to them. – *American Indian, AISC Director, Los Angeles*

A few senior administrators, on the other hand, expressed a divergent perspective. Their perspective would seem to align with American Indian unit representatives but be contrary to the previous assumptions articulated. They argued, rather, that the university should *not* build relations with tribes based on revenue, again a position contradictory to the impressions of American Indian program heads. They contended that approaching tribes based on monetary relationships would be the “wrong approach.” UCLA’s Executive Vice Chancellor, for example, stated:

I think the people have looked to tribes as sort of, sources of support and revenue, and I don't think that's a good way to do it. I think that what you would want to do is to think about what could we do to help our students and you know, there might be – fundraising might be part of that. – *Executive Vice Chancellor, Los Angeles*

The Executive Vice Chancellor’s comment presents a perspective that universities should not financially exploit tribes. Rogers (2006) defines exploitation “as the appropriation of elements of a subordinated culture by a dominant culture without substantive reciprocity, permission, and/or compensation.” It could be argued that the subtle inference to fundraising at the end of this passage implicates the Executive Vice Chancellor, suggesting that his priorities continue to be focused on meeting university goals rather than the needs of American Indian students or addressing community concerns. It can also be suggested that fundraising and soliciting donations and gifts may lead to contractual agreements between universities and tribes. At this



point, it is difficult to assess whether the university administrator's intentions have been accurately conveyed.

### **What Tribe? What Relationship?**

When asked about the universities' relationship with local California Indian tribes, another theme emerged across institutions, which was a general lack of knowledge about the state of relationships with California tribes, meaning a lack of awareness about the tribal communities and their expectations. To better understand this, I probed interviewees for further explanation. Some explained that this could be attributed to the campus organization or culture.

*Limited understanding of local presence or California tribal existence.* Further analysis showed a general lack of understanding or knowledge among senior administrators of local tribes. When asked "what is the universities relationship with local California Indian tribes," the Executive Vice Chancellor at UC Berkeley responded by saying, "I am not aware of tribes in the immediate area." The awareness of local tribes is not limited to university leadership, however. The former AISC Director at UCLA, explained that the awareness among students and staff does not exist compared to those in other states and at other universities.

In my role as director, when I would try to advance these issues, you know one of the things that we tried to get off the ground was whether there could be a plaque on campus to acknowledge this is Indigenous land. And exactly what it would be, and what it would say, and all of that we knew could be potentially controversial even within Indian communities. But we wanted to see if that could be done. And one of the issues for me, it was just that I feel like in contrast to Oklahoma, for example, our students don't even know that there are tribes in California, they don't even know that there were Indians here and now. – *American Indian, former AISC Director, Los Angeles*

The perspectives represent two main themes that emerged from the data regarding awareness of local tribes. First, participants genuinely lack the awareness of the presence or existence of tribes located near the university. Second, is that there is a perception that students are not even aware of tribes in California.

Another related response was related to distance, with some administrators often referring to the difficulty in establishing relationships with California tribes because of the distance between the universities and reservations. For example, one administrator shared,

The fact that there are so many tribes, if you look at the map we're not located near anything. I think that if you know we were down the road from a group, an organized group that was recognized, that might make a big difference. – *Executive Vice*

*Chancellor, Los Angeles*

The Executive Vice Chancellor's reference to distance not only points to stereotype of American Indians as only living on reservations or being federally recognized. It also speaks to the erasure of American Indian from metropolitan areas, which was a goal of the settler programs. Last, this may indirectly speak to an inherent desire of the university to partner with federally recognized tribes because of the way that federal policy outlines and stipulates laws.

***No relationship with local tribes.*** “Outside of individuals’ that work with communities, the university does not have a relationship,” stated UCLA’s Curator of Archaeology. While few, several participants indicated across sites that the university did not have relationships with local tribes. Several American Indian program directors candidly expressed their perspectives on the lack of institutional relationships with tribes. For example, former Chair of the American Indian Studies Interdepartmental Program (AIS-IDP) shared, “For the most part, the university doesn’t really have any kind of like hardwired relationship with any [tribal] communities.”

Furthermore, the absence of relationships was affirmed by UCLA's Executive Vice Chancellor. When asked why they believed this to be the case, a few senior administrators explained these relationships were "something the university has never really considered." This is best articulated by the following perspective:

I think the first reason is that the institution didn't think about it. It wasn't probably at one time a high-value in terms, in the past. I think as the institution, as we have thought to be more proactive in reaching out, we've begun to understand that tribes might be of help to us in increasing our Native American enrollment in some ways or in supporting American Indian studies in different ways. I think that it was partly, and I'm not sure what the right term is, ignorance or you know lack of knowledge about the tribes and then I don't think there is an absolute institutional barrier. It's more custom and practice than anything else. – *Executive Vice Chancellor, Los Angeles*

To better understand why the university does not have established relationships with tribes, I also inquired with staff from American Indian programs to gain an additional understanding of why the university as a whole does not have established relationships with tribes. Responses varied, with some representatives indicating that they "technically" function in the role of a university representative when working with tribes. This response was jokingly followed with "if I was a university administrator, that is what I would say." To a certain extent, this staff person argued that their role working with tribes within the larger organizational campus structure satisfied the universities responsibility to tribes. Another American Indian program staff suggested that economics influenced partnerships, stating "there is no relationship with local tribes, if there is no money there is no incentive to have a relationship." While others suggested that they university does not know "how to have a relationship with tribes."

Articulated numerous ways, it was clear across sites and university representatives that the case study sites did not have regular or established relations with tribes.

### **Reactive vs. Proactive Relationship**

An overwhelming number of participants across institutions indicated that universities primarily react to issues with tribes as well as other communities, as opposed to proactively seeking out relationships. Of the respondents, senior administrators were the most conscious of this relationship. As a result of reactive university approaches to issues, American Indian units assume the role of proactively forming relationships, which will be discussed in the following section. Across both sites, senior administrators also addressed the reactive nature of community relations, sharing that the university typically reacts to problems rather than intentionally plans relationships. For example, the Assistant Vice Chancellor of Government and Community Relations at UC Berkeley explained:

I do feel like I tend to hear when there is a problem, so when there are problems people come to me... so that's how we find out when there are problems going on. And it's been relatively quiet, I would say in the last three or four years, and so it feels to me like things have been getting better [with tribes]. – *Assistant Vice Chancellor Government and Community Relations, Berkeley*

The universities typically respond to issues that arise, as opposed to proactively thinking about how to engage the local community around specific issues that could be addressed outside of crisis. This could be because the university leadership is not aware that tribes are present and part of the communities they serve, and/or they are not aware of the needs and issues associated with these communities. It is difficult to gauge the accuracy of this observation, however, given

prior claims that the university members do not know where tribes are and they have no formal relationship with tribes.

The following anecdote was shared by the NASD Director at UC Berkeley and describes an event when the university had to react to an incident because proactive relationships had not previously been established.

There are things that happen that you are like ‘response necessary.’ Like two years ago the [Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology] sponsored a Hackathon like with the School of Technology and the winning game that people developed is for the digital archives because everything is going digital and to increase public access... [the winning game was] based on an Indiana Jones theme, where you go around looting different sites... It opened up certain [Indian-related] sites that shouldn’t have been public, where they could [actually] have been looted... working with the Hearst, also the School of Technology [I had] to educate [them on] why that’s an issue. – *American Indian, NASD Director, Berkeley*

While positioned to be in reactive relations with other communities as well, the universities have missions to serve the public. Additionally, UC Berkeley and Los Angeles both have offices of Government and Community Relations (GCR) that share the similar goal as stated on the UCB website:

Build[ing] relationships with community leaders, elected officials, government agencies and third-party advocates to further the mission of UC Berkeley in the public sector. The issues of primary focus for the Government and Community Relations team include student financial aid, admissions, scientific research and other policies at the forefront of higher education and government. (UC Berkeley, 2017)

As such, these events posit that relationships are established with local communities and tribes. Given their role to engage with communities, a key question is why don't relationships with tribes fall under similar priorities as other local, regional, national or international communities targeted by Government and Community Relations?

### **Delegation of Responsibility**

If the university has relations with tribes, it delegates the responsibility to AIS centers: "I think [the university] thought that it was farming that out. I think [the university] thought every one of the [ethnic] study centers was supposed to be developing community relations connections," stated former AIS-IDP Chair at UCLA, when asked to explain the current state of tribal-institutional relations. Additionally, the current AISC Director at UCLA stated that the university tends to "sidestep serving Native communities." Delegating the role and responsibility of fostering relationships with tribal communities was a recurring theme across institutions and interviews.

American Indian programs, including cultural education, academic studies, and student programs, clearly have become epicenters at colleges and universities for relationships with on and off campus Native communities. At the case study sites, these AIS units bear the responsibility of building and sustaining relationships with local tribes and the broader American Indian community. Several interviewees indicated that American Indian units are tasked by the institution with community relations. For example, the following director stated,

That's sort of the way, if you take a look at the two arms of American Indian Studies that are most responsible, where the mission statement does talk about local community, it will be the centers and our centers have been variously – at times they've actually done a

pretty good job with connecting with the urban community. – *Former AIS-IDP Chair, Los Angeles*

An issue of American Indian units assuming the roles of solely managing community relations for the university with tribes is the matter of moral and ethical responsibilities of universities to serving American Indian communities. What responsibility do universities have in fostering relationships with tribes? Is it the sole responsibility of American Indian programs to manage community relations within the organizational structure of the university? Overall, most respondents contended that universities need to serve communities because of their public institution mission. These questions will be discussed at greater length in the following chapter on institutional responsibility.

### **Desire to Improve Tribal-Institutional Relationships**

“We can do better” was a theme echoed across case study sites. Campus representatives expressed a desire to work with tribes and the American Indian community locally in various capacities. The former UCLA Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs, and longtime American Indian ally and advocate, shared a number of examples from efforts – hosting of national conferences, attending community meetings, and inviting tribal leaders to campus – all which resulted in one-time programs. She expressed a desire to develop long term relationships with the American Indian community and tribes; however, these efforts never “got off the ground” for several reasons. She shared her frustration in not advancing relationships or partnerships with tribes – a frustration with herself and the university.

I was climbing the walls at one point until I said I’m doing this all wrong... I shouldn’t do it this way. How do I do it? How do I provide the support and the engagement and the belief in the importance of doing this, but I can’t do it? That’s where the numbers get

in the way, you're asked to do everything [in this role], whether you're a professional [or not], you're asked to do it.... To me, if you look at it from a western perspective, it's a failure. Money can't [form relationships]. It's not a failure of will or failure of interest, it's a failure of communication. I came to understand that it's got to be something there, I'm not doing it right. – *former Vice Chancellor Student Affairs, Los Angeles*

Similarly, in sharing current efforts to be more inclusive of American Indian students applying for school graduate admission, a UCLA representative from Graduate Division shared “I think there's opportunities for us to do more.” Likewise, others expressed the desire to build on current work with local tribes. One American Indian program representative shared, “I think that our engagement has gotten better, but we can still do more.”

When discussing the desire to improve, much of it was in reference to improving American Indian admissions to increase the current enrollment of Native students – presently at 305 undergraduates (UC Office of the President, 2016). Absent is the discussion of community partnerships, which can ultimately benefit the universities goal of increasing American Indian student enrollment. There was a clear disconnect, which can be reflective of the nature of tribal-university relationships. However, the fact that administrators expressed a general desire to improve relationships posits the question of how universities can work with tribes to advance partnerships. As a follow up, participants were asked about additional information needed to engage local tribes. Subsequent chapters will address how universities can advance authentic partnerships as recommended by university representatives.

Based on these emerging findings, it was apparent that understanding the state of relationships between local tribes and universities is complex. The political and legal distinction of federally recognized tribes, coupled with the non-federal recognition of local tribes, requires



that requires multiple considerations including context, knowledge base, personal biases, and so on when attempting to discuss or address American Indian community needs. These findings offered a baseline for understanding where university administrators, those instrumental in fostering university-wide community relations, prioritize, articulate and understand American Indians, California Indians and tribal-institutional relationships, as these perspectives ultimately influence individual's knowledge of institutional relationships.

### **Characterization of Relationships**

A primary purpose of this study is to examine the formal and informal relationships between the case study tribes and universities, and how these relationships differentiate between federally and non-federally recognized tribes. Conner (2014) conducted a study examining the nature and strength of relationships between tribes and local school districts. Targeting representatives from tribal education programs, Conner (2014) asked participants to describe their relationships and overall challenges working with local school districts that received funding for Indian education programs. When characterizing these relations, Conner (2014) described relationships in a "positive light" or "fraught with challenges." Being one of the few studies to examine the state of tribal-institutional relationships in education, Conner (2014) offers significant insight on relationships. However, to describe relationships as negative or positive for the purposes of this study would be insufficient. Rather, it is more important to characterize the relationships between universities and tribes, meaning to describe the distinctive features of tribal-institutions relationships. In doing so, it is easier to distinguish institutional investment in the local community. Additionally, characterizing relationships will aid in future discussion on how to advance these relationships.

The following section focuses on the characterization of tribal-university institutional relationships as described by senior university administration and American Indian program directors. Using features found across these characteristics, I provide a nuanced description of formal and informal relationships. Thereafter, I characterize a variety of tribal-institutional relationships described by representatives and discern in the formality of relations. These types of formal and informal relationships include: policy, curricular, and economic. Additionally, other informal relationships that did not fall into any of the above categories will be presented independently. Presented are characterizations that were mentioned by three or more study participants.

### **Formal vs. Informal Relationships**

“The university only has relationships with tribes if it is mandated to,” best describes how a few participants articulated the relationships between tribes and universities, pointing to the political or contractual nature of tribal engagement. The previous section discussed the nature of tribal-institutional relationships, illuminating the fact that relations between tribes and universities are complex and cannot be so simply explained. However, relationships between universities and tribes are much more complex than any characterizations provided by participants. While helpful, the analysis conducted uses the principles offered in community-campus partnership and nation-building frameworks to examine and identify community relationships and offer a framework for understanding tribal-university relationships.

The United States public postsecondary institutions are the most complex in the globe (Bok, 2015), making sense of and understanding institutional-tribal relations are equally complex. The purpose of this section is to describe how participants explain formal and informal relationships before further characterizing these relationships. Table 6 presents counts on the

main types of formal and informal relationships identified across institutions that were provided by university representatives. The following section discusses each characterization, describing at greater length features of these relationships.

Table 2  
*Counts of Formal and Informal Relations By Type*

	<b>Formal</b>	<b>Informal</b>	<b>Total</b>
Policy: Admissions	11	3	14
Policy: NAGPRA	6	3	9
Educational Resources	3	3	6
Curricular	4	0	4
On-Campus Relations	0	4	4
Economic Resources	3	0	3

*Note.* Source from interviews of university representatives.

### **Formal Relationships**

Based on examples provided by participants, formal relationships are institutionalized in the academy because of federal, state, or UC policy, or contractual agreements. These included, but are not limited to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) or tribal endowment agreements. While not always the case, these relationships are maintained overtime because of university “buy-in” or the involvement of university officials, at varying levels and specific points in time. The involvement of university officials, such as senior administrators or designated representatives, is frequently stipulated in the policy or contractual agreement. Such is the case with UC NAGPRA that stipulates, “each campus... shall designate a liaison to work with native communities considering or requesting repatriation from the University’s collections” (UC Office of the President, 2001, p. 8).

Across case study institutions, participants mentioned several examples of how each institution engages in formal political and contractual relationships with tribes. For example, both campuses vary in their compliance with NAGPRA and UC NAGPRA policy (NAGPRA;

UC Office of the President, 2001). UC Berkeley and UCLA adheres to and interacts with tribes as stipulated in the NAGPRA, which requires museums to “inventory their American Indian holdings, make their inventories public, and at the request of tribes, negotiate the return of sacred artifacts and human remains” (Henson et al., 2008, p. 289). Additionally, both universities implement the 2008 UC admissions allowance for the consideration of membership in a federally recognized tribe as a “limited plus factor” in undergraduate admissions (Brown, 2008). On the contractual end, the UCLA School of Law entered into a formal agreement with the San Manuel Band of Missions Indians in 2003. This agreement was derived by a multi-million-dollar endowment given to the School of Law by San Manuel for the development of the Tribal Learning Community and Educational Exchange (TLCEE) program. One UCLA participant noted this agreement to be the fastest and shortest contract drafted by San Manuel and a university, a whole three pages, and current contracts range from 30 to 50 pages. At the time, the agreement was being drafted, American Indian Studies professor Duane Champagne (2003) wrote:

After some meetings and a presentation before the San Manuel General Council, the General Council offered \$4 million as an endowment. At this writing, we are still negotiating the details of the gift, but hope to initiate a program based on the endowment funding for the 2004-2005 academic year (Champagne, 2003).

Operating in 2004, the goals of TLCEE are described as:

Collaborating with Native community members and traditional knowledge bearers, TLCEE focuses on enhancing Native governance and cultural resource protection (i.e. the protection of cultural artifacts). TLCEE also encourages Native youth and Tribal

community members to enroll in college level courses and works to serve as a base for Native community members attending UCLA. (UCLA Law School, 2017b)

The endowment created a formal relationship between the UCLA Law School, TLCEE, and the San Manuel Band of Mission Indians.

Examining formal relations across sites, it was clear that, as organizations, neither university as a whole has committed to a formal relationship with any tribe, similar to what Memorandum of Understandings between universities and tribes typically do. The Executive Vice Chancellor at UCLA pondered, what type of relationship could be developed between both parties, should conversations take place.

It's really worth considering. I mean now that you raise it, it seems something that would be worth exploring, and what a 'formal relationship' would be. I can imagine taking many forms; but it would depend upon what the actual content of the relationship was, but sure, I could see that happen. – *Executive Vice Chancellor, Los Angeles*

Outside of the mandated relationships identified in interviews, this consideration suggests that that universities do not independently foster “formal relationships” with tribes. It also suggests that there are several areas for developing such opportunities. The following sections offer additional details on formal institutional relationships.

### **Informal Relationships**

Conversely, informal relationships are best described as non-institutionalized relationships. These relationships are not bound by policy, agreements, or resources. Unfortunately, unlike formal relationships, these relationships rely on specific individuals and often lack university “buy-in.” Additionally, across sites informal relationships tended to be unsustainable because of changes in leadership in the university and tribes, inconsistencies of

campus resources, and challenges encountered by university staff when working with American Indian or tribal communities. A theme among unsustained informal initiatives is that they were initiated or led by the university and “little or no university-wide investment or buy-in” as indicated by one participant from UCLA. While institutional support was provided to some of these initiatives (e.g. Native American Student Advocacy Institute, Native American Professional Development Conference, American Indian Summer Institute) it was often based on one-time funding, not a long-term or ongoing commitment.

Several participants continually referred to the organic nature of relationships. While these relationships occasionally led to formalized relationships, participants indicated that connections were initiated in informal ways such as with handshakes, an offer of a seat at the table, or with invitations into communal spaces. Eventually, some informal relationships have transitioned into formal relationships. For example, former AISC Director shared an example of how this occurred with the Bishop Paiute Tribe of California.

The Bishop Paiute relationship was a relationship [the Tribal Legal Development Clinic instructor] has with someone at the [Tribal] Court there. So there really have been a very organic [relationship] and I think we’ve all made an effort to, and I know Bill has made an effort to make sure that there’s California connections. Very much trying to make sure we are working with California tribes, at least some percentage of the work is for California tribes to provide that serve the community. That’s how I think a lot of it happened, it’s just really organically through relationships. – *American Indian, former AISC Director, Los Angeles*

Finally, informal relationships are often maintained by American Indian staff or units on-campus because of personal commitments or motivations to engage the American Indian

community. In fact, it is critical to note that, across sites, no senior administrator referred to informal interactions with tribes.

### **Formal Policy**

At the opening of this section, a respondent shared that “the university only has relationships with tribes if it is mandated to.” This speaks to the legal and political nature of relationships that universities have with tribes, primarily federally recognized tribes. There are two policy driven relationships that participants identified as ways that both UC Berkeley and Los Angeles formally engage with tribes. These policies include federal repatriation policy and UC systemwide admissions policy.

*Applicants, admission, and enrollment.* Across both sites, over half university based participants of the study participants discussed efforts to increase the admissions and enrollment of American Indian students at their respective campus. Senior administrators heightened awareness about enrollment issues was particularly compelling. However, when discussing admission and enrollment, most administrators referred to American Indians broadly, rarely than referencing local tribes or tribal members.

The devastatingly low number of enrolled American Indian professional, graduate, and undergraduate students at each campus and throughout the UCs is an ongoing issue in admissions. In 1997, voters in the state of California passed Proposition 209, an anti-affirmative action policy that disallowed the use of race and gender in university admissions decisions. Following the passage of Proposition 209, there have been several state-wide, systemwide, and campus policies and initiatives to increase the enrollment of American Indian students at the graduate and undergraduate level. In response, the University of California American Indian Counselors and Recruiters Association (UC AICRA), along with other allied groups, argued that

a student's membership in a federally recognized tribe be recognized as legal or political status, not a racial designation (Reynoso & Kidder, 2008). These findings are based on public documents (UC Regents minutes, official UCOP memo from legal scholar, William Kidder) and one of the campus representative's memos. Two major initiatives came from this advocacy: the hiring of American Indian Admissions Officers in undergraduate admissions and the implementation of a UC systemwide admission policy allowing for the consideration of membership in a federally-recognized tribe as a "plus factor" in application reviews for admission, as Proposition 209 applies in admissions, except when federal interests may be violated or counters federal laws.

UC Berkeley was the first campus to hire a designated American Indian Admission Officer in 1997, hiring Bridget Wilson who staffed the position for nearly 20 years. UCLA eventually followed suit in 2010, hiring Renee White Eyes who staffed the position for five years. These staff were hired as a Student Affairs Officer to exclusively focus on American Indian outreach in the Office of Undergraduate Admissions and Relations with Schools, now commonly referred to as the Office of Enrollment Management. The Vice Provost of Enrollment Management shared the distinction of this position in comparison to other admissions officers.

We have an individual on our staff that's dedicated to focusing on Native recruitment, and that was the only position until sometime in May this spring that we have had a staff dedicated to a population of students. We don't have the other ethnic or racial groups or other groups, such as veterans or foster youth. We still assign an individual amongst other tasks, but with our Native community, we have a full-time employee. That's been the history for a long time (i.e. 7 years), and we've had some amazing folks working in that area. – *Vice Provost Enrollment Management, Los Angeles*



Although opinions differ related to the demands on these individuals and other responsibilities that take time away from dedicated recruiting of American Indian students, both campuses have a full-time career appointment designated for American Indian student recruitment. Native recruiters were acknowledged by interviewees to have ultimately impacted improvements in the enrollment of American Indian students at their respective universities, and both campuses demonstrated marginal increases in American Indian student applications and enrollment since the introduction of these positions and following the implementation of Proposition 209 in California. Table 7 reflects the changes in freshman enrollment between 1995 (just before Proposition 209 was enacted) to 2015. There are slight increases in admissions over this period of time; however, the low number of enrolled American Indian freshman during this time cannot solely be attributed to academic preparation since these campuses have also increased admissions selectivity over the same time frame.

Table 3

*University of California American Indian Freshman Enrollment*

	<b>1995</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2015</b>
UC Wide	120	91	239	263	239	230	278	348	379	339	346
Berkeley	56	18	29	37	25	26	36	33	51	33	48
Los Angeles	42	38	28	23	34	38	38	46	52	46	48

*Note.* Adapted from University of California Office of the Presidents, Information Center Fall enrollment at a glance.

Additionally, the staff positions permitted targeted outreach to American Indian students under the restrictions of Proposition 209, as targeted outreach to other underrepresented groups is prohibited unless protected by federal law. Similarly, in 2008 the UC Board of Regents approved the use of enrollment for federally-recognized American Indian tribes as a “plus factor” to be considered in review of admissions applications and decisions. The Board of

Regents included, under Selection Criterion of admissions stipulating items to be considered as a plus factor” in graduate and undergraduate review, the ability to consider tribal membership in application review. Each campus was encouraged to implement the policy at their discretion. UC Berkeley and UCLA were the first UCs to develop procedures to implement the policy, by offering a second review to applicants self-identifying as American Indians on their application. UCLA Vice Provost of Enrollment Management spoke favorably of the policy, stating, “I think looking at Native students from a tribal standpoint has been really helpful, because it's taking away the barrier of [Proposition] 209. I said this is a tribal issue [and not a racial issue], which gives you greater latitude to do things.”

While university administrators see the importance of increasing enrollment numbers, American Indian staff articulated the desire to create opportunities for students. Former American Indian staff at UC Berkeley and member of UC AICRA, offered an alternative perspective on the importance of the Board of Regents approval of the policy. She explained the process of working with UCOP and Admissions Officers to ensure the necessary individuals understood and adopted the policy for the benefit of American Indian students.

It was like the window. The door was only open so wide but we could open up a window and let them in. And those to me were the highlights, where we were able to convince the Office of the President and Admissions Director that this was legal to do. You don't have to be afraid to do it. You're not going to get sued. But they were always cautious that someone was going to come in and question, “Why are they doing that? That's against the law.” And so, we had to really make sure that it wasn't race-based. It was a political status [that was given consideration in admissions]. – *American Indian, former Undergraduate Admissions staff, Berkeley*

Referring to the policy as a window compared to a partially closed door, this staff emphasized the importance of this policy in creating equal opportunity for Native students to selective institutions. This maneuvering required both American Indian staff and university officials to be willing to be flexible in their development of the policy for the benefit of serving students. Bridget explains the strategy used by UC AICRA to advocate to UCOP and the UC Board of Admissions and Relations with Schools (BOARS).

We changed some of the terminology and taught people how to use the language. And a lot of the language that was created, and that we started using was their language. Again, we're using their own intelligence. And what is that, when you need to fight fire with fire, or you just put it back in them and say, "These are the words you said, you know. We're not making this stuff up. You're the one that said it." – *American Indian, former Undergraduate Admissions staff, Berkeley*

As mentioned, this policy was specific to students with membership in a federally recognized tribe and not specific to tribes. As such, it is not necessary for the university to establish a relationship with tribes in order to successfully increase American Indian student admissions and enrollment. In fact, only a few participants suggested fostering relationships with local communities to increase enrollment numbers. UCLA Executive Vice Chancellor stated:

With respect to Native American communities, I think we've realized through a variety of ways that if we're going to get Native American students to apply, we really do have to work with local communities, local tribes to show that we're a place where students can thrive and we have to make that happen. – *Executive Vice Chancellor, Los Angeles*

From these remarks, there is a sense of receptiveness and a shift in understanding how to better work with American Indian tribes. Former Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs at UCLA, similarly commented,

What's going on with the pipeline is interesting. It's very interesting in terms of the support the Native community is getting. Looking at my history over the last number of years at UCLA and before, the sense of tribal lands it just has a whole new meaning now, that it didn't have a few years back. I didn't mean much. There's a different kind of respect and appreciation for things that in the past just would bounce off somebody. It wouldn't even come in [to consideration]. Not that the times are better, but there's some, in the darkness you see little flickers of light. – *former Vice Chancellor Student Affairs, Los Angeles*

**Repatriation policy.** Through NAGPRA and the University of California Office of the President's NAGPRA Coordinating Committee, UCLA and Berkeley engage with federally recognized tribes formally on repatriation of cultural artifacts, human remains, and objects of cultural patrimony. In addition, these policies institute a system for collaborating with tribes that encourages transparency and access to museum collections such as the Phoebe Hearst Museum, Bancroft Library, and Fowler Museum. UCLA Curator of Archaeology began working with local tribes during graduate school, the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Indians to be precise. They described how UCLA implemented NAGPRA when first enacted in 1990:

Once NAGPRA was enacted, the university decided that there would be one department that would be responsible for gathering all the NAGPRA material together. Since a majority of the material was already within the Fowler Museum, that would be the repository and the responsible party for coordinating the conversations between tribes

who are claiming material and doing the notices and inventory work; sort of the background research that is in compliance of NAGPRA. There was the initial outreach to all of the different [academic] departments to request that materials were turned over that might be potentially Native American remains or anything else that might be eligible under NAGPRA... All of that material was turned over. And when I came in as curator in 1997... my job as curator at that point was to actually seek tribal input. – *Curator of Archaeology, Los Angeles*

To remain compliant with NAGPRA, the Curator of Archaeology explained how UCLA moved swiftly to collect all items falling under the law. UC Berkeley, on the other hand, was a different story. Several sources affirmed the poor reputation of Berkeley with being NAGPRA compliant (Paddock, 2008). For example, in 2008 UC Berkeley was criticized for failing to repatriate over 1,000 human remains, and the location and condition of their storage facility. Tribes ridiculed the University for retaining the remains, with one representative of the Shoshone-Paiute Tribe stating, “We don't appreciate them keeping our ancestors locked up in a drawer... This is a human rights issue to the tribes. All we're asking for is to be treated fairly” (Paddock, 2008). California state Senator Dean Florez, with the support of others, also wrote UC Berkeley Chancellor Birgeneau regarding the decision to not repatriate thousands of human remains, calling the act discriminatory. They argued, “UC Berkeley officials have acted secretly and without transparency to circumvent the mandates and the spirit of federal and state NAGPRA laws” (Rahimo, 2008). When interviewed for this study, Assistant Vice Chancellor of Government and Community Relations, reflected on these and other past issues at Berkeley regarding the maintenance of collections.

We had some rocky relationships there for a little while and then we got a new museum director for the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum. She realized how crazy this situation was and sat down with us, the leadership, to figure out how can we actually treat these remains respectfully, start cataloging and figuring out what we actually had because sometimes we don't even know exactly where these things came from. So, there was a lot of work to go through that process, and move a lot of the holdings off-campus to the Richmond Field Station site where we built a whole new facility there. – *Assistant Vice Chancellor Government and Community Relations, Berkeley*

The initial implementation of NAGPRA and staff's anti-repatriation practices set the tone for engaging tribes in initial years, required the University to reconcile their relationships with tribes in following years – something they continue to work on. UCLA Curator of Archaeology shares the process of working in partnership with the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash to identify sacred and ceremonial objects, a task that cannot be done by museums under federal regulations.

I had a NAGPRA grant between Santa Ynez and [the] UCLA Fowler Museum to start going through the Chumash material, and identifying what was considered to be sacred and ceremonial under NAGPRA. As an institution, we cannot identify that; that has to come from the community. You could always only do part of it, which is what allowed me to have so much ongoing continuous conversation with tribes that we hold, not just ancestral material, but hold any kind of collections. They have to identify if there's something here, we give them information, they have to respond. – *Curator of Archaeology, Los Angeles*

At UCLA, the collaborative nature of working with tribes to identify cultural objects also established precedent for working with other local non-federally recognized tribes, including the

Tongva and Tataviam. UC Berkeley participants shared recent challenges on-campus when the Bancroft Library released online archival material from the Hulse and Essene's 1835 manuscript books that contain stories regarding Paiute sacred sites, burials, and ceremonial areas, which the Big Pine Paiute Tribe of Owens Valley explicitly requested "be treated with respect" and "not be available on the world wide web" (Bacoch-Gutierrez, 2017, p. 12). At the time that I was visiting the site, UC Berkeley administration were reacting to this incident and convened a committee of American Indian staff and faculty to respond to the Universities' actions. The committee shifted conversations to ongoing challenges the university has faced working with tribes, including matters pertaining to NAGPRA. The outcome was the invitation to tribes throughout California by UC Berkeley to convene for a dialogue about relationships, particularly past concerns related to NAGPRA.

Although Berkeley has not found equally as much success as the comparison site, senior administrators expressed efforts to ensure access to collections. Vice Chancellor of Undergraduate Education, shared the following on opening tribal members access to collections:

I know we've been working on making our collections as accessible as possible, and working with Native groups who want simply to have access, and are willing to have us maintain them. Then what happens in those pieces that need to be repatriated, and what that process is, and how that goes, which is fraught because there's different rules in terms of the Feds versus recognized tribes versus unrecognized tribes. You can imagine the complexity of all that. I think we've come – as I said, I think we've come a long way in addressing that. – *Vice Chancellor Undergraduate Education, Berkeley*

A unique characteristic to emerge from UCLA's repatriation efforts was the advances the university and NAGPRA Coordinating Committee has made in developing relationships with

local non-federally recognized tribes, particularly related to addressing their concerns repatriation and access to collections. This relationship is unlike any other UC campus. Interviews showed that personal and working relationships had a heavy influence on this repatriation effort, and that senior administrators have also been receptive and supportive of these efforts. In the summer of 2016, nearly all California Indian human remains held by the Fowler Museum were repatriated in a claim that brought together federally and non-federally recognized tribes, UCLA, and UCOP (Department of the Interior, 2016). While there were many unprecedented aspects of this repatriation, one unique aspect was the support received by senior administrators to ensure the safe return of human remains belonging to non-federally recognized tribes, who would otherwise not have land base to return their ancestors. A long-term project, the Curator of Archaeology shared the following details regarding the support received from the administration:

That being said, since it is legislative, [NAGPRA is] a very particular beast in that it dictates that you have to do these things with community, but the Chancellor donated land to assist the Chumash, Tongva and Tataviam to be able to rebury their ancestors. And that was his idea. While [Block] is not exactly like sending out cards. It's a been pretty darn big deal. I mean we didn't invite him to the ceremony, to the reburial, for whatever reason. I don't even know that it was even thought like we should from anyone on, you know, either side. But that's a really big generous gift that I don't think anybody else has done. – *White Female, Curator of Archaeology, Los Angeles*

Drawing from the words of a participant, “NAGPRA is a particular beast,” requiring the case study universities to be compliant with specific rules in federal regulations for the safe protection and return of Native American sacred and ceremonial objects and human remains.



How the university decides and can implement NAGPRA varies, as demonstrated by the case study sites. However, repatriation policy is one example of a formal relationship between federally recognized tribes and universities that is policy driven. Perhaps most compelling is how individuals and institutions, universities and museums alike, are navigating federal policy intended exclusively for federally recognized tribes to engage non-federally recognized tribes. Moreover, from an educational standpoint, this political relationship shows promise of institutions using formal avenues to demonstrate a responsibility to local tribes.

### **Education Resources**

Through formal and informal mechanisms, the case study sites reflected instances where tribes sought educational resources from universities with varying degrees of success and universities did the same. There were several interviews that addressed tribally initiated relations with institutions, and these perspectives were extremely telling. Based on analysis of interviews and documents, there appears to be few, if any, mechanisms in place to make earnest connections with tribes and have honest follow-up after initial contact. While there are informal mechanisms instituted in American Indian Studies Centers, there are few university-wide mechanisms that incorporate tribes into government and community relations. Former American Indian staff from UC Berkeley, shared several anecdotes on federally recognized tribes approaching senior administrators to develop relationships. In the following example, they share a story about the Tribal Chairman of the Cheyenne River Sioux Nation who visited campus to meet with the then Chancellor of UC Berkeley.

I actually went to his office one time to meet with the tribal leader that was from Cheyenne River. The Cheyenne River guy came, and we are friends with him, and Chancellor Birgeneau's office contacted me and said they are going to have a meeting

with them and did not I want to go. I knew nothing would come out of it. This tribal leader came to the university and said, “We are the poorest tribe. We don’t have the resources that you might think that other tribes have. What can you do for us? We like this institution. We want to establish some type of working relationship with you.” And so Birgeneau looked at me and goes, “Well, maybe her office, we’ll send her out there. You can talk to her director and they might have some dollars so she can do some outreach. In the meantime, here is your connection if you have questions about admissions or anything, connect with her.” And it was very cordial. And after that happened and we all went to our separate ways, I tried to follow-up. And then that tribal leader, he wasn’t a tribal leader anymore, so he went away. And then, Birgeneau never picked up the ball after that. – *American Indian, former Undergraduate Admissions staff, Berkeley*

This same staff and the Assistant Vice Chancellor of Government and Community Relations shared a similar meeting between Chancellor Birgeneau and leadership from the Morongo Band of Missions Indians, located in Southern California. This second example indicated that the initial encounter was more than a single event. In this instance, the Chancellor met with the Tribal Chairman at UC Berkeley as well as traveled to the Morongo Reservation.

Another time when before that, he got a visit from the tribal chairman from Morongo. The Morongo guy came up and Birgeneau took him to the alumni house for lunch, and they invited me so I went. And then they took a little tour around the campus... They’re going around and then Birgeneau said that he would visit him, that he would go down to Morongo and make a visit. When Birgeneau when to Morongo, I went. I flew on the plane with them and we went to the reservation and we visited where they live. We

didn't go to the casino. We definitely left out the casino completely out of the visit and didn't even talk about it or anything. But they wanted to show us the school, so Birgeneau went and I went. And then we went back home and that was it. Nothing came out of it. That tribal leader passed away now. – *American Indian, former Undergraduate Admissions staff, Berkeley*

The lack of follow through demonstrates that universities have yet to develop systems for responding, initiating, developing, or sustaining relationships with tribes at a university-wide level. Former Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs shared their experience as an administrator trying to further tribal relations, which never came to fruition, stating: “everything feels like a one off [one-time event]. It's got to be hugely frustrating for the Native community looking in and saying, you do that and nothing.”

The following section, “Explanation of Institutional Relationships,” will provide additional rationale from participants as to why educational relationships between tribes and universities find successes and challenges. Regardless, it is clear from the stories that when tribes approach the university for educational resources they do not receive an overwhelming response, which could be attributed to the informal nature of relationships. Conversely, while new in their work, a few participants from American Indian studies programs indicated efforts to formalize relationships with local communities while also assisting in addressing community needs. The AISC Director at UCLA shared the sentiment of needing to be engaged in the local American Indian community and California Indian tribes while simultaneously assisting to address their needs.

I have also been active and trying to build ties with community organizations and the Indian commission, for example, around the Indigenous People's Day stuff. I think it's

good for the Center to be involved in those kinds of activities that benefit our communities. It is kind of in a way that is really large. Rather than just like, do we provide the students to do service in this community or with this tribe, which is also valuable work and I think we should do it, but I think we can also do more. For me, it's both developing relationships with tribes, assisting in the things that we can. – *American Indian, AISC Director, Los Angeles*

While informal in nature, the motivation to form relationships is based on community needs and uplift. Leadership of the AISC at UCLA demonstrates a commitment to the local community.

While fulfilling one of the goals of a public university, it primarily reflects personal commitments to serve Indigenous communities.

### **Formal Curricular Relationships**

A goal of UC Berkeley and Los Angeles is to provide the “state with research institutions of national and international standing, offering the most demanding and rigorous education to [the] most promising students” (UC Berkeley, 2002, p. 3). Through academic programs, particular American Indian or Native American Studies, both institutions have effectively incorporated local tribes, both federally and non-federally recognized tribes, into the academic mission of the institution through courses and service learning opportunities.

UCLA effectively includes tribes locally and throughout the state into the American Indian Studies Interdepartmental program course curriculum offering a bachelors and master’s degree program. For example, American Indian Studies 120/220: Working in Tribal Communities is a year-long course offered at the undergraduate and graduate level, where students are assigned or select a service learning project with a local tribe. The course is designed similar to other Native Nation Building course offered at colleges and universities

throughout the nation (i.e Harvard), with students spending one year immersed in a tribe or Native community to execute a community-drive research project (Norman & Kalt, 2015). In prior years, one study participant indicated that American Indian Studies also offered a significant number of courses in California Indian culture, history and language that incorporated local tribes.

We started to work with, we had like a Serrano Language Class that Ernest Siva taught and we had Serrano Cultural Class with Lowell Bean and so we were able to sort of start, and Marcus Lopez did one on Native Americans and the media and that was awesome. And then I did the cultural resource management (CRM) of California resources [course], and that had tons of guest lectures come in from the communities to talk about their particular facets of cultural compliance and protection. We had a great sort of start and then it was tied in with the tribal legal clinic and so the students were working with Taino, Hawaii and Alaska [tribal issues]. – *Curator of Archaeology, Los Angeles*

Also housed at UCLA is the Tribal Legal Development Clinic, which offers legal assistance to Native nations. Working primarily with California tribes, the Tribal Legal Development Clinic is mutually beneficial to students and tribes by providing tribes with legal assistance and students are able to gain skills such as “drafting legislation, legal memoranda and other documents... assisting tribal nations with the development and modification of legal codes, governing documents and constitutional provisions, creation of dispute resolution processes, and drafting of intergovernmental agreements and related administrative documents” (UCLA Law School, 2017a). Moreover, the Tribal Legal Development Clinic also makes a concerted effort to connect UCLA with local tribes. Speaking with the former AISC director at UCLA, now current director of the Tribal Legal Development Clinic and Native Nations Law and Policy

Center (NNLPC), we understand the intentionality in maintaining the curricular-based program that serves local tribes.

We've had to try to be very strategic about trying to achieve what we've really believe should be achieved for the local communities within the constraints that we have operating under at UCLA. But that's a lot of community connection through that work too... and I've heard them speak in a lot of different contexts where they've given credit to UCLA and they've been very appreciative. And so, I think within [California] Indian Country, certainly within law, there is a strong sense that UCLA is engaging communities and is really trying to do stuff. So that's good. – *American Indian, former AISC Director, Los Angeles*

The incorporation of tribal issues and topics into course curriculum and service learning courses ensures that there is an organized mechanism for addressing the needs of tribes, and students are concurrently receiving the guidance from instructors to address issues that surface in real life contexts. One participant pointed out that integration into the academic curriculum ensures a monitoring of projects by instructors and sometimes allows for students to work collaboratively in teams. Ultimately, the goal of advancing Native nations is achieved because tribes receive quality products and students gain a strong set of skills while learning to work in tribal communities in ways that establish a partnership with the university.

### **Formal Economic Relationships**

Several participants expressed concern over institutional relationships established between tribes and universities for economic reasons, even though tribes were proceeding to make use of their newly acquired resources for investing in university relationships. Individuals with greatest concerns were heads of American Indian Studies programs. For example, the

Director of the TLCEE Program stated, “There are no tribes within maybe about 30 miles [of this campus]; there are, but they're not federally recognized and so that hinders things because this administration is driven by how much can we extract from our community so we can still maintain our world and there's no real money grab.” The TLCEE Director, a staff actively engaged in the Indian Country, best articulated similar sentiments held by other study participants regarding the universities’ intentions to establish formal partnerships exclusively with federally recognized tribes, insensitivity toward non-federally recognized tribes, much less acknowledge their presence, and that relationships are based on extracting resources.

As mentioned, TLCEE was developed in 2003 through a generous donation from the San Manuel Band of Mission Indians. Since its establishment, the program has offered education resources to tribal members throughout the nations, and recently focuses its attention to California Indian tribal members enrolled in high school. The endowment created a formal relationship between the UCLA Law School, TLCEE, and the San Manuel Band of Mission Indians. More interesting is how the partnership developed. The Curator of Archaeology, a member of the steering committee, shared some background on the formation of TLCEE that situates the development of the partnership within the organization.

Through that work and a graduate student, expressed a desire to create a model partnership between San Manuel and UCLA that would address how to have students that are more engaged within the community and have the community more engaged in UCLA or with UCLA students, and to bring the best of each. That became the Tribal Learning Community and Educational Exchange program. That had its success in that the tribe was willing to provide a substantial amount of money, \$4.5 million, to get it

going and create an endowment for it to have sustained capacity. – *Curator of Archaeology, Los Angeles*

The above narrative and campus documents indicate that a student, an enrolled member of San Manuel, had a fundamental role in creating the partnership between the tribe and UCLA. Working in collaboration, with staff and faculty in American Indian units across UCLA's campus secured the endowment. Outside of NAGPRA, the agreement between San Manuel and UCLA was most referred to by UCLA American Indian representatives throughout the study and identified as a formal relationship.

The most compelling aspect of this partnership is the idea that San Manuel, and any future partners, are theoretically investing in universities to provide services for their members and other tribes. It is somewhat ironic and gives little incentive for institutions to invest in tribes and nation-building if tribes are able to provide for themselves independently. That is, it de-incentivizes universities to demonstrate a responsibility to tribes through resources. Tribes and those helping to initiate relationships must be skillful when fostering relationships between universities and tribes, to ensure the investment and commitment of institutions to tribes and nation-building goals.

Community-partnership frameworks remind us of the importance of keeping in mind shared goals. Both tribes and universities have a lot to gain from each other when entering into partnerships – if done correctly. Such arrangements allow universities to share their expertise, resources, and services on developing solutions and work alongside tribes to advance their goals. Likewise, tribes bring new perspectives, knowledge, and ways of working, and present opportunities for universities to learn and grow beyond its traditional ways of operating. A few American Indian programs representatives shared in disbelief regarding “Why tribes would even



want to have the [economic]relationship with [UCLA] in that context (i.e. the university having long ignored tribes), I can't understand.” These concerns are real, and should function as words of caution as officials consider opportunities for engaging with tribes.

### **Other Informal Exchanges**

Across the two institutions, interviewees also mentioned other informal ways that they engage local tribes that were not typical. The following briefly reviews two ways that participants from UCLA articulated current practices for engaging local tribes.

*Cultural connections.* Incorporating local non-federally recognized tribes was previously mentioned to be met with resistance by university administrators. As such, American Indian staff and faculty have found other ways to acknowledge and incorporate local tribes into programs, courses, and research that stratifies the personal commitment to serving local communities and advances tribal goals of nation building. The former AISC Director, now current Director of the Tribal Legal Development Clinic, discussed concerted efforts of the Law Clinic to work with local California tribes. Additionally, in prior years, under other directorship, the AISC assisted the San Gabriel Band of Mission Indians with their petition for federal acknowledgement. Under the former AISC Director, a goal was to develop relationships with local tribes in multiple ways. They described these efforts as making “cultural connections,” stating:

I think directing the [AISC] Center, we developed good relationships with local unrecognized tribes [in] sort of various iterations, but working with the Tataviam and some of the local tribes was really great for us. A lot of it is through kind of almost cultural connection. So when you're doing events and having blessings and trying to always include panels that deal with Native issues of Californians as opposed to just you

know always going outside of California. Through all these kinds of intersecting ways through the Center's work, we ended up having a lot of community connections with tribes. And some of it was around substantive issues, like really thinking about how we make sure an integrative substantive issue [is addressed] on [a speaker] panel, if we are doing an academic event. – *American Indian, former AISC Director, Los Angeles*

Here the former Director is speaking about efforts to incorporate local tribes in events by involving them as speakers, presenting on local issues, or even offering a prayer. There were opposing issues given by a staff person with a close long-term working relationship with local tribes. When asking for recommendations on how the university can begin to build relationships with tribes, they expressed the following:

It's more difficult to think about rising above the [AIS] department because we can't get this part right. But that doesn't mean that we're not still looking at how do we you know, how do we fix that part, how do we make it so that people feel comfortable and confident about reaching out to the Tongva community and having them involved without it being just you know last minute – or a symbolic gesture of coming to prayer. Right, the blessings, the constant blessings - to me it's so insulting [because it is largely symbolic]. – *Curator of Archaeology, Los Angeles*

***Responding to requests.*** Another way that American Indian programs informally engage with tribes is by fielding inquiries or requests from tribes. On occasion, tribal leaders or members will reach out to the American Indian Studies Program or Center for assistance. Requests may range from assistance with federal recognition cases, which was a recent request of the Fernandeno Tataviam Band of Mission Indians. In other instances, requests can be of a

personal nature. Interim Chair of the UCLA American Indian Studies Interdepartmental program, shared efforts to support the Tataviam federal recognition case.

Rudy Ortega sent me an email and an attachment of the copy of the most recent BIA pushback on what documents they want Tataviam to present. And so, through his employees, one of our fellow students, I said I can't undertake this right now because this is a serious hunk of research, but I have a lot of ideas. And what we need to do is let's get one of the TLCEE students on this. Or let's get a student to do this as an independent project that I will supervise, or as their term paper in the graduate seminar, because you need to know the archives in order to figure out how to get the things that the BIA is pushing for. – *Interim Chair American Indian Studies, Los Angeles*

The Interim Director is posing ways of incorporating requests into the academic curriculum, benefitting the tribes and student learning, which would transition informal interactions to formal interactions if the approach were sustained over time as a course project. With hope, this would elevate interactions between the Tataviam and UCLA to a formal relationship.

Of a personal nature, the current UCLA AISC Director shared an inquiry from a tribal member in San Diego County. This tribal member was trying to locate recordings of his grandfather singing taken by the University in the 1950's. The Director shared:

We had a tribal member reach out who was from San Diego... he was looking for directions to find the recordings of his father's songs that have been recorded by somebody at UCLA back in the 50s. And, so I responded to that copying [the AISC Librarian], and [Curator of Archaeology] and other people who I thought might know, and they actually were able to guide him to the recordings that he needed. So, things like that that are helpful for people. – *AISC Director, Los Angeles*

This indicates that local tribes see the university as an important community resource for cultural preservation so long as there are knowledgeable and helpful representatives that can assist them in gaining access to these resources.

### **Relations with Federally vs. Non-Federally Recognized Tribes**

Given the context and characterization for relationships, patterns across the case study sites indicate that the institutions most often developed informal relationships with local non-federally recognized tribes. In addition, these informal relationships are managed by American Indian units or individuals. There were select instances where the institution did operate in a formal capacity with local tribes. This was by maneuvering policies or laws, such as NAGPRA, to also apply to non-federally recognized tribes.

With regards to federally recognized tribes, patterns across case study institutions indicate that formal relationships tend to include federally recognized tribes. Policies such as NAGPRA or admission policy tend to apply only to federally recognized tribes and their members because of stipulations in federal policy. Former UC Berkeley American Indian staff shared the legal aspect of these relationships. They described observations related to federal recognition status, with non-federally recognized tribes having less resources and ability to pressure the university and federally recognized tribes having legal counsel to pressure the university and receive responses. She argues that the university is under no obligation to respond to tribes, and legal counsel is one of the few ways tribes have found success in soliciting answers from the university.

If there were no abiding agreements or anything, they didn't have lawyers then they pretty much didn't get a response. That's how they operate the museum. If you're a federally recognized tribe and have a lawyer, then you're in. But if you don't have full

representation, they don't have to respond to you. They're not obligated. – *American Indian, former Undergraduate Admissions staff, Berkeley*

Regardless of federal recognition status, it is clear that tribes face limitations when working with universities if the tribe is under-resourced.

Individuals from campuses found creative ways to work within or through institutions or policy to assist non-federally recognized tribes in achieving the Native nation-building goals. To a certain degree, this involved the support and participation of the university. While at other times, it must be acknowledged that inclusion of non-federally recognized tribes into institutionalized and existing systems that support tribal goals was of little or no awareness to university officials. Regardless, the examples presented demonstrate instances where universities have consciously made the decision to incorporate non-federally recognized tribes and tribal members in formal and informal ways that benefit both the university and tribes.

### **Explanation of the State Relations with Tribes**

After inquiring about the relationships between local tribes and universities, interviewees were asked, “How do you explain the current state of relations with tribes?” The following section describes the most prevalent strengths and challenges encountered or imagined by university representatives and tribes when developing informal and formal relationships with tribes. Table 7 presents counts on the types of explanation for relationships provided by participants. The most frequently mentioned were lack of human and economic resources.

Table 4  
*Counts of Explanation of Relationships by Respondent*

	<b>Senior Administration</b>	<b>Mid Level Administration</b>	<b>Total</b>
Resources	4	7	11
Campus Organization & Culture	3	7	10
CA History	4	6	10
Cohesion on-campus	2	5	7
Disconnection between tribe and institution	2	5	7

*Note.* Counts drawn from interviews with university representatives.

### **Lack of Resources**

“American Indian programs continue to be under-resourced to do the work of the university, even if they wanted to or were tasked to,” commented for Chair of the UCLA American Indian Studies (AIS) Interdepartmental program when speaking about the relationships of the AIS program maintains with regional tribes. Most participants in this study commented that reductions to resources, that is funding and staff positions, at their university severely impacted their ability to engage tribes, and contended that some of the first units to be faced with budget cuts were their “small” communities.

Human capital is another issue addressed by interviewees. Participants at UC Berkeley referenced the term “bandwidth” when discussing the work capacity of Native and non-Native administrators and staff, suggesting that there are main points of responsibility and not enough people to attend to the tasks effectively. Campus leadership have multifaceted responsibilities that pull their attention on organizational, high level operations of campus, leaving little time to attend to smaller campus units or communities. For example, a senior administrator in UC Berkeley’s Office of Government and Community Relations shared the following story about Chancellor Birgeneau’s efforts to pass a tuition waiver for American Indian students in California.

As a California bill it would only affect a few students, but he really wanted this to sort of be a national effort... ultimately, it didn't really go anywhere and I think part of that was we didn't do enough to work with the UC system. At the time, we had a lot of other political issues going on in the state and with the President of the university around its executive compensation and some issues. And so, they didn't have a lot of bandwidth to sort of focus on this. – *Assistant Vice Chancellor Government and Community Relations, Berkeley*

The failure of Assembly Bill 2666 is not a reflection of UC Berkeley leadership alone, because there were many elements at play to move this through the state assembly. However, it demonstrates the limits and priorities of staff because of resources.

Furthermore, the capacity of staff extends to American Indian program directors, mid-level, lower level staff, and even students who assume multiple roles on campuses informally to engage local communities. The former Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs commented that the administration had relied on students for a number of years to support community efforts. Although the low number of students enrolled at universities may suggest a smaller need in resources compared to other underrepresented student populations, the NASD Director at UC Berkeley argues the following:

I have been working to try to get administrators to understand that sometimes small communities need more resources because it is a bigger strain to do things in the communities versus the narrative that I often get... because, “You have fewer people, so you need fewer resources. You are only 350 students, why do we need more staff people.” – *American Indian, NASD Director, Berkeley*

This is to say, participants articulated that American Indian communities are tasked with the responsibility to engage with tribal communities but experience constant stresses and strains of being under-resourced. These challenges, in turn, limit abilities to adequately engage local tribes and American Indian communities broadly.

### **Culture and Organization of Campuses**

Most participants referenced campus structure and organization as the rationale for not having university-wide established relationships with tribes, stating “it is the nature of higher education.” The Director of Strategic Partnership and Community Engagement (SPACE) at UCLA also commented, “in some ways, I think that is just how our structures are.” Some participants explained through the “trickle down” or “trickle up” culture of the academy, where information is said to move from one part of campus to another. Former American Indian admissions staff at UC Berkeley added to this when sharing the challenges of the trickle-down culture at their campus.

I think it’s a trickle-down thing where the top senior administrators, they leave it up to the departments to manage their own interests. And that way, they don’t have to take responsibility as an entity. But they can say, “Oh, well, these tribes are doing that. What’s happening over there?” But they don’t have a grasp on the entire picture. They only get little pieces and I think that’s probably why, too, they don’t want to talk about [tribal relations] because they don’t really know what’s going on. There’s a trickle up. When we have equity and inclusion, that person is specifically appointed to deal with those types of relationships only if there’s problem. – *American Indian, former Undergraduate Admissions staff, Berkeley*



In jest, the staff also said, “information does not trickle anywhere,” but instead units are compartmentalized. The trickle-down culture customarily refers to a process in organizations where information moves down an organizational hierarchy to lower level units and staff (Bess & Dee, 2012). Most participants suggest instances where administrators may never know what issues impact American Indian students or communities. The Director of SPACE, for example, shared, “it is very hard to know what is going on at all times or almost at any time because there's so many people doing things... I don't know that [the Executive Vice Chancellor] knows what [the] American Indian Recruitment [AIR] program does and... what kind of relationships they have with community.” This appears to be the culture of universities, including the case study sites, can absolve high level administration from being conscious of, responsible, or directly engaging marginalized communities. This is part of the decentralized nature of large universities.

Executive Vice Chancellor at UCLA affirmed these thoughts when explaining his responsibility in overseeing the campus as a whole, which make it difficult to be concerned with the “smaller” units of campus. He stated:

Basically, you can think of the EVC/Provost as the Chief Operating Officer of the University. I deal with everything in the university from soup to nuts. And on any given day, I deal with wide set of issues and problems. I tend to deal with things at a very high level, and regrettably I think one of the problems being in this kind of position is I don't get to interact with a lot of students, for example... Basically, I watch how other parts of the organization deal with it. Whether it's admissions or American Indian studies program, and what I want to make sure happens is that those organizations which are

responsible for a student welfare, broadly speaking, have the experience that they would expect to have at UCLA. – *Executive Vice Chancellor, Los Angeles*

Generally, interviewees articulated that institutional organization does not necessarily allow for easy transfer of information to or interaction with senior administrators and American Indian leaders on and off campus. One administrator also suggested that the Chancellor is only concerned and aware when briefed, despite the impression that the Chancellor has made numerous attempts to foster relationship with American Indian students since beginning at UCLA in 2006. The disconnection also occurs across American Indian units as well as other campus units, and is not isolated to campus leadership. One staff expressed, “A lot of work is being done by different people but they are not communicating.” Some interviewees addressed the dispersion of efforts on campus that creates a lack of cohesion or inability to collaborate.

### **Lack of Knowledge About Tribal Communities**

Identified specifically as a challenge to forming relationships is the lack of knowledge among university leaders about California tribes. Most interviewees, some on their own admission, spoke about not possessing the knowledge needed to properly engage American Indian communities broadly and California Indian communities specifically. “Where do you go and who do you go to, and we found that when we were doing the diversity brochure,” stated the Vice Provost of Enrollment Management when speaking about outreach material and drafting the American Indian section of the campus’ diversity brochure. Similarly, former Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs offered a candid perspective on why they believed relationships with local American Indian and tribal communities never bore fruit.

It didn’t get the traction [for initiatives]. And I think that one of the other reasons why is that we’re looking at this process [from] what I will call a Western standpoint and I’ve

come to understand that those westernized, or whatever it is our traditional ways of doing this kind of business is, somehow it just does not mesh with the Natives communities' [worldview]. It took me a long time to get that and I said, "We can't do it this way."

– *former Vice Chancellor Student Affairs, Los Angeles*

This realization could be viewed as a "breakthrough" in working with administration, as understanding differences in Western and Native worldview are often barriers in forming partnerships. At UC Berkeley, the NASD Director addresses stereotypes on campus within faculty who want to build an American Indian structure on campus. She shared,

We need to be a California Indian base. We have a faculty member here who stated, "We need to build a longhouse." No, I am not saying we don't need space but it doesn't need to be a longhouse. We are in this area [not Iroquois territory], this representation [space] needs to represent the local community. – *American Indian, NASD Director, Berkeley*

The participant shares how the encouragement of the faculty for a Native structure is helpful, their stereotypes are misplaced. The faculty, in fact, is suggesting a longhouse be constructed on campus, which does not reflect the local tribes traditional dwelling. Rather, longhouses are structures associated with tribes in other regions of the country including the Pacific Northwest and Northeast coastlines. Some campuses, such as University of Washington and University of British Columbia, where these dwellings are traditional to the region have erected such structures on their campuses. However, the interviewee argues that buildings for American Indians on-campus should represent local tribes and culture.

Other participants also articulated ignorance by the university, and greater public, about California history and California Indians within this history:

No one realizes California history or what has occurred... I think that the more glamorous tribes... those are the most noted stories out there in Indian country. Our tribes are small down here. You go anywhere and it's like maybe about five square miles and that doesn't really allude to the fact that... there's a rich history down here. Some of the histories that Hopi has is similar to what Yuma have and the Luiseño as well, you have this travel story... in this case the birds or in our case the stars. – *American Indian, TLCEE Director, Los Angeles*

The TLCEE Director spoke specifically to the fact that many individuals have “glamorous” understandings of American Indian culture. However, he points out that California Indian history is “rich” and is often unknown. Other issues addressed by participants relate to the knowledge individuals need to possess about California tribes, including: understanding the differences between federally and non-federally recognized, learning that not all Indians reside on reservations, knowing protocols for interaction, and learning how communities operate. The former AISC Director at UCLA also expressed the following feelings about university administrators working with tribes that capture these concerns.

Either they don't have the incentive or enough cultural understanding to really invest in what it takes to actually build a real relationship where people will trust you and want to work with you. In my experience, that has been one of the big impediments is that I just think the structure of this university and Indian country are just on different planes.

– *American Indian, former AISC Director, Los Angeles*

### **Strong Relationships On-Campus**

A success identified at both campus sites that was indirectly attributed to strong tribal relations was on-campus collaborations with American Indian units and staff as well as allies.

As mentioned, there is a clear sense that American Indian units are leading institutional efforts in developing off-campus tribal relationships. Participants at the forefront of this work claimed that this work would not be possible without the support of Native and non-Native staff on-campus. The TLCEE Director explained how Native staff are instrumental in the success of these programs.

That's the whole beauty of it, it's some dumb ass like me is doing this and people are thinking, "Oh, it must be easy." It's very difficult, I surround myself with really smart people. Like I said, Renee was instrumental, Clementine is instrumental, Jessica and Monica out there and they're in Indian Country they're very instrumental. When I flub my words, which I usually do, they're there to speak up and say things, and that is give and take. That's where people are finally bought in, and not that they're buying in, but they want it. And they see the utility. – *American Indian, TLCEE Director, Los Angeles*

Moreover, the Director explains that collaboration with staff is mutual. That these individual with knowledge to support efforts that compensate for weaknesses among university representatives.

Both sites also demonstrated efforts in improving collaboration across campus between Native and non-Native units in an effort to support native students and communities. For example, the Vice Provost of Enrollment Management also discussed ongoing collaboration between Undergraduate Admissions, freshman yield programs, the Native American Pacific Islander Summer Intensive Transfer Experience (NPI SITE) and American Indian faculty to increase freshman and transfer admissions. Likewise, the Curator of Archaeology shared efforts across campus units in the repatriation of Tongva, Tataviam and Chumash ancestors' remains and sacred objects. Similarly, at UC Berkeley two representatives discussed the convening of a

campus-wide committee of American Indian programs in response to the public release of documents online containing the location of sacred sites, burials and ceremonial locations by the Bancroft Library, after the Big Pine Paiute Tribe of Owens Valley explicitly asked that university to share the ethnography manuscripts (Bacoch-Gutierrez, 2017).

Successful collaborations were attributed to Native and non-Native individuals in career positions with prior relationships in Native communities, who have actively worked to engage local community members, or those with the patience and determination to ensure the success of the program.

### **Disconnect Between Tribes and Institutions**

Several participants identified a disconnect between tribes and institutions as a definite barrier to forming relationships. The TLCEE Director stated, “Sometimes you feel there is disconnect between academia or university and tribal communities.” Likewise, several others expressed a sentiment similar to the TLCEE Director. For example, one participant best asserted, “Who is to say tribes want to have relationships with the university?”

The nature of tribal-institutional relationships previously mentioned provide some context as to why universities are disconnected from tribes. That is, many are not aware of tribal presence or history. Furthermore, interviewees also commented that university staff, Native and non-Native, do not have the knowledge in how to approach tribes, the protocols for engaging community members or who to talk to. Last, participants commented that universities do not know how to navigate tribal politics or multiple tribal groups.

### **Summary**

These findings demonstrate three primary areas related to tribal-university relationship. First, all campus representatives have varying understandings and perspectives on American

Indians, in this case California Indians tribes and their members. Some university administrators had limited knowledge and understanding of tribal communities locally or broadly, and therefore, limited knowledge on the state of relations. On the other hand, American Indian unit representatives, working more closely with tribes, some but not all being American Indian themselves, had more developed understandings of American Indians and tribal nations. They were also more critical of the nature of relations between their universities and tribes. These perspectives reflect how representatives described formal and informal relationships between universities and tribes.

Being among the first study to examine these relationships, the findings offered a framework of understanding formal and informal tribal-university institutional relationships, and characterized existing relationships. Although there are complexities to consider when fostering relationships between tribes and universities, such as federal recognition status and education needs, these variations should be considered in order to bring parties to the table in equal partnerships. The findings currently indicate that federally recognized tribes have relationships with the case study institution based on federal and state policies. Likewise, non-federally recognized tribes tend to have informal relationships with the case study institution centered on service learning courses and research. Reflecting on the literature, there are deep-seated histories that tie tribal communities to their land and longstanding tensions that underlie many of the relationships. Thus, the findings offer some general context on what may be occurring within institutions related to forming tribal-institutional relationships. The following chapter will discuss how university representatives articulated institutional responsibility in this study, as a means of understanding the expressed responsibility of universities and university representatives to work with tribes.

## **CHAPTER FIVE – UNIVERSITY RESPONSIBILITIES TO CALIFORNIA TRIBES**

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the types of responsibilities the case study representatives articulate regarding local American Indian tribes in relation to their institutional, land-grant, and diversity missions. The points of view reflected in this chapter capture institutional and personal perspectives of senior university administrators and American Indian staff. The prior chapter addressed a range in perspectives that institutional representatives have regarding tribal-university relationships. Study participants conveyed that university leadership rarely, if ever, considered developing relationships with local tribes outside of mandated federal, state, or UC systemwide obligations stipulated in policy. Building on this line of inquiry, this chapter examines how university leadership and American Indian unit directors responded to a series of questions regarding the responsibility universities have to local American Indian tribes.

The intent this chapter is not to ridicule either case study site or administrators for not feeling or demonstrating responsibility to local tribes, as the prior chapter provides multiple examples of how universities demonstrated commitment to local tribes. Instead, the aim of this chapter is to present university perspectives on institutional responsibility to local tribes. In this chapter, I have decided to strategically highlight the perspectives of administration because these representatives dictate the mission and direction of institutions; therefore, I believe it is powerful to use their own words to articulate this institutional perspective.

The first section of this chapter discusses how participants articulate institutional responsibility to local American Indian tribes across sites and with-in case study sites, touching on stated institutional, land-grant, and diversity missions. Included in this section are emergent findings on the ethical and moral arguments offered by participants. Second, I present findings regarding personal commitment versus responsibility, as most representatives shared personal



stories and conveyed a commitment to American Indian communities. I posit how commitments can be translated into institutional commitments, especially with most senior administrators.

### **Institutional Responsibility**

The role of higher education in society is to “preserve social functions that include such essential education legacies as the cultivation of citizenship, the preservation of cultural heritage(s), and the formation of individual character and critical habits of mind” (Patricia J Gumport, 2001, p. 81). These objectives are achieved through the mission of teaching, research, and/or service. The institutional missions of academic institutions are the force guiding colleges and universities. Mission statements have been used by educational advocates and scholarly community to challenge the moral, ethical and philosophical responsibilities of higher education, when it is believed that institutions are not serving their purpose. Mission statements also often dictate budget priorities when an institution faces resource constraints.

As such, mission statements help to argue how and whether institutions need to be responsible to or have relationships with specific members of the public. Findings from this study illuminate two unique perspectives on the responsibilities of public universities to California American Indian tribes as it relates to the purpose of higher education. First, findings present perspectives of senior administrators from two of California’s public postsecondary institutions – two of the nation’s highest ranking public universities at that. Second, findings examine the responsibility of higher education to California American Indian tribes as well as American Indians broadly. The following section addresses how participants express responsibility with regard to institutional, land-grant, and diversity mission statements.

## **Institutional Mission**

Dictated by classification (function and purpose) and land-grant status, the purposes of college and universities are driven by institutional missions. All land-grant universities share the three-part mission that encompasses teaching, research and service. For example, the mission of UCLA states, “The University of California, Los Angeles is an institution that is firmly rooted in its land-grant mission of teaching, research and public service.” American Indian students and tribal communities are inherently included within these mission statements; however, most institutions do not intentionally demonstrate a responsibility or obligation to Indigenous communities. This lack of commitment is demonstrated in low enrollment, retention and graduation, underfunded or nonexistent support programs, hostile campus climates, or failure to acknowledge or foster relationships with local tribes (Brayboy et al., 2012; Norman & Kalt, 2015).

Across both institutions, few participants referenced the university mission when asked, “What is the responsibility of the university to local American Indian tribes.” In fact, only three participants across institutions referenced an aspect of the institutions three-part mission, all of which were articulated by American Indian staff. All three commented on the university’s responsibility to the broader public through research or service. Two participants from UCLA referenced the institution’s mission. Among them, was the Director of the American Indian Studies Center (AISC) who commented on the university’s responsibility to serve their local constituency as part of their service mission, stating:

[The university] have a segment of a population (i.e. American Indian) in their state that they are supposed to be serving... and American Indian communities, for a variety of reasons, have needs that may be more extensive than other communities. And so actually

the responsibility there should be greater, not less, right? – *American Indian, AISC Director, Los Angeles*

The Director’s comment, in fact, questions the role of public universities to serve the public, including marginalized groups within this population. They also allude to social disparities between communities as well as unequal treatment experienced by constituent communities. When stating “supposed to be serving,” The Director suggests that American Indians are not being served by the university. Furthermore, the Director points out that American Indians experience “extensive” disparities compared to other communities, while not specific, she is referring to disparities such as health, education, and income (Akee & Taylor, 2014). These disparities place American Indians further at the margins of society and increase their need for assistance from neighboring postsecondary institutions through service, scholarship and, especially, the education of tribal members. As such, the AISC Director contends that the needs of American Indians “are greater, not less” and should be a greater priority within the service mission of the University.

The former AISC Director, and current Native Nations Law and Policy (NNLPC) Center Director, addressed the service and research components of the university. Sterilely dissecting the research component to the mission, the former director of the AISC offered the following perspective:

I think it’s less of a technical answer and more about what is the role of a public university, what *is* the role of a research institution in a place like this? And that probably goes more to my own kind of personal views, which is that I feel that we are all incredibly fortunate to be in these jobs and to be able to do this kind of work for a living. We used to be supported by the taxpayers of California, now we are not so much, but it is

a public institution and therefore it has to serve a public good. And to me, part of that means that you do research and scholarship that you both disseminate outside the University that's helpful to people using it, and that you even try to address some of the problems or issues around it. If you take the public university mission in and of itself, I think there's an obligation [to American Indians] just in understanding what a public university does. – *American Indian, former AISC Director, Los Angeles*

Referring to the American Indian community, the NNLPC Director, focused on the role of research “serving a public good.” She clearly asserts at the end of the passage, that the “public university mission in and of itself” is sufficient in understanding the universities obligation to American Indians. Additionally, she suggests that the academy should serve the public, in this case American Indians or tribes, through research and scholarship.

At UC Berkeley, only one participant referenced the mission of the university. This individual commented on using the universities mission as leverage when advocating for resources for American Indian students and communities. The staff shared the following comment on how staff attempted to “use the universities words against them.”

We try to put it back on them, [we] try to use their own words. Like, “you're the ones that has these things, these initiatives, and you want these things to happen, right?” They would agree. We would say, “You're the one that wrote these things. You're the one that wants this. How come you don't even live up to your own words?” – *American Indian, former Undergraduate Admissions staff, Berkeley*

Sharing a tactic used by American Indian staff at UC Berkeley, the participant suggested strategies necessary in holding the institution accountable to American Indian communities. As such, she inferred that administrators were not honoring their responsibility to students and

communities. By using their “own words” as of reminder of the universities stated commitment and responsibility to serve the public, the participant is illustrating the need to uphold the purpose, goals, and commitments of the university broadly in a way that includes American Indian students.

***Land-grant mission.*** Passed in 1862 by Congress, the Morrill Act made it possible for public lands to be donated to states for the benefit of providing a land base for educational institutions. The 1868, California State Assembly Bill No. 583 that created the UC system, and the Morrill Act made it possible, and legal, for California to appropriate the land that established UC Berkeley as well as Davis and Riverside. The time leading up to and including the establishment of the UC system also consisted of the strategic removal of California’s Indigenous population from their lands through forced removal, and massacres coordinated and funded by the state and federal governments (Madley, 2016). These removal efforts also include work by the United States government to signing 18 treaties with 118 tribes between 1851 and 1852 with tribal groups that ceded Indian land to the US. These treaties articulated that the government would pay California Indians for ceded land and provide reservation lands in perpetuity (Madley, 2016). Several participants in this study were conscious of the connection of land-grant universities to the history of the United States and California, and made a connection between this history and the land-grant missions of the case study universities as rationale for being responsible to local tribes.

The land-grant mission has been given special attention in this section because of the number of participants specifically referencing the land-grant mission at both sites and the historic connection between Native communities and land dispossession for the procurement of land-grants. Across all interviews, the only individuals to connect the historic relationship

between tribes and land-grant mission were American Indian unit staff, which is both interesting and important. All participants were American Indian unit directors, and none were senior administrators. At UCLA, four participants articulated that the university had a responsibility to uphold the land-grant responsibility to local tribes. Former Chair of the American Indian Studies (AIS) program, an interdisciplinary academic program at UCLA, contended that the University should be responsible to local communities through a “local return.” For which he shared,

The first Native people that we should be giving something to, in terms of the benefits of research, would be the people who are right here. I think it’s a very easy and convincing message to make [to] the faculty, but for the most part we haven’t been really selling it that way. – *Former Chair American Indian Studies, Los Angeles*

Similarly, the Director of the Tribal Learning Community Education and Exchange (TLCEE), a university-based educational program in the UCLA School of Law, shared the point of view that the University should focus on regional American Indian communities.

In academia, I think that we are in a [certain] location in a region and, therefore, we should be responsive to our regional clientele... we should be responsive to the Southern California region because we are a Southern California-based university. That's the most important part because even though I am Hopi and I am from Arizona, I still have to be cognizant that I am responsible for us as people (i.e. American Indian) in these positions to be localized within the region and understand that whole ideal of outreach to this locality is so important. Just like University of Arizona should be outreaching to the Gila River [Indian Community], Hopi [Reservation], and Navajo [Nation], or University of New Mexico to the Pueblos, or in Arizona to the Yaqui [Indians], or in Mississippi to the Choctaw [Indians]. – *American Indian, TLCEE Director, Los Angeles*

Comments from both university representatives speak to the service mission land-grant institutions, however these comments were not referencing land-grant responsibilities. Rather, both participants spoke to the reconciliatory nature and responsibility of universities to serve first nation communities because of the historic relationship they have with locality, or the actual land.

Interim Chair of the AIS program, as well as Professor of history specializing in California Indians, takes this argument further when passionately articulating the long of history UCLA and the UCs with acquiring and occupying California Indian territory in the state.

Given that the fundamental basis of the UCs comes from stealing California Indian land, each Chancellor should issue an apology. The head of the UC (i.e. President to the UC Board of Regents) should issue an apology. And there should be some kind of reparations given that this is a land-grant university since these 400-plus acres were stolen. All of the land-grant land that created the money pot for the UCs was all stolen. The 18 treaties of the 1850s were signed in good faith by Indian leaders, and the United States Senate then rejected them and locked [the treaties] up in the basement of the Senate until the 20th Century. It's one of the greatest land thefts in United States history. Indian people were supposed to get 7.5 percent of California's reservations. Instead they get a maximum of 125,000 acres, and even that didn't come to fruition. – *Interim Chair American Indian Studies, Los Angeles*

The Interim AIS Chair's main point was that the land for the UC campuses was strategically stolen from California American Indian tribes. He offers suggestions for the ways that institutions can atone for their past and demonstrate their "responsibility" to tribes, or to engage in an act of social justice reconciliation such as apologizing to tribes. Moreover, this historical

perspective connects the land-grant universities to the procurement of land in California, which can also be related to universities throughout the nation. Although the case study sites did not participate in taking the land, they are tied to this legacy and continue to benefit from the dispossession of the Ohlone and Tongva through the continued occupation of the land. Therefore, this historic perspective posits the responsibilities that universities have to specific tribes beyond the land-grant mission, and also responsibilities related to the historic land-grant acts' legacy of exclusion that established public universities. Most studies of the First and Second Morrill Acts leave out this information, or only focus on the effect of the acts in establishing predominantly Black and White universities just after the Civil War (National Research Council, 1995).

At UC Berkeley, two American Indian staff made mention of land-grant responsibility. Different than the previous points of view, the NASD Director offered a comparative perspective from Montana and the tribes in that region (Sioux Nation, Blackfeet, Crow, Northern Cheyenne, etc.). This context demonstrated how other states view land-grant responsibility and how tribes hold the state universities accountable to their land-grant missions:

In Montana, because those universities are land-grant institutions, that was a chip that was played all the time. You are here for the people and the *first* people of this land, so what are you going to do? It's different here because the demographics are different. That was taken seriously in Montana and I didn't realize it till I got out of Montana. I was "oh, it is not how people see land-grant institutions." It's for all people, almost in a negative way. We [Indians] don't get to take any special consideration because it is for all. – *American Indian, NASD Director, Berkeley*



From the point of view of the Director of NASD, who relocated to Berkeley from Montana for graduate school and work, it is unusual that land-grant missions are not concerted used as a tool by tribes or educational advocates to hold universities accountable to treaty or sovereign obligations to educate American Indians. Referencing the demographics may be valid reasoning for the state not to honor land-grant obligations, as prior participants pointed out the “ubiquitous” presence of American Indians in other states. In Montana, the American Indian/Alaska Native population is six percent, compared to one percent in California (Norris et al., 2012).

Comparatively, there are seven federally recognized tribes in Montana compared to 109 in California (U.S. Census Bureau). Given this information, it is inconclusive whether population truly is a determinant, or if there are more complexities as to how states uphold and tribes invoke land-grant missions when advocating for tribal members’ educational rights. Generally, the interviewee’s comments regarding “special considerations” given to tribes related to land-grant mission can be a useful tactic employed by California tribes, American Indian educators, and allies to gain “obligatory” benefits from individual states as a form of reparation for past injustices.

Similar to the perspective of UCLA’s Interim AIS Chair, the former UC Berkeley staff in Undergraduate Admissions shared a similar perspective about the campus occupying Indian land. She retold a story about sharing this perspective with a group of University staff who were preparing a diversity statement of the Division of Equity and Inclusion. In the communal space, she challenged the staff to consider where the land for the land-grant came from, providing information about the history, and the group eventually removed the words “land-grant” from the statement.

One time, when they said something about Berkley being [a] land-grant institution. I remember saying, “Land-grant? Where do you think the land came from?” And they just took it out of the [diversity statement] wording... they [just] didn’t want to use that word anymore. But if they do the research, they will see how the land was acquired and that if they go back far enough into the history, they should recognize that everything that they have is because of the fact that it’s Indian land. But that’s such a radical past. They would think that it is not relevant today. They don’t take responsibility for the past.

– *American Indian, Undergraduate Admissions, Berkeley*

Like the prior comment on California history, this passage also connects the history of the case study site to the first inhabitants of Berkeley – the Ohlone. However, this narrative differs in that it provides an example of what happens when the historic relationship is brought to the attention of other university staff. Although more context can help to understand the response to comments made regarding land relations and decisions to remove “land-grant” from the statement, this story illustrates lack of recognition or denial that UC Berkeley was first and continues to be inhabited by the Ohlone community.

Looking at this through a Tribal Critical Race Theory lens, there are several elements of this story that would uphold the arguments that “colonization is endemic in society” (Brayboy, 2005a). For one, removing “land-grant” from the statement reflection of assimilative education policies in that the university staff are ignoring fundamental obligations expressed in the Morrill Act to uphold assimilative education practices. Second, ignoring the relationship of the university to the local Indigenous community denies Native people’s connection to land and perpetuates the cycle of colonization by actively engaging in the conscious erasure of the

relationships to California's first inhabitants. These points will be further addressed in the concluding chapter.

### **Equity, Inclusion and Diversity**

Campus climate research illustrates that postsecondary institutions are hostile environments for students of color, especially at selective institutions. This is particularly true for American Indian students, who come from communities that have experienced a legacy of cultural assimilation through Western schooling. According to scholars (Bickel & Jensen, 2012; Huffman, 2003), western oriented postsecondary institutions are inhospitable places for American Indian students and unwelcoming to an Indigenous worldview. In recent years, universities have responded to concerns regarding hostile campus environments through equity, inclusion, and diversity initiatives (Hurtado et al., 2012). Across the UC system, all campuses have developed initiatives, and hired executive or administrative staff to address diversity, equity and inclusion issues.

The way that each campus addresses equity, inclusion and diversity varies, which is the case with both case study institutions. For example, both sites do not prioritize diversity – racial, ethnic or any other targeted community – as a part of their mission. This is not to say that the universities do not address these groups, as documents and representatives from other parts of the campus (i.e. institutional research, enrollment managements, undergraduate education) demonstrated increased efforts to address target these populations through targeted admissions outreach material and staff or student services. Despite initiative and staff hires at both sites, diversity is not an articulated mission or objectives of either university. For example, the Division of Equity and Inclusion at UC Berkeley is guided by the principles of excellence,

equity, and inclusion. The 2009 UC Berkeley Strategic Plan for Equity, Inclusion and Diversity (UC Berkeley, 2009), explains why diversity is not a principle.

Diversity is a fact; either it exists or it does not. Diversity – in many forms – does exist at UC Berkeley. But it is the principles of equity and inclusion – rather than representation – that will cement UC Berkeley’s excellence and continue to position it as a preeminent public university in the world. (p. 5)

Similarly, the Office of Equity, Diversity and Inclusion at UCLA upholds the following mission:

“Build an equal learning and working environment, by holding ourselves accountable to our professed ideals” (UCLA, 2017). Across sites, there was a general sense that campuses are doing “their best” to address diversity, equity, and inclusion of American Indian students and communities. A few participants expressed hopefulness that the on-boarding of new executive leadership at their institution represented a promising future for American Indian communities on and off-campus. One participant, conversely, believed that there was little hope for their institution. At UC Berkeley, one university administrator and two American Indian staff referenced diversity, inclusion and equity when discussing the responsibility of universities to American Indian tribes. I have decided to lead this section with UC Berkeley, specifically, because staff presented divergent perspectives from each other within the same campus on this topic.

On one side of the perspective spectrum is an American Indian staff member with the NASD program. Housed under the Center for Educational Justice and Community Engagement, the NASD Director received a master’s degree at UC Berkeley and is now a full-time staff at the beginning of a career. She shared a new point of view on the Division of Equity and Inclusion,

stating from the onset of her interview that the purpose of their division and program is not to focus on racial diversity.

[The Native American Student Development] office is under the [Division of Equity and Inclusion], which is a little different than most models I have seen where it's either student affairs or academic affairs. Equity and Inclusion works to be a bridge. It's a relatively new division. It's about eight years old. It is not about diversity work. When people hear about your work, they think it's the office or the Division of Diversity. It's more centered around being the bridge between academic and student affairs, and starting to affect campus climate in particular way, address social justice issues and inequalities on an institutional level. It's important that it's not just about enrollment and it's not just about the numbers. – *American Indian, NASD Director, Berkeley*

Optimistic, she shared the sentiment that change was on the horizon because of new leadership in the positions of Vice Chancellor of Equity and Inclusion. She shared:

I feel there is also sort of sea change working for [the Vice Chancellor of Equity and Inclusion] who talks about white supremacy and institutional racism... [about how] these institutions are being founded in white supremacy and how there is a necessity to move away from that and dismantle the mechanization that allows that to continue. – *American Indian, NASD Director, Berkeley*

The NASD Director suggests a “change in currents” at UC Berkeley, while others suggest that there is “no hope” at the university because of entrenched elitism. This legacy of exclusion calls into question how institutions are “dismantling the mechanization of white supremacy” that is inclusive of Indigenous communities.

Speaking out of racial battle fatigue (Yosso, Parker, Solorzano, & Lynn, 2004), are the sentiments a former American Indian staff at UC Berkeley represented the opposite end of the perspective spectrum. The participant reflects a perspective divergent from the NASD Director. It is also likely that their perspective is divergent from most American Indian staff at the case study sites, and generally. The participant stated that the University will never live up to their promises to support diversity and American Indians, including students, staff, faculty and communities. Having left UC Berkeley, the participant reflected on their participation in past diversity initiatives while working at the university, stating the following:

“I’ll just put in [the] minimum and then go home because they are never going to live up to any of the things that they claim to be... diverse and supportive of diversity and Natives or people of color. It’s all a big ruse.”

Having a full-time career at the university, this staff member reflects the perspective of some Native staff who may feel that diversity initiatives inadequately address the needs of Native communities – that diversity initiatives are, in fact, “a ruse.” However, the idea that some staff have given up hope is contrary to later findings where participants articulate personal commitments and strategies for holding the universities responsible to Native communities.

At UCLA, three senior administrators and two American Indian unit heads addressed institutional responsibility related to equity, inclusion and diversity in their interviews. Of these interviews, the most compelling comments regarding responsibility on this topic came from an administrator at the helm of the institution’s diversity mission. The following was expressed, “I [treat] American Indians akin to all other minorities. I believe that we are equally responsible to serve American Indians as we are to serve African Americans” to convey the perceived responsibility to local tribes. This is to say, that the administrator viewed American Indians

equal to all minority groups, including African American students. This participant made no acknowledgement for the political status of members registered in federally recognized tribes, the unique history of the institution and Indian land, or the specific needs of American Indian faculty or students. Noteworthy is the suggestion that the university is “equally responsible” to American Indians as all other minority groups. This reference to “equality” demonstrates the responsibility the university representatives believes the institution has to American Indian students is the same as other communities, which others in this study have argued is unique and requires a social justice approach respectful of the community.

In contrast, other university representatives shared the ways in which the university is trying to fulfill its diversity mission. The Vice Provost of Enrollment Management, for example, talked about being committed to “authentically representing” the diversity of campus in outreach material.

That's just not a philosophy I hold to, I think that the university has a responsibility to reflect authentically communities. We don't stage pictures and we don't try to manufacture what that community looks like. We undermine leadership, and I think it's totally permissible and desirable for us to reflect communities in their authentic way. We don't have to balance and try to make it look [like] in our materials, disingenuous, homogenous. No, it's totally okay. And we're not going to feel like, what if we do this for this community, we have to do it for all the other 22 or 30 [groups], however, you define communities. – *Vice Provost Enrollment Management, Los Angeles*

Although the Vice Provost is not explicitly discussing American Indians in this passage, she also spoke to the challenges of creating outreach material for American Indians, stating “Where do you go and who do you go to, and we found that when we were doing the diversity brochure.” In

this passage, she addresses the priority Enrollment Management has placed on outreach to diverse populations, and the strategies for diversifying the applicant pool. Understanding the challenges in creating material for a tribally diverse population, the promise expressed in trying to “authentically represent” communities to recruit and yield newly admitted American Indian students to progress on the equity and inclusion front.

Yet another perspective on campus diversity, equity and inclusion was offered by an American Indian unit head. This perspective argues that the University’s diversity requirement inadequately educates about American Indian communities, and challenges the “settler complex” by arguing that American Indian communities were first inhabitants across the nation and anywhere individuals visit was first Indian land, as discussed in a previous section.

The diversity requirement has been very beneficial, as you know, to American Indian studies. But what about a requirement that everybody take one class in American Indian studies at UCLA. Given that they're going to spend their whole life living and working in Indian Country, if they're a citizen in California and they stay here. And it doesn't matter if they leave California; anywhere they go in the United States is Indian Country. It's all the ancient ancestral homeland, the nation of some Indigenous person, it's their community. – *Interim Chair American Indian Studies, Los Angeles*

In sum, diversity, equity and inclusion initiatives continue to evolve at both case study sites.

There was not a common theme across all speakers and perspectives were split between optimism, hopelessness, critique, and continued efforts based on their roles. One American Indian program head at UCLA offered a suggestion related to a campus climate ripe for change and questioning. He commented that it is time to test the boundaries of the institution’s statement, and best summarizes this section related to the future of campus diversity:



We are in period now where, because of the sense of diversity needing to be something that the university works on as a project in part to compensate for some parts of the university that are strictly backwards. We are at a point now where the university is going to do potentially many innovative things, and it's a good time to sort of test what the [university] values really are as far as this kind of thing is concerned. – *Former Chair American Indian Studies, Los Angeles*

As the case study sites continue to address issues related to equity and inclusion, this passage offers sage advice from a senior faculty member on the current climate of the institution and boundaries to push regarding institutional values.

### **Moral and Ethical Responsibility**

Across universities, participants also offered moral and ethical rationale as to why institutions should be responsible to tribes. Few participants at UC Berkeley made such references, however. The Assistant Vice Chancellor of Government and Community Relations was the sole UC Berkeley administrator to make an ethical consideration when discussion of institutional responsibilities. In fact, she suggested that UC Berkeley has a responsibility to work with tribes, stating, “I do think that the university has the responsibility to work with tribal communities just like we work with all kinds of communities throughout the state.” Coming from the Office of Government and Community Relations, this admission differed from the other administrator at UCLA commenting on the topic who suggested that UCLA only has a legal responsibility to American Indians and federally recognized tribes. Although this stance is reasonable given that the university primarily understands tribal-institutional relationships in a formal context where relationships are tied to legal obligations that are mandated by law (e.g. NAGPRA), it evades the other responsibilities of the university.

Conversely, six participants at UCLA provided arguments that connected to the purpose of higher education and articulated mission statements. Of these individuals, two participants expressed moral and ethical arguments related to land dispossession and displacement, and contributions made to the California state budget as tax payers. For example, AISC Director poignantly spoke to the “moral imperative” universities to have foster relationships with tribes.

I think there is an obvious reason why land-grant universities should have relationships with tribal communities. It’s because there is a sensibility there that it is a moral

imperative that they really recognize. – *American Indian, AISC Director, Los Angeles*

Essentially, it is the AISC Director articulating the moral principles that should compel the institution, as opposed to institutional leaders, to have relationships with tribes. The former AISC Director, on the other hand, points to the historic relationship that American Indians have with the United States, and the debt of universities to Native communities. First commenting on the irony of the state not serving American Indians, she laughingly commented, “An irony is that in some ways, I don’t think, the university even serves American Indians equal to other groups. It’s not that I think we are asking to be served better. I think we are not served equally.”

Pressing the issue, she addresses the fact that American Indians are not immigrants but that the United States is homeland, which intimately ties Native people and communities to the establishment of universities.

In addition to that, the place and the needs [of American Indians] in the country are unique in general. We are not the same as other groups. We are not immigrants; voluntary or involuntary immigrants. This is our homeland and people were displaced for this university to be here. And those people (i.e. American Indians) now have no access really to this university, very few get in and come here. To the extent that there is a debt

and an obligation, I feel that that history creates that [obligation]. That's my own view on it. I don't think the university would say that, but that's the way I feel. – *American Indian, Former AISC Director, Los Angeles*

Making the historical connection between tribes and universities, she argues that there is debt owed to tribes because of this dispossession and displacement, which should obligate institutions to have relationships with tribes. Not surprisingly, she makes a point to state that this is her personal point of view and that would likely differ from the university administration.

Last, Interim Chair of American Indian Studies at UCLA offers argumentation for the responsibility that public universities have to tribes based on the contributions that tribes, particularly federally recognized tribes, make to the state economy as tax payers.

California tribes pay taxes to the state, and pay additional taxes through gaming revenue. Their significant contributions to the state budget should make them a priority to the university as part of the public, but especially as tax payers. – *Interim Chair American Indian Studies, Los Angeles*

Although the state of California has significantly divested from public education, federally recognized tribes in California have increasingly contributed to the state economy. In fact, the California Nations Indian Gaming Commission reported that tribal gaming operations generated a total of \$392.4 million in state and local tax revenue, and tribal non-gaming operations generated an estimated \$80.3 million in tax revenue for state and municipal governments in 2014 (Thornberg, 2016). Contributions by California tribes to the state's economy through gaming and non-gaming operations reflect a need for the state to honor the historic and contemporary contributions of California Indians to the state through reciprocity.

## **Personal Commitment Versus Responsibility**

The following discusses how participants, particularly senior administration, expressed individual commitments to American Indians. The majority of participants (13 of 20) in this study shared stories that illustrated a personal or institutional commitment to American Indians or tribes based on prior, or current, work with Native communities. Of these, seven participants were university administrators. Additionally, 10 of the participants were non-Native.

### **Personal Commitment**

Personal commitments among participants emerged from the data and are related to institutional responsibility across sites, since they are employees of the university. The prior chapter addressed tribal-university relationships, offering several examples of how case study universities carry out relationships with local tribes and American Indians broadly. However, it was noted that many of these were formal relationships because of federal policy or motivated out of economic necessity. The purpose of examining institutional responsibility is to understand the obligations that institutions have to tribes. Based on the significant number of responses related to this theme of personal commitment, the purpose of discussing these results is to illuminate the commitment of administrators to Native communities and to posit how to transition from personal to institutional commitment. Essentially, it is important to understand how we move institutional leaders with strong ties or past relationships with American Indian communities from sentimental commitments to actionable responsibility in their roles.

A significant number of participants who expressed a personal commitment to American Indian communities were key institutional players in positions of power at their respective university, therefore they have the influence and, possibly authority, to shift the culture of the

institution. The Executive Vice Chancellor at UCLA comments about commitment and power, stating:

If the institution doesn't value making these kinds of contacts or it's only doing it to check off some box or something, then I don't think it's going to succeed. The institution as a whole has to want to have these contacts. Then if there is an individual interested, they have to be in a location, which is meaningful. By that I mean, it's not the Office of Indian Relations stuck off in the corner of university; but something that's either part of Student Affairs, it's part of some office where the person has a meaningful role. Do you see what I mean? It can't just be cosmetic. But that it begins with the institution as a whole. If the institution doesn't value these things, if there isn't a value placed on it, then it won't mean much. And, I think institutions recruit people for these things because they feel they ought to do that [but they] don't follow through. – *Executive Vice Chancellor, Los Angeles*

The Executive Vice Chancellor acknowledged that the university needs to value relationships with tribes and the importance of an individual addressing these issues being in meaningful roles. At the present time, American Indians at universities must rely on campus allies in meaningful roles to affect institutional change. However, a tension exists at universities, particularly UCLA, where the administration has had wavering commitments to Native students. The Director of the AISC referenced this dedication when stating, “the university historically has varied in its commitment to serving tribal communities and even to serving American Indian students to some extent.”

Several university administrators shared a long connection to American Indian community work through personal experiences and professional careers to demonstrate their

commitment or biases to Native students or tribes. The Vice Provost of Enrollment Management at UCLA talked about prior work with the American Indian communities as Syracuse University as well as a significant number of sustained initiatives as a Board of Director with the College Board. The Executive Vice Chancellor also reminisced about working at Rough Rock Community School (formerly Rough Rock Demonstration School) in Arizona throughout high school to suggest a bias toward American Indian issues.

I'll tell you a little bit about myself that biases the picture. I went to high school, a boarding school in Arizona and the school is anthropologically-oriented. We spent two weeks every year on either the Navajo or Hopi Reservation, some people went to New Mexico and went to the Pueblos, but I stayed at a boarding school – a Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school. I got to know a little bit about the Navajo. And then, I spent one summer when I was in college working at out in Rough Rock, Arizona in a summer program tutoring high school seniors to get them to an advanced level. The whole idea was that they wanted to get kids to think about college as an alternative. Most of the men were thinking about the military and it was a long tradition of the Navajo to go into the military. It was trying to divert that and get them to think about college instead. So, I know a little bit about the background, but that was many years ago. – *Executive Vice Chancellor, Los Angeles*

This personal experience, as indicated by the Executive Vice Chancellor, gave him knowledge about the Navajo community. He also implies that he knows a little about the background of American Indians, and as a result of this experience has a influenced opinion on how the university can be responsible to Native students and communities. Likewise, former Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs spoke candidly on learning about the alarmingly low numbers

college enrollment of American Indian students in California. Feeling compelled to respond, she worked with a group to begin addressing this issue and met with American Indian students on campus at UCLA. From that point forward, she has been a close ally of the American Indian community at UCLA attend student organization meetings, annual student programs, visiting local American Indian community centers and meetings with tribal leaders, and volunteering UCLA to host any programmatic opportunities for American Indians that are offered or presented. Additionally, the former Vice Chancellor has become a major advocate nationally through the College Board, where she supported the development of the Native American Student Advocacy Institute – an annual convening of American Indian educators.

Other participants, however, challenged the personal commitment of university leadership to American Indian students and tribes. At UC Berkeley, the Assistant Vice Chancellor of Government and Community Relations commented that there is a commitment but that it is not coming from leadership, stating, “I know there is a commitment, I think President Napolitano actually hasn’t really been pushing campuses to be better run overall. And so, I know there are effects underway... I know it's a high priority, but it's been a struggle to figure out the best way to do it.” Similarly, former Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs at UCLA also addressed the issue of administration “setting a low bar” when engaging with American Indians. She shared:

That’s why I went to meetings and tried to support Pow Wow, support whatever those efforts. Part of it was giving at least the students a sense of access and place in the university. That’s why it’s important for the community to meet with the Chancellor and that the Chancellor went to a whole number of graduations... they go to Pow Wow, every single Pow Wow. One can say that it’s a strong and I don’t know if I can go as far and

say a trustful relationship, but there is some level of recognition that the institution is not totally oblivious and that's a very low bar. – *Former Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs, Los Angeles*

This is to say, representatives at both institutions expressed critiques of the UC system and university leadership in how they addressed the prioritization and engagement with American Indian student and community matters. Arguably, they conveyed that more could be done by the leadership or suggested more work is underway.

Non-native staff in American Indian programs also shared their commitment to working in American Indian communities. Former chair of AIS shared that the university is not the only entity on campuses that has difficulty demonstrating their commitment to local communities, that American Indian programs share the experience depending on leadership. Working with one tribe for over 40 years, the former chair of American Indian studies retold the story of first being hired at UCLA in 1978 and shared, “My work at that point consisted of working with the Tewa community in Northern Arizona, which is actually the community I’m still working with now, 40 something years later.” This long-sustained relationship not only reflects on the field of Linguistic Anthropology, it also reflects the need to maintain long-standing relationships with tribes. Likewise, the Interim Chair of the AIS Program shared his personal connection to California as a resident and desire to tell the true history of California.

My work comes out of my personal experience growing up and thinking about this hidden history of California in the broadest sense, that the Indigenous people of this state are largely excluded from public discourse, from the educational system, and from visibility, which is rather extraordinary when you think about the fact that there are 109 federally recognized tribes here, and 150,000 California Indian people in California. One



of the central questions to me then became, how did this happen and why? I'm not native, so this is not personal to me in that extremely close up kind of way. But my family on both sides has been here in California for multiple generations, so it is connected to me in that way. – *Interim Chair American Indian Studies, Los Angeles*

### **Demonstrated Responsibility**

Through formal and informal relationships, I articulated ways that the case study universities enact or demonstrate responsibility to tribes. A majority of the relationships were formally developed because of policy or contractual agreements that clearly stipulated relationships between universities and tribes. However, there were examples of relationships that reflected the desire of the sites to be inclusive and equitable, or to fulfill a moral responsibility. One example of this is the recent repatriation of ancestors by UCLA, which reflects the moral and ethical judgement of the campus' most senior administrator to provide burial space for the human remains and sacred objects to local, non-federally recognized tribes. The Curator of Archeology shared:

The Chancellor donated land to assist the Chumash, Tongva, and Tataviam to be able to rebury their ancestors... there [was] a specific problem that was posed to him, which is that we have all these ancestors, they can't claim them because they don't have a place for them to go and for him to respond with, 'well, let's find some land for them.' You know, how many Chancellors would ever have that thought pop into their head, and not be like that would be too libelous ... they're not federally recognized, we're not getting anything out of it. That was his own little nugget [of moral responsibility]. To me that's huge, if there were somebody who felt like here's the parameters, we really should do this, I think he would be for it. I just don't think that anyone has brainstormed the mechanism for

which that reciprocity, that relationship would form, but I think that was like the biggest "you're cool" that I can possibly imagine. Could you imagine Berkeley doing that? –

*White Female, Fowler Curator Archaeology, Los Angeles*

Although certain relationships are formally mandated, this example offers two perspectives. One perspective is that the university honors and recognizes some responsibility to local tribes, and college presidents often engage in symbolic acts of leadership on behalf of the institution. The second is that the agency of individuals, their mindsets and behaviors, within institutions is what matters most. Not only administrators, but the acts of individuals across campus matter to affect change and make a significant statement of support for local tribes. A finding from this study that resonated with perspective on the role of individuals was the strategies employed by American Indian staff to impact or influence change on campus.

A significant amount of literature on college-educated American Indians suggests that individuals have a desire to give back to their communities (Brayboy & Castagno, 2011; Guillory, 2009; Reyes, 2016). As university staff and faculty, participants are uniquely placed to give back to American Indian communities through scholarship, by supporting students, and, as findings show, advocating within the academy. The TLCEE Director at UCLA connected this mentality to identity. He suggested that, "Their identity, their culture, their whole mentality of, 'I have to help my Indian community as an individual'" drove American Indian staff, as well as students, to work in and for Native communities and tribes. A compelling finding of this study was not necessarily that American Indian staff felt committed to their American Indian communities and tribes in their roles, but rather that way they saw and held themselves responsible to Native communities. Some American Indians staff happily assumed the role of

working with tribes, while others saw their role to be holding the institution accountable to these relationships, sharing “it is our job to remind [the institutions of their duties].”

As a staff on campus, the AISC Director offered insight into how American Indian staff advocated for communities to advance agendas. She shared the perspective of working one-on-one with others:

I think there are all kinds of things you can do. In my personal conversations with [administrators], always insisting; always reminding; always saying this division needs to be doing something, it's not acceptable that we are not doing it. Not soft shoeing the discussion but really laying it out, laying it out straight. – *American Indian, AISC Director, Los Angeles*

In another example provided by the AISC Director talks directly about forming relationships with tribes. She believes that a role of American Indian staff is to guide the university in fostering relationships with tribes.

I think this university is well-positioned to develop better relationships with the tribes and that it's our job to guide them to it. Like I said, I am new. I am still feeling my way around and trying to figure out both, what's most important, what might be most effective because sometimes those aren't always the same things [across campus contexts]. How we can approach these issues [to be effective in this context]. – *American Indian, AISC Director, Los Angeles*

The AISC Director comments on the role of AISC in guiding university administration in fostering relationships with tribes. This indicates that the director does not see this as the sole responsibility of the AISC, and understands this to be a responsibility of the university.

However, it is clear that she understands that engaging tribes will be a collaborative effort between university leadership and American Indian staff

### **Summary**

Findings from this chapter indicated a difference in perspectives on institutional responsibility between participants. A few administrators and several American Indian unit directors articulated various points of view on institutional responsibility to local tribes and American Indian broadly. Most alarming, one senior administrator shared that the university had no responsibility to tribes outside of legally mandated obligations. Possibly most compelling was the emergent finding regarding personal commitment, particularly among senior administrators, that suggest agency to affect significant change. This brings to light the question of how personal commitment can translate into institutional commitment, and, more importantly, how those working at the grassroots level in institutions can effectively use tactics and strategies to bring about change (Kezar & Lester, 2011). In the next chapter, I will describe what tribes, American Indian unit representatives and university administrators articulate as the postsecondary education needs of California Indian tribes.

## **CHAPTER SIX – MANIFESTING RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIPS: UNDERSTANDING THE NEEDS OF CALIFORNIA TRIBES**

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the postsecondary educational needs of California tribes as articulated by case study participants, and understand how these perspectives differ between tribal and institutional representatives. Previous chapters addressed the state of tribal-institutional relationships (Bang, Marin, Medin, & Washinawatok, 2015), and the responsibility of public postsecondary institutions to California tribes (Chapter 5). Broadly, findings indicated that university administrators have limited knowledge about California tribes, which significantly impacted their ability to engage and partner with local tribes. As a result, members of American Indian academic units at the case study sites felt personally obligated or were held responsible to engage and address the needs of tribes and the local, urban American Indian community. This is not to say that universities did not express a desire to improve relationships with tribes, as several administrators and American Indian staff shared personal responsibilities and commitments to American Indians. To build on this line of questioning, this chapter examines the postsecondary educational needs of California tribes as expressed by tribal and university representatives. The purpose of empirically researching the needs of California tribes is to further understand areas for improving tribal-institutional relationships and increasing responsibility between the case study tribes and universities.

The first section of this chapter will explain reciprocity from an Indigenous worldview and as it pertains to postsecondary education for American Indian students and communities. Next, I discuss how tribal members, American Indian unit representatives, and university administrators articulated the needs of California tribes. Included in this discussion, I will elaborate on my decision to withhold interviews and perspectives collected from tribal

representatives in this study. Following, I summarize the different perspectives offered on the educational needs of tribes from senior administrators and American Indian representatives.

### **Reciprocity**

The purpose of examining the postsecondary education needs of California tribes in this study was to better understand how tribes and universities can engage in reciprocal relationships that address the needs of tribes related to Native nation-building. Reciprocity is typically regarded as a quid pro quo transaction, when something is given or received in exchange for something else. From an Indigenous worldview, however, reciprocity reflects “the notions of paying it forward,” what Brayboy et al. (2012b) explain as “we take so that we can give and provide for others – in order to survive and to thrive. In so doing we are bounded, through these relationships, to care for those things around us.”

With regard to higher education, Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) argue that greater reciprocity needs to take place between tribes, tribal members, American Indian students, and institutions. They argue that United States institutions of higher education function as a place where knowledge is created and consumed, where faculty create and dispense knowledge and students are passively consume this knowledge. This process, however, is counterintuitive to Indigenous conceptions of reciprocity, where there is a clear understanding that sharing knowledge is an exchange. Instead, Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) argue that more emphasis should be placed on ensuring students and communities are equal contributors to knowledge, for which they believe create new levels of understanding for everyone. Reframing learning as reciprocity not only has the potential to promote the development of talent among American Indian students, it also presents the possibility of developing skills among tribal citizens who will

return home following college to give back to their communities' (i.e. nation-building) (Brayboy & Castagno, 2011).

A challenge with trying to shift an institutions' culture to a place that values the exchange of knowledge between faculty, students and community is that United States public postsecondary education is primarily accountable to the individuals and entities that finance the institutional mission, these being state and private donors (Altbach, Berdahl, & Gumport, 1997). While tribes in California have been cited as significant contributors to the state's economy as well as independent donors to select universities (Champagne, 2005; Thornberg, 2016), American Indian students and communities are not a prioritized constituency. In fact, findings from this study reflect the limited knowledge that university leadership have about American Indian communities' local to their institution. If universities are to prioritize tribal relationships and are compelled to uphold their mission of service, they must be attuned to the needs of tribes.

### **Needs of California Tribal Nations**

The following section addressed the postsecondary educational needs of California tribes from the perspectives of tribal, American Indian unit, and senior administrative representatives.

#### **Tribal Member Perspectives**

To understand what representatives of California Indian nations articulated as the postsecondary educational needs of their community, I engaged four American Indian tribes in California, two non-federally and two federally recognized tribes with historic ties to the land currently occupied by UC Berkeley and UCLA. These tribes include two non-federally and federally recognized tribes, the Gabrieliño-Tongva Nation, Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, San Manuel Band of Mission Indians, and Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria. The land currently occupied by the case study institutions was a main determinate for selecting the tribes, as these

universities currently occupy the ancestral homelands of the Ohlone and Tongva tribes. Additionally, the San Manuel and Graton Rancheria were selected for this study are in proximity to UCLA and UC Berkley, respectively, and currently have formal relationships with the institutions.

The advancement of California Native nations is a foundation for conducting this study and my scholarship. As a Luiseño/Tongva educator, I optimistically believe that education is a resource that can be used to build Native nations. Although tensions continue to exist between American Indian tribes and postsecondary institutions, both public and private, I believe that tribes also view education as a resource for advancing their nations. For these reasons, I designed and conducted a study with California tribes to encourage and reinforce the self-determination of non-federally and federally recognized tribes in California, and highlight the voice of tribal members. The colonial history of California and the assimilative experiences that American Indians have with educational institutions (Carney, 1999; Castillo, 2015; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006) was one reason for designing a community-based study aimed at initiating conversations between the case study tribes and universities – conversations that have potential for transforming sites as well as public postsecondary education in California. There is also the power and privilege that comes with being a researcher, or rather the power, privilege, and responsibility that comes with being a California Indian researcher. For these reasons, I wanted to conduct a study with local tribes that incorporate tribal members perspectives and elevate the voices of the tribal community. This is where complications revealed themselves.

Under this premise, I had a full understanding of the challenges working with tribes as an insider-outsider to California Indian tribes, including with my own tribal affiliations (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000; L. T. Smith, 2012). Despite having conducted research among California tribes, I



was not fully prepared for the challenges that I experienced as an insider-outsider researcher on this study and the decisions I ultimately faced that were not a part of my original research design. After collecting interviews, documents, and fieldnotes for this study, I was disappointed and frustrated with the small number of tribal participants regardless of the quality of information. At the point of data analysis, reviewing field notes and journals, I reflected on over a year of engagement with the case study tribes as a researcher. Over this time, my interactions and conversations with tribal members led me to question the ethics in using the voice of tribal members when drafting findings, particularly the voices of individuals from tribes with extremely low tribal member enrollment where members could be made vulnerable regardless of whether or not they were named in this study. For several reasons, I decided to withhold the interviews collected from tribal representatives for this study out of respect to tribes and interviewees. The following comments discuss my concerns about exploitation, trust, and collaboration and offers rationale for withholding the interviews collected from tribal representatives. I also offer recommendations for next steps in incorporating the data collected, sustaining connections with participants, and incorporating tribes and the voices of tribal representatives into future discussions.

***Exploitation.*** A significant number of Indigenous scholars across the globe have written about the relationships between Indigenous communities, researchers, and research universities (G. H. Smith, 2000; L. T. Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008). Māori scholar and professor L. T. Smith (2012) addresses the challenges of Western research, stating, “years of research have frequently failed to improve the conditions of the people who are researched. This has led many Māori people to believe that researchers are simply intent on taking or ‘stealing’ knowledge in a non-reciprocal and often underhanded way” (p. 178). American Indian participants in this study,

both tribal and university, expressed experiences, observations, and feelings about the exploitation of Ohlone and Tongva land without acknowledgement, as well as the exploitation of cultural, knowledge, human and economic resources when discussing the nature of tribal-institutional relations between the case study universities and tribes. These findings made me acutely aware of the relationship that the case study universities, and research institutions broadly, have with the local Indigenous communities. As a California Indian researcher, I became increasingly concerned with conscious and unconsciously exploiting of the tribes and tribal members that this study intended to empower.

At this point, I experienced a tension that other Indigenous researcher have faced when working with their communities and on studies that are personally meaningful. I asked myself: Using these voices to complete this dissertation, how will I be any different than the university that has and continues to exploit local tribes? Will I be contributing to the erasure of these communities or making them invisible by removing their voices? Is there a way to have Native perspective and voice represented in this study without exploiting a community? In the end, I decided to withhold tribal interviews from the findings so as to not exploit participants because I believed that it was possible to answer the posed research questions without these perspectives by ensuring the triangulation of data corroborate the perspectives of participants. But more importantly, I comfortably withheld these interviews under the notion that future discussions, interviews, and analysis will be conducted to include tribal perspectives,

*(Dis)trust.* One of the theoretical frameworks used in this study is a community-campus partnership framework (Barrera, 2015). Within this framework, trust is identified as one of four principles guiding successful community-campus partnerships. Barrera (2015) indicates that strong community-campus partnerships are rooted in the development and maintenance of trust

between institutions and community organization. This framework is oriented around communities, contending that relationships of trust are rooted in the trust communities have of institutions. American Indians have a history of distrust with institutional education because of forced assimilations and positivist research methodologies (L. T. Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008). Based on interviews and documents, I learned that American Indian staff and programs at UCLA have made significant progress fostering trustworthy relationships with local and neighboring tribes through educational services and repatriation. However, my case study of the Berkeley site indicated that tensions continue to exist between the university and Northern California tribes around acknowledgement, access to museum collections, and repatriation. As an outsider, I did not want to exacerbate these tensions and contribute to any distrust that tribes harbored against the university.

Additionally, after over a year of working with the four tribes, I started to develop personal relationships with these communities and individuals based in honesty and transparency. Even as an insider-outsider researcher, this was not an easy accomplishment. Having to face the reality of analyzing my data and presenting findings, I needed to decide whether the data collected was representative of the tribal voice. I asked myself: Will I violate the trust I established with these individuals and communities if I used their voices? Will there be any harm to the community if I presented only part of a picture? Will the trust be lost? In reality, this study has transformed into an actionable project aimed at transforming tribal-institutional partnerships. Because this is not an isolated study, I will continue to work with the case study tribes after obtaining my doctorate. As a result, I was compelled to act in a way that maintained the trust that I had developed with these communities.

***Collaboration.*** Concerned about the representation of Native voice in the findings of this study, I confronted the future for which I later offer institutions actionable recommendations to assist in fostering meaningful relationships with tribes. Māori scholar G. H. Smith (2000) presents a compelling argument regarding reciprocity in higher education and research through accountability, stating:

[a] level of accountability in regard to developing transformative outcomes for the Indigenous communities purported to be serving. If a person is genuinely working on behalf of the community, then the community will also be part of the whole process, not simply be passive recipients of a grand “plan” developed outside themselves. (p. 213)

In essence, G. H. Smith (2000) contends that Indigenous communities need to be a part of the entire process of research not simply recipients. For these reasons, I took the necessary steps to consult with tribal members that participated in this study regarding my final decision to withhold interviews of tribal representatives from the initial presentation of findings. I received a variety of responses. The federally recognized tribes, for which I am currently working with legal counsel, happily received the news as this is a part of the terms of our drafted agreement. However, members of non-federally recognized tribes had different reactions. Together, we revisited our initial discussion from when I approached the tribes and members about the study. I shared my personal concerns related to exploitation, trust, and ethics. Last, we dialogued about an appropriate time and way to incorporate their voices into the findings.

Ultimately, we were satisfied with the final decision to withhold interviews and incorporate tribal perspectives at a later time. As a final point of discussion, I asked each participant from the case study non-federally recognized tribes for permission to review their interview transcript for themes that would help to convey reasoning or rationale for withholding

the viewpoints of tribal members, to which they agreed. From this review of transcripts, I pulled together major themes from non-federally recognized tribes that reflect responses from individual tribal members pertaining to the postsecondary educational needs of tribes that I integrate into the presentation of findings for university participants.

In consultation with participants, we agreed to present a single passage from a Tongva tribal leader, and elder, that best captures several of my concerns related to using interviews of tribal representatives:

I cannot even count how many times someone has approached [us] with an idea for a project. They are so excited and think they are going to change everything. [laughs] They end up disappearing, and nothing gets accomplished. I have been doing this work for over forty years. People always come and go. The proof is in the work. – *Gabrieliño-Tongva Nation, Los Angeles*

Sharing prior experiences of being approached by enthusiastic individuals for projects with the tribe, the Tongva representative discussed others' false promises of change for the community and laughed out loud at the memory. The excerpt also conveys additional issues Los Angeles tribes experience working with educational researchers – false promises, inconsistent communication, unreliability of researchers and students, unrealistic sense of project proposals, and limited knowledge of tribal community organization and function. Related is the third and final point taken from this passage is the necessity for researchers and institution to foster sustained relationships with the tribe, as the participant indicated a fleeting tendency by people that approach the tribe and leave with research information, which is referred to as “drive by” scholarship (Hurtado, 2015, p. 288). To supplement the removal of tribal representatives from the data set, in the following sections I will indicate when postsecondary educational needs of

tribes presented by university representatives corroborate those presented by non-federally recognized tribal representatives. Although this does not entirely augment tribal perspectives, allows me to maintain respect and protect participants until a more appropriate time to share their voices.

### **University Representative Perspective on Needs**

This section addresses how university leadership responded to the question, “What are the current postsecondary educational needs of local American Indian tribes,” and follow-up questions soliciting additional insight on federally and non-federally recognized tribes. I have presented perspectives of senior administrators first, with the following section presenting the views of American Indian participants. The purpose of organizing this section in such a way is not to privilege the perspectives of senior administrators. Rather, my goal is to illustrate the knowledge base of university leadership, and follow-up with “responses” from American Indian staff or staff from American Indian programs in the subsequent section. At selective universities, such as the case study sites, it is likely that there is institutional leaders seldom interact with American Indian staff or Native program directors on matters pertaining to local tribes or American Indians. Therefore, this can be viewed as a generative “conversation” between senior administration and staff in American Indian units.

Across both university sites, six senior administrators shared candid responses to interview questions about the educational needs of local tribes. Not all administrators are included in this count because responses to interview questions were not fully answered when posed. Additionally, not all administrators were asked questions about tribal needs because at the beginning of their interviews, it was clear that certain respondents had limited knowledge about American Indian community issues and would not be able to answer the questions posed

about California tribes based on responses given to earlier questions. The following presents findings across case study sites. Within site findings are presented only if significant differences existed between universities. The following findings are presented in three response themes: No sense of tribe's needs; ask the tribes about needs; and resources.

*No sense of tribe's needs.* Literature on the educational needs of tribes and American Indian students, families, and parents indicates that the relationship between institutions and tribes fosters greater awareness of community needs within academic institutions and improves school-community relationships (Conner, 2014; Phyllis & Peter, 2016). Therefore, the following findings regarding this theme is concerning when reflecting on the relationship between the case study tribes and universities. Across the case study universities, three administrators admitted to not knowing the needs of American Indians or local California Indian tribes or the needs of students.

At UC Berkeley, the Vice Chancellor of Undergraduate Education was not aware of the academic preparation of American Indian students locally and within the state. She admitted to not knowing what is being taught, how students are being prepared, and the quality of teachers in American Indian high schools, stating:

I think one of the interesting questions is, I don't know enough about Native high schools to know what their focus is. Is their focus on preparing students for college or is their focus on preparing them for the workplace? Where are the teachers graduating from? Have they all graduated from college? Do some of them have advanced degrees? – *Vice Chancellor of Undergraduate Education, Berkeley*

Identifying academic preparation as a need for tribes may reflect the Vice Chancellor's attention to undergraduate student enrollment. This may also reflect familiarity with that fact that

American Indians have low college enrollment, especially at selective universities. Interestingly, this excerpt may also illustrate a disconnect between universities, administrators, and tribes on academic preparation, schooling, and tribal needs. For instance, the Vice Chancellor's reference to academic preparation at American Indian high schools reflected limited knowledge on American Indian secondary education, as most American Indian students across the nation are enrolled in public high schools and only two Bureau of Indian Education high schools are funded and/or operated in California (Bureau of Indian Education, 2017). Furthermore, there is an apparent disconnect between what the Vice Chancellor understands to be community priorities when referencing education or employment as research continues to illustrate that tribes value the promise that education represents to the prosperity of the tribal community (Brayboy & Castagno, 2011; Reyes, 2016). On a positive side, the questions presented in the passage by the Vice Chancellor also represents a clear understanding that more needs to be known on the state of American Indian education.

Interim Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs at UCLA commented that the Division of Student Affairs, as a whole does not understand the needs of American Indian students and communities. However, pointed out that greater understanding exists within specific units and among specific staff.

If you look at some of our specific areas, there's a greater understanding of what some of the needs are [of American Indian students and communities]. Across all Student Affairs, all 23 departments, the answer is clearly no. I don't think that we have done enough in terms of getting that information out to all our various directors, but I do think that we have a core of individuals within Student Affairs who feel fairly confident about having a good understanding of what the needs are, who I believe will say that it's somewhat of a



trending and changing nature as well. – *Interim Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs, Los Angeles*

The Interim Vice Chancellor is clear that the university has not done its part to educate university staff on the needs of American Indian students or communities. However, he does make a point to say that mid-level management, that is directors of Student Affairs units, would say they are well informed. This could be because these unit directors are at the grassroots level of the institution, working intimately with American Indian students compared to senior administrators who are tasked with broad scale organizational level responsibilities of the university.

Assistant Vice Chancellor of Campus Life adds to this comment by indicating the lack of awareness is not intentional and suggests that this may be symptomatic of organizational culture.

Any lack of understanding, I don't think it's intentional... There's no chance to be an expert on every subject, but how do you raise awareness and be better in tune so you can better support [students]. I would say, "No, structurally we probably weren't designed to really understand and perfectly know." It's a bit of a chicken and the egg. If you don't ask, how do you know, and if a student doesn't openly tell them where is the gap and we're both maybe going down this road thinking a certain way. It's kind of shattering that, let's not make assumptions and what is [required is] a different way to engage to really understand. Some people by the nature of their work have gotten closer. We've become much more educated on the complexity and really the true challenges that a Native student in a higher education system takes on. It is really all of the things we think about and multiply it a hundredfold – going away from home, being the first to go to school, trying to keep an identity and assimilate, trying to deal with the system that one wasn't necessarily exposed to... we're certainly better in tune with the new challenges...

we can certainly do better and learn more to be more supportive. – *Assistant Vice Chancellor of Campus Life, Los Angeles*

Focusing on the needs of American Indian students, the Assistant Vice Chancellor indicates that the lack of understanding not malicious but reflective of the structure of higher education. He shares a conundrum of the University not asking and students not sharing, what he equates to a “chicken and egg” situation. Essentially, how is the university to know student or community needs if the university was not organized to facilitate these conversations? A response is offered to this question by other administrators and American Indian staff in subsequent sections.

*Ask tribes about needs.* An appropriate finding to follow the prior section is the recommendation made by the administrators that universities need to talk with tribes about their needs. At UC Berkeley, the Assistant Vice Chancellor of Government and Community Relations discussed the importance of hearing from communities to impact change on campus, stating:

I think that is the only way that you can really affect change... if you are hearing from those communities. What we may think are strategies that would work, probably don't because we are not in those communities. I think that's one of the biggest mistakes that institutions make is they think, 'oh, we'll come up with a program and we will go and do outreach in this way or that way,' and it may not be effective at all. – *Assistant Vice*

*Chancellor Government and Community Relations, Berkeley*

Speaking on institutional change, the Vice Chancellor emphasizes the importance of hearing from tribal communities about their needs. With programs and community outreach, she indicates that the university encounters serious barriers when not consulting with communities effectively.

Adding on this, UCLA's Dean of the Graduate Division posed the question, "How do we figure out what are community needs?" She followed up with the following suggestions of tribal engagement:

You can visit a community's target person and ask, what are your community needs, what would you like your next generation to be contributing to move your community to where it wants to be, does UCLA have programs that could help with that? – *Dean Graduate Division, Los Angeles*

For some administrators, it was difficult to respond to these questions, and for others this was a revelatory question that led to rich conversation. It is very possible that administrators at both sites had never been asked to think about local tribes or the educational needs of tribal members, much less American Indians. Despite developing a significant number of initiatives on their campuses to address equity and equal opportunity for minority populations, many administrators showed enthusiasm to talk about American Indian students but were honest in not having a sense of community needs.

Other administrators, such as UCLA's former Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs and the Director for Strategic Partnerships and Community Engagement (SPACE), however, have collaborated on several campus initiatives that engaged the on-campus and Los Angeles urban American Indian community. Like the findings previously presented on consulting with local tribes on their needs, these interviewees shifted the conversation slightly to addressing tribes needs through existing programs, pondering how to concurrently sustain programs while incorporating tribe's needs.

[With the American Indian Summer Institute] we were just supporting someone else's initiative which still had benefits for lots of students... from my perspective we're willing

to help support it but we wanted to hear for you all the direction you wanted to see. Do you want it to be mostly California students? What's the interest and trying to find ways to do those kinds of things where it's the community that's telling us 'let's see these things.' That's where we are trying to support but not be in the way. To allow you just still run it, to move forward and be at the forefront of those initiatives. I guess, and then find the ways that's supporting for us to be partners or how do we support [those initiatives], how do we pull our weight in those processes too. – *SPACE Director, Los Angeles*

The SPACE Director specifically referenced the American Indian Summer Institute, a UC-wide residential academic preparation program for high-achieving students organized by the American Indian Counselors and Recruiters Association (AICRA) and hosted at UCLA in 2015. This program was again hosted at UC Riverside in 2016. During the 2016-2017 academic year, a group of American Indian units at UCLA were approached by enrollment management to coordinate an in-house summer residential program for summer 2017. The questions expressed by the SPACE Director highlight the interests of some administrators to develop programs that meets community needs. She indicated that such programs should be developed with guidance from American Indian programs and staff. Additionally, the Director indicated the importance of soliciting input from the community when saying “trying to find ways of to do those kinds of things where it's the community that's telling us 'let's see these things.’” Most interesting, is the comment regarding the unit being in a “support role” as partners. Prior findings of this study indicate that university leadership have limited knowledge about American Indians broadly and California Indians specifically, as well as problematic issues around cultural exploitation, it would behoove universities to partner with tribes when trying to address their needs. Therefore,

the tone of consultation and collaboration is promising when considering the future of tribal-institutional relationships.

*Education of Tribal members.* A few administrators articulate an understanding of what they knew to be the postsecondary education needs of tribes, particularly local tribes. Focusing on academic programs and preparation, comments were offered by the head of Undergraduate Education at UC Berkeley and the Graduate Division at UCLA.

The Vice Chancellor of Undergraduate Education, for example, identified the academic preparation of tribal members as an issue in American Indian communities, which related to the need to educate tribal communities. The Vice Chancellor indicated that a majority of American Indian students have not completed the coursework required to be eligible to apply to a UC school, and presents solutions for addressing this challenge.

Exactly their preparation is just not even at the point [of being UC eligible]. That's a longer-term lift. So, do we get involved in various ways working with tribes about what high school preparation needs to be if students want to come into the University of California, and what does that look like, and how do you begin to have those conversations. – *Vice Chancellor Undergraduate Education, Berkeley*

The Vice Chancellor, expressing, “how do you begin to have those conversation,” suggests an understanding that dialogue with communities needs to take place to address academic preparation. That, in fact, if universities want to serve American Indian students and communities, they have to engage local communities. Suggestions for engaging tribes will be offered at the conclusion of this study.

The Graduate Division Dean at UCLA articulated some specific ideas on the importance of providing an education for tribal members based on current needs and offered ideas on

particular disciplines. Although somewhat uncertain, the Dean suggested that members of local tribes may benefit from education in the field of law in order to advance tribal communities.

Law might be one area, so through the Tribal Law Program... they appreciate what gaps there are in the (i.e. tribal) communities and how UCLA might be able to help meet those gaps and prepare their students to address those challenges. That's one area. But, there's a whole bunch more that I think we might not be touching, maybe Nursing. – *Dean*

*Graduate Division, Los Angeles*

While broad, this illustrates an administrator attempting to connect contemporary tribal issues and needs. Rather than delegating the responsibility to low-level staff, this administrator clearly connects tribal needs and graduate student opportunities.

### **American Indian Staff Perspective**

This section presents cross-site findings from the perspectives of American Indian unit heads, and acts as a response to university administrators who offered limited insight on the needs of tribes. The voices of American Indian staff have been privileged in this section, and the perspectives of non-Native allies that work in American Indian units have been included to corroborate these findings.

*Do tribes want relationships?* Across university sites, two American Indian program representatives questioned whether tribes want to have relationships with universities. These comments corroborate themes found in cross-tribal interviews, with a few tribal representatives cynically commenting on past and current relationships and treatment of members by the case study university. When asked about the needs of California tribes, these participants paused, asking aloud for us to consider whether tribes want universities to address their needs, whether they want relationships to begin with. UC Berkeley NASD Director commented, “Do they (i.e.

tribes) want a relationship with Berkeley?” Similarly, Curator of Archaeology at UCLA affirmed this when saying, “The question is, does the community even want it [a relationship]? And what would they do with [the relationship], and what is the community?” This study is based on the idea of fostering relationships between tribes and public postsecondary institutions; therefore, the idea that tribes may not want relationships with universities was startling. Participants also considered the lack of enthusiasm could be attributed to mistrust of universities, or the fact that tribes have never been asked by institutions about their needs. As a result, tribal leaders rarely consider what institutions can do for them, or having relationships with postsecondary institutions, until presented with such a question.

The NASD Director complicated the issue of whether tribes want relationships with institutions by alluding to what may happen if these relationships were developed. She suggests that the university, including Native programs and students, have only started to consider the ways institutions can meet tribal community needs, inferring the potential is infinite.

From my perspective, if we opened it up [and] created relationships [with tribes], there might be ways that students could give back to their communities that haven't even thought about by the university that could meet the needs. Personally, I go through it [and] I have had the conversation with many students. There is also that feeling of pressure that you have to give back to your community. You pick professions or area of study that is seen [as a way] to immediately giving back to the community like a doctor [or] lawyer. I am going to be a nurse, a psychologist... the first half of my academic career is you [feeling] you have to serve your community without recognizing that there are different ways to serve the community. – *American Indian, NASD Director, Berkeley*

The NASD acknowledges that students and universities have not really considered the opportunities for using university resources to support tribes' goals of self-determination and self-reliance because they have not considered these partnerships at an institutional level. However, she optimistically adds to the potential it means for tribes and students in giving back to their tribes through education.

*Ask Tribes about needs.* Like findings presented across university administrators, American Indian program representatives commented on the necessity to speak directly with tribes regarding their needs. The most intriguing aspect of this section is how individuals poignantly said, "If we want to know what tribes need, we need to ask them." This corroborates what university administrators previously stated about needing to hear from the community on what they want to see, not knowing what works, and not knowing what tribes need. In this instance, two non-Native program representatives from UCLA offered these remarks. One participant has worked with the Tewa Pueblo Indian Community for nearly 40 years, while the other has worked with tribes locally and throughout California for 20 years. When asked about the universities' responsibility to local tribes, the Curator of Archaeology offered the following remark:

I think they [the University], does have a responsibility [to local tribes]. I couldn't comment on the nature of what that would look like, because I think that would be something that the Tongva community should say what they need or what they want, whether that's scholarships or whatever. – *Curator of Archaeology, Los Angeles*

The main argument made by the Curator of Archaeology is that the Tongva should dictate the terms of a relationships with the university, which would be informed by their needs. Historically, American Indians have had paternalistic relationships with governing powers,



wherein institutions determine the needs of communities and develop plans for addressing these needs (Henson et al., 2008). However, American Indian communities have advocated, fought, and exercised their sovereign rights to self-govern (Johnson, 1999). Approaching institutional partnerships, tribes are mindful of paternalism and forms of partnerships modeled around, upheld by, or supporting tribal sovereignty (Norman & Kalt, 2015). Rather than undermine tribal sovereignty, the Curator of Archaeology encourages that the University consults with the Tongva Nation on their needs.

The former Chair of the American Indian Studies program made a similar comment about working with tribes.

I'm still trying to figure out ways that I can collaborate with the community and the way you do it, of course, is to work at the higher up people in terms of the decision-makers that are tribally elected or in the hereditary positions. You've got to do whatever you can to get the word out about what it is that you are doing. When you do that, you try and understand what's important for our community and understand how to do something that will benefit the community too. — *Former Chair American Indian Studies, Los Angeles*

Building on the idea of working with tribes to address their needs, the former chair speaks on the importance of working with leaders of tribes. Prior findings indicate that unit heads and administrators have difficulty identifying how to work with in tribal communities, therefore this addresses this concern. Moreover, working with appropriate leadership ensures that the needs of tribes are being addressed. With regard to understanding tribal needs, he also suggests that any effort to work with and understand the needs of tribes should, of course, be of benefit to the community. His recommendation transitions to the topic of Native nation building.

*Native Nation building.* According to Brayboy et al. (2012), Native nation building is the intentional and focused “application of Indigenous people’s collective resources, energies, and knowledge to the task of liberating and developing the physical place that is identified as their own” (p. 12). These efforts include developing language, behaviors, values, institutions, and physical structures that explain a community's history and culture, infuse and protect knowledge of the past and present-day practices, and ensure the future identity and independence of the nation (Brayboy et al., 2012). Two staff in American Indian units, one Native and the other non-Native, identified aspects of Native nation-building as a postsecondary educational need to tribes. These perspectives, in fact, offer insight into specific needs of California tribes as the Tribal Learning Community and Educational Exchange (TLCEE) Director works closely and consistently with California tribes locally and throughout the state. In fact, the TLCEE Director offered a significant number of broad examples on the postsecondary educational needs of tribes, and how these needs can contribute to nation building. For instance, the TLCEE Director shared the following hopes for tribal members:

We wish we could have a better understanding of how to combat a lot of these things in the future instead of being reactive. These generally are what tribes want to know, how can we be better off in the future by learning some [of these] things. How can our kids be better off in the future? How can we as tribal people manage our own affairs without having to pay some unscrupulous guy to contract in? – *American Indian, TLCEE*

*Director, Los Angeles*

Working closely with California tribes for over a decade, the TLCEE Director conveyed some of the desires of tribes to be self-governing. Likewise, he shares another aspect on the current needs of tribes related to economic development.

Here is what I'm finding, they don't care about science. They can't give a rat's ass about science. They don't want help now in economics. They want help now on legal issues. They want help now because they're so disadvantaged out on poor reservations. Same with the gaming tribes. The gaming tribes may say these things [about education], but that's not their top priority. Their top priority is business and keeping those [businesses] going. Again, trying to motivate their constituents to go on and take [leadership roles and jobs]. But it's not going as fast as it could be if they were involved in intrinsically ideal ways of understanding Indian country basics. They can get in to some of these [introductory American Indian Studies] courses through TLCEE to help. – *American Indian, TLCEE Director, Los Angeles*

The Director indicates that tribes are concerned with law and business, especially tribes that are impoverished in comparison to others. He contends that tribes are concerned with sustaining the operations they have currently developed through business and tribal government; hence they need tribal members educated in these areas.

***Education of Tribal members.*** In response to the question, “What are the postsecondary educational needs of local tribes,” several participants responded by saying they need education for tribal members, and tribally specifically or culturally relevant academic programs.

Participants also offered recommendations for educational opportunities that would address tribal needs, such as academic preparation, courses and programs related to nation-building goals, and culturally relevant academic curriculum. Others commented on specific educational training that tribal leaders have identified as areas of need with the tribe that include professional development training similar to those offered by the California Tribal College (California Tribal College, 2017). Again, the TLCEE Director offered a particularly insightful perspective helpful

in understanding the educational needs of California tribes based his work with local tribes. Comparing parents in Indian Country to all other parents, the Director indicates that Indian parents are concerned about the wellbeing of the children. He shared how Indian parents want their children to pursue college, gain knowledge, and do something meaningful in life.

They are worried about the same things [other parents are worried about]. They're worried about their kids gaining some knowledge and doing something meaningful later in life. They know of the violence. They know of all the things that go on. They don't want that for their kids, but sometimes life is not fun and they're not lucky. Some tribes aren't lucky that they have gaming, and so some of these people they want to get their kids in [to a college] anywhere, not just UCLA. And if they see any university they flock to it. – *American Indian, TLCEE Director, Los Angeles*

Operating as a key informant for community needs, the TLCEE Director offers yet another perspective on the concerns of California tribes' parents. He shares parents are acutely aware of the challenges facing their youth and higher education is an option to do “something meaningful” with their lives. He also points out that gaming is not necessarily a positive thing or looked at as “lucky,” because it may divert students away from pursuing education. For some parents, the realities of poverty, violence, and other socio-economic disparities are realities and education is an opportunity to overcome these obstacles.

Related to the education of tribal members, two American Indian unit heads indicated that academic preparation and college enrollment were needs of California tribes that could be addressed by the university. These recommendations primarily came from Directors at UCLA's American Indian Studies Center (AISC) and the American Indian Studies program. The AISC Director and Interim Chair of the AIS program both shared comments on the need to address the

matriculation of American Indian students from secondary to postsecondary education. The AISC Director comments on the need for creating access to higher education for American Indian students by creating a “broader and better pipeline.” Moreover, she passionately asserts that the University, or university system, should provide a tuition waiver for tribal members.

We could be providing better and broader pipeline support so that [American Indian] kids could actually access higher education. There is a whole range of things there in terms of education beyond the pipeline. I think another important thing this university could and absolutely should do is, and I think we will be working on this down the road, is waving tuition fees for tribal members. There is absolutely no reason that can't be done. And the number of Indian students at this university is so small that there is no physical impact. They can't argue physical impact. It's just the right thing to do and the University should do it. I think we need to campaign for that and we can probably get a tribe to step in and pay for it if the fiscal aspect becomes an issue, but I think that the university should be doing it on moral principle. – *American Indian, AISC Director, Los Angeles*

Similarly, the Interim Chair of the AIS program suggested the development of a pipeline program to increase the enrollment of American Indian students, and address academic preparation of students. This suggestion specifically addressed the college readiness of American Indians throughout California, which recent reports (Proudfit & Gregor, 2016) demonstrates to continue to fall well behind all other underrepresented minority groups.

There are programs that exist here at UCLA for other groups that I think we should have for American Indian groups. There are programs that bring peoples academic skills to a higher level before they start. I definitely think we could have a program like that. A program that could possibly allow us to accept more [American Indian students], be a

little bit less selective, and say, "If you didn't meet these benchmarks we want you to come to UCLA for the summer and do an institute." – *White, Interim Chair American Indian Studies, Los Angeles*

As mentioned, these perspectives offered by AISC Director and Interim Chair of the AIS program address the academic preparation and college enrollment of American Indians, particularly tribal members.

***Federal recognition.*** Three American Indian program representatives at UCLA specifically identified resources generally, and research support in the federal recognition proceedings of non-federally recognized tribes as postsecondary educational needs of tribes. The Curator of Archaeology suggested that faculty direct monetary resources, such as research grants, toward tribes through research projects. That is, faculty work with tribes to secure funding internally and externally to collaborate with tribes. She shared, "If faculty and staff are working with a community... that could be something that can be funded. We're doing all this work so resources could come from research funds that faculty have, that is all money that the university is providing." In this instance, the Curator of Archeology received research funding directly from the UCLA Vice Chancellor of Research; therefore, securing funding and collaborating with tribes is much easier said than done. The standard practice is for faculty to secure external funding from state, federal, or not-for-profit research associations, which is competitive, time consuming and never guaranteed.

The primary point offered by the participant suggests that faculty and universities have an obligation to secure research funds that would support projects for otherwise under-resourced non-federally recognized tribes. This comment was juxtaposed with a conversation about the limited resources non-federally recognized tribes have access to because of not being

acknowledged by the federal government. By collaborating with local tribes through projects, university programs are able to conduct meaningful research with tribes and divert funds to under-resourced tribes – this is, of course, under the premise that that university or unit is working in partnership with the tribe.

Research universities are also uniquely positioned to assist non-federally recognized tribes with petitions for federal acknowledgement. Document analysis illustrated how UCLA has continuously assisted local tribes with their recognition petitions since early 2000. Study participants and documents indicated that graduate student researchers and faculty assisted the San Gabriel Band of Mission Indians with their federal recognition petition. Additionally, UCLA professors in American Indian Studies and Law are currently assisting the Fernandeño Tataviam Band of Mission Indians with their federal recognition petition, another local California tribe. The AISC Director spoke specifically about ways the university can act as a resource for tribes through the federal recognition process, stating “it would be great if we could really direct work helping tribes with their federal recognition processes.” Elaborating on this comment, the Director shared:

There are a lot of tribes in California struggling in the process of federal recognition and that status is absolutely crucial to their sovereignty and their ability to engage with their tribal members as a sovereign body. Unfortunately, federal recognition matters for that. Without overly investing personally in the right or wrong of federal recognition, I think it's important for the tribes and it's a costly and time-consuming undertaking, which I am sure the Federal government intends it to be to keep tribes from being able to move through it effectively. A lot of tribes are bogged down in it. We could be helping with that. The university could and should be helping with that. If California were embracing

its native population and this university, in the service of this state, was able to support that by deploying its considerable resources to help tribes get federal recognition, I think that would be a really significant thing. – *American Indian, AISC Director, Los Angeles*

The AISC Director points to the important roles that universities can have in supporting California tribes, and not only in providing educational resources or educating tribal members. Perhaps more critical and urgent is supporting tribes with federal recognition status through the use of research to obtain necessary historical and legal documents. While scholarship can contribute to theoretical discourse on tribal sovereignty, research to support federal acknowledgement can have practical implications on the sovereignty and self-determination of Native nations. To this, the Director argues, universities can and should be responsible to tribes.

### **Prayers**

An area of findings that emerged from this study were several recommendations organizational change. In total, over 20 recommendations were offered. I have presented the top ten recommendations, as these recommendations were reoccurring across interviews. The recommendations offered by participants, who shared what they believed needs to occur at their institution to shift how the campus engages with tribes and addresses tribal education needs. In essence, these recommendations reflect the perspectives of university representatives regarding the necessary steps for engaging in reciprocal tribal-institutional relationships. While these recommendations do not reflect the perspective of tribal representatives, they do represent shared perspectives of university senior administrators and American Indian unit heads. Coming from these individuals, these recommendations offer a certain impression that administration are aware of cultural shifts needed to happen within universities to include American Indian communities in community relations discussion. As such, there recommendations serve as the



beginning elements of a framework for tribal-institutional partnership for college and university campuses that build off existing community-partnership theories and frameworks. That being said, readers should be cautioned that this is not a complete framework because it does not offer tribal perspective and, thusly, is incomplete. In addition, all relationships should be oriented toward tribes within their region.

During interviews, conversations with participants organically shifted to the changes that needed to occur at the case study universities, and within postsecondary institutions broadly, to position universities to address the needs of California tribes. In reflection, this was because many participants posited questions about how to engage tribes and address their needs, and in response, reflected on their own ideas. I found recommendations offered by administrators to be the important because senior leadership were presenting solutions to serve and engage this severely underrepresented constituency within their university, likely for many reasons. The Interim Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs at UCLA offered, which nicely frame this section “changing campus culture is hard, but are we going to give up? Never stop trying.” The following section describes my framing of these recommendations for organizational change as prayers.

In June of 2016, I traveled to Hawaii to attend the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Annual Conference to present a paper. During my visit, we were invited to a private dinner with Hawai’ian scholar and educational activist Lilikala Kame’elehiwa. Sitting in her backyard, she spoke about her nearly 30 years of experience in the academy where she diligently advocated and fought to address the needs of Hawaiian students and communities (Lipe, 2014). She, along with Haunani K. Trask and others, found a lot of success in the University of Hawaii system developing Hawaiian Studies and Hawaiian students service and

cultural centers (Lipe, 2014; Trask, 1993). They also endured a lot of adversity, not only as women, but as individuals of the community's Aboriginal population in Hawaii. Walking away from the evening, my husband, who was traveling with me, commented on the passion and love Lilikala continued to have for transforming institutionalized education into Hawaiian places of learning. We talked about organizational change as we drove across the island, and about the necessity of having faith and determination throughout my career that it is possible to change education for the betterment of our communities.

The title and findings drawn from participants in this section, "Prayers," are inspired by many things. By that evening with Lilikala, family, and friends. By the conversation I had that night with my husband, another California Indian, as we drove across Oahu – the homeland of Native Hawai'ians. By other Indian educators. By several participants in this study, who have a steadfast and unwavering commitment to ensure the prosperity of American Indian students and communities. By the resilience of California Indian Nations. The purpose of calling this section "prayers," is not to reinforce the hierarchy that is already entrenched in institutionalized education – where the universities and leadership are revered as benevolent godly entities. These prayers, rather, reflect the faith we have, and must continue to have, if we are to transform the postsecondary education for Native Nations.

Prior findings explain what types of existing relationships the case study institutions have with local tribes, and limitations in forming stronger relationships. The findings presented in these chapters also articulate an interest by universities to foster relationships with tribes. Thusly, these prayers serve as recommendations on what changes need to occur institutionally to advance tribal-institutional relationships. Prayers reflect recommendations offered by administrators and American Indian staff, however I have intentionally relied on perspectives of

administrators. Additionally, these recommendations include new campus initiatives that do not currently exist at either case study institutions, or were previously eliminated initiatives that participants saw to have a potentially large impact. While some may require campus resources, one thing to note is that not all prayers require a significant amount of resources but can have a major impact on campus.

### **Prayer 1. Value Relationships with Local Tribes**

Campuses need to value relationships with local California American Indian tribes, including valuing and respecting tribal members, cultural knowledge, and resources. Findings from this case study reflect the continued exploitation on American Indian land, knowledge, culture, and resources. To reconcile these continued injustices, campuses need to reformulate their relationships with first with local tribes, which can later extend to regional and national tribal-institutional relationships. The following UCLA participant speculates about the possibilities of shifting people's mentalities to value the Tongva as partners when they are incorporated into the early stages of planning an event.

They mean well and they just haven't had somebody talk them through the sort of the stream of consciousness on what does this mean, how is it perceived. It's really nice that they're thinking about the community [in planning events]; now how do we get them to think about the community three months ago when they were planning it, instead of the week before it's supposed to start. – *Curator of Archaeology, Los Angeles*

This comment challenges us to think about the importance of valuing relationships with local tribes, but challenges us to consider how campuses incorporate tribes and tribal members into university initiatives.

## **Prayer 2. Invite Tribes (Back) In/Welcome Tribes Home**

Participants suggested inviting local tribes to the university for meetings, events, or discussions with campus leaders to listen face-to-face about the needs of tribes. I have added to this by saying, inviting local tribes back in or welcoming tribes home, because this action may literally represent a physical coming home to the land for some tribes. Two administrators suggest inviting tribes to campus or meeting with leaders during visits.

Maybe something where we bring together leaders from the tribal communities to sit down with, not just our Native American faculty, but those that have a leadership role in building relations. First to listen, to ask what are your high school students thinking about? What are your undergraduates thinking about? What's the community looking for? And we can start connecting the dots in our heads, and use it as a starting point for saying, why don't we – let's try just this one thing or let's have a few more follow-up conversations and see if we can put together a little pilot program. – *Dean Graduate Division, Los Angeles*

Maybe it's even just inviting people here instead of sending people out all the time. The Chancellor and I talked about this a little bit too, there are tribes that come for events on-campus and we should do is just get connected so that when they are here, then maybe we can meet with some of the tribal leaders, you know since they are here. - *Assistant Vice Chancellor Government and Community Relations, Berkeley*

### **Prayer 3. (Re)associate the Universities' Land with Tribes**

The process of disassociating land from Indigenous communities is a part of settler logic, therefore the re-associating of land with Indigenous populations can be powerful in shifting mentalities on the presence of Native communities. A recommendation coming from two participants was to install markers or signs on campus that acknowledge the first peoples of the land. Additionally, another recommendation was to rename streets or buildings that are currently associated with individuals who were participated in the colonization of the state. Finally, these participants all suggested acknowledging that the campus is on Indian land, in this case Tongva and Ohlone land.

We should have physical manifestations so people know that they're on Native land here. There should be markers on this land. There are many creative ways to do this. When we're in a place that's been inhabited by native people for thousands and thousands of years, or as many believe, since time immemorial; why do we not have any native art. Why do we not have anything named after native people? – *Interim Chair American Indian Studies, Los Angeles*

Why not start to put different markers in places that recognize that this is Ohlone land and having a statement for the beginning of things, particularly very high-profile events, like Convocation, addressing that this institution is Ohlone land. Those are things that are small but would make a much bigger difference sometimes than some of the huge campaigns. Let's just start saying it and naming it. That will shift people's perspective over the course of time. - *American Indian, NASD Director, Berkeley*

#### **Prayer 4. Develop a Campus-wide Task Force**

Representatives from both sites recommended the development of a campus-wide task force to discuss issues pertaining to American Indian students and communities. Although both universities have their share of experiences with similar task forces, there was a general receptiveness across participants to participate in a collective space to address these issues. Additionally, UC Berkeley staff brought to attention the bandwidth of American Indian students and staff, who often assume multiple responsibilities on campus inside and outside of their assigned job responsibilities. As such, task forces should be mindful of the expectations and responsibilities already placed on a small number of American Indian staff and faculty.

There was a later idea--just much more recent-- which we should go ahead and see whether we can make it happen, was to bring the campus resources together with students ideally for there to be a more evenly coordinated [initiative] and for the students to be aware of what's here. – *Former Vice Chancellor Student Affairs, Los Angeles*

#### **Prayer 5. Development of a Strategic Plan of Action**

When discussing the development of Task Forces, several participants indicated the need to “organize around goals” or “develop strategic plans of action” that guide the work.

Universities are used to doing this planning. You know they may not be used to doing it with a particular community involved but they're used to doing long term planning.

Think big and do a brainstorming session. – *SPACE Director, Los Angeles*

#### **Prayer 6. Hire a Tribal Liaison to Engage Local Tribes**

Several administrators recommended identifying a “point person for community engagement.” Like Francis-Begay (2013), administrators were specific in saying these individuals needed to have specialized knowledge about the American Indian community in

order to successfully navigate the community. This person would serve as a liaison between the university and tribes, similar to tribal liaisons or special advisors at other public postsecondary institutions (Francis-Begay, 2013), helping administration the community relations, meeting individuals, knowing what events to be present at, and understanding protocols. It is important to note that participants suggested establishing a position for an individual whose sole responsibility would be to advise administrators and attend to campus-wide affairs. This differs from currently established staff, such as the TLCEE Director, who already manages programmatic efforts on campus and within the local American Indian community.

We need somebody who can both guide and orchestrate, for example, somebody who says to [Student Affairs Vice Chancellor] or [Enrollment Management] there's this kind of meeting coming up, you need to have people at the scene. We do it from our vantage point, not from the vantage point of what's going on, necessarily from the native perspective. Where do we need to be? What are the locations that we need to be with? Who are the people that we need to call today? – *Former Vice Chancellor Student Affairs, Los Angeles*

The one thing you always need is somebody who is interested in doing something and is willing to devote the time and effort to it. The other side of it is you don't want to be heavy handed about it, like, 'we're the university and we're here to help you.' You want to have somebody that's going to understand the tribes and be able to interact with them in a way that it's sensitive to their interests and their needs, as well as the needs of the university. – *Executive Vice Chancellor, Los Angeles*

### **Prayer 7. Hire More American Indian Faculty and Staff**

Expressed by several American Indian participants was the need to hire more American Indian staff and faculty at each case study university. The low number of American Indian staff inhibits the university's ability to engage local tribes; attract, serve and retain Native students; and recruit additional Native faculty and staff.

We just need more [American Indian] faculty and we need more [American Indian] staff.

It's hard to recruit here for a Native faculty when there is no faculty to be here to work with, nobody wants to be the lone person doing things. – *American Indian, NASD*

*Director, Berkeley*

### **Prayer 8. Promote/Hire an American Indian into a Senior Administrative Position**

Expressed by one American Indian staff and the Executive Vice Chancellor of UCLA, is the need to have an American Indian staff in a “meaningful position” with power on campus to influence decisions. The Executive Vice Chancellor indicated that this cannot be a position “stuck off in the corner of university.”

What I see that was most effective is by placing a Native person in a higher position, in the highest positions. When you look at the demographics of Native people at any of the UCs, there are none in senior management. But the highest positions, there's no Native people there. As far as professional staff people who are dedicated to making this effort, there's no way they can do it without having Native people there in those positions, someone that fosters the relationships, someone that has a grasp on the entire campus climate, like a Vice Chancellor of Native Affairs. Not just a director or staff person. It really has to be leadership. – *American Indian, Undergraduate Admissions, Berkeley*



### **Prayer 9. Leadership Need to Prioritize American Indian Communities**

One American Indian staff clearly stated, “instead of being gatekeepers, administrators need to be doormen, holding the door open and facilitating.” Several participants spoke to the role of campus leaders “championing” American Indian issues

So many people are just focused on this basic, very necessary project of asserting survival, and continuity, and agency now. It's a really important part of American Indian studies. But we can't be the only ones on campus doing that. There aren't enough of us. This is a campus of tens of thousands of people. Folks up in a leadership position need to kind of step up and make those kinds of statements. – *Interim Chair American Indian Studies, Los Angeles*

### **Payer 10. The UC System Needs to prioritize the California Tribes**

The relationships, responsibility, and needs of California tribes is not simply an issue that needs to be addressed at UC Berkeley and UCLA, this is a UC-wide issue that needs to be prioritized by the Office of the President.

The Office of the President should do more. That also has been hard. We have some really good documents that we developed from a colleague, that was originally at Davis, that then went to the Office of the President on how the Native community does not fit the 209 [which resulted in the change in system-wide policy]. – *Former Vice Chancellor Student Affairs, Los Angeles*

### **Summary**

The findings in this chapter illustrated that some university representatives, Native and non-Native, are not entirely in tune with the postsecondary education needs of California tribes, but are receptive to hearing from tribes about their specific needs. Additionally, some

administrators had a general sense of tribes' needs based on their interaction with other American Indian staff on campus or prior work with Native communities. However, the general sense is that administrators at the case study sites do not prioritize the needs of American Indian students or California tribes. American Indian staff at the university sites, conversely, are apprehensive to speak on behalf of tribes. Some American Indian participants shared the opinion that tribes should be invited to a gathering by university leadership to strategically plan for future tribal-institutional relationships. These meetings would encourage university relationships based in tribal needs as opposed to maintaining current stagnant relationships. Meetings would also serve as a foundation for understanding the needs of tribes in order to build relationships and foster trust between tribes and institutions that promise a better future for California Indian nations.

## CHAPTER SEVEN – CONCLUSION

This study started years ago, long before I started my doctoral program. Unbeknown to me, it started the first day that I stepped onto the UCLA campus for undergraduate studies. It was the Summer of 2002, and my parents dropped me off at UCLA for a six-week summer residential program with the Academic Advancement Program. Nearly 15 years later, I have spent nearly all of my academic and professional career as a staff member at UCLA. Over the years, I have overcome countless academic and personal struggles – poor preparation, academic probation, academic dismissal, financial struggles, homesickness, passing of loved ones, health issues, and overwhelming community and familial responsibilities. The academy tested my resolve. The moment that I was academically dismissed from UCLA, I innately knew that my calling was the field of higher education. My first thought went to others. I was certain that I never wanted other American Indian students, especially California Indians, to unnecessarily share my experiences.

I could write that educational research inspired this study, but that would be dishonest. There is a lack of research on California tribal nations in higher education literature. It may be more appropriate to say the lack of research helped to inspire this study. But it was more than research that inspired this study, it was the lived experience. It was my story. It was the experience of pursuing higher education within my ancestral homelands, while overcoming constant academic and personal hurdles that inspired this work. It was also the experiences and stories of my peers and community. TribalCrit, a theoretical framework used for this study, contends that stories are our theories and “stories serve as the basis for how our communities work” (p. 427). To this end, Brayboy (Brayboy) writes, “For some Indigenous scholars (and others) theories, through stories and other media, are roadmaps for our communities and

reminders of our individual responsibilities to the survival of our communities” (p. 427). Along this academic journey, the academy began to reveal itself to me – a woman of color. I became equally critical of my institution and community. What responsibility did the academy have to ensuring my success? What responsibility did the academy have to ensuring the success of my peers? What relationship and responsibility did UCLA, and universities for that matter, have with my tribal communities? Where were my people – my fellow California Indians? What was the future of our tribal nations?

Rather than be pessimistic, I decided to take action. I worked in Student Affairs with American Indian students, obtained a Master of Education degree, and pursued a Doctorate of Philosophy in Education. Along the way, I fell in love with research – something I never imagined – and another world opened to me. With my new love in hand, I married research with my passion for the field of higher education, and my lived experiences as a Luiseño/Tongva woman in the academy to realize this study. Over the course of my doctoral program, I learned that research, if done appropriately, can significantly impact tribal nations. Writing about research with Indigenous communities using a TribalCrit framework, Brayboy (Brayboy) states,

I would argue that no research should be conducted with Indigenous Peoples that is not in some way directed by a community and aimed toward improving the life chances and situations of specific communities and American Indians writ large. The research must be relevant and address the problems of the community; there is little room for abstract ideas in real communities. (p. 441)

This statement continues to speak volumes to me as an educator and researcher who is committed to the prosperity of California tribal communities, and I am not alone. In recent years, there has been a boom of California Indian educators across the states with a similar goal

of transforming education to build California tribal nations (e.g. California Indian Education Association). Their work also offers relevant context for the necessity of this study.

While the research is sparse, there are a growing number of examples of California tribes and individuals that view education as a means to empower tribal citizens and strengthen Native nations. For example, since 2012, California Indian educators and 58 California tribal governments and seven statewide and national tribal organizations have signed resolutions that support the development of the California Tribal College (CTC), which has the goal of “providing quality higher education grounded in respect, accountability, integrity, and responsibility to prepare students for positions of leadership in their communities and their careers” (California Tribal College, 2017). Annually, CTC offers a Certificate Program in Tribal Leadership and Governance to tribal leaders and members throughout the state and beyond, which contributes to the skill development and training of tribal citizens in tribal law, governance and culture (California Tribal College, 2017).

Since this time, the California Tribal College, and California Indian Culture and Sovereignty Center (CICSC) at California State University, San Marcos (CSUSM) have conducted state-wide quantitative studies examining the state of education of American Indians/Alaska Natives in California and the education needs of tribes. These studies reflect the low educational attainment of American Indians in the state. CSUSM has prepared three annual reports on the state of American Indian/Alaska Native education in California, that happen to be funded by the San Manuel Band of Mission Indians (Proudfit & Gregor, 2014, 2016; Proudfit & San Juan, 2012), to educate the broader public on the academic achievement, enrollment, retention, completion, staff and faculty employment of American Indians across public education in the state of California. More importantly, staff from CSUSM have used these reports to

advocate at the state and federal levels for educational reform. Among the California Indians at the helm of this advocacy work is Dr. Joely Proudfit, appointed in 2016 to the National Advisory Council on Indian Education and Director of the CICSC at CSUSM. Dr. Proudfit, a descendant of the Pechanga Band of Luiseño Indians, is a steadfast advocate of California Indian education. I see my work as a part of this growing area of scholarship and activism to raise awareness, identify disparities, and improve the well-being of CA Indian tribes.

My contribution is this study, an examination of the relationships between two premier California public postsecondary institutions and local federally and non-federally recognized tribes. Using a multiple case study, nested design, I examined the relationships existing between the case study universities and tribes and the responsibility at university participants articulated in forming relationships. I also push back on traditional notions of reciprocity, and challenge readers to consider reciprocity for an Indigenous worldview. From this perspective, I ask how relationships between the two universities sites and neighboring tribes address the educational needs of tribes and promote Native nation-building.

In this chapter, I discuss the main research questions by describing the main findings from the study related to extant literatures which examined tribal-institutional relationships, institutional responsibility, and the needs of California tribes. In this discussion, I will also present emergent findings, important but unanticipated until once engaged in the contexts with participants. Next, I will discuss the implications or contributions this study makes to the theory, practice, and research. To conclude, I will offer implications for practice and recommendations for future research.

## **Summary of Findings**

This study is the first to empirically examine relationships between California public postsecondary universities and local tribes, therefore findings offer several contributions to the literature on community partnership, higher education, and American Indian education. This section summarizes findings of the study pertaining to each research question. In addition, I discuss how the findings relate to prior research to highlight key contributions.

### **Research Question 1**

What kinds of formal and informal relationships exist between the case study postsecondary institutions and local American Indian tribes? How, if at all, does this differ by federal recognition status?

To discuss the formal and informal relationships between the case study institutions and local American Indian tribes, I have to first present the context of the case study sites – UC Berkeley and UCLA – that emerged when speaking with university representatives. Described as the “nature of relationships,” participants offered an unfiltered and rare point of view on how university representatives understand and perceive American Indians and tribes. When speaking with participants, it became clear that the context by which they understood American Indians and tribes was critical to how they examined, spoke, participated, and, even, prioritized relationships with California tribes. The purpose of analyzing the nature of tribal-institutional relationships, as revealed through perceptions of local American Indian tribes and American Indians broadly, was to have a general understanding of how participants’ thought and interacted with the population of primary concern.

It is generally assumed that most non-Native individuals have limited knowledge about American Indians and tribes; therefore, occasionally being in need of introductory material or briefing (Treuer, 2012). As such, it was not a surprise to learn that university administrators lacked an understanding of American Indian people and communities, and often held stereotypes or inherent biases about these individuals. As a result, university participants knew less much about tribes neighboring their respective campuses – the Ohlone tribe in northern CA and Tongva tribe in southern CA – and rarely mentioned, if ever, the other case study tribes participating in the study (i.e. San Manuel Band of Mission Indians and Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria). These perceptions significantly influenced how university representatives described formal and informal relationships with federally and non-federally recognized tribes in California, if at all. For example, some senior university administrators had little or no awareness of the existence of local tribes, even after receiving an interview preparation packet containing a map of California tribes. The use of TribalCrit as a theoretical lens for this study, (Brayboy, 2005) allows the application an Indigenous lens to the perspective of administrators. A tenet of TribalCrit argues that colonization is endemic to society, which is manifested in the literal and figurative removal of American Indians from their land (Brayboy, 2005; Wolfe, 2006). Therefore, it is not entirely surprising for non-Native administrators to lack awareness and understanding as they may not be aware of or critical of colonial histories.

It would be inaccurate to say that administrators had no knowledge of American Indians or knowledge of relationships, however. Community-campus partnerships and relationships are complex and tribal-institutional relationships all the more so, especially with the added complexity of federal recognition and non-federal recognition of tribes. Indicative of campus organization and structure, administrators also stated not knowing the state of relationships,



delegating relationship building to American Indian programs, or the tendency to react to problems that arise rather than proactively form relationships. At the same time, university administrators and American Indian staff offered several examples of tribal-institutional relationships that were analyzed to better understand the formal and informal natures of tribal-institutional relationships.

While other examinations of higher education have employed interviews with senior level or campus leadership (Kezar, 2008; Kezar & Lester, 2011), these studies focused on leadership and grassroots leadership in higher education. Guillory and Wolverton (Guillory & Wolverton) also conducted a similar multi-case study that included campus presidents, faculty, and students that focused on American Indian student retention in the Pacific Northwest colleges and universities. The findings to emerge from this study from the administrative perspective offer significant contributions to the literature as few studies offer perspectives on American Indian students and communities or tribal-university relationships from the most senior university administrators and American Indian unit heads at the grassroots level within public postsecondary institutions.

To examine formal and informal relationships between the cases study postsecondary institution and local American Indians tribes, a community-partnership framework was used to evaluate and identify components of tribal-university or tribal-institutional relationships (Barrera, 2015). Barrera (2015) identifies four tenets – trust, respect, communication and shared goals – as key components in successful community-campus partnerships. I also used principles from the Native Nation Building framework (Norman & Kalt, 2015) for tribal-university partnerships, which include sovereignty, culture, institutions and leadership. These tenets and principles together helped to characterize formal and informal relationships and distinguish how

relationships differed between federally and non-federally recognized tribes. In addition, these frameworks assisted in developing university protocols and practices for engaging tribal communities that extend current literature on community-partnership frameworks. The principles and practices are presented in the implications section of this chapter.

***Formal relationships.*** Formal relationships were characterized as sustained, institutionalized relationships maintained by the university and influenced by federal, state, and university system-wide policy or contractual agreements. The kinds of relationships based on formal policy typically revolved around laws regarding repatriation of ancestors' remains or undergraduate admissions policies. University administrators are also involved in maintaining these relations personally or through a designated staff (i.e. Curator of Archaeology). The case study universities primarily engaged in formal relationships with tribes to remain in compliance policies such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). However, they also voluntarily implemented UCOP admission policy that allows for membership in a tribe to be considered in admissions applications process to increase the number of American Indian students enrolled on campus from federally recognized tribes. While much can be inferred from these formal policy-driven relationships, it was clear that the case study universities are not actively seeking relationships with tribes, but, rather, responding to policy mandates.

Another formal tribal-institutional relationship identified in this study is established through a contractual agreement between tribes and universities. There are several examples of contractual relationships nationally between tribes and postsecondary institutions that include Memorandums of Understanding or financial contracts (e.g. University of Utah and Ute Indian Tribe, Miami Tribe of Oklahoma and Miami University) (Baldwin & Olds, 2007; University of

Utah, n.d.). Participants that spoke about existing contractual relationships mostly referred to financial gifts (e.g. endowments or generous donations) given by tribes to institutions in exchange for educational services. Last, a formal relationship identified and executed by American Indian units, either centers or academic programs, was through curricular and co-curricular engagement. American Indian units were involved in both formal and informal tribal-institutional relationships, as representatives indicated that institutions “farmed out” this responsibility to American Indian programs. Formal relationships were typically established and maintained between the university and federally recognized tribes. This was largely influenced by the fact that federal and state policy applied to federally recognized tribes, and often explicitly excluded non-federally recognized tribes.

***Informal Relationships.*** Conversely, informal relationships were not sustained or institutionalized by the university, nor were they bound by policy or agreements. As a result, they did not have “buy-in” from senior administration; therefore, having limited, if any, involvement from university administration or staff. The un-sustained aspect of informal relationships can be attributed to the fact that there is no formal mechanism for maintaining relationships with specific tribes. Instead, relationships were maintained organically between individuals and American Indian programs. Informal relationships most commonly were based on educational resources. Like formal relationships, American Indian units integrated local non-federally recognized tribes into curricular opportunities through American Indian Studies courses or service learning courses, or into co-curricular engagement through the Tribal Legal Development Clinic. Additionally, American Indian programs on-campus informally engaged with individuals and tribes by responding to requests of tribal members for education research or resources available at each respective institution. Another way American Indian programs have

engaged with local tribes is by ensuring they have a consistent presence at Center events or educational programs.

In addition to contributing to the literature on institutional leadership, these findings offer university perspectives on tribal-institutional relationships, with university leadership at the most senior levels speaking candidly on American Indian, local tribes, and tribal relations. Moreover, these opinions reflect the opinions of senior administration from two California public postsecondary universities – two of the nation’s highest ranking public universities.

### **Research Question 2**

What responsibilities are articulated by the case study postsecondary institutions with regard to specific local American Indian tribes? How, if at all, does this differ by federal recognition status?

To examine what university representatives from the case study institutions articulate as institutional responsibilities to local California Indian tribes, I analyzed how participants explained obligations in relation to institutional, diversity and their land-grant mission. It would be assumed that American Indians, a very small constituency, would be equally served in large universities are other underrepresented communities. In fact, the low enrollment and retention of American Indians nationally and within the state (Brayboy et al., 2012) can reflect that institutions have little responsibility to enroll and graduate Native students; thusly, having little obligations to serve tribal nations and their members. The university representatives in this study spoke to how the case study universities enact their mission. American Indian staff were the most vocal about institutions fulfilling an obligation to American Indian communities. They offered a critical perspective that is consistent with other scholars who critique the purpose and mission of higher education, public education, and land-grant universities for the public good in

a democracy (Paricia J Gumport, 2000; Gutmann, 1999; Kezar, 2004). For example, American Indian staff argued that the universities had a responsibility to serving a public good through teaching, scholarship and service.

Those that spoke directly to the institutional mission of the university sites focused on the service and research mission of the university, stating that the “public university mission in and of itself is sufficient in understanding there is an obligation to American Indians.”

Representatives contend that at the most fundamental level, American Indians should be served equally to all other constituent groups based on the mission of the university. To which one participant pointed out, American Indians are not being served equally. Some stated that American Indian campus communities are not asking for special treatment but to be served equally, and that is not occurring by some accounts. Further, others suggest the unique historical, political, and cultural experiences of California tribes require unique strategies to address equity and inclusion—even reconciliatory social justice acts in reparation for dispossession of land and artifacts that remain sacred to local tribes.

While a few participants discussed the service mission of land-grant universities, others discussed the historic relationship between the Morrill Acts and the wrongful procurement and occupation of Indian territory. For example, Interim Chair of American Indian Studies and Professor of History at UCLA discussed how the land for all the UCs was stolen from California Indians. That the United States government and California State government colluded in removing California Indians from their land, which lead to the greatest land thefts of all time. Interestingly, not a single campus administrator commented on the land-grant mission and how it obligated the university to serve local tribes or American Indians broadly.

Equity, inclusion, and diversity initiatives were also a part of conversations with participants. Interestingly, racial diversity was not the focus at either site. Rather, sites focused on the principles of equity, inclusion and excellence. UC Berkeley participants offered divergent perspectives related to campus equity and inclusion. Divergent views surfaced among American Indian staff. One staff member was optimistic about changes in campus initiatives to address American Indian student issues, however other staff believed diversity initiatives to be “a big ruse.” Administrators at UCLA were the first to speak about responsibility in relation to equity, inclusion and diversity. Divergent perspectives also surfaced between administrators. While one Vice Chancellor shared that the university is equally responsible to serving American Indians as it is to serving African Americans, whereas another shared their desire to improve outreach and enrollment of American Indian students with more targeted approaches specific to the population.

Institutional representatives implicitly expressed an obligation to serve federally recognized tribes. However, comments generally referred to American Indian students broadly and focused on those who are members of federally recognized tribes. The obligation to federally recognized tribes relates back to formal and informal tribal-institutional relationships, wherein universities primarily have formal relationships with federally recognized tribes because of policy. American Indian campus representatives, on the other hand made no distinction between federally and non-federally recognized tribes. In fact, when speaking about land-grant mission and history the inference of university obligations squarely goes to the Ohlone and Tongva, whose homelands are currently occupied by UC Berkley and UCLA; these being two non-federally recognized tribes.

At the end of this study, a lingering question for further research and practice is how do universities encourage individuals with personal commitments to demonstrate or influence institutional responsibility. Nearly all administrators shared a personal narrative or “Indian story,” and revealed their commitment to working with American Indians. Some alluded to this biasing their opinion of the study topic or giving them a general affection toward American Indians. However, their personal feelings were not necessarily reflected in their work at the university. Moreover, those administrators working work with tribes or American Indian students often do so through formal relationships, meaning policy mandates this relationship and work – and not necessarily a personal commitment. Another question emerging from this work is, how do American Indian staff encourage key university leaders with personal commitments to implement institutional responsibility at universities and commitments to American Indian tribes? As grassroots leaders (Kezar & Lester, 2011), they have a range of strategies that can be identified in the future.

### **Research Question 3**

What do California tribes articulate as the postsecondary education needs of their communities? How do tribal perspectives on postsecondary education needs compare with those expressed by postsecondary institutional representatives?

First and foremost, when considering tribal-institutional relationships, participants pointed out that it is essential to first consider whether tribes want relationships with the universities. American Indian participants posed this viewpoint, which should not be surprising given the legacy of distrust between the university and tribes (Carney, 1999). Second, participants of this study articulated that tribes should be the ones to articulate the needs of their community. Moreover, they should dictate how they engage institutions to serve these needs.

University representatives presented similar perspectives on the postsecondary education needs of California tribes, as well as nuanced differences when it came to offer specific examples of the needs of federally and non-federally recognized tribes. Participants from both universities suggested consulting with tribes regarding their needs. However, these perspectives differed in terms of reasoning. Administrators admitted to having limited knowledge on the postsecondary educational needs of tribes, and referred to tribes as being better suited in articulating their needs. Similarly, American Indian staff deferred to tribes, however, they did so out of protocol and respect for community knowledge – understanding that the needs of the community would best be articulated by tribal representatives themselves. This perspective coincides with Norman and Kalt (Norman & Kalt), who urge the development of tribally driven research that this initiated by tribal nations.

Similarly, the educational attainment of tribal members was a need articulated by both administrators and American Indian staff across sites. Both sets of participants suggested that academic preparation was an issue in the American Indian community, indicated by UC eligibility, low admittance, and retention of American Indian students. To address this issue, administrators suggested meeting with tribes or learning more about specific needs. However, American Indian staff offered solutions such as academic preparation programs. UCLA's American Indian Studies Center Director also suggested tuition waivers for members of tribes to lessen the students' financial burden for attending a UC school, which has been done in others states and colleges (e.g Michigan and Denver). UCLA's Dean of Graduate Education shyly identified law and nursing professions as areas where tribes were in need and students could benefit from schooling, which knowledge came from interaction with other American Indian professionals.



Other American Indian staff offered additional in-depth responses to the needs of tribes. Native representatives talked at greater length about Native nation-building goals, and how education can support sovereignty and self-determination of California tribes. As such, tribes are in need of educational resources. The Tribal Learning Community Education and Exchange (TLCEE) Director shared that California gaming communities need individuals trained in economics, policy, and law; individuals that will help sustain and build their current enterprise and tribal government. On the other hand, students from non-gaming CA Indian communities experience different hardships. Their parents, much like most parents, want better for their children. As such, education is seen as an opportunity to gain knowledge and do something meaningful with their life.

Finally, educational resources such as research funding and support with federal recognition applications were needs that postsecondary education could satisfy. UCLA Curator of Archaeology suggested collaborating with local tribes on projects and funneling resources to non-federally recognized tribes that do not have access to federal funding. Related to this, the AISC Director indicated that non-federally recognized tribes locally, and throughout California, need assistance with their federal recognition process and universities are in the position to support them with the labor-intensive process. She argues that universities, as entities of the state, should in fact deploy its resources to support tribes seeking federal recognition if it did support and feel responsible to tribes.

The original research questions of this study asked, “What do California tribes articulate as the postsecondary education needs of their communities?” Although analyzed, the interviews with California tribal representatives were withheld from the presentation of findings for ethical reasons. While conducting this study, I learned that the tribes participating in this study did not

entirely trust the case study universities. Although tribal representatives have worked with representatives from their respective institutions in formal and informal capacities, these communities continue to harbor distrust toward the university because of a history of exploitation. As a researcher, I represented the university regardless of being from the community – a phenomenon several scholars talk about as insider-outsider research experience (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000; L. T. Smith, 2012). It took several months to gain access to each tribe in different ways, and after that it took time to gain their approval for conducting research. While an appropriate number of interviews were collected to satisfactorily answer this research question, I felt uneasy about using the perspectives – the actual voices – of Native community participants regardless of receiving their informed consent and tribal approval.

Deciding to hold back in using these interviews until a later time, I consulted with representatives from both federally and non-federally recognized tribes about the decision and to seek their opinion and guidance for future use. Together we decided on appropriate steps and future implementation of Native voice. To ensure this question was dutifully answered, I retained the analysis of interviews from tribal representatives and integrated these general findings into the themes as they presented themselves. While this is not ideal, it was an ethical compromise to ensure that the research question was satisfactorily answered, a trustworthy relationship was maintained with participants, and tribal members were not exploited for the purposes of research. Future research will need to be conducted to better respond to this research question. The unforeseen challenges of working with multiple tribal communities, even as an insider-outsider, inhibited my ability to clearly present how tribal perspectives differed from institutional representatives. In short, this decision reflects the complicating nature of conducting indigenous research using the transformative paradigm (Aud et al., 2012; Brayboy et

al., 2012b; Mertens, 2007; L. T. Smith, 2012), which requires ultimate respect for marginalized communities and consultation with participants for use of results.

### **Implications for Theory and Practice**

In the field of higher education, to my knowledge, this is the first study to examine the relationships between tribes and public postsecondary institutions. The purpose of this section is to provide implications for theory and practice by building on the community-campus partnership framework used for this study.

Most participants in this study had a high value or interest in developing tribal-institutional relationships. Whether for the betterment of California tribal nations, American Indians broadly, campus-community relations, addressing equity and inclusion, or equal opportunity, there was a genuine interest to advance relations with California tribes. However, the case study campuses, and most college and universities across the nation, are not running across the street and knocking down tribal members' doors to make meaningful lasting relationships. There are real barriers to developing tribal-institutional relationships and partnerships. How, then, do we advance tribal-institutional relationships?

This study revealed some genuine challenges to building relationships between universities and tribes. Senior administrators lack knowledge about local tribes and possess inherent biases about American Indians. American Indian staff on campuses do not have a full grasp of campus dynamics, including the structure and organization, to understand barriers to fostering relationships. This study identified several strengths and challenges for engaging local California tribes as well as barriers to creating relationships. Using this knowledge, there is a responsibility to offer implications for advancing theory and practice as related to tribal-institutional relationships.

## Theory

Tribal Critical Race Theory, a community-campus partnership framework, and nation-building principles were used to examine and explore the relationships, responsibilities, and reciprocity between the case study tribes and universities. There are many examples of tribal-university relationships to date, however there remains to be limited empirical research conducted on the nature of these relationships or that attempts to characterize the relations. This study does just that. While the study was not successful in using *both* university and tribal voices, there continues to be valuable insight when learning from the perspective of university representatives that has significant theoretical implications.

The findings from this study begin to develop a tribal-institutional partnership framework, adding to current literature on community-campus or community-university frameworks (Barrera, 2015). The prayers and practices (to follow) serve as a beginning framework for how universities should engage tribes in meaningful relationships. These practices build in the community-campus and nation-building frameworks used in this study, but notably are guides directly from university representatives. When asked, “What are components of the successful relationship,” or “What do you need to know to engage tribes,” participants’ responses were used to shape this framework. What is most powerful, in my opinion, is that a majority of these practices were identified by senior administrators. Therefore, senior administrators were able to successfully identify solutions to challenges in forming relationships and partnerships with local American Indian tribes. Not only can these guides be a useful tool for the case study sites and other colleges and universities as well, but the perspectives from which they came can serve as a way to hold administrators accountable to their own recommendations.

Unlike other frameworks, the prayers and practices address specific issues pertaining to the American Indian community that may be overlooked or not addresses in community-campus partnership frameworks. For example, lack of awareness and knowledge of local tribes and American Indians by university administrators, staff and students was identified in the findings, and participants identified a practice to be raising awareness and addressing the lack of knowledge as a precursor to establishing relationships. Another recommendation was to acknowledge or re-associate the land with the aboriginal community, which would have major decolonial implications for tribes and anyone within the university.

The following adds to the prior set of recommendations for organizational change offered by participants in Chapter 6 (i.e. Prayers). In sum, I offer two sets of implications for advancing tribal-institutional relationships – practices and prayers. These are primarily recommendations for institutions of higher education. Additionally, these recommendations are also for American Indian units and staff, as these entities still face challenges engaging tribal communities as well as engaging their universities in meeting their commitments. Practices are guides for engaging tribes. Building from components of successful community-campus partnership and Native Nation Building frameworks (Barrera, 2015; Norman & Kalt, 2015), these recommendations are offered to universities as how ongoing engagement or interaction with tribal communities to look. Prayers (offered in chapter 6) can be viewed as recommendations for organizational change that are necessary on campuses to allow for universities to advance relationships with tribes, fix bad behaviors, repair broken systems, and improve existing structures or systems.

The practices offered provide some general guidelines for campus administration for understanding what is required from engaging tribal communities as well as urban American Indian communities. Additionally, this is not an exhaustive list of recommendations or perfect.

These only pose as a loose guide for institutional agents, and all institutions should work collaboratively with university staff and local tribal communities to develop a method for working that is in accordance with tribal customs, and university policy. The recommendations presented at this stage come from both case study sites, therefore they are as much for each site as they are for other postsecondary institutions.

## **Practices**

### **1. Center Native Nation-building goals**

Working with federally or non-federally recognized tribes, universities must allow tribes to dictate the terms of relationships to ensure interactions are guided by tribally-specific goals that strengthen and build Native Nations. Universities should seek guidance, knowledge, direction from tribes on the terms of the relationship, not have a pre-determined agenda or set of expectations.

### **2. Acknowledge the local community**

Universities need to acknowledge the local tribe(s) and the land that campuses are occupying – often unceded, ancestral Indian territory. Restoring connections to tribes can have implications for federally and non-federally recognized tribes, and remind people of what is right in the world.

### **3. Teaching, research and service activities need to have a local return**

Aligning with the university mission, teaching about American Indians should prioritize the accurate inclusion and perspectives of local tribes. Research and service of the universities should prioritize local tribes and have a local return. The benefits of research and service should first go to the people who have been, and still are, deposed by the seizure of their homelands.

#### **4. Create a welcoming environment for tribes**

Universities should create an environment on campus for members of local tribes that is inviting and hospitable. Invitations to campuses should be presented as opportunities to develop and discuss partnerships, not a summon of local to campus by administration.

#### **5. Have a presence in the community**

University administrators need to be physically present at local community events (e.g. council meetings, gatherings, powwows) and engage with community members on a consistent basis. Symbolic leadership is not unknown to senior administrators, and their presence signals value to the community as a primary interest of the institution.

#### **6. Work with the appropriate tribal leaders desiring to engage**

Universities need to acknowledge and recognize that divisions exist in the tribal community but not allow that to hinder community engagement. University representatives need to engage appropriate leadership (e.g. elected or hereditary leaders) that desire to work with the university.

#### **7. Repair relationships and reduce harm**

Tribes are wary of the university for many reasons, especially if there has been a history of conflict on issues of great importance to tribes, as such there is a distrust of institutions by tribes. Universities cannot assume that relationships between tribes and universities are in good place to begin, and some universities need to start relationships by repairing or atoning for past wrongs. In addition, universities need to be aware of how their actions can continue to be harmful to tribes (i.e. research) and actively work to reduce harm done to communities.

#### **8. Foster authentic relationships**

Universities need to enter meaningful and authentic relationships with tribes.

Relationships that are respectful and reciprocal, where each party is bringing something to the table for mutual exchange and benefit, and full knowledge that reciprocity is not necessarily “quid pro quo.”

#### **9. Advancing tribal relationships needs to be a coordinated effort**

Universities need to work collaboratively as organizations to engage local tribes and address concerns related to capacity and communication. Additionally, efforts need to be campus-wide and not compartmentalized or marginalized in one area of campus. Lastly, intentional and strategic plans for achieving goals must be developed.

#### **10. Capitalize on opportunities**

Universities need to be able to recognize an opportunity and capitalize on it when they can, especially when approached by tribe willing to engage on specific matters.

### **Implications for Research**

This study made important empirical contributions to higher education and American Indian Studies. In this section, I will highlight contributions of this research and suggest areas for future research.

An important implication for higher education research was the support for future use of a nested, multiple case study research design to examine community-campus partnerships or relationships, in this case tribal-institutional relationships. Case study research allows for the triangulation of multiple data sources, using interviews, documents, and observation (Yin, 2003), to understand an issue or phenomenon. Using this technique, I was able to draw together findings from multiple areas and multiple levels of a campus across two universities. Additionally, I was able to learn from multiple perspectives across time, with several participants



who were at their respective university 20 years or longer, giving the study temporal and organizational depth.

Additionally, the analytical approach used also contributes to multiple case study research in higher education. Drawing from the study design by (Kezar & Lester, 2011), I employed a multi-level analysis to triangulate the findings. According to (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), the purpose of instrumental case studies is to “provide insight into an issue or is to redraw a generalization,” therefore I used multiple levels of analysis to verify findings at the interview, institutional, and across site level (p. 48).

In recent years, there has been a growth in the number of Indigenous scholars incorporating Indigenous research paradigms into their scholarship (Keene, 2013; Lipe, 2014; Reyes, 2016; Tachine, 2015). However, these studies were focused on students in higher education and not organizational matters. This study used principles from an Indigenous Research Paradigm (Wilson, 2008) and Critical Indigenous Research Methodology (Brayboy et al., 2012b) to examine organizational issues, which makes it a unique contribution to research. Moreover, these concepts were integrated into the entire study – research questions, paradigmatic stance, the method of conducting research, and dissemination of findings. Few studies in higher education have done so.

Although this study was not community-driven, it was based in community need – that is the need for universities to better foster relationships and demonstrate responsibility to American Indian students and communities, especially those proximally located to campuses.

Understanding that the ultimate goal is to foster relationships between tribes and universities, I intentionally engaged the case study tribes to consult on this study by seeking input and advice from participants at critical times, particularly when having to disseminate findings. This study

contributes to research by illustrating progressive steps in consulting with tribes. It is my hope that this consultative process will lead to subsequent collaborative projects and studies that are community-driven.

This study also contributes to research in illustrating the challenges in navigating and conducting research within American Indian communities. Rather than redesign and remove tribal communities entirely from the case study, I left them as a part of this study for two reasons. One, this study encourages the development of relationships between the case study tribes and universities, therefore the project has not fully come to an end. Second, I found it to be important to demonstrate to others the steps taken when conducting research on Indigenous communities. While research is not a linear process, there are significant institutional barriers (e.g. distrust, legal hurdles, access processes) that impact the formation of a research relationships. Lastly, another valuable contribution of this study is the consultative nature of this research with California Native communities, which differs when working with federally and non-federally recognized tribes. As mentioned, formal mechanisms have been instituted institutionally through federal, state, and system-wide policies that offer guidance and parameters for consulting with federally recognized tribes particularly with regard to research. However, there are few formal mechanisms in place that offer guidance for consulting and partnering with local non-federally recognized tribes, who have often been physically and political disenfranchised because universities occupy their land base. This study demonstrates the steps necessary, and often different, for conducting research and forming relationships with tribes of opposite recognition statuses. In both cases, consulting with the appropriate leaders was necessary to gain entry to the communities. While each tribe has formal and informal mechanisms in place to vet researchers and studies, this study demonstrates the political (e.g.

attending general council meetings) and personal (e.g. navigating personalities) avenues taken when working with tribes. The details offered throughout this study offer a unique perspective often experiences by research, by seldom shared at great length, who conduct research with American Indian tribes. I also speak to ethical considerations that must be taken into account when work with Native communities and small populations are undertaken.

### **Future Research**

This study also presents numerous opportunities for future research on tribal government and community relations. The following section briefly offers some suggestions for future research as it relates to this study.

First and foremost, this study was conducted in partnership with California tribes. Although I developed the study concept and design, I approached each tribe to be participate in this study and they each also had an opportunity to decline. Working together we can, and still are, defining our working relationship. The time that it took to gain the access, trust, and respect of each tribe was incalculable, and it is not certain, even as an insider-outsider researcher. To prepare the findings of this study, I intentionally held back using Native voices when reporting findings to respect the relationship that I have established with the case study tribes. Because Native voice was intentionally withheld, I am responsible and obligated to first recommend that future research on tribal-institutional partnership be inclusive of local tribal community voices – not simply perspective. Incorporating tribal perspectives may serve to elevate and empower tribes and tribal members with full knowledge of and participation in such research. Additionally, future research using tribal perspectives should nuance and hone community-campus partnership frameworks to frameworks that are inclusive of tribal perspectives. This study presents a preliminary set of recommendations; however, there is potential to design

relational models around specific tribal-institutional partnerships that incorporate tribal worldviews, culture, needs and goals.

Future case studies should also expand the scope of participants to include other institutional representatives on a campus. For this study, interviews were conducted with senior administration, American Indian program leadership, and tribal leaders to gain an organizational understanding of relationships. Interviews with high level administrators indicated that work is often filtered to lower level staff, therefore perspectives from mid-level and lower level staff would help in understanding a more nuanced understanding of relationship building.

A unique feature of this study was the access granted to campus leadership at two of the highest ranking public postsecondary institutions in the nation (U.S. News, 2017). It would be advantageous to conduct subsequent case studies at other UC campuses in order to capture a more nuanced understanding of tribal-institutional relationships in California and across the UC system. Additionally, consideration should be given to expanding to dissimilar institutions of selectivity, control (i.e. public or private institutions), geography, and/or proximity to tribes. These differences may offer additional insight into how organizational structure, leadership, history, and institutional agents influence tribal-institutional relations. For example, private institutions may be willing to dedicate more resources to community engagement or hiring a of tribal/community liaison.

### **Conclusion**

As one of the first qualitative case studies to examine tribal-university institutional relationships between public postsecondary institutions and local federally and non-federally recognized tribes, this study used the perspectives of university representatives to reveal new and significant findings related to how the case study universities and tribes partner formally and

informally with local tribes. Additionally, this study offers significant findings and recommendations on tribal-institutional relations that are transferrable to other postsecondary institutions and tribes across the nation. These findings challenge us to think of alternative ways of reconciling past relationships between institutional education in to address American Indian educational achievement. Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) argue that postsecondary institutions must think beyond issues of admissions and retention, for these concerns neglect how institutions continue to perpetuate the colonial beliefs and practices that negatively affect Native communities. Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) contend that institutions upholding the assimilative nature of Western education are failing to critically examine the education they are “trying to provide [American Indian] students,” even though it is unintended. To move this conversation forward, an aim of this study was to shift perspectives, open minds, and begin dialogues between university administrators, American Indian staff, and local tribes. While this study illustrates the intentions, desires, and commitments of Native and non-Native university representatives, the fact remains that American Indians continue to have the lowest admission, enrollment, retention and graduation rates compared to most minority students in the nation and state of California. American Indian staff and faculty are also significantly underrepresented across the UC system. There is much work that needs to be done. For California Native nations, the stakes are high. Sovereignty, self-determination, self-reliance – our livelihood and very ability to self-govern – are at stake. While tensions remain between postsecondary institutions and tribal communities, the promise of what education can provide for California Native nations is great – as is the promise of what California Native Nations can teach universities. To this end, relationships between tribes and universities remain a critical component in building our nations – tribally and nationally.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A.

Table A1  
*Final Sample of Participants from Study Participants*

Case Study Site	Position
UC Berkeley	Executive Vice Chancellor
UC Berkeley	Vice Chancellor of Enrollment Management
UC Berkeley	Vice Chancellor of Undergraduate Education
UC Berkeley	Vice Chancellor of Development and Alumni Relations
UC Berkeley	Director of Institutional Research
UC Berkeley	Native American Recruiter, Undergraduate Admission
UC Berkeley	Director of Native American Student Development
Ohlone	Elder
Graton	Tribal Council Leadership
UCLA	Executive Vice Chancellor
UCLA	Vice Provost Enrollment Management
UCLA	Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs
UCLA	Exiting Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs
UCLA	Vice Chancellor of Equity, Diversity and Inclusion
UCLA	Dean of Graduate Division
UCLA	Assistant Vice Chancellor of Campus Life
UCLA	Director, Strategic Partnerships and Community Engagement
UCLA	Exiting Chair, American Indian Studies
UCLA	Interim Chair, American Indian Studies
UCLA	Director, American Indian Studies Center
UCLA	Outgoing Director, American Indian Studies Center
UCLA	Director, Tribal Learning Community Education and Exchange Program
UCLA	Curator of Archaeology
Tongva	Tribal Council Leadership
San Manuel	Education Committee Member
San Manuel	Alumni

## Appendix B.

### Outreach Email- Direct Outreach

Subject: INTERVIEW REQUEST: Doctoral dissertation on American Indian relations

Dear [Participant],

My name is Theresa Stewart-Ambo, and I am a doctoral candidate in Higher Education and Organizational Change at UCLA's Graduate School of Education and Information Studies. I am reaching out to seek your participation in my dissertation study.

My dissertation concerns educational equity and inclusion at California public postsecondary institutions, specifically focusing on American Indian students and communities. Working with a select set of universities and tribes in California, I will examine relationships between Native Nations and institutions to better understand expectations for student talent development, degree attainment, and service to tribal communities. Over the next few months, I will conduct interviews with leadership at two institutions in the University of California (UC) system and tribes neighboring these institutions, as well as those with formal investments/agreements. You were identified as an important participant for this study because of your role in campus leadership.

I am keenly aware of the demands on your schedule because of your position. As such, I respectfully request your participation in a 60-minute interview where we will discuss specifics about your knowledge and perspective on American Indian students and tribal relations at UCLA. Interviews will not take longer than 60 minutes to be mindful of your obligations, and may be more brief depending on our ability to move through interview questions.

The nationwide dialogue on equity, diversity, and inclusion, make this research critical and timely. Your perspective is *critical* in this study, and subsequent presentations and publications that will reveal relations between the UC's, American Indians and tribes. I will be conducting a site visit at UCLA between November 1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> & 8<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup>, 2016, and would appreciate the opportunity to speak with you. If you could respond with some of your availabilities.

Thank you for your consideration. I look forward to hearing to you,

Respectfully,

Theresa Stewart-Ambo, M.Ed.  
(San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians, Gabrieliño-Tongva, Tohono O'odham)

## Appendix C.

### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

#### California Tribal Nations and the University

You are invited to participate in a study exploring the relationships between California tribal communities and public postsecondary institutions. This study is being conducted by Theresa Stewart-Ambo, M.Ed. (Principal Investigator) from the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA Law School).

#### **Purpose of this study**

- Focusing on California's public universities and tribes, this multiple-case study examines the relationships between the first two institutions in the University of California (UC) system and tribes neighboring these campuses. The three goals of this project are to: 1) examine relationships existing between universities and specific California tribes, 2) understand how the selected universities articulate their responsibility to tribes, and 3) understand what tribes articulate as their postsecondary education needs, and compare this perspective to institutional representatives.

#### **Procedures**

- If you volunteer to participate in this study, the Principal Investigator will ask you to participate in a one 30-60 minute interview seeking your perspective on tribal-institutional relations. In addition, the Principal Investigator will ask if you are willing and/or able to share any documents that help to demonstrate any informal agreements or established relationships between the tribes and universities being examined.

#### **Potential Risks and Benefits**

- This study presents no anticipated risks or discomforts. Although you may not benefit personally from your participation in this study, this research addresses important issues regarding California tribes, California Indians, and tribal-institutional relationships in higher education, and will go toward advancing the educational attainment of Native Americans within the state.

#### **Protection and Confidential**

- Any information obtained in connection with this study and that can identify you will remain confidential. Information will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed for data analysis purposes. Participants will be able to review, edit and erase recordings. Audio recordings also will be erased or destroyed once the interviews have been transcribed and proofed. All records will be kept in a locked folder; only the Principal Investigator will have access to the records.

#### **Participation**

- Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You can choose whether you want to participate. You may withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time.



Whatever decision you make, there will be no penalty to you, and no loss of benefits to which you were otherwise entitled. You may refuse to answer any questions that you do not want to answer and remain in the study.

**Contacts and Questions**

- If you have any question or concerns about the research, please contact the Principal Investigator at 626-991-8727 and/or [thestew@ucla.edu](mailto:thestew@ucla.edu). Questions may also be directed to the faculty sponsor, Sylvia Hurtado at [shurtado@gseis.ucla.edu](mailto:shurtado@gseis.ucla.edu).
- If you have questions about your rights while taking part in this study, or you have concerns or suggestions and you want to talk to someone other than the researchers about the study, please call the OHRPP at (310) 825-7122 or write to:

UCLA Office of the Human Research Protection Program  
11000 Kinross Avenue, Suite 211, Box 951694  
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1694

**STATEMENT OF CONSENT**

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form

**SIGNATURE OF STUDY PARTICIPANT**

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## Appendix D.

### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

#### California Tribal Nations and the University

##### University Administration

1. For the record, please state your name, position. Can you describe your experience or responsibilities at [institution] engaging specifically with American Indian students and tribal communities?
2. California is home to the largest population of American Indians and home to the largest number of tribal communities. What relationship does [institution] have with tribes in California? (Probe for local tribes; national tribes)
3. What partnerships have been developed with Indian tribes and [institution]? How did these partnerships develop? Do you have specific agreements? Who was involved? What has made this partnership successful? (Probe for specific CA tribes)
4. Taking into account the institutional mission of a land-grant university is focused on teaching, research and service, how do American Indian students and communities fit within this mission? (Probe for examples)
5. What responsibilities do you believe [institution] has to American Indian students and tribal communities, given institutional, diversity, and land-grant missions?
6. What kind of relationship do you believe [institution] should have with local Indian nations? Why? (Probe for characteristics like respect, trust, communication, and goals)
7. What would you articulate as the postsecondary education needs of tribal communities today? (Probe for CA tribal communities)
8. What expectations do you have of American Indian students upon graduation from [institution]?
9. Do you have anything to add from your perspective about the relationship of [institution] with local CA tribes? Anyone else I should speak with? Any documents that you could direct me to or are able to share?

## Appendix E.

### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

#### California Tribal Nations and the University

##### **University Program Managers**

1. For the record, please state your name and describe role on campus? Can you tell me about the program you oversee and its role in engaging American Indian students and tribal communities? (Probe for length of time in position, work with specific tribes, and CA tribes)
2. California is home to the largest population of American Indians, and is home to the largest number of tribal communities. From your perspective, what relationship does [institution] have with tribes in California? (Probe for local tribes)
3. From your perspective, what partnerships have you seen develop between Indian tribes and [institution]? How did this partnership develop? Do you know of specific agreements? Who was involved? What has made this partnership successful? (Probe for specific CA tribes)
4. Taking into account the institutional mission of a land-grant university is focused on teaching, research and service, how do you see American Indian students and communities fitting within this mission? (Probe for examples)
5. In my research, I found a number of programs and services at your institution for American Indian students. What ways does [institution] support the success of American Indian students? Why do you believe that [institution] should support student success?
6. In what ways does your institution or program serve local California Indian tribes? (Probe for examples) What kind of relationships do you believe [institution] should have with local Indian nations? Why? (Probe for characteristics like respect, trust, communication, and goals)
7. What would you articulate as the postsecondary education needs of tribal communities today? (Probe for CA tribal communities)
8. What expectations do you have of American Indian students when they graduate from [institution]?
9. Do you have anything to add from your perspective about the relationship of [institution] with local CA tribes? Anyone else I should speak with? Any documents that you could direct me to or are able to share?

## Appendix F.

### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

#### California Tribal Nations and the University

##### **Non-Federally Recognized Tribes**

1. Can you please introduce yourself, and describe your role in the [tribe]?
2. Can you tell me about your tribe (history, geographic location, etc.)? What has been the relationship of your community with education and higher education?
3. Presently, what is the role of Western education in your tribal community? What are expectations that you have of your tribal members regarding education? What are expectations that you have of current members pursuing higher education?
4. Thinking about the current state of your tribe, what are the educational needs of your tribal community and tribal members?
5. How and in what ways does [tribe] collaborate with colleges and universities in the area?
6. What is the closest university to [tribe] and what relationship does your tribe have with that institution? What relationship does your tribe have with [institution]? (Probe nature of partnership –formal and informal)
7. How would you describe the relationship between [tribe] and [university]? What reasons could explain this relationship? (Probe for stories and examples).
8. To advance the educational goals of your tribe, what relationship should be established with [institution]? From your perspective, what does this relationship look like? (Probe for characteristics like respect, trust, communication, and goals)
9. What do you expect from public universities, particularly [institution] in relation to your community?
10. Do you have anything to add from your perspective about the relationship of [institution] with local CA tribes? Anyone else I should speak with? Any documents that you could direct me to or are able to share?

## Appendix G.

### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

#### California Tribal Nations and the University

##### **Federally Recognized Tribes**

1. Can you please introduce yourself, and describe your role in [tribe]?
2. Can you tell me about your tribe (history, geographic location, etc.)? What has been the relationship of your community with education and higher education?
3. Presently, what is the role of Western education in your tribal community? What are expectations that you have of your tribal members regarding education? What are expectations that you have of current members pursuing higher education?
4. Thinking about the current state of your tribe, what are the educational needs of your tribal community and tribal members?
5. How and in what ways does [tribe] collaborate with colleges and universities in the area?
6. What is the closest university to [tribe] and what relationship does your tribe have with that institution? What relationship does your tribe have with [institution]? (Probe nature of partnership –formal and informal)
7. From my research, I have learned that [tribe] has an established relationship with [institution]. Can you tell me about this relationship? How did it start? Who was involved? What kind of agreements were developed? What do you think accounts for the success relationship? (Probe for stories and examples).
8. How would you describe the relationship between [tribe] and [university]? What reasons could explain this relationship?
9. To advance the goals of your tribe, what relationship should be established with [institution]? How do you believe [institution] could better serve your community? (Probe for characteristics like respect, trust, communication, and goals)
10. Do you have anything to add from your perspective about the relationship of [institution] with local CA tribes? Anyone else I should speak with? Any documents that you could direct me to or are able to share.

## **Appendix H.**

### **List of Documents Reviewed**

- I. University History**
  - a. Archived newspapers articles
  - b. Reports, websites, or articles drafted on university history
  
- II. University Mission Statement**
  
- III. University Strategic Plan**
  
- IV. University Website**
  - a. Overview
  - b. Mission & Values
  - c. Principles of Community
  - d. Facts & Figures
  - e. History
  - f. Leadership Profiles
    - i. Chancellor
    - ii. Executive Vice Chancellor
    - iii. Enrollment Management
    - iv. Equity Diversity and Inclusion
    - v. Student Affairs
    - vi. Government and Community Relations
    - vii. Undergraduate Education
    - viii. Graduate Division
    - ix. Center for Educational Partnerships
  - g. Facts and Figures
  
- V. Campus Reports**
  - a. State of the Campus
  - b. Campus Diversity
  
- VI. Campus and Student Newspaper Articles**
  - a. Articles over last 10 years pertaining to American Indians; Native Americans; Tongva; Gabrieliño; San Manuel Band of Mission Indians; Serrano Indians; Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria; Ohlone Indians
  
- VII. American Indian Program**
  - a. Founding documents
  - b. Purpose statements
  
- VIII. Tribal Documents**
  - a. Federal recognition petitions
  - b. Relevant newspaper articles

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