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ABSTRACT

A pilot study of the experiences of First Nations postsecondary graduates focused on the relationship between postsecondary education and employment, factors encouraging success, and barriers and problems faced by Native college students. Piloted at the University of British Columbia (UBC) (Vancouver) and the Native Education Centre (NEC) (Vancouver), the research model aimed to be consistent with First Nations ways through respect for respondents, growth-oriented dialogue among all participants, and the centrality of such fundamental First Nations principles as spirituality and sense of community. Data collection included mail surveys, telephone interviews, and focus groups. A questionnaire with both forced-choice and open-ended questions was mailed to all known First Nations graduates of UBC. Of 67 respondents, about 70 percent were women and most were graduates of the Faculty of Education. Principal sources of student support were First Nations people, institutions, and agencies. Barriers were related to negative perceptions of UBC as an institution and to racism in various forms. Respondents reported little difficulty finding employment, two thirds were working in a First Nations context, and about two thirds had worked in a field related to their university studies. At NEC, programs range from adult literacy to community college courses and job skills training. An adapted questionnaire was sent to 171 recent graduates of the Skills Training Program; 33 responded. Success factors at NEC included supportive students and staff, First Nations identity, relevance of course content, and strict but helpful regulations. Barriers included financial problems and family responsibilities. Almost all respondents were employed in an area related to their training or were engaged in continuing education. A 1-day workshop and symposium evaluated the research project and the process model and generated recommendations. Contains over 450 references. (SV)

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Postsecondary Experiences of First Nations Graduates*

Volume 21

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Postsecondary Experiences of
First Nations Graduates*

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*Honoring What They Say:
Opening Prayer*

O Great Spirit
Whose voice I hear in the wind
Whose breath gives life to the world
Hear me
I come to you as one of your many children
I am small and weak
I need your strength and wisdom
May I walk in beauty
Make my eyes behold the red and purple sunset
Make my hands respect the things that You have made
And my ears sharp to hear Your voice
Make me wise so that I may know the things
That You have taught your children
The lessons that You have hidden in every leaf and rock
Make me strong, not to be superior to others
But to be able to fight my greatest enemy: myself
Make me ever so ready to come to You with straight eyes
So that when life fades as the faded sunset
My spirit will come to You without shame

(The author of this prayer is unknown)

Honoring What They Say: An Open Letter

Dear colleagues and friends,

We are happy to share our research process, experiences, and recommendations with you in this special edition of the *Canadian Journal of Native Education*.

In carrying out our tasks over the past several years as we completed our research, our experiences seemed to us to have been like learning about a great forest. In order to understand the forest, we had to journey through it. On the journey we identified particular bearings, which established new trails and which marked existing ones. On the journey we learned about each tree and its surrounding undergrowth. By the end of the journey we had mapped as much detail about the whole forest and about each tree as we could.

This research report, "Honoring What They Say: The Postsecondary Experiences of First Nations Graduates," is our map, respectfully re-presented for anyone who wishes to travel in our territories or to prepare a map of their own lands.

As you travel through our report, you may sometimes feel overwhelmed by the complexity of the forest. We who have mapped it feel that there are places of surprising beauty and power within. Just as our ancestors sought knowledge and understanding from interacting with the land, so we too sought knowledge and understanding from the people who have lived in the world of postsecondary education.

We raise our hand in thanks and respect to all those who participated in this research project, including the graduate research assistants and a number of staff at the First Nations House of Learning and the Native Education Centre. The participation of the NEC was made possible by the much appreciated commitment and dedication of the board members of its parent organization, the Urban Native Indian Education Society. We thank as well the Ministry of Advanced Education, Training and Technology, Aboriginal Programs (now the Ministry of Skills, Training and Labor, Aboriginal Programs) who generously supported the project.

We acknowledge with gratitude the Musqueam people whose Ancestors' spirits and teachings pervade their traditional lands, on which UBC and the First Nations House of Learning now stand.

Most important, though, is the contribution made by the many graduates, who willingly filled in questionnaires, participated in focus groups, spoke with us, and showed great commitment to the research. Without them this report would have been impossible to write. They "spoke from the heart" to us—we hope that we have re-presented their words in the ways they intended.

We hope that our map, and the forest it represents, will help to nourish and sustain future generations of postsecondary students. Throughout our work we were guided by the principles expressed so cogently by the late Chief Dan George of the Squamish Nation:

Have I done all to keep the air fresh?
Have I cared enough about the water?
Have I left the eagle to soar in freedom?

We offer our work as a humble contribution to the effort of improving postsecondary education for First Nations peoples.

Love and respect to you all, and a good journey,

*Joann Archibald
Sheena Selkirk Bowman
Editors*

Honoring What They Say: Executive Summary

In many First Nations cultures there is a trickster with special powers to transform itself/himself/herself into human or animal form or into other elements of nature. The trickster, sometimes referred to as a trickster of learning, travels on many journeys, learning lessons in life. One such trickster is named "Old Man Coyote"; one story of his adventures speaks of his search for his bone needle. He had lost it near the bushes, but was looking for it near the fire because the light was better there.

As people concerned with First Nations education and research, we seek respectful ways to bring First Nations contexts and research together. We must question our methods, approaches, and practices. We must consider whether our motives and our methods honor and respect First Nations ways. In this report we present our research process as we "sat around our fire" and began our "search for the needle."

In the spring of 1992, the then Ministry of Advanced Education requested the First Nations House of Learning at the University of British Columbia to follow up First Nations graduates from postsecondary institutions in British Columbia. In response to the Ministry's request the House of Learning suggested that a First Nations research model be developed and piloted in two institutions, the University of British Columbia and one other. This dynamic process model would address the substantive questions of interest to the Ministry relating to:

- the relationship between postsecondary education and employment;
- what factors encourage successful graduation; and
- what barriers and problems were faced by students during their university years and how they were overcome.

The research model would be shared with interested postsecondary institutions in British Columbia. During the research process a number of issues distinct or unique to First Nations postsecondary education could be addressed.

The development of the process model began with a consideration of the area of evaluation known as impact assessment. The result of our deliberations was a process model: an organic entity, adaptable and, once again, consistent with the principles of respect and honor that are basic to First Nations peoples' habits of thought. The research process when viewed from this perspective becomes a dialogue that is growth-oriented rather than static, and that allows the central place of other such fundamental First Nations principles as spirituality and a sense of community. The study, then, was rooted in tradition, but did entail a number of steps that generally conformed to usual academic practice, including a review of literature, submission of the proposal for ethical review, testing the research process model, and sharing the results of the project.

The literature confirmed the belief that the participation rate of First Nations peoples in higher education is less than 20% of the rate of the general population and identified several factors associated with success or attrition at university, including the nature of the K-12 school system, low expectations of First Nations students, unresponsive curricula, lack of counseling, racism, financial support, institutional commitment, family and peer support, and presence of First Nations staff in the institution.

The Process Model

It appears that the process model has potential for revealing information about the substantive interests of the Ministry (the goals of the present study). However, low return rates, longer than usual return times, and the need for frequent personal contact to ensure returns are factors that should be taken into account in planning future applications of the process model. These may be a function of the particular characteristics of UBC: cross-validation is desirable before change in the process model is made.

When the model was tested by the Native Education Centre, it was apparent that the model itself is sufficiently adaptable to be of use to a postsecondary institution that is very different in its goals and student population from UBC. It appears, further, that the relationship with the UBC research team served a number of purposes: to influence the decision to cooperate with UBC's request; to witness and model a number of research processes; to complete the collection of participants' responses using both questionnaire and focus group; and to analyze and interpret the resulting information. During this collaborative venture some limitations of the process model became evident, including the low return rate of the questionnaires, the problems of adapting the form for use by other institutions, and the difficulties inherent in interpreting and reporting results by people who understand their own context well but are to some extent unfamiliar with the research enterprise.

Findings: UBC Graduates

With regard to the UBC graduates, most of the respondents were graduates of the Faculty of Education; about 70% were women. They identified most closely with a large number of First Nations from across North America. Just under 40% were "competent" in a First Nations language. About two thirds of the group had worked in a field related to the area of their university study. About two thirds of the group felt that UBC had generally met their expectations.

In response to two items about sources of support, the graduates saw a clear division between First Nations family, friends, and First Nations students' services, and other UBC and community services: of 137 named sources, 119 specifically focused on First Nations people, institutions, or UBC First Nations agencies (especially NITEP and Ts'kel, which appear to have impact beyond their program mandates). It is clear from the ques-

tionnaire responses that the participants' First Nations cultures had a major impact on their UBC experiences; virtually all of this impact was positive. Being strong with a First Nations culture constituted a major success factor for the questionnaire respondents.

The first barrier may be the respondents' initial perceptions of the university: about 70% recalled their first few months at UBC in negative to neutral terms; about the same percentage of the adjectives they used to describe that experience were negative as well (e.g., *scary, lonely*). A second barrier is lack of funding or inadequate levels of funding. Just under 80% of the questionnaire respondents reported "barely adequate" funding or below: most funding came from DIA or bands, and it was this funding that was seen as inadequate much of the time (two thirds, as compared to about one quarter to one third for other funding sources). Problems were often barriers to success, many of which were some personal issue or characteristic. Negative perceptions of UBC as an institution constituted another potential barrier. The questionnaire respondents felt that, on the whole, UBC as an institution was somewhat more discouraging than encouraging.

A major barrier discussed at length by the focus group participants was racism in various contexts and forms. Some incidents took the form of belittling persons or cultures; some were depersonalizing incidents of tokenism and assuming that First Nations programs and achievements were inferior to those of the majority culture. The legacy of past discrimination and racism had present impact as well: aspects discussed by the focus groups included the unrealistically low self-assessment and low self-esteem, genuinely low skill levels, emotional barriers, and lack of awareness of First Nations identity and issues.

All but five of the respondents reported no difficulty in finding employment, almost always in the field in which they had studied. In general the respondents have broadened their work horizons in their field of training, and/or have assumed progressively more responsibility in the field of training. Two thirds of the group are working in a First Nations context. Just under two thirds felt that UBC had generally prepared them well; another 15% had mixed feelings about quality of preparation. Negative comments tended to focus on the gap between preparation for work and the reality of working (e.g., in education, in community schools).

An outcome of the UBC experience that is likely to have both a direct and an indirect effect on employment is the impact of UBC on the graduates' First Nations identity. The positive aspects confirm identity and legitimacy; the negative aspects challenge it and force resolution and firming of identity and power. Personal growth, another outcome of the UBC experience with both direct and indirect effects on employability, was revealed in a number of the respondents' statements about UBC's influence. One important aspect of personal growth is the graduates'

ability to act as role models and to serve their communities (the one allows the other), which in turn increased the sense of personal strength and efficacy. Negative personal growth was rarely reported.

Findings: The Native Education Centre

Although most NEC graduates heard about the Centre from private individuals, it was primarily the institutional characteristics of the NEC that respondents listed as influencing their decision to attend. The decision revolved around two broad factors, relevance-accessibility and First Nations milieu-identity (each of which operates, of course, in the context of the other). Other factors involved included the wish to learn and pass the learning on to others, a commitment to First Nations children, and a wish to benefit the community at large.

Success factors likely to have been influential include the immediate comfort felt at the NEC, even during the initial months. Sources of support included friends and family, staff and other students in NEC, the atmosphere of the Centre, the First Nations identity of the NEC, relevance of the course and program content, and the strict but helpful regulations. The comments of the focus group participants concentrated on four aspects: the possibility of taking successive programs, course / program quality, the personal qualities of instructors and staff, and the First Nations culture learning / milieu. Comments on the teaching skills and positive personal qualities of the staff and instructors are particularly frequent.

Barriers experienced by the respondents included funding and/or limited finances; many respondents felt that their funding was "barely adequate" or less. The "inadequate" source was often an agency or band. For some respondents responsibilities or perceived problems were likely to have been barriers: family responsibilities, financial responsibilities or problems, and personal situations. Negative perceptions of the Centre, likely to have been barriers for the few individuals making them, included specific problems with staff, perceived lack of information, and "lack of responsibility" of fellow students (a measure of academic climate in one particular class perhaps).

The connection between education at the NEC and employment is clear: virtually all the responding graduates are either employed in some area close to that of their training or are engaged in new educational ventures, again for the most part in their area of training. That is, they are progressing rather than switching. All found the NEC programs or courses relevant and useful. The graduates' increasing awareness and affiliation with First Nations is likely to act both directly and indirectly on graduates' employability, as is the increased sense of personal power reported by the graduates.

It is clear that the NEC is fulfilling its mandate to train First Nations people in a variety of postsecondary programs and to create a milieu in which First Nations culture and identity is validated in the context of

academic rigor (equal to that of other educational institutions). Other outcomes, equally desirable, include personal empowerment and growth, an increased involvement in First Nations issues, and an increasing sense of oneself as a member of a valuable culture. Success factors include the matching of program to needs of students, but equally important is the careful creation of an environment conducive to learning and comfort for First Nations people, including the skills of a caring staff. Barriers appear to be primarily financial, but also include a number of other factors reported as isolated, personal incidents. Reputation and milieu, in addition to ease of access and fit between programs and career/personal goals, appear to be major factors in the decision to attend NEC programs.

The Workshop/Symposium

The research project and the process model were described during the daylong workshop/symposium. The comments by the workshop participants focused on a number of specific details of the research process. Issues discussed included the question and definition of First Nations research methodology and a number of constraining factors. The participants felt that the structure was comfortable and that the process model was useful and applicable. Some participants also felt that the day provided a demonstration of First Nations values of honesty, respect, and sharing, while one other commented on the prayer circle, which honored First Nations ways and set the pace. The few negative comments tended to focus on details of arrangements or the process and its findings. Interest in future workshops was high, with a number of topics being suggested.

Recommendations

With regard to the research project and process model recommendations are as follows:

- The consensual team approach to the project worked well and was fully consistent with First Nations principles. It should be continued.
- The inclusion of Elders and students in the project, and the atmosphere of spirituality in which meetings and discussions were often framed, worked well and was again consistent with First Nations principles; both should be continued.
- the basic components of the process model proved to be useful and adaptable; they should be retained.

Recommendations with regard to substantive areas follow:

- Because First Nations graduates are putting their education to such good use, primarily in First Nations settings, programs for First Nations students are clearly worth the money put into them. It is important that they be supported. Institutional commitment is needed, as well as commitment at other levels
- With regard to major success factors and barriers:

- encourage and fund First Nations support systems in post-secondary institutions; and enhance levels of support for those already operating, whether in First Nations controlled or in other institutions;
- work at preentry levels to ensure good preparation, especially the secondary school level;
- do everything possible to foster strong, traditional First Nations culture, both inside postsecondary facilities; and in the larger society;
- ensure the presence of adequate numbers of skilled, caring staff (especially important is a strong First Nations presence), including counselors to help students overcome the effects of past and present discrimination and racism);
- work to alleviate personal funding difficulties;
- foster change in the wider institutional climate so that the institutional climate is welcoming and humane (this factor is especially important in non-First Nations-controlled institutions); and
- work systematically to eradicate racism at all levels.

Honoring What They Say: The Logos

Of the four logos found in this report three are from the University of British Columbia and the other from the Native Education Centre (Vancouver).

The logo of the First Nations House of Learning at UBC may be found on the first page of Part I, *Developing the Process Model*, and on the first page of Part V, *Issues, Reflections, and Recommendations*. It was created by Tsimshian artist Glen Wood. It consists of a human face flanked by two ravens, which also form the frame of a longhouse. The face is a humanoid with frog-like features and represents First Nations peoples. The house design represents the university or *House of Learning*, which is the way some aboriginal languages refer to schools. The Raven, a symbol of creativity and learning, is also known as a trickster or transformer in many First Nations cultures. As represented here, Raven is transforming the university to reflect First Nations cultures and philosophies, linking the university to First Nations communities.

The Native Indian Teacher Education Program (NITEP) logo may be found on the first page of Part II, *The UBC Experience*. It is based on a legend that comes from the Northwest Coast of BC and is found in one form or another in a number of First Nations cultures. The logo shows Raven with the sun in his beak, superimposed over a circle that represents a Hole in the Sky. The legend is of the time when the earth was in complete darkness. Raven flew through a Hole in the Sky where he took the sun in his beak and brought it back through the Hole in the Sky to give light to the earth. The NITEP Advisory Committee thought this would be a fitting symbol because NITEP hopes to bring the light of education to First Nations children in a much more effective way than has happened in the past. The logo was designed by Phillip (Oppie) Oppenheim, a Thompson First Nation artist.

The logo of the Native Education Centre may be found on the first page of Part III, *The NEC Experience*. It was designed by the artist Mark Henderson while he was a student at the Centre and depicts a Northwest Coast Sun Mask. He adapted the Sun Mask to represent the rising sun to symbolize the rebirth or emergence of individual learners' lifelong educational goals and aspirations. The Sun is important to many First Nations peoples across North America and often is a symbol of life itself.

The logo of the Ts'kel graduate program may be found on the first page of Part IV, *Sharing the Research Process*. It was created by the artist Vern Brown, who is a member of the Tsimshian Nation and whose home community is Kitkatla, BC. Ts'kel is a Halq'emeylem word meaning Golden Eagle. To many First Nations, the Eagle symbolizes great achievements and accomplishments. It is thus a fitting symbol of the program, symbolizing both the aspirations and the accomplishments of the people involved with the program, be they Elders, students, advisors or faculty /staff



Honoring What They Say

Part I: Developing the Process Model

Introduction

A basic question, which can be seen as both shallow and deep, both simple and complex, is *What is First Nations research and what should it look like?* Questions of this sort are oceanic in scope, and like the ocean have surfaces and depths. As we contemplate the water, we see only its reflective surface, including our own images. Even though we know that there is an undersea realm masked by reflections, the surface and the upper world seem to be all there is.

The same is true when we are immersed in the water. Because the underside of the water's surface is also reflective, we can be fully aware only of the depths and their contents. The underworld of the sea and its reflective boundary constitute the "known" world. We even see differently under the water because light behaves differently down there.

Research is a cultural, human activity, and like all cultural activities it should proceed from the culture. "Culture" should not be added piecemeal to an imported research methodology. Because "First Nations research" so often begins with a Western majority culture viewpoint, the research process becomes one of interpreting the depths of the ocean while being fully aware only of the surface. Even when we do penetrate the depths, much of their richness is obscured because we are seeing as we would on top of the ocean's surface. Understanding begins when we accept the differences between above and below the water, when we begin to plan research and carry it out from the point of view appropriate to where we are situated.

When contemplating First Nations research, First Nations cultural principles and ways of expression should be predominant.

In many First Nations cultures there is a trickster with special powers to transform itself/himself/herself into human or animal form or into other elements of nature. The trickster, sometimes referred to as a trickster

of learning, travels on many journeys, learning lessons in life. As we think about First Nations research, we can reflect on a story told by Eber Hampton of the Chickasaw Nation about a particular trickster. When he told this story he was talking about the connections between motive and method in research. Eber has given permission to use this story and has encouraged its adaptation-- to make it ours. We have renamed the trickster "Old Man Coyote."

Old Man Coyote had just finished a long day of hunting. He had walked miles and miles that day, over some rough ground. [In Canada, we should be saying "kilometers and kilometers," but somehow that doesn't sound right. "Miles and miles" sounds much better.] It was starting to get dark, so he decided to set up his camp for the night. After supper, he sat by the fire and rubbed his feet. They were tired and sore from the long day's walk. After he rubbed them, he decided to put on his favorite moccasins. He took his favorite moccasins out of his bag and noticed that there was a hole in the toe of one of them. He looked for his special bone needle to mend the moccasin, but couldn't feel it in his bag. [Old Man Coyote was a modern man. He mended his own moccasins.] He tried again, but he couldn't feel or see the needle. So, he started to crawl on his hands and knees around the fire to see if he could find that special needle. Just then Owl came flying by. He landed next to Old Man Coyote. "What are you looking for, my friend?" said Owl. Old Man Coyote said, "I can't find my bone needle, my favorite needle. I can't find it anywhere." Owl said, "I have very good eyes. I'll fly around the fire and look for your needle." Owl made one big swoop around the fire, and said, "I can't see your needle, my friend." "If the needle were around the fire, I would have seen it," he said. "It can't be there." Then Owl asked Old Man Coyote, "Where did you use the needle the last time?" "Oh, quite far away, over in the bushes. I mended my jacket there." Then Owl said, "If you last used it somewhere else, why are you looking around the camp fire?" Old Man Coyote looked at Owl. "Well, it's easier here. The fire gives off a good light and I can see better."

As people concerned with First Nations education and research, we are seeking respectful ways to bring First Nations contexts and research together---to create an appropriate meeting place perhaps. To get to this meeting place we must examine our motives and assumptions, and question our methods, approaches, and practices. We must consider whether our motives and our methods honor and respect First Nations ways. In this report we present our research process as we "sat around our fire" and began our "search for the needles."

Background and Purpose of the Project

In the spring of 1992, the then Ministry of Advanced Education requested the First Nations House of Learning at the University of British Columbia to develop a research study. The study would follow up First Nations

graduates from postsecondary institutions in British Columbia, including universities, colleges, and First Nations-controlled institutions. In response to the Ministry's request, the House of Learning suggested that any research process be grounded in First Nations cultural contexts, yet be responsive to pertinent educational issues in postsecondary institutions. The research process suggested by the House of Learning was intended to result in the development of a First Nations research model piloted in two institutions, the University of British Columbia and one other.

In accordance with this view, the research team decided not to follow typical methodology for studies of this sort: that is, not to send questionnaires to a sample of First Nations graduates from all postsecondary institutions, perhaps followed by a series of interviews. There were two major reasons for this decision:

1. The belief that the scope of variables that influence the extent and quality of postsecondary education is so broad that the validity of findings from this type of methodology would be questionable. Such variables include funding, local community support/involvement, history, and experience of the institution with First Nations peoples.
2. The belief that any First Nations educational research must involve the stakeholders in the design and implementation phases and that they must ultimately benefit from the research experience. This belief implies that, among other principles, the institutions themselves must be involved in any research that is undertaken.

The team felt that we could begin to develop a research model that would address the *substantive questions* of interest to the Ministry relating to:

- the relationship between postsecondary education and employment;
- what factors encourage successful graduation; and
- what barriers and problems were faced by students during their university years, and how they were overcome.

During the research process, a number of issues distinct or unique to First Nations postsecondary education could be addressed (e.g., particular cultural traditions/practices).

Thus the fundamental question and position around which the study was designed was: Are postsecondary programs for First Nations peoples effective? What is the evidence for this? The evidence is the experiences and ideas of the graduates of such programs, before, during, and after attendance/completion of the program.

It was also proposed that the research model developed through the UBC experience would be adapted and piloted with one other postsecon-

dary institution, then shared with any other interested postsecondary institutions in British Columbia. It was felt that these institutions might then adapt the model to their particular educational contexts, use the resulting information for program planning and improvement, and provide the then Ministry of Advanced Education with pertinent data/information regarding access to, and success in, postsecondary education for First Nations peoples.

More specifically, the approach that was taken was to focus on the experiences of graduates from programs at two postsecondary institutions in British Columbia, the University of British Columbia and the Native Education Centre (Vancouver). The study was intended both to reveal substantive findings about these experiences that would be useful to the respective institutions, and to test the research model, which would then be useful to any postsecondary institution wishing to undertake a process of formative evaluation with their First Nations students or graduates.

The project was equally balanced between substantive issues and methodological concerns.

The approach to the study was in its setting and aims consistent with First Nations ways. The approach, the method, and the outcomes of the project were not seen as being "written in stone," but rather entailed discussion and a consensual approach at each stage of the study, in addition to careful scrutiny from a First Nations viewpoint.

The development of the process model began with a consideration of the area of evaluation known as *impact assessment* (Rossi, Freeman, & Wright, 1980). This area of research is directed at establishing with as much certainty as possible whether a program is producing its intended effects. In addition, impact assessment attempts to estimate the magnitude of the effects and to reveal unintended effects (both positive and negative). Finally, impact assessment investigates as much as possible the extent to which the effects were caused not by the program, but by extraneous factors. Such extraneous factors might include maturation processes, social processes, political change, or changes in family status or composition.

Any of a large number of research and evaluation designs are appropriate for impact assessment, including experimental procedures with control groups, quasi-experimental designs, case studies, time series studies, and qualitative methodologies. We felt that a general qualitative/quantitative research design offered a potentially useful approach.

The basic components of the process model as initially delineated are similar to the six stages of any research or evaluation project. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of any research without these major stages. The components included:

1. deciding about the questions to be answered;

2. deciding about populations and samples of former students, as well as the definitions of such terms as *First Nations*;
3. deciding about methods of gathering information from the students and about relevant data/measures;
4. deciding on a data gathering and analysis timeline;
5. gathering and interpreting the information; and
6. communicating the research and its results to others.

Because of the basic approach of the study, the research design also entailed at every stage a questioning process among the members of the research team, which was centered on the question *Is this appropriate in the First Nations context?* For example, when deciding about relevant data and measures, the important First Nations value of respect for people's privacy came to the fore. Each potential question for the survey form was examined closely before being included, that is, if no precise reason for its inclusion could be conceptualized, that particular data item was discarded.

As becomes evident below, the First Nations nature of the research and the process model may be found in the details of the procedure and the interpretation of the findings rather than in the general set of components.

It seemed reasonable to us that in the case of postsecondary education the impact on the students is long term, and in all likelihood starts when the students first decide to attend their particular programs. Thus both the substantive concerns of the Ministry and the process model we wished to develop would fit into this area of formative evaluation. Because of the long-term nature of the impact, the experiences of the graduates both during and after program completion were relevant.

It also seemed reasonable to accept the view that in this case the most appropriate and valid measures of impact were the students' own accounts, their stories. Their stories would also reveal other valid measures of impact such as their present employment status. Finally, in keeping with the methodological principle of triangulation, it seemed desirable to gather the stories in more than one way. As is described below, a mailed questionnaire and a special form of group interview—the focus group -- were the methods we chose to test.

Because of the need to limit the scope of the project, we decided to focus on those who had completed programs, the graduates.

It is evident from the above discussion that the result of our deliberations was a process model, a flexible procedure rather than a fixed rigidity.

an organic entity, adaptable and once again consistent with the principles of respect and honor that are basic to the traditional teachings of First Nations peoples. The research process when viewed from this perspective becomes a dialogue that is growth-oriented rather than static, and that allows the central place of such other fundamental First Nations principles as spirituality and a sense of community.

It is evident as well that the study was rooted in the traditions of the ancestors of BC's First Peoples; throughout the study we tried to respect those traditions. By acting in ways that were in accord with First Nations principles, we hoped to ensure that the research process and model would facilitate the empowerment of First Nations peoples, as well as giving graduates an opportunity to share their experiences. By such sharing the graduates will help those who enroll in postsecondary programs in the future: the younger brothers and sisters of the "postsecondary family." Giving assistance in this way is in perfect accord with the important First Nations principle of giving back to the family and community.

However, it is equally evident that the research project did entail a number of steps that, in general, conformed to accepted academic practice, including a review of literature, submission of the proposal for ethical review, testing the research process, and sharing the results of the project. It is important to remember, however, that each was examined for conformity to First Nations principles, and adaptations were made if necessary.

Parts II through V of this report contain the detailed description and findings of each stage of the project, and the literature review is found in Parts VI-VII. A summary of these sections follows.

A Summary of the Literature

An extensive literature review was undertaken that not only included the published literature on First Nations postsecondary education (primarily in North America), but also a survey of fugitive literature and dissertations or theses. In addition, the literature discussing each of two methodologies (i.e., survey research and focus group research) was reviewed with special reference to the applications of these methods to the First Nations context. The full text of the literature review may be found in Parts VI-VII, as well as a full list of references cited and other relevant material which comprises Part VIII. The brief summary below is adapted from this section.

The literature confirmed the belief that the participation rate of First Nations peoples in higher education is less than 20% of the rate of the general population, and at the undergraduate level more than 70% of First Nations students who start a program do not complete it, as compared with a completion rate of over 70% in the general population of university students (*Student Flows*, 1993). This situation, however deplorable, reflects

a dramatic change since the 1960s, when the participation rate was close to zero. Significant changes since the 1970s have included:

- a current attendance rate of more than 80% of First Nations children in provincially established schools, rather than federal schools;
- the establishment of hundreds of First Nations-controlled schools;
- the establishment in all regions of Canada of special university-based programs, first in education and law and in preparatory programs, and now in other areas such as the health professions; and
- the establishment of tertiary institutions by some First Nations communities.

The literature identifies several factors associated with success or attrition at university. A major factor is the nature of the K-12 school system. Barriers to success found at both pre- and postsecondary levels may include:

- teachers or faculty with low expectations of First Nations students;
- an unresponsive curriculum inappropriate for building the academic skills of First Nations peoples;
- lack of, or inappropriate, career and academic counseling; and
- the personal and systemic experience of racism.

Other major factors are financial support for university studies, family and peer support, institutional climate, and institutional support. The literature indicates that postsecondary services work best when both teaching and nonteaching staff are themselves members of a First Nation.

As one part of the process of surveying the literature, a survey of postsecondary institutions was completed. The intent of the survey was to identify of the fugitive literature: in-house and other unpublished studies of First Nations educational programs. Of the 250 institutions to which questionnaires were sent, 78 (36%) responded. The form contained four questions that were answered Yes or No, in addition to two questions requesting a written response and a space for other comments.

The 78 institutions responded to the Yes/No questions as follows:

1. *Has your institution or program completed a follow up study of First Nations graduates?*

Yes	17	(21.8%)
No	59	(75.6%)
No response	2	(2.6%)

2. *Has your institution or program completed an evaluation (either internal or external) that includes measures or indicators of First Nations students' success or attrition?*

Yes	24	(30.8%)
No	51	(65.4%)
No response	3	(3.8%)

3. Has your institution completed any kind of assessment of First Nations students' educational needs in your area, or any study of institutional effectiveness relative to First Nations students?

Yes	30	(38.5%)
No	28	(35.9%)
No response	20	(25.6%)

4. If you have responded "yes" to any of the above questions, are the reports accessible?

Yes	27	(34.6%)
No	23	(29.5%)
No response	28	(35.9%)

With regard to the two write-in questions and the miscellaneous comments made, the 78 institutions gave the following responses:

1. Do you know of other studies/literature that might be useful?

Twenty-four institutions made a comment in this section of the form. In general they fell into one of three areas: references to programs, boards, or institutions (8 comments); references to individuals (6); and references to reports or published literature (10). The references to programs, boards, or institutions included the American Indian Education Consortium, Fraser Valley College, Lakehead University, the Metis and Piegan Nations, the University of Calgary, the California State Universities (2 comments), and the Southwest Indian Training Committee.

The six references to individuals were general suggestions of people known to have worked in the area (i.e., to have completed some study that the respondent felt was relevant, such as a program evaluation). They included university faculty (3), DIAND (1), and First Nations-controlled school boards (3).

Of the 10 references to reports or literature, one person merely noted that many studies were available, and a second respondent commented that many INAC and UN documents were available. A further two referred us to a report or bibliography. Of the remaining six respondents, two referred us to published journal articles in the *Journal of American Indian Education* and the *Journal of Indigenous Education*. The final four responses included references to specific reports.

2. Do you have any other suggestions that might help us?

Twenty-two institutions responded to this request. Five comments were referrals to specific people the respondents felt might serve as informants or resource persons. Of the remaining 17, five were "miscellaneous." One person simply endorsed the need for a study such as ours, another gave us the name of a consulting firm, and a third noted that there were no UBC graduates in their area. A fourth respondent said that their institution did not identify First Nations students or graduates. The fifth person asked for a copy of our study when it was completed.

Six of the 12 remaining responses were referrals to literature or to institutional activity. Of the six, two referred us to an institutional history that "might" be available and to an internal DIAND survey of First Nations students. A third person referred us to ERIC files, and two others noted that their institutions were doing some form of study or review of First Nations students. The sixth noted that their institution did some yearly follow-up of graduates.

The remaining six responses were suggestions about the conduct of the study, including a recommendation that students be contacted (3 respondents) and a suggestion that daily contact with students be made. One suggested that "social counselors" be asked to participate, while the final respondent suggested that participatory evaluation would be worthwhile.

Other Comments

Just under one half (i.e., 36) of the 78 institutions had some additional comments or enclosures. Nine sent documents with their responses. For example, the Carrier-Sekani Tribal Council sent copies of an educational assessment study they had completed in 1986 and a directory of educational resources for their area (Brown, 1986a, 1986b; 1987). The enclosures are discussed in the full literature review found in Parts VI and VII.

A further 11 institutions noted that studies were available. One institution asked for a formal request for the report. Four noted that such studies were unavailable, and one respondent commented that their studies were out of date. Finally, five institutions stated that their studies of students were ongoing, four others gave contact names and addresses, and five wished to share our findings when we had completed the study.

General Comments

It is evident from the above results that only about one third of the postsecondary institutions who responded to the request for information have conducted follow-up studies of First Nations students, studies of success factors or barriers, or needs assessments. Judging from the results of the survey, and the literature review in Parts VI and VII, it appears that the present study may add to the knowledge base in the area of First Nations postsecondary education.

Project Methodology

This section outlines the general approach and methodological plan. More specific details of the methodology as used at the two postsecondary sites are briefly summarized below. The detailed descriptions are to be found in the sections on the UBC and the Native Education Centre experiences respectively. The plan for the workshop/symposium, during which the research project and process model were presented to interested postsecondary institutions, may be found in Part IV.

As outlined above, the basic components of the process model as initially delineated were:

1. deciding about the questions to be answered;
2. deciding about populations and samples of former students, as well as the definitions of such terms as *First Nations*;
3. deciding about methods of gathering information from the students and about relevant data/measures;
4. deciding on a data gathering and analysis timeline;
5. gathering and interpreting the information; and
6. communicating the research and its results to others.

These six steps were adapted for the present research project. The formulation and testing of the initial model at the University of British Columbia included:

1. adopting the three interests of the Ministry as the questions of interest (i.e., the relation of employment to education, success factors, and barriers);
2. deciding to survey the entire population of First Nations graduates, across all programs and all years, the term *First Nations* to be defined broadly;
3. deciding to use two major methods of data collection: the quantitative/qualitative mailed survey and the focus group, with limited use of a third method, telephone interviews; the survey would ask for both forced and open choices; the focus group questions would be based in part on the results of the surveys;
4. deciding to use two mailouts and personal contact to maximize return rates of questionnaires, and two different focus groups, with two different methods of analysis for the focus group transcriptions; and
5. deciding to communicate the initial results and utility of the process model to the other postsecondary institution initially, and then to any interested postsecondary institution during the sharing day; this day to be followed by a report both for the then Ministry of Advanced Education and for general distribution.

Because of the basic approach of the study, it is important to remember that the research design also entailed at every stage a questioning process among the members of the research team, which was centered on the question *Is this appropriate in the First Nations context?* Because of the focus given to such considerations, it is evident that the research design itself is exploratory, as are the findings discussed below.

The Site Experiences: A Preview

Parts II and III of this report give in considerable detail the findings of the UBC experience and the experience of the Native Education Centre.

As we digest the findings from the two sites, it becomes evident that the process model does indeed have potential as a formative evaluation/impact assessment device; and that the findings directly address the three interests of the then Ministry of Advanced Education: education/employment relationship, success factors, and barriers.

With regard to the UBC graduates, most of the respondents were graduates of the Faculty of Education; about 70% were women. They identified most closely with a large number of First Nations from across North America. The graduates saw a clear division between First Nations family, friends, and First Nations students' services, and other UBC and community services: of 137 named sources, 119 specifically focused on First Nations people, institutions or UBC First Nations agencies (especially NITEP and Is'kel, which appear to have impact beyond their program mandates). It is clear from the questionnaire responses that the participants' First Nations cultures had a major impact on their UBC experiences; virtually all of this impact was positive.

The first barrier may be the respondents' initial perceptions of the university: about 70% of the questionnaire respondents recalled their first few months at UBC in negative or neutral terms. A second barrier is lack of funding or inadequate levels of funding. Problems are often barriers to success: the questionnaire respondents included 170 problems or obstacles, 98 of which were some personal issue or characteristic. Negative perceptions of UBC as an institution constitute another potential barrier. The questionnaire respondents felt that, on the whole, UBC as an institution was somewhat more discouraging than encouraging.

A major barrier discussed at length by the focus group participants was racism in various contexts and forms. Some incidents took the form of belittling persons or cultures; some were depersonalizing incidents of tokenism and assuming that First Nations programs and achievements were inferior to those of the majority culture. The legacy of past discrimination and racism had present impact as well.

All but five of the respondents reported no difficulty in finding employment, almost always in the field in which they had studied. In general the respondents have broadened their work horizons in their field of training, and/or have assumed progressively more responsibility in the field of training. Two thirds of the group are working in a First Nations context.

An outcome of the UBC experience likely to have both a direct and an indirect effect on employment is the impact of UBC on the graduates' First Nations identity. For 53/67 questionnaire respondents, that impact was positive, but not everything reflected positively on the institution. Per-

sonal growth, another outcome of the UBC experience with both direct and indirect effects on employability, was revealed in a number of the questionnaire respondents' statements about UBC's influence. In a general way it can be seen as the result of focus on the individual as agent in his/her own education. Negative personal growth was rarely reported.

In the NEC testing it appears that the model itself is sufficiently adaptable to be of use to a postsecondary institution that is very different in its goals and student population from UBC. During this collaborative venture, however, some limitations of the process model became evident, including the low return rate of the questionnaires, the problems of adapting the form for use by other institutions, and the difficulties inherent in interpreting and reporting results by people who understand their own context well but are to some extent unfamiliar with the research enterprise.

Although most NEC graduates heard about the Centre from private individuals, it was primarily the institutional characteristics of the NEC that respondents listed as influencing their decision to attend: the decision revolved around two broad factors: relevance-accessibility and First Nations milieu-identity (each of which operates, of course, in the context of the other). A major aspect of accessibility is the comfort level students felt, even on first entering the Centre, while another is the desire to learn about First Nations heritage and to be with other First Nations people. Other factors involved included the wish to learn and pass the learning on to others, a commitment to First Nations children, and a wish to benefit the community at large.

Success factors likely to have been influential include the comfort felt at the NEC; support from friends and family, staff, and other students in NEC; the atmosphere of the Centre; the First Nations identity of the NEC; relevance of course and program content; the possibility of taking successive programs; course/program quality; and the personal qualities of instructors and staff. All these factors would operate together, interacting with each other to create a context for learning and success for First Nations students. Barriers experienced by the respondents included funding and/or limited finances. For some respondents, responsibilities or perceived problems were likely to have been barriers: family responsibilities, financial responsibilities and problems, and personal situations, specific problems with staff, perceived lack of information, and "lack of responsibility" of fellow students (a measure of academic climate in one particular class, perhaps), lack of day care and transportation problems.

The connection between education at the NEC and employment is clear: virtually all the responding graduates are either employed in some area close to that of their training, or are engaged in new educational ventures, again for the most part in their area of training. In addition, the NEC is serving as a source of renewed affiliation with First Nations.

strengthening the sense of community and teaching a renewed appreciation for First Nations values. Awareness of First Nations issues and of present situations were also mentioned. This increasing awareness and affiliation with First Nations is likely to act indirectly on graduates' employability, as is the increased sense of personal power reported by the graduates, which entails increased confidence, self-esteem, determination, and increased forming of positive social ties.

The research project and the process model were described during the daylong workshop/symposium. The comments by the workshop participants focused on a number of specific details of the research process, limitations and aspects of the research methodology and the process model, and the redefinition of the research process to fit community needs. Comments made after the workshop/symposium were generally positive. The participants felt that the structure was comfortable and that the process model was useful and applicable. The few negative comments tended to focus on details of arrangements or the process and its findings. Interest in future workshops was high, with a number of topics being suggested.

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Honoring What They Say Part II: The UBC Experience

The First Nations House of Learning at UBC was the first site to be involved in piloting the process model, that is, in the adaptation of an impact assessment procedure that involved the use of survey and focus group methodologies. This section of the report contains a brief description of First Nations education at UBC, outlines the methodology used in piloting the process model, and presents the substantive findings. Works cited appear in Part VIII, following the Review of Literature.

First Nations Education at UBC

Individuals from a number of First Nations had attended the University of British Columbia from its early days. However, it was not until 1974 that the program of First Nations education at UBC was established: the Native Indian Teacher Education Program (NITEP). A number of other programs, including the Native Law program, were initiated during the next decade; in 1987 the First Nations House of Learning was established as a vehicle to draw together, increase, and give greater visibility to the First Nations presence on campus.

The First Nations House of Learning is not merely an academic home for First Nations programs, but is rather an entity that coordinates existing efforts, stimulates new initiatives, gives support, and serves as a liaison between First Nations communities, students, and the University.

The mission of the First Nations House of Learning is to work toward making the University's resources more accessible to BC's First Nations peoples and to improve the ability of the University to meet the needs of First Nations. The House of Learning is dedicated to quality preparation in all fields of postsecondary study, with quality education being determined by its relevance to the philosophy and values of First Nations. The House of Learning

seeks direction from First Nations communities through consultation meetings and workshops held throughout the province.

In keeping with the spirit of these goals, the objectives of the House of Learning are:

- to facilitate the participation of First Nations people in a wide range of study areas by providing information and support services;
- to expand the range and depth of program and course offerings within the faculties, schools, and institutes at UBC related to needs identified by First Nations people and communities in BC;
- to identify and promote research that would extend the frontiers of knowledge for the benefit of First Nations;
- to increase First Nations leadership on campus;
- to explore the possibility of founding an international component for the advancement of First Nations people everywhere; and
- to establish a Longhouse on campus to enhance access and support services for First Nations students.

The last objective was accomplished in May 1993 with the Official Opening of the First Nations House of Learning Longhouse on the site of the university's original arboretum to which trees came from the four directions over 50 years ago. The Longhouse in its setting of international natural beauty truly belongs to First Nations: every stage from determining an architect to selecting furniture was done by committees of Elders, students, staff, and faculty.

The Programs: A Brief Description

NITEP. In 1969 a small group of First Nations educators formed the BC Native Teachers' Association. The creation of a Native teacher education program was one of five priority areas identified by members of the Association at the time of its creation, and five years later the NITEP program was established in cooperation with UBC.

At present NITEP is similar to the basic elementary education program offered at UBC. NITEP students take the same compulsory education courses and have identical graduation requirements. Two of the NITEP courses (First Nations educational history and issues in First Nations pedagogy) are open to students campus-wide. In addition, NITEP requires extra seminars and field placements during the first three years, which provide opportunities to observe and participate in a variety of school settings.

The first two years of NITEP are offered through regional field centres, which enables students to remain in their communities and with their families and to understand education from the perspectives of their home communities. A field centre coordinator provides counseling, instruc-

tional, and administrative services. UBC faculty travel to the field centres to teach education-related courses.

First Nations Law. The First Nations Law program began at UBC in 1976 when the faculty initiated an affirmative action program to facilitate the admission of First Nations applicants to the Faculty of Law. Since that time the faculty has played a leading role in increasing the numbers of First Nations lawyers in Canada and in addition has been a leader in teaching, researching, and writing about First Nations law and legal issues. The Law Faculty currently offers six courses related to pertinent issues and rights of First Nations peoples.

The First Nations Law Program strives to make the law school experience relevant and to meet the students' needs and objectives. Not only is the First Nations perspective included in some regular law courses at present, but it will be even more pervasive in the future. The program requires three years of full-time study, with a bar exam and a one-year articling (apprenticeship) to follow before admission to the Bar of British Columbia.

Ts'kel. In 1984 the Ts'kel graduate program was initiated in the Faculty of Education to respond to the needs of the graduates of the NITEP program who were employed as principals or in other leadership positions. These students voiced a need for graduate studies opportunities that would address administrative and First Nations educational concerns, challenges, and issues. The first group of students helped the faculty to develop some of the First Nations courses and also named the program. Ts'kel is a Halq'emeylem word meaning Golden Eagle. To many First Nations the eagle symbolizes great achievement and accomplishments.

The Ts'kel program, originally offered in educational administration, required the completion of core courses in First Nations issues and educational leadership, as well as satisfying the requirements of the Faculty of Graduate Studies at UBC. In a few years First Nations students in other departments requested a program like Ts'kel. At present Ts'kel has expanded from the master's to the doctoral level and includes students in the following departments in the Faculty of Education: Social and Educational Studies, Centre for Curriculum and Instruction, and Educational Psychology and Special Education.

Health Care Professions. The most recent program to be initiated is the First Nations Health Care Professions Program, begun in 1988. This program is an interventive and supportive initiative designed to attract First Nations students to the health professions, to support First Nations students enrolled in the sciences and health professions, and to assist the health science disciplines in creating programs responsive to First Nations needs. The program has been active in recruitment of high school students, identification of potential health care professions students on campus, academic counseling, a Summer Science program and Synala

Honours Program for high school students, course development, and for the creation and sponsorship of a Native Health Research Database.

At the initiation of the program, no First Nations students were enrolled in the Faculty of Medicine and very few in other health sciences faculties and schools. By 1989 there were four students and that number had increased to 19 by 1991. As active recruitment of high school students continues, numbers will continue to swell.

Piloting the Process Model: Methodology

The Survey Questionnaire

Construction. It was important to decide whether to design a relatively short questionnaire with restricted-choice responses that could be scaled. The motivation to do so comes from the knowledge that:

- data that are at least ordinal make for more straightforward generalization of findings;
- restricted-choice responses are easier to answer and so may provide for a higher return rate; and
- open-ended text questions are both more difficult to answer and much more difficult, expensive, and time-consuming to analyze.

It was decided that the research questions required a balance in clear favor of open-ended, narrative-response items. This is because the research questions are complex and to find that complexity in the responses we would have to ask those who responded to provide:

- explanations of contexts for coming to UBC and studying there;
- recollections of situations that affected their progress;
- descriptions of their perceptions and attitudes; and
- retrospective assessments about how well their UBC experience prepared them for their further education and work.

We did not want to impose descriptive categories on the participants in the job we asked each of them to do.

A first version of the questionnaire was developed at a research team workshop. It was piloted with six graduates who gave comments and recommendations, and some items were modified on that basis. In general the design imperatives of Sudman and Bradburn (1982) were followed in question construction and questionnaire design.

The modified version, a five-page questionnaire with six forced-choice items and 17 open-ended items, was mailed to 216 First Nations graduates of UBC in December 1992. Graduates were identified from records at First Nations House of Learning, through review of other University records, and by snowballing, asking graduates from different eras if they could identify others. Questionnaires were sent to all known First Nations graduates. Anonymity of participants was promised and maintained.

After an initial assessment of returns, a second mail-out of questionnaires to nonrespondents was made, along with follow-up telephone calls

to all nonrespondents whose telephone numbers were known. The final number of returns, 67, gives a return rate of 31%.

The questionnaire and the cover letter inviting response are included in Appendix A.

Analytic issues. The decision to depend most on narrative-response questions committed the research team to a painstaking analytic process in which the first step would be to determine what salient descriptive categories and meaningful distinctions the participants appeared to employ in their retrospections. The second part of analysis was the documentation of both variability (i.e., range) and uniformity (i.e., relative incidence of a "value") within those categories. The second part of analysis provides a test of the descriptive adequacy of that first analytic step, generalizing the descriptive categories.

In addition, the dependence on narrative response sets the tone for the entire project and defines a perspective for interpreting this discussion of findings. Because of the way most research questions in education are framed, we are inclined to look at incidence of a particular value as definitive of the finding. In this report it is important to note what proportion of the group has a common response or comment. Equally important is the range of responses. When we document that one or two participants made a similar observation, it is as important a finding as the report that, for example, 50% or 95% made a similar observation. Modal responses are no more important than solitary responses.

The return rate and the open-ended nature of the questions dictate another caution in interpretation of responses and in inference. The return rate of 31% is comparable to other return rates in First Nations university graduate follow-up studies (e.g., Wilson, 1983, where a mailed questionnaire in Wisconsin to 214 First Nations university graduates brought a 27.8% return rate). We have to ask, What does nonresponse mean? and whether unknown selection factors for initial identification of the population should qualify any inference about a general population of First Nations graduates.

Return rates are highest (a) with shorter questionnaires; (b) with restricted-choice questionnaire items; and (c) with homogeneous populations. Our questionnaire would require the better part of an hour to complete if done cursorily, with a preponderance of open-ended questions, sent to a population from more than 30 different First Nations people who graduated in a variety of faculties over a 38-year period—surely a heterogeneous population.

There is no assumption whatever about parametric inference to a population of First Nations UBC graduates; this is not a serious problem because it is not an implied objective of the research question. It is a problem only if the propensity to couch educational and social science research questions in terms of formal parametric, survey, factorial, or deterministic design terminology creates misunderstanding and misinter-

pretation of the results reported here. In this context it is valuable to recall that the research objectives in this part of the project were:

1. to identify all possible First Nations recipients of UBC degrees; and
2. to ask them to focus on their own experiences, to provide information that allows for generalization about (a) the relationship between their university education and employment; (b) factors leading to successful graduation; and (c) identification of barriers or problems experienced during their student years, with discussion of how those barriers were overcome.

Thus the body of data from which we generalize includes text responses from 67 people who have successfully completed at least one degree at UBC. None of the responses is entirely cursory. The people who responded obviously reflected on what they wrote. It took commitment on their part to respond. We consider we have a rich resource, a data source created by almost one third of the identified graduates, in which they reflect on our questions of research interest. We are bound, then, to explore that corpus for its nuances, its specification of explanatory context, and its intent. We believe that the respondents' commitment is evidence of a First Nations value of sharing for community benefit. In accordance with our own First Nations values we respect entirely the legitimacy and validity of the testimony they have provided through anonymous questionnaire.

The descriptive categories that the participants gave us suggest areas for exploration of more precisely focused questions, using research designs that would allow parametric inference or more clearly relational, possibly deterministic, statements. Another research area implied from this project is to ask similar questions about barriers, problems, and success factors of people who did not graduate.

Analysis. Text responses were transcribed and maintained in computer files. Responses to forced-choice items were entered into files readable by the SPSS statistical analysis program and those results were tabulated. Text responses were coded and marked using the TextBase Alpha computer program, the conventions for coding being established as noted in connection with each question separately.

As noted below, for some cases responses were assigned to nominal categories, and tests of association with the following variables were performed: age at first entry, year of first entry, gender, competence in a First Nations language, faculty, degree, source of funding, and assessment of adequacy of funding. Tests of association were performed on contingency tables created by cross-tabulating all the categories named above with all other items that allowed for tabular aggregation and generalization.

We were particularly interested to see if response values would differ by gender, source of funding, faculty, and period of attendance. The latter was particularly interesting given the changing demography of First Nations postsecondary attendance in the 1980s, radical policy changes that

made funding much more difficult to obtain in the mid-1980s, and increasing band administration of postsecondary funding accelerating in the mid-1980s. We created two cut-off points, 1980 and 1985, and performed tests of association with all other categories based on dividing the group into "before" and "after" both 1980 and 1985. No statistically significant association was found, and the only apparent tendency was toward more band-administered funding during later periods and a tendency toward admissions at a somewhat younger age, closer to high school graduation. These are obvious trends of which everyone associated with First Nations postsecondary education is aware.

The discussion of the findings is organized for the most part in the order of the questionnaire items. The salience of the findings is communicated most eloquently by examples of what the participants wrote; for several items quotations from the responses are shown without additional comment.

The findings are described in considerable detail to reflect some of the richness of the information that the respondents gave us. A summary of the data is provided at the end of this section (following the detailed presentation of the focus group findings).

The Focus Groups

Composition and arrangements. The participants for the focus groups were selected by responses that accompanied the questionnaire and divided into three groups:

- 1 those who lived near Vancouver;
- 2 those who lived near Kamloops; and
- 3 those who agreed to be interviewed but lived too far away, and the expense to bring them in would have been too great; letters were sent requesting a telephone interview on May 14, 1993.

Before setting up the focus groups the research team spent a great deal of time formulating the questions.

An initial consideration for formulation of the questions was *What pattern or range of responses to the questionnaires can we ask people to deal with in a focus group; what range and explanatory context for response might be useful to us?* One characterization of the questionnaire responses was that participant remembered a kind of contradictory response, both alienation from and affiliation with UBC. In this context they had both good and bad memories of the place and their experiences there. This dictated one of the focus group questions. Others were formulated to address the interests of the Ministry of Advanced Education with regard to the relationship between employment and education and success factors or barriers.

The initial set of questions was piloted with six graduate students to test their use in context, and they suggested changes in question order in which the team members concurred.

The final set of focus group questions were:

1. It has been said that students have mixed feelings toward UBC—that they feel intellectually challenged, have a chance for achievement, and feel joy, while at the same time have feelings of frustration and disappointment. Do any of you have such feelings and could you explore those feelings with us?
2. Thinking back over the time since you graduated, what is your fondest memory of UBC, the most positive memory? Thinking back over the time since you graduated, what is the worst, most negative experience you had at UBC? Which is the most predominant? How do you feel now?
3. Now I would like you to think about your UBC experience in connection with your job. How did UBC prepare you for your job? How did UBC fail to prepare you for your job? How would you describe the relationship of your UBC education to your employment? What in your present job have you had to do that you were not trained to do at UBC?
4. What changes would you like to see made to make UBC a better learning experience for future First Nations students? What could we do to instigate these changes? How do you see these changes being brought about?

The Vancouver focus group discussion was convened at the Longhouse on the UBC campus on April 17, 1993, with seven participants (10 had said they could attend). The boardroom was pleasant, with comfortable chairs and a comfortable temperature. Lunch was provided from noon until 1 p.m., and the meeting got under way at 1:15 p.m. The group was responsive and the information flowed in apparently random order from one participant to another. The discussion was tape-recorded and later transcribed.

The discussion covered some emotional issues. All participants were treated with respect for themselves and for their feelings. A feeling of acceptance and belonging was in the group. It met for four hours.

The Kamloops focus group met May 15, 1993, with 10 participants. The meeting was held in a former Indian residential school building, which triggered many memories because several of the participants had attended school there and others had attended residential school in similar surroundings. The room was huge, with extremely high ceilings. It was very warm and the chairs were uncomfortable. The people came in over a period of time, with some arriving before lunch, some during, and some after lunch. Some arrived after the meeting had begun. Three visitors were also present.

The group in Kamloops were older than the Vancouver group, although several might have attended UBC at the same time as the Vancouver group, and this is one of the differences between the nature of the discussions. Many of the Kamloops group spoke of their residential schooldays, of the demeaning and discriminatory treatment they received.

They related these experiences as the beginning of their awareness and confrontation with racism; they spoke of how it continued at UBC, especially in anthropology classes. Many of the Kamloops people came with detailed written information that they checked off from time to time to be sure that all their points had been included in discussion.

Analytic strategies. As described above, the entire proceedings of each focus group were tape-recorded and transcribed by a member of the research team. The results of the two groups were analyzed differently in order to test two strategies for their utility in a First Nations context.

The analytic procedure used with the Kamloops focus group was organized according to the three goals of the project as a whole. Within each of the three goals a framework of themes was created as the transcripts were analyzed. More specifically, each statement made by a participant was categorized by asking the general question "What is this statement an example of?" For instance, consider the statement: "NITEP could have given us a more realistic view of ... teacher interviews ... when I went to my first interview I was really shocked ... they were all Indian people but the questions ... were all ... DIA questions ... like ... what would your year plan be for grade 3/4." On reflection it seemed that this statement was an example of a *perceived inadequacy in UBC's education program*. It was classified as such; if this particular category had not previously existed it was created.

The method used to analyze the transcription of the Vancouver focus group concentrated on the contextual aspects of the participants' discussion. It is integrated with the report of the findings of that group because it was felt it would be best understood if merged in that way.

Once again, the findings are reported in considerable detail. A summary of the results, integrated with those of the questionnaire, is at the end of this part of the report.

The Telephone Interviews.

Of the 12 people who were contacted for telephone interviews, successful connection was made with only five for formal interview. They were asked the same questions that had been formulated for the focus group discussions. Their responses were examined for theme and context and are reported below.

The Questionnaire Findings

This subsection of the report is quite lengthy, primarily because of the richness of the data and the number of open-ended questions. The variables discussed in each of the five divisions include:

The graduates and their programs: timelines, faculties, fields of study, degrees, gender, age, First Nations identification, First Nations language competence

Beginning a university program: work before entering university, entering UBC, basis for admission, academic preparation, application, admission and registration, the first few months at UBC.

Being there—attending UBC: funding, problems, responsibilities, factors credited for success, UBC as an institution (helped/discouraged).

After UBC - in retrospect: after graduation (work experience), did UBC prepare its graduates well? Expectations of UBC (how met), UBC's general influence.

The First Nations UBC interaction: First Nations culture (influence on UBC experience), impact of UBC on First Nations culture and identity.

It is important to realize that, although the interaction between First Nations culture/identity and UBC is discussed in a separate section, the importance of First Nations culture cannot truly be separated from any aspect of the UBC experience. It is merely placed separately for clarity of discussion. This fact will become evident as the findings are read.

The Graduates and Their Programs

Timelines. The participants represent a continuity of First Nations students on campus since 1955. The dates of participants' programs overlap, of course. We have calculated the overlap to represent the number of participants in this study who were on campus during five-year periods as follows. The distribution indicates a fairly even representation over the past 22 years (Table II.1).

Another way to conceptualize the span of time over which the participants generalize is to look at the distribution of years since last graduation. This measure also tells us something about the retrospective span between last graduation and the filling in of the questionnaire (Table II.2).

The faculties. The faculties in which they were enrolled are shown in Table II.3, which also indicates the number of participants who completed more than one program. First programs may be diploma or certification programs so second, third, and fourth programs are not necessarily equivalent to postgraduate work. (Note that four people did not specify the faculty in which they completed their first program.) Almost half the participants (31) have completed more than one program at UBC; nine have completed three programs; and seven have completed four.

Fields of study. Identification of individuals might be possible were we to tabulate majors and concentrations precisely. Fields of study are indicated by distinguishing between baccalaureate and postbaccalaureate programs, then classifying the majors and concentrations reported by the participants according to relative frequencies (Table II.4).

Degrees. Table II.5 indicates the distribution of degrees and certificates represented in the group of participants.

Table II.1

Period	Number of Study Participants on Campus
1955-59	1
1960-64	1
1965-69	4
1970-74	16
1975-79	24
1980-84	27
1985-90	23
1990-95	16

Gender. Forty-seven women and 20 men responded to the questionnaire (i.e., 70.1% of the respondents are women; 29.9% are men).

Age. Table II.6 shows the ages of participants (a) when they first entered UBC (though combinations of missing values for the responses from which these were calculated produces a fairly high missing-values figure); and (b) their current ages. The modal age at entry was 18, the median 23. Modal current age is 46, the median 39.9.

First Nations identification. Fifty-three graduates (79.1%) said that they identified with a particular First Nation; nine (13.4%) said they did not, and five (7.5%) did not respond to that item on the questionnaire. All of the respondents, however, described their First Nations ancestry in terms of a band, a nation, or a linguistic group. The responses total more than 67 because several participants stated descent or affiliation with more than one First Nation.

Conventional descriptions of First Nations affiliations are often ambiguous because there are many different conventions in the naming of groups. For example, Sto:lo people have been classified as Salish, Coast Salish, Cowichan, Halkomelem, or by subgroup of Sto:lo people, but the boundaries are different with each term. We employ the general distinctions used by the participants themselves as they responded to the question, "What is your First Nations ancestry?" Twenty-nine First Nations are represented. The number in parentheses indicates the number of people who represent that particular nation.

Table II.2

Years Since Last Graduation	Number of Participants
0-2	12
3-5	13
6-8	12
9-11	4
12-14	11
15-17	4
18-20	1
21+	7

Table II.3

Faculty	Program			
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Agriculture		1		
Arts	5	2		
Commerce	1			
Education	52	27	9	6
Human Services	1			
Law		1		
Medicine				1
Nursing	2			
Social Work		1	1	

First Nations from the East and South. Among the graduates several First Nations are represented whose national homeland is not on the Pacific Coast. Nine nations in that group are Cree (5), Metis (2), Peigan (1), Ojibway (1), Dakota (2), Oneida (1), Mohawk (2), Micmac (1), and Maya-Mam (1). From east of the Fraser River Valley but still from present BC homelands, the nations represented are Interior Salish (3), Okanagan (6), Thompson/Nlakapmuc (8), and Secwepemc (8).

First Nations from the North and West. The westernmost nations represented are Kwakwaka'wakw (2) and Haida (4). Other western nations are Tsimshian (5), Heiltsuk (3), Nishga (5), Haisla (2), and Gitksan (5). Coast Salish nations represented are Coast Salish (further unspecified, 2); Sto:lo (4), Cowichan (2); Nuxalk (1); and Squamish (1).

Table II.4. Majors and areas of concentration in baccalaureate programs

More than 10 participants	anthropology, primary education
Between 5 and 9	Canadian studies, psychology, Native education and Native studies, language arts education, elementary education, reading education
4 or fewer	English, history, sociology, linguistics, mathematics, physics, political science, creative writing, special education, science education, curriculum, early childhood education, English as a second language, transportation, nursing, social work, plant science, human services, recreation
<i>Majors and areas of concentration in succeeding programs</i>	
More than 10 participants	educational administration
Fewer than 10 participants	education, adult education, social and educational studies in education, guidance, community education, elementary education, English as a second language, counselling psychology, secondary education, language arts education, Native human services, human nutrition, philosophy, law, health sciences

Table 11.5

Program	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	Total
Diploma	6	13	4		23
Baccalaureate	55	8			63
Master's	3	10	7	2	22
Doctor.				3	3

First Nations from the North and East. The Nations represented are Carrier (3), Wet'suwet'en (1), Tlingit (1), and Tsek'ehne (1).

A note on the basis for identification. We asked the participants to specify the people, village, lineage, band, or other First Nations group with which they most closely identify. Twenty-eight respondents identify most closely with a specific band, and most of them specify the name of that band. Twenty-four respondents identify with a more generally defined First Nations group (e.g., Tsimshian, Metis). For four respondents the band and First Nation are equivalent (e.g., Squamish); two respondents identify with a lineage within the band; one respondent identifies most closely with the village; and eight respondents did not provide a basis for identification.

First Nations language competence. Twenty-six respondents (38.8%) said that they speak or understand a First Nations language; another 10 (14.9%) said that they had qualified competence in a First Nations language; and 30 (44.8%) said that they did not have competence in a First Nations language. Four of the graduates are competent in two First Nations languages, and another four have some qualified competence in a second First Nations language.

The languages represented in the group, with the number of respondents who have some competence in the language shown in parentheses, are Maliseet (1), Mohawk (1), Cree (3), Blackfoot (1), Maya-Mam (1), Okanagan (4), Nlakapamux (7), Shuswap (2), Hal'qemeylem (4), Seabird (1), Squamish (1), Kwakwaka (1), Tsimshian (1), Haisla (1), Huupachesuth (1), Heiltsuk (2), Nishga (5), Gitksan (2), Wet'suwe'ten (1), and Carrier (2).

Table 11.6

Age	At First Entry		Current Age	
	N	%	N	%
18-20	20	29.6		
21-25	13	19.5	1	1.5
26-30	10	15.0	5	7.5
31-35	5	7.5	10	15.0
36-40	5	7.5	17	25.5
41-45	1	1.5	19	28.5
46-50	1	1.5	6	9.0
51-70	1	1.5	7	10.5
Missing	11	16.4	2	3.0

Beginning a University Program

Work before entering university. A large number of participants, 41 (62.1%), had worked in a field related to their field of university study, whereas 25 (37.9%) had not. One individual did not respond to this questionnaire item.

Education and child care were the fields in which they had had most experience. Ten of the respondents had had experience as teachers in schools or in adult education facilities, and another four had worked as long-term substitute teachers. Eight had been teacher aides, and an additional two had had experience as volunteer teacher aides. Five had been day care workers with young children, and four had worked as summer camp child care workers or counselors. Four had been home-school coordinators. Two had worked as library aides, and the fields of coaching, school bus driver, and school janitor were each mentioned by one person.

Experience in counseling and social work was reported by six respondents: one had been an alcoholism counselor, two had been social workers, two had been social worker assistants, and one had been a social work volunteer. One participant had worked as a volunteer in a hospital. In addition, three persons worked in the related fields of administration, program planning, and public relations, and another three had worked as researchers. One of the teacher aides noted that he or she had also had a job doing archival research and in the process began to spend "a lot of time with elders—gathering and listening to their life experiences."

Entering UBC. Everyone responded to the question "How did you first hear about UBC?" though one participant simply noted that he or she did

How some first heard about UBC

I saw an ad in a local newspaper.

The principal of the band school I subbed at encouraged me to register--the NITEP secretary is from my home town as well!

Through promotional literature and visitations to our community by Verna Kirkness.

A close friend was attending and she continually urged me to apply.

My father attended UBC.

Both of my parents attended UBC

Through the high school counselor

Via the proverbial 'moccasin telegraph'

I first heard of NITEP and its programs from my employer who motivated and sparked me to continue with my education

High school career days

Older brother who attended in '73; then through Jo-ann Archibald

General knowledge: UBC is one of the major features of Vancouver and Southern BC
The programs. I specifically inquired about at the university

1983 brochures about NITEP'

not remember his or her first knowledge of the university. Several of the participants noted multiple sources of initial knowledge.

Workers in education who were not formally associated with UBC programs were an important source of information: schoolteachers, principals, or counselors were cited by 13 participants; Indian Affairs counselors by two; others were adult education teachers (2), and participants' employers (2). Four participants found out about UBC programs while they themselves were working in schools or in some capacity in education.

Individuals told others about UBC. "Word of mouth" was cited by five participants. Students and former students were sources of information for their children, siblings, other relatives, and friends, as 12 participants cited those sources.

Public knowledge was another source of information. Two said that public awareness of the university was the source of knowledge, and one participant said that the fact that a NITEP Centre existed in town made him or her aware of UBC opportunity.

NITEP recruitment strategies were important for a substantial number of participants: 11 participants first heard about UBC programs through promotional literature, pamphlets, posters, newspaper advertisements in First Nations newspapers, or television announcements about NITEP. Seven participants said that their first source of information was through individual contact with a person representing NITEP, and six participants became aware of UBC through presentations about the program in their communities.

Reasons for choosing UBC. The responses to this question relate (a) to the institution (i.e., its programs, institutional characteristics, or unique opportunities); or (b) to a participant's personal characteristics. All but one participant specified at least one reason for deciding to come to UBC; 28

Some participants' reasons for choosing UBC that refer to the institution

Geographical location in relation to my residence. Also, its history program had a good reputation.

It was the closest and best available

Wanted to be a teacher: NITEP program.

Because they host NITEP and I needed the support NITEP offers

Off-campus centre in Terrace made the transition easier

Family housing available and support seemed evident

[UBC] offered a Native teaching program.

The collection of the UBC Museum of Anthropology. I was yet unfamiliar with it.

It had the best administrative program in Canada

Support system, and UBC had a First Nations perspective in the program

The fact that NITEP had field centres and Native studies

Its history program had a good reputation

Some participants' reasons for choosing UBC in personal terms

My daughter and the impact it would have on the future.

To do something worthwhile in this lifetime was the main reason.

Keen interest in education - furthering my education; better life style, always wanted to be a teacher.

I knew it was a goal I could achieve.

Because of the political situation of indigenous peoples I realized that the key to First Nations liberation is education.

I felt a need for more education that would lead to a more meaningful career.

It was a transitional period in my life; my children were getting older and it was time to do something different. I entered NITEP because I wanted to be with aboriginal people and because I wanted to learn.

provided a single reason, and 38 gave multiple reasons. A total of 98 responses were given by the 67 participants, 57 (58.2%) in terms of institutional characteristics, and 41 (41.8%) in personal terms.

It is important to remember that when the number of participants citing a particular reason is noted this does not imply a hierarchy of reason or even an accurate picture of motivation to attend, but rather an indication of range of reasons.

Institutional characteristics. The most common reference was to a specific program or field at UBC: NITEP (15), NITEP field centres (6), Ts^ukel (3), social work (2), or history, administration, nursing, and museum resources (1 each). One participant came to UBC to work with a particular professor. Seven participants chose UBC because of its location, and five cited the high reputation of UBC as a reason for seeking admission. Six participants were attracted to UBC because First Nations support services were available; six said that the opportunity to pursue studies in First Nations issues along with other First Nations people was the reason they chose UBC. Two cited the availability of student housing.

Personal characteristics. Eleven respondents expressed their motivation in terms of vocational aspiration, and seven explained their motivation in terms of their desire for scholarship. Four participants spoke of their own positive self-assessments: they realized that they had the ability to succeed at UBC. Another four spoke in terms of personal improvement as a reason for attending. Three participants noted simply that their reasons were personal, the result of personal desire or aspiration. Three people remembered their concern for others as a motivation.

Basis for admission. The bases for admission to UBC were as shown "admission on some other basis," for example, university transfer program from a community college or other university. Some gave details about their formal schooling ("one credit course short of receiving a high school diploma," "Grade VIII at [name of school]," and "Completed

Grade VII at [name of Indian school] in '67; didn't cut the mustard during integration process of '68," see Table II.7).

Academic preparation. Table II.8 details percentage responses of participants' self-assessment of preparedness for university-level work in nine academic areas. Confidence was highest in reading and English, lowest in second languages, and moderate in essay writing, science, exam writing, and mathematics.

The questionnaire invited comments about academic preparedness and 45 of the 67 respondents provided them. Though 58% of the comments were about lack of preparedness, 33% focused on sources of academic strength. We assessed the association between academic preparedness in all areas and dates of first entry to university, age at first entry, and bases for admission; as with the other tests, the cross-tabulated values revealed no significant association.

For some (5 respondents), beginning university after having been away from studies was a problem. Four people commented that schools had not prepared them for university study, and two made the same observation about community colleges and satellite programs. The largest category of comments (9) had to do with how to remedy any self-defined academic deficit through application and work.

Sources of academic preparedness were attributed to school (1), community college (2), parents or elders (3), and existing support services (3). Seven respondents attributed preparedness to personal characteristics such as a love of reading. Five people remarked on First Nations languages, that is, that they should be accepted as second languages or that it was more difficult to achieve academic preparedness for second-language

Table II 7

Secondary school graduates	21.5%
Adult basic education or GED	13.4%
Mature student admissions	31.3%
Admitted on some other basis	19.4%
Missing	14.4%

Table II 8

Skill Area	Adequacy of Preparation		
	Good	Fair	Poor
Reading	62.7%	28.4%	9.0%
English	50.7%	32.8%	16.4%
Humanities	37.9%	47.0%	15.2%
Exam Writing	32.8%	35.8%	31.3%
Study Skills	31.3%	38.8%	29.9%
Essay Writing	29.9%	31.3%	38.8%
Mathematics	30.8%	40.0%	29.2%
Science	26.2%	35.4%	38.5%
Second Language	16.1%	33.9%	50.0%

Some participants' comments about their preparation for university work

I was weak in every area and had to work twice as hard in all areas.

Although I graduated from Grade 12 I had been out of the system for many years and curriculum had changed drastically by the time I entered UBC. I should have gone to college before starting NITEP.

It was difficult to gauge what each professor expected—consistency in class standards. Basic skills were lacking, yet I'd completed two years at campus satellite thinking my writing and other skills were okay. In retrospect the professors in first and second years should have been more closely aligned with those at UBC.

I thank my parents for the way they raised me. Having a Grade 7 education and a great desire to learn enabled me to extend what I did know to what I wanted to know.

Always loved to read and learn on my own.

Language [vocabulary development and word usage] has been an ongoing task; I believe this is due to being ESL.

In [a named high school] you are automatically put into the general program.

I would say curiosity and determination to know are what drove me to NITEP and to stay in NITEP. My lack of study skills and exam writing skills sometimes made my life rather stressful.

students. The academic areas replicated the list to which they were asked to respond, but one respondent added statistics as an area in which there should be some preparation.

Application, admission, and registration. An open-ended question read: "Please comment on how you felt about your application, admission and registration (for example, information or assistance you received or failed to receive; any difficulties, etc.)."

Twenty-eight (41.8%) respondents reported positive experiences in those areas generally; seven focused on the application process, nine on the admissions process, five on registration, and seven wrote of all those processes as positive. Twenty-three respondents (34.3%) were neutral about all the processes, wrote of their mixed responses to the processes, or found the processes unremarkable. Fourteen (20.9%) reported negative experiences in those processes (five about admissions, five about registration, and four about their negative response to application, admission, and registration). Two participants (3%) did not respond to this question.

Of the 67 participants, 23 mentioned the support they received during the processes as crucial, and several remembered individuals associated with NITEP, FNHL, or Ts'kel who had been particularly helpful.

Four people said they had received wrong information or had failed to receive important information, which had had a negative effect on their programs, about funding, transfer credit, or the applicability of specific programs; and two were disappointed that they had lost credits in transferring between institutions.

The first few months at UBC. We asked people to respond to the open-ended question "My first few months at UBC were ..." We adopt two

Some comments about application, admission and registration

I was very happy to be accepted into the program. A coordinator was in town to help me fill out the application accordingly; I really appreciated that.

Very, very good. One of the interview questions I recall: "Do you have family support?" This is now one question I ask adult students.

Bev, Val, and Terry were all extremely helpful in expediting my application. Communication was professional, friendly, and FREQUENT. I may have backed out if it hadn't been for this tremendous support.

I remember the NITEP application form, the interview with the coordinator, and the fact that I had to write a short essay on "why I wanted to be a teacher." All three of those criteria were relevant and made me feel that I was applying to a Native program, and that the program screening really applied to me.

Due to the distance I had difficulties filling out the forms.

methods of reporting the general response. All but one person responded to this item. Twenty-eight (41.8%) remembered the first few months in clearly negative terms (e.g., from the graduate of a faculty in which there are few First Nations students: "Confusing, discouraging, and isolating. When people were helpful (staff and peers) I felt they were very patronizing. They couldn't interact with me on a basis of equality. I was a novelty because I was a First Nations woman"; and another: "Very scary, lonely and I spent a lot of time wondering if I was in over my head. I definitely did not feel confident about being a UBC student."

Nineteen (28.3%) remembered their first few months in neutral or mixed terms, for example, "Wet, lonely, homesick, broke and also exciting as I met new students [NITEP and non-NITEP]"; and "Frightening, busy—the program was heavy in terms of a full load but the work was manageable." Another 19 (28.3%) remembered the first few months in clearly positive terms, for example, "Fun, challenging, stimulating, exciting" and "Like opening new doors, a new world of learning, which I loved very much."

Another way to characterize the general response is to look at the kinds of adjectives that are used to typify the experience, and the relative incidence of each. The most common adjective was *exciting*; 17 participants used that term. Other terms in decreasing order of occurrence were *scary* (10), *hectic* or *busy* (10), *lonely* (9), *homesick* (8), *overwhelming* (7), *confusing* (6), *lost* (4) and *difficult* (4). The following terms were each used two or three times: *afraid*, *alienating*, *challenging*, *confident*, *culture shock*, *frustrating*, *full*, *a shock*, *stimulating*, and *traumatic*. Other terms, each used once, were *boring*, *fun*, *depressing*, *discouraging*, *enlightening*, *exhilarating*, *fantastic*, *humbling*, *intimidating*, *isolating*, *meaningful*, *nervous*, and *stressful*. Negative adjectives occurred just over 70% of the time.

Assessment of Funding Level	Number Responding	Percent	
Adequate	14	21.5%	
Barely Enough	21	32.3%	
At Subsistence Level	23	35.4%	
Below Starvation Level		7	10.8%
Missing Observations	2		

Being There: Attending UBC

Funding. Four levels of adequacy of funding were presented to participants in a restricted-choice questionnaire item, and the responses by participants show that funding was a problem for many (Table II.9).

In the open-ended item that asked participants to tell of the biggest hindrances to their successful completion of university, 13 (19.5%) noted financial problems.

Most of the participants had multiple sources of funding while they attended university. Table II.10 shows (a) the number of people who used funding from each named source and the percentage of the 67 participants using that source of funding; and (b) the number of people who had received funding from that source who said that funding from that source had been adequate.

Comments by some participants specified their other sources of funding: family, that is, spouse, parents, in-laws, and so forth (9); part-time work (7); First Citizens' Fund (3); and one each self, loans from friends, subsidized accommodation, and exchange favors. One participant said, "I sold my little house on the reserve to supplement my student funding."

The level of support received from bands differs by band, and eight recipients of band funding commented that the level of support they had received from the band was unreasonably low, lower than from other sources or other bands, and one student mentioned that she or he had only had that level increased after threatening to quit in the last year. Two participants noted the adequacy of band funding and commented on their gratitude to the band. Four band-supported participants mentioned that one of the difficulties was that the formula used to estimate living expenses did not account for the high urban-Vancouver cost of living, a

Source	Had funding from this source	Funding from this was adequate
Band	48 (71.6%)	19 (33.3%)
DIA	25 (37.3%)	8 (33.3%)
Bursary	32 (47.8%)	20 (69.7%)
Loan	34 (50.7%)	14 (67.7%)
Scholarship	13 (19.4%)	8 (73.7%)
Other	19 (28.4%)	11 (73.3%)

comment echoed by DINA-supported participants from out of province. One participant in a five-year program could not get band funding for the last year because of the band's supposition that all university programs were four-year programs.

Also, programs differ in costs of books and supplies, and the DINA-derived formula for funding paid for only a quarter of the books needed by one participant. Two participants reported other policy problems: a graduate student said that he or she "fell between all the cracks" in eligibility for funding, and another recent graduate said that Canada Student Loans applications were rejected because of his or her supposed eligibility for band and First Nations bursary funding. As troublesome as low levels of funding is the pattern reported by four participants of frequent delays or consistent irregularity in receipt of cheques: the stress caused by this was reported in graphic terms.

We anticipated that because of changes in eligibility criteria in the mid-1980s and a large-scale change to band administration of funds during the late 1980s, there would be a difference in patterns of funding over time. Except for the fact that a larger proportion of students were band-supported in the late 1980s, the patterns (i.e., of adequacy, statement of problem) remained similar over time.

Problems. In an open-ended item on the questionnaire we asked for a retrospective assessment: *The major problems and/or obstacles I faced at UBC were ...*

The first generalization about the responses is in the agency of the problem (i.e., where does the problem or impediment arise?), which produces a remarkable finding: more than half the participants (34) focused on some personal characteristic (e.g., poor study habits, lack of time management, an emotional reaction to stress, etc.). Eight included institutional structures or other people as "problem" in their description, though they dealt as well with a personal issue as problematic, 17 focused entirely on an external, institutional problem as an issue. Most participants listed more than one problem: consequently, the total number was 170, far greater than 67 (the number of respondents). Two did not respond.

The number of responses in each category are given in parentheses after the naming of the category but it would be a mistake to interpret incidence of a problem as indicating the relative magnitude of a problem. This categorization is based on the recollection of 67 "successful" UBC students. There may well be students who left UBC because of the intractability of any of the areas.

Personal issues or characteristics (98)

Family responsibilities: (e.g., single-parenthood) (4) though more are implied under the heading of *Financial problems*).

Financial: these range from despair and preoccupation over financial difficulties to having no money to pay for required typing, to having no money for "extras" (16).

Emotional: loneliness (5), and in addition, difficulty in living far from family and home (5); difficulty in adjusting to urban living (3); difficulty in understanding "the system" (5); lack of confidence or poor self-esteem (7); stress (2), depression (1), fear of failure (1); identity and state-of-change situation, life-situations: "identity crises" (2); coming to grips with First Nations identity (2); stress due to having to make crucial life and career choices (4); personal problems (e.g., addictions) (2); time management skills; setting of priorities (9).

Logistics problems: difficulty in finding appropriate housing (4); transportation to campus (4); difficulty in finding appropriate day care (2).

Academic and conceptual areas: lack of skills (e.g., research, library, and computer skills; study skills; exam writing skills; reading and writing skills) (14; an additional 3 said "lack of general academic skills"); difficulty with some concepts introduced in courses (3).

Institutional characteristics (62)

Deficiencies: information and communication, for example, with regard to course requirements (2); counseling (2); NITEP, FNHL: 2; current: 1; tutorial support (1); day care (2); housing (1); accuracy in student record keeping (2); number of library resources for required courses (1); computer facilities (1); First Nations resources (2).

Characteristics: impersonal (5); large and alienating (4); conservative (4); "philosophically" foreign, alienating (4).

Teaching staff: inaccessible, aloof or unreasonable (2); (some) focus on participant as First Nations person (i.e., as spokesperson (4); quality of teaching is disappointing (1); (some) are racist (7).

Explicit First Nations issues: institutional lack of respect for First Nations cultures or misappropriation of cultural authority (6); racist incidents, individuals (8).

External factor problems: (10) family problems, interpersonal or marriage relationship breakdown, family tragedy (7); First Nations internal politics (1).

Other responsibilities. The way the participants conceptualized the other responsibilities is drawn from an open-ended item, so the terms and categories are not mutually exclusive. The most common responsibility was family, mentioned without modification by 17 of the participants. Another nine participants were specific that it was the extended family that they saw as a responsibility; 19 named children and eight named spouse or partner as the family responsibility that coexisted with the responsibilities of university life. The dimensions of family life that were mentioned specifically were finances (7), budgeting (2), day care (2), housing (2), the maintenance of a home (3), and recovery from family trauma (2).

The next most common citation of responsibility was in volunteer community work (11 participants); another six participants mentioned cultural responsibilities in their communities.

Eight cited part-time work as a responsibility. Other responsibilities named by the participants were in the areas of general finances (3), peer relationships (2), adapting to change (2), and the maintenance of emotional or personal stability (2).

Factors credited for success. Two questions asked participants to focus on support and success factors while at UBC. The first is an open-ended completion item: *The most support I received at UBC came from ...* and the second is a forced-choice item using categories shown immediately following. Table II.11 shows the number of participants who checked each item in the second column, with percentages of the total sample shown in the third.

The focus of the open-ended item is on the amount of support. In those responses the strong tendency to credit First Nations sources of support is even stronger; professors, staff, and counselors emerge as a category; and perhaps most important, there is a clear pattern of response that focuses specifically and positively on NITEP and Ts'kel.

The distinctions that participants make in an open-ended item do not allow for equivalence in distinctions between cases (i.e., when a participant names peers as the source of most support, it is not the same order of distinction as "other First Nations students" or "students in my faculty"). Thus in tabulating responses we have been true to the distinctions made by the participants. A total of 137 items named sources of support, 119 of which specifically focused on either First Nations people, First Nations institutions, or UBC First Nations agencies. Among the latter, NITEP (or Ts'kel) was named 84 times. Several people credited specific individuals.

The importance of NITEP particularly requires comment: though in response to another item, one participant noted a perception that NITEP services were available only to NITEP students, it is clear from responses to this item that NITEP has been important beyond its programmatic mandate, because the students from other faculties were as likely as NITEP education graduates to name it as a source of support.

The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of participants who named a specific source. *FN* refers to terms that were specifically marked as First Nations or were associated with a First Nations agency.

Table II.11

The things that really helped me get through were

Family	58	86.6%
Friends	52	77.6%
General Student Services at UBC	4	6.0%
First Nations Student Services at UBC	39	58.2%
Employment Opportunities at UBC	5	7.5%
Community Social Services	4	6.0%
Other Factors*	9	13.4%

*NISU (student organization), community, and people at home (2), self-reliance (3), Elders)

- *Other students* (29 total, 19 FN, 10 other); NITEP students (8), First Nations students (11), students in participant's faculty (3), other students (4), peers (3).
- *Professors* (11 total, 5 FN, 6 other); NITEP professors (3), First Nations professors (2), other professors (6).
- *Counselors* (18 total, 14 FN, 4 other); NITEP counselors (12), on-campus counselors (4), off-campus counselors (1), DiA counselor (1).
- *Staff* (39 total, 39 FN, 0 other); NITEP staff (17), NITEP support staff (3), NITEP coordinators (4), specific NITEP and Ts'kel named personnel (10), Ts'kel advisors (3), House of Learning staff (1), First Nations student services (1).
- *Family and community* (27 total, 26 FN, 1 other); family (18), NITEP family (5), friends at home (1), community and band (2); community social services (1).
- *Other* (3 total, distinctions not relevant); spiritual help, self (3).
- *Place* (9 people mentioned a place, the NITEP hut, as the most important source of support).

UBC as an institution. Another aspect of success factors and barriers is UBC as an institution. We asked: *Would you comment on how UBC as an institution helped and/or discouraged you (for instance, the administration, the faculty, the rules).*

Seven participants did not respond to this item; the responses of 22 participants were predominantly or wholly positive; 25 were predominantly or wholly negative; and 13 included both positive and negative statements as shown in Table II.12 and in the following pages. There were a total of 59 negative statements, and 44 positive ones.

To facilitate interpretations of the responses to this item, extracts and phrases are categorized below. Our overall interpretation of the responses can be summarized "There are some problems, as might be expected, but on the whole, participants remember the institution in both positive and negative terms."

Two participants who had been at UBC in the early 1970s and again in the 1980s compared their experiences: they said that the institution was much more cognizant of First Nations issues, the institutional climate was better, during their later period of attendance. However, there was no

Table II 12

Category of Comment	Negative	Positive	
General characteristics of the institution		24	8
The administration	6	6	
Rules and regulations	5	1	
University services	4	3	
The teaching staff in general	5	7	
Comments applied to "some" staff	4	1	
Comments about specific departments	8	4	
Comments about First Nations departments	3	14	

systematic relationship between date of attendance and direction of comment (negative or positive) for the group as a whole.

As might be expected from reports of personal experience, a number of comments by different respondents are directly contradictory.

The university as an institution

- *Positive:* fair; helpful; characterized by people who are helpful; cognizant of the special needs of First Nations communities and First Nations people; less bureaucratic than the federal government; incredibly flexible; flexible if the communication is mediated in writing; flexible—it takes personal situations into account.
- *Negative:* impersonal; characterized by people who are cold, distant, uncaring; big, overwhelmingly large; cold, not sensitive to First Nations perspectives; deficient in adequate resources (literature, research base, library holdings) in First Nations issues; hypocritical with respect to professed values; an institutionalization of mainstream values, so epitomizes the problems of mainstream society; dismissive, uninformed about First Nations people and issues; elitist (aloof to students and First Nations people); conservative; embodies some racism; difficult; inflexible.

The administration of the university

- *Positive:* did a fine job of creating programs and administering programs and regulations; is flexible; recognized First Nations Elders, with respect; started the Longhouse; is more than helpful in responding to inquiries and concerns; gave preferential treatment to participant for fear of his or her "loud mouth."
- *Negative:* discourages more often than assists; is impersonal, not understanding; is distrustful; is difficult to understand; was inconsiderate in the manner in which tuition was raised; should appoint more First Nations staff.

The regulations of the university

- *Positive:* did not discourage the participant.
- *Negative:* do not account for mature students with families; had to be followed without reason; were in some cases totally unrealistic and unnecessary; were there to be tested by the students; in the case of regulations about transferring from other institutions were a problem.

Comments about university services

- *Positive:* housing was affordable; the university recognized the special needs of First Nations students in housing; a good orientation was provided.
- *Negative:* housing management was difficult; academic counseling was hard to get; there was no good orientation to new students about programs and services; parking was too expensive.

*Comments about teaching staff**The teaching staff in general*

- *Positive:* were very good; helpful in terms of assignments; were (the vast majority) supportive; were supportive in that they had high expectations; provided recognition and acceptance of First Nations persons and issues, and had high expectations; did not discourage First Nations students.
- *Negative:* lacked knowledge about First Nations; were not impartial; had preconceived ideas about Indians; (in the 1970s) did not encourage pride or acceptance of First Nations people; had commitments to their jobs and careers, not to students.

Some staff

- *Positive:* were positive about First Nations students and issues; gave great personal support during trying times.
- *Negative:* were totally negative; were hypocritical: complained about the system but supported it entirely; were prejudiced; did not care about individuals; were not supportive.

Notes about specific departments

- *Positive:* Graduate advisor in SEDS very helpful, supportive; Educational Administration faculty helpful, encouraged good performance; AAEH faculty helpful and encouraging; Education faculty was excellent, supportive, informative.
- *Negative:* Educational Administration more opinionated than others about First Nations issues; some anthropology professors were racist; some anthropology professors were indifferent to First Nations issues; several anthropology professors clung to their theories despite First Nations counterclaims; graduate advisor (Language Arts) was not helpful; did not have a positive relationship with student; advisor (in Education) discouraged student during difficult situation in practicum; history professor was callous, dismissive, demanding, when student dealt with tragedy; professor actively discouraged student from focus on First Nations issues; provided support and information for "mainstream" issues.

Courses and curriculum

- *Negative:* Courses were too big; there was little allowance for individual interaction with professors; scheduling (in Nursing) meant little flexibility for electives; did not address First Nations issues; institutionalized racism in the curriculum.

First Nations programs and departments

- *Positive:* NITEP was a positive influence, just through its presence on campus; association with NITEP was positive; NITEP provided a sense of pride and acceptance; the staff in NITEP were very helpful; NITEP staff were very supportive during personal difficulties. NITEP provided the personal aspect; main institutional orientation was to

NITEP, not to "UBC"; Ts'kel was a positive presence on campus; Ts'kel provided positive support in terms of acquiring skills, learning; Ts'kel staff was personally very supportive; Faculty associated with Ts'kel was very helpful; Ts'kel had a positive effect in its home academic department; FNHL provided a positive First Nations presence at UBC; FNHL was of great assistance with the UBC bureaucracy.

- *Negative:* NITEP procedures for registration were counterproductive, slow; meant courses were inaccessible; NITEP provided wrong information in counseling; incurred an extra year; during the early period of Ts'kel it did not have the staff or experience to provide the needed support.

After UBC: In Retrospect

After graduation: Work experience. The questionnaire asked: *Please share some of the highlights of your work experience since your last graduation from UBC.*

Only five (7.5%) participants noted any difficulty in finding employment. Their cases appear to be unusual in terms of the others' experience and so are described here to indicate the nature and extent of the difficulties. The greatest degree of problem cited was the case of one very recent, very specialized graduate from Arts who worked in an urban setting in a temporary position in a field related to his or her university education and then went through a period of underemployment. One participant, prepared in two fields, found work in education but would have preferred

Comments on work experience

Working within Native organizations within my community, hence working with my people; experiencing a student's victory.

Taught for four years in an urban Native school, two years in an inner-city school.

Principal of a locally controlled school for three years; now a consultant for a public school division.

Native adult education instruction (2 years); curriculum developer (1 year)—wrote and developed a curriculum for grade 4; Native Indian Studies sessional instructor at university, coordinator of First Nations education and college administrator.

Articled with Canada Department of Justice, ... private law practice since that time.

Research scientist.

Worked for two large companies (planning department, designing computer systems).

Research for [School Board]; worked as a First Nations resource person for [School District]; I've taught grade 2 for 4 years and now have a split 2/3. I've worked closely with First Nations Youth as a counselor

my work experience has been exceptional. I would do it all again. Even though NITEP is an elementary program my teaching experience has been all secondary humanities. I became a secondary vice-principal [then seconded to work with government], and am now a district principal.

the other field of specialization. Another participant, now describing high job satisfaction, spoke of "great difficulty getting a decent job." One education graduate says the difficulty is more of a disappointment in that "despite my professional accomplishments ... I'm still not perceived [as being] on par with white colleagues; I feel like a glorified aide." The only other person to cite difficulty, an employed teacher, noted problems with the employer.

By far the most (62 participants, 92.5%) noted no difficulty in finding suitable employment in the field in which they had studied. More nearly typical is the response from another teacher "Very easy to find employment: in fact, it's 'hard' to remain unemployed."

Almost all the research project participants pursue careers in the field in which they studied at UBC. The most general strategy for assessing consistency between "field of university education" and "career path" is by faculty purview, that is, to ask "Are the graduates working in fields for which the faculty in which they studied usually prepares people?" and by that method of assessment only four participants changed fields. All three had degrees in education, but one worked in health administration, one in publishing, and one in municipal administration. In terms of comparing specific specializations, there were more changes of field: an elementary reading specialist works as an addictions counselor, a magisterial graduate in educational administration became a civil servant and consultant, a Canadian studies major in education works as a counselor, and a businessperson changed to a completely different industry, field, and position, but still in the world of business. The questionnaire responses probably give a minimum estimate of such changes.

What is most remarkable about comparing the specializations in which people were trained and their descriptions of what they have since done is the way people expand their work horizons to include such a variety of activities and interests. Representative of those many cases is the education graduate who has worked as an elementary schoolteacher, principal, program coordinator, consultant, curriculum developer, and adult education instructor. Again, because the information was not specifically requested, it is impossible to say how many graduates have developed multiple areas of competence and work in their fields, but the fact that 34 (50.8%) of the participants described their work in terms of this diversity indicates that the pattern is common.

Postgraduate education is a route chosen by 20 (30.3%) of the graduates.

The fields in which participants described their activities are varied. Were we to have distinguished career path for the participants from faculties other than education, individual participants might be identifiable. Instead, in order to demonstrate the variety of fields of work the participants reported we have focused on the 55 people who graduated from the Faculty of Education. The fields shown in Table II.13 are men-

tioned as major areas of work during the postuniversity career. (Note that the categories are not exclusive, some people probably including "curriculum development" and "program planning" under "educational administration"; and the field of "teaching" covers a large territory. Because people have changed positions and have current positions that involve multiple fields of competence more than 67 fields are listed.)

The 12 participants who have never been associated with the Faculty of Education report the following fields: self-employment, health care, health care administration, law, administration, research, planning and development, consulting, publishing, counseling, teaching, civil service, museology and archival work, and politics.

We did not ask specifically if participants worked in First Nations or with First Nations issues, yet almost two thirds of them (44, or 65.7%) volunteered that their work was with First Nations people, in First Nations communities, or with First Nations issues.

Did UBC prepare its graduates well?

The question was *As you look back, how well did your UBC program prepare you for your career? Please be as specific as you can.*

Only two participants failed to respond to this item. Three general categories of response are "positive comment," "negative comment," and "comment that includes both negative and positive aspects of programs." Generally positive comments typified 43 (64.2%) participant's responses, whereas 12 (17.9%) focused on aspects of their programs that in retrospect they evaluated negatively. Both negative and positive aspects were included in the responses of another 10 (14.9%) participants.

The responses fell into five categories:

Content areas: skills, knowledge, perspective, intellectual development;

Organizational areas: administration and planning;

Personal growth areas: adaptability and self-confidence;

Practical experience areas: practical experience in application of skills and knowledge;

First Nations issues.

Teaching	43
Educational administration	21
Program development	6
Consulting	5
Planning and development	4
Research	4
Curriculum development	3
Counselling	2
Publishing	2
Politics	1
Civil service	1
Self employed	1

Comments about employment

The highlights are many. But perhaps the spotlight is on my children and my students. The impact of being a Native and being a friend or relative to everyone in my community makes a difference—it gives my people the power to believe they can be whatever they want. I have witnessed students who repeatedly stated “I can’t” and because they were surrounded by their own people and by people who believed in them, they changed their “I can’t” to “I’ll try.”

I have met the challenges of administrator of [a specific school]. I especially like it because 95% of the students enrolled are First Nations. I have the freedom to take risks, make changes to meet the needs of the students.

I moved back to my reserve community and am here to stay, working with my people in education, social development, economic development, and land claims. [Currently involved in intergovernmental negotiations.] My life goal however is to implement in our traditional territory a land use board which will make all people and all things equal, based on sharing, caring, respect, and honor.

I am a recent graduate but already there has been a change in how I see myself and the work I do. I now work for [postsecondary institution] and plan to move on. I feel I have the knowledge and skill to do so.

Positions in field since graduation: assistant executive director of community service facility; executive director, research director, chief administrative officer.

Taught grade 1 for two in a Native community; with assistance of local school district developed an adult education centre in home community.

UBC’s program directed me toward a career, rather than preparing me for it.

Examples from the various areas follow.

Skills One participant detailed his or her work in coordinating a counseling program and in general program administration, as well as work in curriculum development in adult education, and related specific skills used in those jobs to specific skills gained in graduate courses in Education Curriculum and Instruction. The development of writing skills at university was remarked on by one participant; communications and research skills were remarked on positively by others. The development of analytical skills was mentioned by several participants as well. To one nurse, the important thing about the program was that “you actually learn specific skills that you will use in the work force” (though that person added, “I feel less well prepared in terms of skills than those nurses who have graduated from a college program”).

Another teacher said that many of the skills acquired at university for teaching were in fact not useful: “Teaching is way different!” wrote the participant, and continued, “For example, math: you have to come up with ways that work for those kids. All kids aren’t the same! The textbooks at university were not current. I don’t think I ever referred to any notes or plans I may have made. Weird!” Though not directly speaking about skills, another teacher agreed: “Unfortunately, the courses were out-dated.”

Eleven of the participants focused on skills they had learned at university and positively evaluated that experience. On the other hand, four participants mentioned skill areas in which they thought the university had been deficient. In addition to this example, the skill areas they mentioned as lacking were (a) interview skills; (b) general teaching skills (i.e., "As a teacher [I was prepared adequately]; but what I have learned [and the specific skills I have acquired] stem from my job"; and (c) skills associated with evaluating and using the Whole Language approach to teaching.

Knowledge. Specific knowledge areas were the most commonly cited in the positive comments. For example, one participant was thankful for the good advice about electives received during course registration and program planning, because those courses had broadened knowledge areas and "helped me obtain a secondary teaching assignment." Twenty-one participants commented positively about knowledge gained at university related to their subsequent employment, whereas five commented in negative terms. The positive comments were almost all in general terms, but the negative comments were often quite specific. For example, a graduate student commented about knowledge gained in courses: "Course work had little bearing on what I'm doing now. I completed a thesis in order to increase my knowledge related to [my field of study]—this learning was largely self-directed." One teacher listed a number of perceived omissions and wrote in large letters "[University] did not prepare me for band-operated school politics; there should have been more seminars on Native learning styles, Native curriculum development, stereotypes, discrimination." Content areas that were mentioned as deficient were career awareness, sex education, education about substance abuse, and knowledge about testing and evaluation, specifically oriented toward First Nations children. Some knowledge areas are difficult to define; one participant commented on knowledge area deficiencies:

Although a BEd degree was useful it still wasn't the background required for working primarily in adult education where there is a great need for well qualified Native professionals. The BEd didn't prepare me to face some of the shocking social conditions and issues faced by many in our community.

One teacher who highly evaluated the methods courses and practicum experience said, "the theoretical and academic part of the program tried to force only one way—one view—which is a farce."

Perspective. One participant commented simply: "My university education set the course, or basis, for the rest of my life." Another positive "perspective" comment follows:

UBC did not prepare me to deal with students who had no belief in what they were and what they can do; it did not prepare me to teach a Grade VI student at a Grade II level. But by attending UBC my beliefs changed from what I thought I couldn't do to what believed I can do. UBC might not have prepared me for my challenges; however, by attending and graduating from UBC, it gave me the power to meet any challenge. And isn't that all we need?

The 16 comments on changing perspective were uniformly positive, such as the participant who said the Ts'kel program helped him or her "develop a vision of First Nations education" and the participant who wrote, "My contact with aboriginal faculty and students helped reshape my understanding of the world and the way I articulate my ideas." No one commented on having incorporated a negative perspective, but some were reactive to what they perceived to be a perspective that is antithetical to First Nations perspective:

UBC represents mainstream society's values, the foundations of which are competition, individuality, materialism and nonspirituality. In order for humanity as a whole to survive we must rid ourselves of those selfish values in favor of cooperation, community, holism and respect for all life. UBC did not prepare me for my job, but my job happened because of UBC.

Organizational areas: Administration and planning. This is an area of preparation in which the negative comments slightly outnumber the positive six to four. Among the education students two main areas of deficiency noted were classroom management and long-term (i.e., year-long) planning, though education for short-term planning came in for favorable comment and the education practica were noted as being helpful in preparation for classroom management.

Personal growth areas: Adaptability and self-confidence. Thirteen people commented very positively about growth of self-confidence and increased adaptability as a result of university study, and five made negative comments. The negative comments related to training in adaptability (e.g., "UBC did not prepare me for modifying some school subjects") or to an initial failure in self-confidence in the early days of employment. One participant relates deficiency in this area to the practicum: "there is not enough time for building teacher-student relationships, not enough self-determined time before being given evaluations for practica."

One individual, however, remarked that the UBC experience "prepared me academically for my various career changes," and explicit reference to increased self-confidence appears in five people's responses.

Practical experience areas. This is the only area in which negative comments are substantively greater than the positive ones. Five people commented positively about the effect of their university-related practical experience on their preparedness for their professions, but 12 commented negatively. "I was given a lot of practical experience, which I think is crucial to being a teacher," wrote one, echoing another's "Because of the number of practica offered in NITEP, I felt comfortable with being the classroom." Three of the five positive comments about practica specifically named practica associated with NITEP.

A graduate from the early years wrote, "When I first started teaching I felt very angry that my BEd program did not practically prepare me for teaching (i.e. discipline, practical management). NITEP had not started yet." Graduates from recent years can be just as negative about practical

experience, however, and more than half of their comments relate to practical issues of classroom management and discipline. Another practical issue raised by several participants had to do with dealing with individual differences among students. One remarked, "They should have spent more time informing us of the realities of actually getting into, working in, and surviving in quite a ruthless system—both in public and band schools." There were mixed comments from graduates of both Commerce and Nursing that the preparation for practical, everyday working was good in some areas and not in others.

First Nations issues. Seventeen respondents noted the area of First Nations issues as important in evaluating the connection between their education and their work; 12 credited their university experience as having a positive effect and five made comments that reflected negative evaluation of the university's approach to First Nations issues. "Attending UBC gave me pride in myself as a First Nations person" was a theme reiterated by several: it is important to note that the focus was on the process of attending, and not on UBC as an institution. NITEP and Ts'kel programs were singled out for the usefulness of knowledge areas and perspectives regarding First Nations issues. Similarly, the negative comments here relate to content areas; for example, one person commented that the reality of First Nations community life had not been portrayed accurately at university.

Expectations of UBC

An even more general retrospective question was *How well did UBC meet your expectations?* One respondent wrote: "Good question! I'm not sure at this point if I had any clearly defined expectations of UBC but I certainly had expectations of myself. I think it is difficult, but necessary, for students to be able to articulate expectations of bureaucratic institutions like UBC."

Of the 63 respondents to this question 41 answered in positive terms, even though one said that expectation was that it would be "big and scary" and added, "It was." Thirteen participants said that UBC had failed to meet their expectations and seven were neutral in their responses. Most of those (27) who responded with positive comments answered the question in general terms, as did three of those who said UBC failed their expectations.

Nine of the more specifically oriented positive evaluations focused on the area of intellectual and academic challenge or personal growth, and one person registered disappointment in that area. Only one person spoke positively of course content in this area, whereas two were disappointed in the nature and scope of the courses. Only one person commented on the teaching staff, and that was in positive terms. Companionship with peers and the social aspects of university life were mentioned positively by four people, whereas four commented positively about support services: two specified that it was NITEP support they positively evaluated in contrast to general university support services. One person focused positively on

preparedness for professional employment, whereas two said they thought their program content had been deficient in that area. One person said that expectation of employment as a result of study at UBC had not been met. One participant commented that the university had been a very human-oriented and comfortable place, but two mentioned that area as one of disappointment. Another negative evaluation was in the area of costs.

UBC's Influence

An important summary question asked for broad retrospection: *How has your experience at UBC influenced you in general (both personally and as a member of your community)?*

Many of the comments echo those described above, but nevertheless an eloquent statement of the way UBC influenced these First Nations graduates comes from simply reading what they said. Some graduates felt the influence pervaded their whole lives:

My university education set the course or basis for rest of my life.

It gave me confidence and strength to acknowledge myself and my colleagues: I am a valuable resource. I am happy to do so anywhere.

It has enabled me to cross bridges I would not have dreamed of crossing.

I have been pursuing my career further, being enrolled in the Master's program. I did not ever think I could or would reach this far.

I'm humbled by the experiences I collected there. Others have higher expectations of me than before I left.

Others spoke of the broadening effects of their education:

I believe I am more open minded and willing to listen to other viewpoints. I am more understanding of my people and of people in general. I am more interested in worldly affairs (and this does not mean Diana and Charles—take time to laugh!). I am more

Some comments about expectations

At the time, I guess [it met my expectations], although I felt I had to meet the university expectations rather than the university meeting mine.

Not many European descendant professors knew about First Nations. I felt I knew more about my culture first hand, but white professors trivialized my knowledge because it was not obtainable from libraries, not written.

When it was all over I felt that all that I had gained was a piece of paper and a three-year void in my life. To be truthful, I didn't know what to expect. Now, I expect that the experience should touch people—all people.

UBC met expectations through having programs such as NITEP and Ts'kel, where I was able to meet other First Nations individuals in social and academic settings.

I loved my university experience! However I felt ill prepared for teaching... I had a few experiences with racist individuals and many experiences with cross-cultural insensitivity. But I learned much and met many fine human beings. I value the knowledge, skills, and friendships gained.

My expectations of UBC were that it would challenge me, give choices and opportunities, and it did.

encouraging. I see, hear, viewpoints other than Native: I learned about the Japanese, the Ukrainians and other groups. Wow! To learn that other cultures shared many of our experiences!

It has changed me; I've grown up (somewhat). I remember stating at a tea social at UBC that sitting among a group of professional Native people, as I was, was like I was graduating alright, but also like I was just learning how to crawl. Today I don't have red knees like before, and I'm taking better care of myself.

Some were more specific:

Going to UBC has provided me with many more options.

My experience at UBC has given me more credibility in the community (i.e., academic) and has given more confidence in my work.

It has taught me to keep trying as hard as I can; also that I am a very hard worker.

I feel more confident, as I achieved well academically despite my family responsibilities and financial difficulties.

It made me see the value of meeting objectives.

It increased my interest in learning.

I made a lot of lifelong contacts, figured out how the world worked, and realized, once I left, the work was only just beginning.

For some, UBC strengthened First Nations identity:

UBC. I was able to speak [my own language] in a university class because others were speaking their own Native First Nation's language; [going to UBC influenced] by assisting me to form my educational philosophy with the education- into-culture process; it allowed me to meet First Nations educators and to listen, learn, and act on visions to better myself

Personally, UBC allowed the opportunity to make new First Nations friends and to share experiences of other First Nations community concerns and issues.

UBC has given me degrees to be proud of, pride in myself as a person and knowledge that I can share with those who care to listen—knowledge about my history and background—and a vision to work toward.

It has made me look at myself as a First Nations person and as a result has given me an identity and a purpose which I was not aware of before.

Many comments connected personal growth and growth in professional competence with aspects important to First Nations people:

I'm proud to be a UBC graduate personally because I'm still a minority who has made it. I am able to critically analyze issues and answer my critics intelligently and with historical evidence; the issues are usually of a First Nations nature. I'm confident with my competence to do whatever I want to do. My education will give me the skills.

It opened my eyes to the influence that institutions like UBC have on social attitudes and ways of thinking and perceiving; for instance, in the area of Canadian history and Indian-White relations, what is taught is the Eurocolonial interpretation of this relationship. The other half of the equation is believed to be nonexistent because it is not written down in history books. The ability to be objective is highly valued in the study of history, yet how can this information, when so one-sided, be considered objective and therefore acceptable to the First Nations learner. The contradiction is too great; this exhibits disrespect to the knowledge that exists with First Nations culture and the to the experiences of the First Nations learners who live in the culture. As First

Nation students then we have to take responsibility for correcting this contradiction, for as a student in this setting, we are both learner and teacher. So in direct response to your question yes, my identity is reinforced and strengthened because I have to defend it against a "value" of another culture.

With regard to First Nations aspects, some feel that they act as role models, and wish to encourage university attendance in others:

My experience at UBC has influenced me a great deal both personally (I have a better quality life, I appreciate people around me and I love studying and learning) and in the community. In the community I love to help people, to encourage people around me all the time. My community has expanded as well. It is no longer confined to the parameters of our tribal territory. It now encompasses all First Nations people—and non-First Nations people as well.

I found that my experience at UBC was very rewarding. It caused me to grow personally. I could do what I set out to do. I believe I've been a role model for some students.

I became a role model for student/community members. That gave me the realization I could do a lot for the community; it gave me a desire to excel and to continue to go to school, to encourage others and my children.

A number of other refer to "giving back" to others, to community support and service, and to furthering First Nations peoples:

Personally it is a real accomplishment, one that I am proud of. So far I am still the only university graduate who has returned home and I feel the community members support me!

My experience at UBC made me more conscience of my roles and responsibilities as a member of society. I am now clear about where I fit into the community and how to go about getting what I want and need as a member.

Having a university education plus work-related experience really has unlocked the door for me to be active and committed to the progress of our people, in our process of reclaiming and regaining our pride in who we are, our history and our land.

It has given me the courage to continue the struggle to strive for excellence in Aboriginal Education.

I am now working for my people in my home town. Also, I work with bands [in a large region of the province]. I have brought my skills home.

Not everyone felt positive. However, compared with the number of positive comments, the negative ones are infrequent. Some comments were ambivalent:

It reinforced me in seeing myself as a human being with a profession—not just a "professional," but a person who has empathy and caring for those I live and work with; I was disappointed in the attitude of some of those I dealt with in administration who would rather "deal" with me than "relate" with me.

A college degree tended to bolster my self-confidence. The community tends to look on a holder of such a degree with a bit more deference. I'm not sure if that is good or bad.

I have to watch my use of the English language so that others don't think that I am being pretentious. Many expectations and responsibilities like that are placed on me because of my education. I've developed a research and knowledge creation

consciousness, as well as a recognition of the place of ideology in knowledge creation theory building.

One was overtly hostile:

I feel angry—and I have discussed with my partner as we are both students—that we became too cognitively centered. We lived inside the language of inscription rather than in lived experience. We became unbalanced beings and we have discussed how or what we will take, or make, to get out of the university—or rather, the academic boundedness of student life. We analyzed how our outdoor life had virtually disappeared

Some felt that UBC was less important to them than NITEP:

I am proud to admit that I was at UBC; however, I first say that I was in the NITEP at UBC.

NITEP has influenced my direction since graduation. I have thought of my university experience in terms of NITEP and have thought of UBC as irrelevant. My support and social contacts were NITEP-based and related. I attended "UBC" classes and identify "UBC" in that way (i.e., going to class).

UBC, itself, has not had much of an influence personally and in my community. I have drawn my strengths, goals, and attainments through myself, my family, friends, and the staff of NITEP itself

Others experienced racism and prejudice:

I am a recognized professional. As such, [one is treated] really well. But as a First Nations individual it is still difficult to feel [one's self to be] an acceptable person within the field. I still feel as though I have to constantly prove myself and my capabilities. I have not yet received a whole year's teaching assignment. I have only been working on a contract basis. Every day I still face the negative attitude other professionals and parents hold toward Native people. This is a continuous struggle because they seem to have these preconceived ideas that seem to never go away. Personally, UBC has taught me how to be critical of the world around me, be it positively or negative. I am educated and remain educated about the issues concerning First Nations; therefore I am an advocate and voice for our people.

NITEP is viewed by our school board as being a compromised program with less credibility than the regular program; more 'PR' is needed to counteract this.

In summary, despite some ambivalent and negative impact, UBC generally had a profound positive influence on the First Nations graduates who responded to the survey, not merely in the areas of education or employment, but in a far more pervasive way. As one graduate stated:

I could write a book about how my experience at NITEP and Ts'kel has influenced my life. It has been great! What I have gained I am able to return. That's the beauty of it. The expression I like that describes the feeling is "My Heart Soars."

The First Nations-UBC Interaction

First Nations cultures. The importance of First Nations cultures in the university experience is demonstrated in the responses to an open-ended question that asked the participants to complete the phrase: *My First Nations culture influenced my UBC experience by ...*

The responses to this item were for the most part complex. However, two respondents said that their First Nations culture had "no effect" and six others declined to answer. One said "not sure." The other 59 wrote in terms that demonstrated that their perception and experience of First Nations was central to their university experience.

Responses typically fell into at least two of the three major categories of response: action and expression; family and community; and internal characteristics.

Action and expression (30). First Nations culture/identity provides the imperative:

- to make choices of faculty, program, and courses;
- to make choices of topics for exposition or study within courses; choice of research area; choices of topic for development of teaching units;
- to explain First Nations perspectives to others, to acknowledge the culture to others; to accept a responsibility to educate non-Aboriginal people about aboriginal perspectives; to help others understand a First Nations perspective;
- explicitly, in classes or with individual professors, to ensure that the First Nations perspective was there; to argue if need be to break down negative stereotypes; confidently to ensure that what information is presented about First Nations issues is accurate;
- to demonstrate by example to others the spiritual nature of First Nations cultures; to exemplify through action a more humanistic approach to learning; to teach by example about the diversity among First Nations;
- by example to demonstrate respect for others, no matter how they might demonstrate their ignorance.

Family and community (30). Two families were described here: those of origin, and the UBC family/community.

Their families of origin gave them:

family support and identity;
my family gave me traditional values;
my parents gave me determination and perseverance;
my family made me see I come from an ancestry of winners and doers.
their example gave me determination to hold up my family's name.

Their communities gave:

involvement with Elders;
a basis and place for spirituality and prayer;
commitment to persevere for the benefit of the community, to help out in First Nations situations;
through meeting cultural responsibilities in my community my identity and commitment was built;
I realized that leaving home for a while to bring something of benefit back to the community has been a long standing cultural pattern,
that the university reinforced my connection to my community, my work, and gave me support

The UBC family/community was a place to:

live, share, and love, in a new-found UBC First Nations family;
 made me feel at home with other First Nations people;
 drew me to other aboriginal students, among whom I made friends;
 gave me role models among First Nations people at NITEP;
 allowed me to show respect, kindness, and appreciation to staff, friends, students,
 peers, and Elders;
 reinforced the value of sharing within the community, being aware of community.

Through community, one participant realized that "the honor of one is the honor of all."

Individual (43). First Nations culture gave them:

- *Identity*: identity; focus, centre; sanity; ability to believe in myself; pride; the foundation for personality, character, and career; and a sense of uniqueness (not always a comfortable experience).
- *Power*: strength; the ability to work and complete tasks; my culture's propensity for innovation; commitment to positive change during times of adjustment; support, seeing me through, being there; sponsorship, encouragement; perseverance and commitment to succeed in university; strength to face discrimination; and patience with others.
- *Attitudes*: motivation to succeed; determination to succeed; ability to know we create our own reality; knowledge of dependence-interdependence; knowledge of accountability to others; the realization that education is important to our people's survival; the desire to know more about my culture and roots; a hunger for knowledge and enlightenment; curiosity, the drive to push ahead; and commitment to contribute to the community.
- *Cognitive strength*: influences my thoughts, values; provides me an ability to think critically; gave me new ideas to bring to my work at university; provided evaluative criteria for knowing how to choose what is good in a challenging situation; My culture gives focus to my efforts and plans; realization of common First Nations values in different First Nations traditions; a critical perspective on theory; and a critical perspective on applications of theory.

Impact of UBC

We asked specifically in another question: *Did UBC as an institution have any impact on your First Nations identity? If so, what?* Eleven said that UBC had no impact on their First Nations identity, and most of those answers were simply "no." Three people did not respond to this item, but 53 described the effect of their experience at UBC on their identity as First Nations people. Those descriptions were all in positive terms, but not all responses reflected positively on the institution.

Several people were specific about the agency of that effect. For example, 13 people said that it was NITEP where that positive effect on identity was realized, two said it was due to their involvement at the FNHL, and

two mentioned work with the Native Indian Student Union. Three students compared NITEP and its positive effect in that regard with the university at large, like the graduate who remembered "No. NITEP and First Nations House of Learning did." Another nine participants were quite specific that it was the First Nations community on campus, and not the institution, that had a positive effect on their identity as a First Nations person. One person wrote simply: "The NITEP students." Two others wrote:

I don't know if UBC had an impact upon me but the people, many of them students, did. I am now aware of my identity in a much deeper and more satisfying way than I was when I arrived at UBC.

The presence of so many First Nations students has helped to reinforce my sense of self-identity. I don't feel so lost [as I did at another university].

Consistent with responses to other questions were both positive and negative references to professors, courses, and institutional structures in general that had some influence on individual's First Nations identity.

Five people responded in terms of their realization of what First Nations people have to offer society and the university.

When the House of Learning was being created I was proud to know that I could actually affect the architectural design of building. The elements of wood, water, and sky eventually became the focus of the structure. In time this structure will help future students to realize the dynamic and balancing contributions that First Nations have made to education. It makes me more determined than ever to work in areas where First Nations will be proud of the unique heritage, through their beautiful cultures.

I found that I was always proud to state my nation and tribe in NITEP and UBC classes. I sang my traditional songs at numerous NITEP/FNHL functions and was glad I had those opportunities. When in non-First Nations classes I often was able to clarify some of the misconceptions stated in class—even when I was met with criticism from professors.

The participants offer some important insights into how for many people First Nations identity evolves and changes during a program of university studies. No single term captures the process accurately, but the term *legitimacy* incorporates two aspects of the process in that it involves both public perception or group attribution of value on one hand, and identity of the individual, with reference to a defined group, on the other. The insight that the participants have given us involves a process of response to the expressed or perceived perceptions of others and a concomitant personal incorporation of identity. The participants express an affirmation of identity as First Nations people with respect to values expressed by others about First Nations people and First Nations belief systems that are negative and positive, accurate and stereotypic, affirming or denying. We have categorized those as "perceptions of confirmation" or "perceptions of challenge."

Examples speak more coherently; with respect to challenge: "Yes. It forced me to resolve and solidify myself because the focus [at university]

was to pick apart any culture that was not 'white' or 'mainstream.' [As a result I became] a better defender of First Nations people and issues." As other respondents stated,

In many cases I was made to speak on behalf of First Nations in general. Many courses required me to establish defensible positions on many issues. [The respondent goes on to say that he/she thought that this was a "generally good, positive impact" on personal identity.]

Yes, as an institution UBC only created a conviction in me that they need some change in attitude more akin to First Nations philosophy, and less bureaucratic. I found it so refreshing to come to the [NITEP] hut and feel myself restrengthened in order to go out and face the often "unrealistics" of UBC.

It made clear for me the breadth and depth of ignorance among the "educated" elite with regards to aboriginal peoples' histories, cultures, politics, economics, and so forth. Their ignorance in this age of information reminds me of how little they are concerned with social justice in their front yards. I came home knowing how little aboriginal people mean to most Canadians. However, I also know how much can be achieved when Canadians act out of fear and self interest.

I was the one who initiated interest in my First Nations identity, otherwise there would have been no accommodation made by the university. Anthropology classes objectified and depersonalized First Nations.

Yes! Very much I felt empowered and proud to say "I'm Blackfoot; my language is important." I felt that my people's culture was validated—because it had been subtracted from the school curriculum.

Early years—no. [In the] humanities there was a negativity to First Nations which made me identify more as a First Nations person.

Compare those statements with these, which we have generalized as "confirmation":

It had a positive impact on me as a First Nations person, several instructors—First Nations and non-First Nations—helped me to realize the enormous treasure I have in my First Nations cultural heritage

The fact that [UBC] recognized us as unique persons who could contribute to UBC made us feel welcome and comforted there; they never begrudged (I hope!) any of the services to First Nations programs.

Yes, in some instances, it reaffirmed what I knew, made me proud to be who I am. It also taught me that the oppression I experienced as First Nations person was world-wide, and it was systemic (and still is); and that all efforts toward positive change are extremely valuable, both among our own people and others.

The NITEP program definitely influenced me as a First Nations person. I appreciate the cultural courses offered. I also took several anthropology courses that I enjoyed.

Yes -- I learned more about other cultures in my anthropology courses which helped strengthen my ties with my own.

At this point in the report, we would like to honor Floy Pepper, the Elder on our research team. Not only did she give us the benefit of her experience throughout the project, but her wit and wisdom made her a highly respected member of the team. Her useful description of focus groups follows. Her wise words on racism are found in Part V.

The Focus Group: An Introduction

Focus groups present an alternative means of obtaining information from people. This discussion is divided into two parts: What is a focus group and how does it work? and How to conduct a focus group interview and skills needed by the interviewer.

What is a Focus Group and How Does it Work?

Focus groups are used in research to provide information as to why people think or feel the way that they do. Group interaction allows for greater insight into why certain opinions are held and provides information that can be helpful to the planners or decision makers. "Focus groups are valid if they are used carefully for a problem that is suitable for focus group inquiry" (Krueger, 1988, p. 41).

What is a focus group? "A focus group can be defined as a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, nonthreatening environment. It is conducted with approximately seven to ten people by a skilled interviewer" (Krueger, 1988, p. 18).

The discussion is held in a relaxed, comfortable manner as the participants share their ideas and perceptions. For many people talking in an atmosphere of mutual understanding stimulates thinking. The participants of the group are selected because they have certain knowledge and understandings in common that relate to the topic to be discussed. The focus group is intended to promote self-disclosure among its members.

The atmosphere of the group provides opportunities for emotional and intellectual participation and reassurance that one is not alone in one's thinking. The problems they have faced or are facing and the tasks they perform seem lighter and more solvable when ideas, aspirations, successes, and anxieties are shared. This does not often happen with other forms of discussion. The participants may find that there are a number of facets to the same topic. In such a discussion all have the right to say what they think. Everyone is equal and treated with respect. There are no right or wrong answers, only differing points of view, for example:

Please share your point of view even if it differs from what others have said. We are just as interested in negative comments as positive comments, and at times the negative comments are the most helpful.

We have invited people with similar experiences to share their perceptions and ideas on the topic. You were selected because you have things in common that are of particular interest to us. (Krueger, 1988, p. 25)

What are the characteristics of a focus group? A number of characteristics are typical:

1. Focus groups are usually composed of seven to 10 people. The size must be kept small enough for everybody to have the opportunity to share insights but large enough to provide a variety of perceptions.

2. Focus groups are composed of participants who are similar to each other and who have the same kind of common factors. It is preferred that the participants do not know each other very well and do not know the interviewer; however, this is not always possible.
3. Focus groups can provide data to the researcher. Focus groups have a narrow purpose to determine the perceptions, feelings, and manner of thinking as consumers about the product, service, or opportunity of the particular topic under discussion. Focus groups are a way to provide helpful information of management prior to launching a new endeavor. They are not intended to develop consensus, to decide on a definite plan, or to make a decision about a planned course of action.
4. Focus groups can give qualitative data that provide insights into the attitudes, perceptions, and opinions of its members. This is achieved through the medium of open-ended questions. The participants influence others and are influenced by others.
5. Focus group discussions are carefully predetermined and sequenced, based on an analysis of the situation. The interviewer uses predetermined, open-ended questions that appear to be spontaneous but that have been carefully developed and arranged in a natural, logical sequence. Attention is placed on understanding the thought processes of the participants.

What is the relation between focus groups and quantitative methods?

1. Focus groups can be used to proceed quantitative methods. Focus groups can provide insights into special problems that may arise. Focus groups can pinpoint critical questions, help to develop a logical sequence of questions, and may provide a wider range of choices.
2. Focus groups can be instituted at the same time as quantitative procedures. This permits the researcher to confirm findings and obtain breadth and depth of information.
3. Focus groups can be used after quantitative procedures. Questionnaires give a great deal of data, whereas focus groups can give interpretations and meaning to the information. Quantitative needs assessments alone are often incomplete.
4. Focus groups can be used independently and are helpful when insights, perceptions, and explanations are important.

Focus groups can be used before a quantitative study, during a quantitative study, after a quantitative study, or independent of other methodological procedures. The decision of using a methodological mix is often made in the planning stages at the beginning of the study. In some situations, however, the researcher may consider incorporating a quantitative study after conducting focus group interviews, especially in situations where focus groups have revealed unexpected results that need further confirmation. (Krueger, 1988, p. 40)

What are the advantages of focus group interviews?

1. The technique is a socially orientated research method capturing real-life data in a social environment.

2. It has flexibility.
3. It has high face validity.
4. It has speedy results and is low in cost (Krueger, 1988 p. 47).

What are the limitations of focus groups that affect the quality of the results?

1. Focus groups afford the researcher less control than individual interviews
2. Data are difficult to analyze.
3. Moderators require special skills.
4. Differences between groups can be troublesome.
5. Groups are difficult to assemble.
6. Discussions must be conducted in a conducive environment (Krueger, 1988, p. 48).

How to Conduct a Focus Group and Skills Needed by the Facilitator

Conducting a focus group interview has three phases:

1. Developing a written plan (developing the questions);
2. Conducting the interview (learning interviewer skills and selecting the participants);
3. Analyzing and reporting the results of the collected data.

Background information is needed in order to develop a plan, which should include:

1. Why should a study be conducted and who will use the information?
2. What types of information are of importance and what kind of information is needed?
3. Who wants the information and why is the information needed?

A written plan should include the procedures to be followed, whether a task force will be involved, a timeline, and a proposed budget. A plan is like a map; it shows where you are going and how to get there. It assists the researcher to think through the process in a logical manner, allows feedback from colleagues and decision makers, and ensures that adequate resources and time will be available to obtain the needed information. Consideration should be given to developing both a chronological plan and a fiscal plan for the project.

A chronological plan should contain the following elements: dates, steps, persons responsible, people assisting, and comments. The chronological plan presents a timetable of the sequence of steps as well as identifying the tasks to be completed by various individuals.

The fiscal plan is a project budget summary that complements the chronological plan and provides additional insights as to the amount of time, effort, and expenses that will be required (Krueger, 1988, p. 58)

What is the art of asking questions? Asking the right questions is probably the most difficult technique in conducting focus group interviews. As previously stated, the interviewer uses predetermined, open-ended questions that appear to be spontaneous, but that have been carefully developed and arranged in a natural, logical order. Quality answers are directly

related to quality questions. Quality questions require forethought, concentration, and background knowledge.

Open-ended questions reveal what is on the interviewee's mind. They tend to give the interviewer a clearer idea of what the interviewee is thinking rather than what the interviewer suspects is on the interviewee's mind. Brainstorming with colleagues on the task force can be helpful in obtaining a range of possible questions.

1. Questions should flow in a logical sequence.
2. Key questions should focus on the critical issues of concern.
3. Use probe or follow-up questions.

Examples:

Think back _____,

What did you like best about _____?

How did you feel about your experience at _____?

We are asking people to share their ideas and opinions on _____?

The interviewer should be familiar with the two techniques of the five-second pause and the probe. The five-second pause is used after an interviewee's comment, which often prompts additional points of view.

The probe is often used when people make vague comments and there is need for clarification or to elicit additional information. "Would you explain further?" "Please describe what you mean." "Could you give an example?"

What kinds of questions does the interviewer avoid?

1. Closed-ended questions.
2. Questions that can be answered by Yes or No.
3. Limit the use of *Why* questions.

"Interviews are focused by providing participants with consistent and sufficient background information and by presenting the question in context" (Krueger, 1988, p. 68).

What skills should the interviewer (moderator) have in order to conduct an effective focus group interview?

To be an effective discussion leader requires considerable self-assurance, spontaneity, and inner freedom. These qualities permit the leader to function without fear or concern for personal prestige and allows one to be comfortable with oneself, and able to make mistakes without feeling threatened. A leader who is warm, outgoing, and friendly is usually successful in giving each member of the group a feeling of being accepted and understood. Along with warmth and friendliness, flexibility in establishing relationships with other people is essential.

The interviewer should be familiar with group processes, have training and experience in working with groups and group dynamics. The leader must also have a sense of timing, to be able to link the feelings and thoughts of group members and be able to sense the group atmosphere and to help bring about change if necessary. In a nonthreatening atmos-

phere, the interviewees will have the satisfaction of developing free expression, maximum communication, and friendly relationships. The leader must be alert to detect feelings and attitudes that are implied but are not expressed and able to use gentle encouragement to help group members to express their thoughts, feelings, and attitudes more clearly.

An effective moderator must be a good listener, be able to communicate clearly, and have background knowledge of the topic of discussion in order to place all comments in perspective and follow up on critical areas of concern. He or she must have the discipline of listening and thinking simultaneously, which means being free from distractions, anxieties, or pressures that would limit the ability to think quickly and clearly.

Additional moderator skills are (Krueger, 1988, p. 90):

- Be well rested and alert for the focus group setting.
- Practice introduction without referring to notes.
- Remember questions without referring to notes.
- Be cautious to avoid head nodding.
- Avoid comments that signal approval, that is, "excellent," "great," "wonderful."
- Avoid giving personal opinions.

The interviewer must have a past-present-future time perspective throughout the discussion—he or she needs to remember what has already been discussed, what is currently taking place, what is the next question or topic of discussion, and what it will mean when finished.

What is the place and use of an assistant moderator?

The moderator is primarily concerned with directing the discussion, keeping the conversation flowing, and taking minimal notes. The notes of the moderator are not so much to capture the total interview, but rather to identify future questions that need to be asked. The assistant, on the other hand takes comprehensive notes, operates the tape recorder, handles the environmental conditions and logistics (refreshments, lighting, seating, and so on), and responds to unexpected interruptions. (Krueger, 1988, p. 74)

The assistant moderator is a valuable asset to the process. The assistant can ask additional questions, probe responses in more depth, take care of all interruptions, and is extremely helpful in performing the postmeeting analysis of the interview.

How do you begin the focus group discussions? One of the aims of the type of focus group discussion under consideration is freedom of expression and spontaneity. However, a certain amount of clarifying of procedure is necessary to let the group know what is acceptable and what may be expected.

Krueger (1988, p. 80) lists this pattern for introducing the discussion:

1. The welcome.
2. The overview and topic.
3. The ground rules.
4. The first question.

Time can be saved if the interviewer clarifies the purposes for which the group has come together and suggests methods by which these purposes may be achieved.

What are ways to analyze focus group results? The task of analysis is to prepare a statement about what was found in the group, a statement that emerges from and is supported by available evidence that is repeated and is common to several participants. It is important to identify those opinions, ideas, or feelings that repeat even though they are expressed in different words and styles.

In the analysis process one looks for trends and patterns. Where themes that are addressed by several members converge, this should be noted. Any area of strong disagreement should also be recognized. The feelings that seem to be attached commonly to a topic or point is another aspect of analysis that can be discussed. If there is a listing of several points under one major point, these should be listed as part of the analysis. Finally, sometimes a review of the progress and order of appearance of ideas over the time of the group or in counterpoint to one another may be a part of the analysis.

There are several ways to analyze focus group data. The constraints are these:

1. Refer to the research question, at least.
2. Refer to the objective of focus group analysis: to find a range of opinion and a range of expression about the things that relate to the research question; and to describe a context for understanding that range.

The research questions motivate a thematic analysis along the following lines. As far as possible the participants' own words should be used as descriptors in the analysis of the interview. In addition, three subsidiary research questions should be:

1. Have we asked this group the right questions to find out range and context?
2. Are there areas/factors/feelings that we omitted?
3. Did our questions assume a construct for relating UBC experience (positive and negative) to post-UBC life experience that the participants' implicitly or explicitly react to?

Analysis takes the following form, reviewing both (a) the records kept by moderators and others; and (b) the record of the focused interview itself.

Describe the following

1. Size of group;
2. Composition of group: describe the group in terms of its homogeneity; what do the participants have in common; in what ways are they different?
3. Sequence of activities of the meeting with the group: how do they enter; what activities took place before the group meeting began?

4. Spatial arrangements: where did the group meet; how was the group arranged physically in the meeting room?
5. What steps if any were taken for the release of inhibitions about participation? Did some participants talk more than others? What general questions were asked?
6. What steps if any were taken to broaden the range of responses?
7. What steps if any were taken to activate forgotten memories in the group?

Describe the topical sequence of the session. Look for topic change in the record of group discussion. Make a topic-change diagram. Go back over the record and, off to the side of the topic change sequence, note implicit topic if it is different from explicit topic. (This can be contextualized as well by referring to notes to see if there is anything that should be commented on from before the session began.)

Range of topic/range of statements. Go through the record and, using the participants' own words, with reference to each topic note the range of opinions expressed by the participants.

Identify themes. Name the themes; this is a description of why the topics are or are not coherent, why they follow from other topics. What is the range of themes? Are themes/topics repeated in different contexts, and at different points?

Context for understanding. The participants will either explain or imply why they have expressed a particular topic. This may be evidenced by what is implied by the context in which a topic or theme was brought up by a participant. The analyst should at this point have some understanding of what the participants saw as important enough to remark on and why.

Go back over the research question. Compare the range of topics with the research question; address the question using all sections of the analysis.

Validity. These procedures are undertaken independently by at least two analysts, so there is an attempt to improve construct validity by triangulation of analyst. By using the participants' own words, and by referring to the contexts for topics, there is a good relationship between face validity and construct validity. The record of sequence of topics acts as a means of looking to the internal logic, the conversational coherence of the discussion, to check validity.

Refer to the moderator's records to see if anything about the conduct of the group can be seen to have oriented the discussion to any other perspective but the research question.

There are no hard and fast rules when it comes to reporting the results of a focus group. Most of the choices about how to portray the research have already been made during the course of the research: whether the research was exploratory or hypothesis testing, whether the level of moderator involvement was intended to produce structured or unstructured

discussions, and whether the analysis relied on ethnographic or numerical summaries of the data.

Too much quotation gives the report a chaotic stream-of-consciousness flavor, whereas too much summarization is not only dry but also deprives the reader of even the indirect contact with the participants available through their verbatim statements of their perspectives. (Morgan, 1988, p. 70)

Focus Group Findings (Kamloops)

The findings from the analysis of the Kamloops focus group are presented, for each of the three goals. The suggestions for enhancing the UBC programs may be found after the discussion of each goal. General comments may be found after the list of participants' suggestions for enhancing the UBC programs. A summary is provided at the end of this section.

Findings by Goal

Goal A: To explore the relationship between education and employment among the graduates

The 41 comments by the participants about the outcomes of their postsecondary educational experiences focused on three areas: preparation for job requirements (14), enhancing the whole person (16), and increasing awareness of First Nations and of oneself as a First Nations person (11). Most of the comments were positive; however, seven of the comments about preparation for job requirements focused on inadequacies.

It is interesting to note that, despite the relative lack of discussion about the direct relationship between employment and education, all 10 of the participants were employed in their area of study (education for the most part), several in leadership roles (principal, superintendent, area principal, etc.). It seems, then, for these people, that employment closely related to their area of postsecondary education is a given.

Preparation for job requirements. Of the 14 comments in this section, one half addressed perceived inadequacies in the programs, whereas the other half spoke of the utility of the postsecondary programs.

All seven "inadequacy" comments pertained to the belief that training in education should have been more realistic. The following statements include the various aspects mentioned:

There should have been more training in unit plans — because you know, when I first interviewed [and was] working in the district — they were looking really strict with us — they wanted more details.

It didn't teach me how to work in a band school — how to use community resources — how to approach elders — how to teach the culture

I knew all the academics. I knew the methods, but I didn't know a lot of the skills, the basic life skills.

[there was no information about addiction, abuse, etc.] — if you learn to deal with this sort of thing you become aware of it — and you go teaching — you'll have a better idea of what's happening to that child — back then we never talked about it

How to prepare yourself ... for the community ... you can take criticism from non-Native people but when it comes from Native people it can be so devastating ... you have to try to get it back into perspective.

The comments on utility of training focused on the acquisition of practical skills, of academic knowledge and of metacognitive skills. The teaching practicum was seen as valuable by four participants. With regard to the value for acquiring practical skills, one person stated:

I remember when I started teaching, throwing my hands up and saying now what do I do ... it was going back to all those practicums that ... remembering them all ... how they organized their work and how they organized their centers ... and so ... the practicums ... they have to have enough experiences to draw on.

With regard to academic learning and metacognition, a participant observed:

For preparing me for my job ... it was the foundations courses and understanding that any course is a foundation for anything else ... and you are responsible for your own learning ... that's what I learned ... if I want to be a quality administrator or a quality teacher than I need to go out and seek some other things that (were) lacking in the program.

Another person noted that, with regard to metacognitive skills:

On the whole I developed an integrated resource ... I haven't really ... appreciated [it] until this last little while ... I've been doing curriculum development and ... talking about different books and authors and ... I just take it for granted that people know a lot of this information is out there and a lot of people don't.

A final comment was on the importance of classmates: "throughout the years we [classmates] remembered one another ... networking is important ... it's helpful in social areas as well ... who you know is important."

Enhancing the whole person. A number of participants experienced deep personal growth as a result of their postsecondary experiences:

[Before UBC] I was curled up, not feeling too good about who I was ... also I didn't quite feel I knew who I was ... and after attending the NITEP program ... and working ... it was ... like ... the rose has bloomed ... that's what it was like for me.

I'm living a dream ... I'm living my dream ... like something I dreamed about and I don't need to struggle any more ... I'm living it now.

In a broader sense ... the experience ... was really the greatest help to me ... to round out my life ... it made me a more complete person ... helped me cope with being an equal citizen ... an equal member of the human race.

One aspect of this growth is an increased sense of personal self-acceptance, efficacy, and power: "Without university training, the university atmosphere, that I went through ... I wouldn't have been able to do the things in my life that I've been able to do."

As one person stated, "It was a different perspective we got ... through UBC and the different connections we had with people ... we can let ourselves off the hook ... to be comfortable with [your] experience and not to beat ourselves up "

The resulting increase in confidence is seen at work:

[I have] the confidence now to handle any situation, whatever it is ... my first week of being an administrator ... I went, had to be on the roof ... I had to suspend one student on the second day ... I had to get drinking water into the whole building ... it was just horrendous ... but what got me through was that confidence again ... I'm the one who went through the training.

This aspect applies to private life as well: "It gave me confidence in ... meeting ... a major challenge in my life and ... I beat that challenge."

Yet another effect is the growth of the love of learning: "It just opens that door ... so you want to seek more knowledge and get excited and ... hooked on life itself and that you're great ... it's wonderful."

A general benefit is a better life: "[At UBC] you learn to grow and when the commitment is there ... the commitment of becoming ... of having a better life style."

Finally, university experience broadens horizons: "Some of the places ... findings ... people ... other cultures ... taking that information and looking at my own ... it opened my mind."

Increasing awareness of First Nations. Postsecondary education in a First Nations-oriented program has a profound effect on identity as a First Nations person: "I really found my identity and I know who I am ... I'm true to that person ... all of that came from university."

This effect may include healing:

It really connected me back to the culture, to my spirituality ... and to get ... my language again ... I was repressing emotions and when I went to university ... there were other people there that took pride ... in themselves ... we were validated as Native people ... and somehow the language came out ... I wasn't able to speak it before ... [but] I spoke it from when I was born until I was six ... there was a releasing of that.

It may mend family breaches:

The Native studies I had, I learned an awful lot through there ... learning our history validated some things I heard at home ... I thought gee you know my dad told me all these things and I didn't believe it was true ... so I guess that validated my family.

It may enable people to have a broader point of view: "It certainly focused me from thinking about myself, me ... to see the big picture ... the philosophy of Native people ... and turning that around into what I believe in today."

Finally, it may help the person to achieve inner peace:

One of the very first times I was introduced to the drum was at university ... in my community nobody used it ... and I remember, those button blankets and ... the dance and I was just in awe, you know ... it was like coming home ... it opened the door.

Goal B: To identify factors leading to successful graduation

The 23 comments by the participants about the "success" factors fell into two areas: support from each of a number of sources (21) and feedback from non-First Nations instructors (2). The comments about support focused primarily on contributions by members of First Nations people and programs (17 of 21 comments). In keeping with the topic, all comments were positive.

Support. Support from First Nations people came from the programs and staff at the university, from fellow students, and from other members of First Nations. The caring, family atmosphere of the NITEP program and the First Nations instructors and staff were major factors. In fact, the program, its staff, and fellow students were, in the words of one participant, instrumental in changing how she saw herself:

I found knowing the program was there ... that people were there to support you ... it was like being me is right ... you grow and have the confidence and the self-esteem and the pride and understanding about yourself as a Native person and being accepted and being valued.

The presence of First Nations teachers allowed for a more open educational climate: "having First Nations teachers gave me the freedom ... to explore and discuss the different issues and different levels ... that was ... a really positive experience for me."

So did the student seminars: "the seminars we had ... the NITEP seminars ... I found them very good, it gave us a chance to share ... our experiences and where we're at, what we sort of felt, things like that."

Solidarity among students was an important factor:

In Ts'kel we were in it together ... there's a lot of men with a lot of opinions about education ... in [a department] ... boy, having six of us in there was really a plus ... I really felt there was strength in numbers.

A common metaphor for NITEP and the NITEP students was that of the family: "to me NITEP was an extended family, a family that I had ... I guess ... reconnected with ... it was ... a support system."

It was an active support system, caring and loving and fun:

My fondest memory is the grouping ... the [NITEP] family ... being accepted as ... you were ... I had my family helping me, I mean the students ... they weren't going to leave me on my own in math ... it gives you the confidence to carry on.

As another participant stated:

I guess the best thing for me, the thing that dragged me through the university, was the family atmosphere ... we didn't always behave but at least we misbehaved in a group so there were no fingers pointed ... someone saying come for supper ... come on over ... it was family

Diversity added to the richness of the atmosphere:

I hooked into the role models ... that really helped ... I remember meeting somebody [who] was really wanting to bring a language back and ... she talked about how they were doing it ... and that really gave me courage ... I thought well we can do that ... so I learned that down here ... meeting the people, learning about their communities and their strengths.

The remote centres were important to two participants. As one of them stated,

I guess the flexibility of NITEP and the coordinator ... at times really helped me ... [the PE methods] was one of the ones that they said you can only get at UBC winter session ... but the coordinator who was ... here at that time set it up so I could get the credits right here with a PE instructor.

The active presence of Elders matters:

It's things like ... listening to elders ... I just think about the elders ... that guy, Simon, Simon Baker, I remember watching him so proud, him and his rattle ... he had his rattles ... sets it for generations ... he knew the impact of the language, too.

Practical support from family members may be important:

I have a sister who lived on campus and I would stay with her and I was able to bring my kids with me ... I could bring my kids ... and walk back and forth to my classes ... that was really positive.

Support can also be directly healing: "it was fortunate that we had ... the healing circle ... something had happened to me ... in my earlier years and I didn't realize that I had carried it with me all this time and it was really ... um, failing."

Of the four comments about support from non-First Nations sources, two pertained to fellow students and two to counselors at UBC. One person observed: "[As mature students] we ... learned to ask some younger person ... to ask some kind looking person to hold us by the hand," while another noted that a chance meeting had been meaningful: "I went down to summer school and ... met a really old lady ... she started saving money and was going to university ... I always think of her and think that's what I want to be ... learning is lifelong."

Both comments about counseling services were related to providing empathy and insight:

We put up a notice for students over 35 ... [we felt] incapable of doing this work ... feel too dumb to handle this ... the women had a counseling place ... we would sneak through the back door ... [she said] come in, you're a man but there's only one of you ... I said I've got 20 others behind me ... well, she knew what we were going through ... it just brightened us up.

This counselor had reminded us that ... in your work, your previous work, whenever you had a problem ... you go to the key person ... we got the encouragement from her ... to go to the key source, the key person ... most helpful.

Feedback from professors/supervisors/sponsor teachers. In addition to the comments regarding support, two statements were made about other aspects of success. Both were about non-First Nations instructors. For instance, one person stated: "In terms of the supervisor's own feedback [in education], most of the time it was very positive and helpful."

Goal C: To identify barriers to success and how graduates overcame them

The 47 comments by the participants about the barriers and problems over one half focused on racism and discrimination past and present (24). The other two areas included relocation, financial, and family problems (10), and program/academic areas (13). Many of the comments were painful reminders of the many ways mainstream society has failed the First Nations of Canada.

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Racism and discrimination past and present. Seven comments in this category pertained to difficulties with individuals including principals, supervisors, and sponsor teachers:

In my practicum ... the teacher was ... a veteran teacher, she'd been teaching for quite a number of years ... it wasn't by her choice to have a practicum student and it wasn't by her choice to have a Native student and it wasn't by her choice to have a Native student from a Native program ... and then she told me, yep, you do deserve a class I but I never ever give a class I.

However, students appeared to have the most difficulty with anthropology instructors (4 comments of the 7). The problems focus on the instructor's expectations of failure in First Nations students, a failure by the instructor to accept the validity of the First Nations student's own experiences, and the insistence of the non-First Nations instructor on the validity of his or her own knowledge. For example, one participant stated, "The professors ... were the ones that were saying you couldn't make it in their class if you were a Native person ... what could you do ... what are you doing here, why are you here, you're not going to pass anyway."

A second person said, "In anthropology ... a Native anthropology course ... I was doing quite well ... and I didn't pass ... I answered the [final] test from my perspective ... as a Native person and ... I didn't do very good."

The remaining aspects of racism and discrimination that the participants mentioned included educational discrimination and its effects (6 comments), the legacy of general racism in the past (7), and the effects of tokenism and stereotyping (5).

One profound effect of educational discrimination is an unrealistically low evaluation of one's own ability: "When I first graduated from high school, I thought that ... going to university was something I could never do ... I didn't think that I had that kind of ... that validity, I guess."

In part this effect was caused by residential school experiences: "Coming from the residential school setting ... where you're, you know, always put down, you can't be good, you can't be smart, you might as well ... even going into a program ... was threatening."

Another effect of educational discrimination is low skill levels. As one participant observed, "like most Indians, I was channelled into an easy program ... and of course I left all my academics ... I had to go back and take an extra year."

For a number of participants the legacy of the past was primarily an emotional one. One aspect was the lack of awareness of being First Nations: "There was ... a whole lot of the emotional aspects that needed to be dealt with ... not being aware of being Native or having any Native studies ... it was simmering and we needed to deal with all of that."

As one person began to learn about First Nations issues and history, she stated, "I always felt guilty about it because as you're learning about your history you feel angry ... and that's where we needed a counselor."

The past has a long reach into present academic activities:

I decided to write a paper on suicide ... some of the people I was going to school with ... there had been suicides in their families recently ... some of my peers were contemplating suicide at that time ... I was dealing with my own experience as a teenager ... contemplating suicide with several of my friends committing suicide ... I couldn't really talk to the others ... so I went to one of the counselors.

With regard to tokenism, one effect is that all First Nations people are assumed to be cultural experts: "Here I [had] just been to school learning about Natives ... I'd never tell a teacher that I didn't know anything about Natives ... because I was a Native person."

A second effect is that programs for First Nations peoples are assumed to be second class: "The most difficult time ... was ... when you think ... [they said it's] a watered-down program, you know people said we're not up there and yet it's been proven how many times [that it is equivalent]."

Such effects are part of the enduring legacy:

I don't know how you ever get over it ... don't know how you ever get through that ... I quit having dreams of failing only 15 or 20 years ago ... gosh, maybe later ... it's hard to see through, you know ... the things that we had to live through ... in 1958 ... my landlady put me on the voter's list ... I almost had nightmares again about [voting] you're Indian, you voted ... shame, it's illegal, that really bothered me.

Relocation, financial, and family difficulties. Of the 10 comments in this area, five were about financial difficulties, three referred to the effects of moving to the city, and the remaining two spoke of family problems.

The move from a community-based rural setting to "fast-moving" urban Vancouver can be quite traumatic.

When I think about going to Vancouver ... I had ... just moved ... we were in class for three days ... and we all had to sit in a circle ... we were having circle and we talked ... and I said I've been here for so long and I just want to go home. I miss my home ... I was in tears.

One effect of moving is to split up the family, which in turn may cause economic problems:

When we had to move to Vancouver ... it broke our family up ... and that was quite tough for me ... but what ended up happening was that he put his job on hold for a couple of years ... that meant less income for us for a couple of years.

The effects of financial problems meant that some people could not complete their educational goals:

Once ... we'd started enjoying learning at the university level ... our monies ran out and we had to go home ... the first time was back in 1958. I spent four years ... I had to wait until 1981 before I returned for another year ... and ... I had to come home ... I was broke.

Others had trouble with the forms required for financial aid: "I did find [funding] difficult ... I would apply to First Citizens ... sometimes they kept wanting me to fill out a new application ... and time would be getting close so that added stress a lot."

For one person, the move broke up the family: "it was about a month before we could ... before we could see my son's dad again and that was really hard on our son too ... that was really difficult."

For another, the problems were ongoing: "I had difficulties with home life, nothing to do with academic, but with home life because of going to school, I think ... so I had to grit my teeth and grin and bear it and carry on."

Program/academic areas. The 13 comments pertaining to this area covered a wide range of topics. Most dealt with frustrating aspects of the university context:

In terms of lesson planning ... too much detail was expected to a degree that you're pretty near asked to make this lesson work according to what you had written ... it wasn't child-centered ... you weren't given the opportunity to really get to know the kids

I really felt the dependency on the coordinator ... and the coordinator I found tried to make sure that the students weren't too dependent on you ... [so they] could learn how to do it

[We were overconfident] ... we didn't understand the political scene ... and all of the external forces ... that shaped things ... we just wanted things ... like getting students involved in decision making and those things ... we tested. We didn't know a happy medium

In terms of the UBC seminars ... which dealt with things like unions ... you felt so rushed, you didn't really have a lot of time to absorb the content.

Something we, I never learned anyway was why am I taking all these courses, like I never connected lesson plans with methods ... like it took me two years to figure that one out ... so ... there were a lot of communication problems, things where we actually should have sat around a table and talked about it ... you sort of go groping in the dark hoping that you can get there

The worst time ... was English 200 ... it was an awful bloody course.

I specifically asked to have a teaching experience on the Reserve ... that was quite a hassle ... [needed] to get permission from UBC or whoever they get permission from.

Once I went [to Vancouver] it seemed like the marking system was altogether different ... I was doing A+ ... I go down there and I wasn't doing A+ ... for whatever reason ... I didn't appreciate that.

Two participants commented on a more general challenge, that of acquiring basic skills for university survival, one for the mature student, the other more generally:

For the mature student, especially those who have had no experience with ... college work ... faces, oh ... almost a double learning situation ... they have to learn the technical things, how to get books from the library, how to use ERIC ... format of papers ... also the way the work load comes at you ... the learning curve is different for the mature student

I wished I had basic life skills, problem solving, communication, how to ask questions, who to go to ... and other skills, study skills, how to write essays

Suggestions for Enhancement of UBC Programs

Twenty-three suggestions were made by the participants in one of two categories: structure and content. As noted below, 20 of the 23 were structural.

Structure. In education, two participants suggested changes in orientation be made. "I'd like ... longer practicum periods ... giving the teacher and the student more option as to when they want to see the supervisor ... the teacher's opinion given more weight (in marking)," stated one person; the other would like the faculty to "sort of redirect the training in more of the actual needs of what you're going to be doing in a classroom." A third person said, "it's important that the practicum experience starts right from the very beginning ... for the first two months of being a student."

Eight comments were made about the need for counseling services for a number of perceived needs, including alcohol and drug counseling, English, math, and study skills as well as the transition to academic life (3 comments) and dealing with home life problems and with more general emotional difficulties (3 comments). With regard to the last area, one participant said that, at the university, "I felt ... that, for one thing, I wasn't given permission to express my emotions ... coming from residential school ... there was a need to deal with the emotional aspects," and another stated, "I had contradictions ... those held me back ... if I had been able to deal with those things along the way I would have been a better teacher."

An increase in the First Nations visibility and presence were suggested by four participants. One felt that it would be desirable to "have a whole list of First Nations students available" to anyone interested, whereas the other believed that UBC should "have more First Nations teachers because that's where I had a lot of personal growth in terms of confidence and being conversant with First Nations issues." More First Nations administrators were suggested as well, and one comment pointed out: "the NITEP model ... has been absolutely excellent ... it's made an immense contribution to learning for our people ... this concept has to be expanded ... especially in the sciences."

Two suggestions regarding financial aid were made: first that NITEP graduates fund a bursary, and second, that bursaries be made available for people who are "just getting excited about learning, to stay an extra year that way." A third suggestion, a way for graduates to become involved, was: "maybe a student in school now ... be paired up with grads ... who can advise on things."

Finally, two comments regarding awareness of First Nations issues and traditions span the division between structure and content. One participant stated, "there should be at least some Native awareness ... in the faculty ... students ... [should] bring this to attention on a personal level with the ... instructor," whereas the other addressed the need for a broader base of experience among the faculty: "I got the feeling [many profs] had never been off campus... [UBC] is a great place to come and learn, for

gaining knowledge and things like that ... but sometimes ... we should go to the bush and get a little wisdom."

Content. Of the three comments in this area, two addressed curriculum. One was general: "looking ... at philosophy of education in BC, [it] is ... more child-centered ... so the university student ... the NITEP student's experience ... should be student-centered," whereas the other was specific, suggesting that courses in computer process skills be regularly offered.

The final comment takes us from the university into the wider world of the community and the school:

Racism should be ... addressed at the community level ... the Native people first have to focus on ... how racist we are toward other groups and from there ... how other groups are racist to us ... at my school you hear a lot of racist remarks ... it comes right from the home

General Comments

The transcript gives the general impression that the participants were for the most part open. However, as one member said, "I find [it] difficult ... to talk about the weaknesses of NITEP ... it's ... like saying something bad about your mother."

Because many First Nations students are older than the average, factors such as leaving their families, financial pressures, and so forth may weigh more heavily on them than on many non-First Nations students. In addition, problems may be caused by the First Nations student's need to fulfil ritual or spiritual duties, other family obligations, and so forth.

In the participants' discussion one factor often leads to another; this is probably not solely a product of the participants' thought processes, but also a reflection of the real-life chain of events. For instance, for one person the decision to relocate to Vancouver and to attend UBC led to nuclear family separation and then to financial difficulties, when the stress of separation became too much to bear for herself and her child. Consequences of decisions are important factors in success.

To what extent are the barriers and difficulties discussed a function of individual, discipline-based and/or institutional racism? In some of the examples it is clear that racism is the major factor, whereas in others the picture is more obscure. For example, is a principal who refuses a key to the school to a First Nations student acting out of racial prejudice, or is the major factor a personal policy extended to all student teachers (a prejudice against student teachers, perhaps)?

Focus Group Findings (Vancouver)

Individual contributions to focus group topic. It is important to find out whether any participant monopolized the talk or directed the topics. A rough measure can be had by looking at amount talked (i.e., number of words) and at the relative number of times an individual initiated a statement. For this group, the facilitator's total spoken input (direction, redirection, statement, query, etc.) was less than 1,000 words. The facili-

tator's role required her to initiate more statements than the others, but those statements were logistic (e.g., recognizing a speaker) and not strategic (e.g., directive of topic) except in the four cases when the focus group questions were restated. Table II.14 shows that all participants talked more than the facilitator.

This comparison tells us that the facilitator did not monopolize the talk and that there are no disproportionate differences between participants. Participant 6, for example, though he or she spoke the second least of all the others, initiated statements more than all but one other participant. This measure says nothing about value of a contribution: the participant who spoke the least was a pivotal speaker, and there was a qualitative difference in the nature of the interaction during his or her turn at talk.

Range of topic and explanations of context. Further analysis consisted of looking at the ranges of topics that were brought up in this group, with that range expressed in terms of a specific explanatory context. The mechanical means for doing this was to use the computer cut-and-paste program Textbase Alpha to mark topic changes on the transcript, to state the topic and to state what the larger context for that topic was. Then these were mechanically displayed and compared, so that generalizations could be made. Topical changes were plotted. The text was then read for observation of implicit topical projections. This is important because of the use of implication in First Nations protocols for polite discourse.

This may signal a fundamental difference between First Nations groups and other groups in both the conduct and analysis of focus groups. Focus groups are not meant to come to consensus, yet one discourse strategy in most First Nations cultures is to go to consensus, to find the level of generalization at which there is consensus in a discussing, sometimes dissenting, group. Disagreement is often signalled (a) by explicitly stating a superordinate context wherein there is agreement, thus putting a new perspective on that agreement; (b) by implying disagreement but not stating it as such; or (c) explicitly, with an expression of respect for another's viewpoint. *Explicit disagreement, although not unusual, is an extremely strong statement, and even when there is explicit disagreement there is the understanding of and respect for the other's autonomy of action. First Nations discourse is oriented toward "mutual thinking"*

Table II 14

	Amount Spoken	Number of Statements Initiated
Facilitator	100%	36
Participant 1	324%	9
Participant 3	324%	7
Participant 4	316%	9
Participant 5	223%	7
Participant 6	164%	10
Participant 7	152%	4

There was no explicit disagreement between participants in the focus group. There were implicit disagreements that had the effect of contributing to a level of generalization whereby a consensual statement could be made from the total. An example follows in response to a query about the relationship between study at UBC and subsequent career experience.

1. A first participant made a positive statement about the teaching practica in NITEP and subsequent classroom management.
2. Another participant focused explicitly on the lack of practical application of courses that were supposed to have been practice-oriented (and we paraphrase the implicit meaning: "with respect, perhaps you should not imply that the courses really do prepare an individual well for work").
3. Yet another participant began by saying that university study, for him or her, was by definition not to be evaluated in terms of relationship to a career (an implied disagreement with the other two speakers); then described a number of courses that had been foundational to his or her own career practice (i.e., logically inconsistent, but validating the first speaker), followed by examples of how real career preparation comes on the job and has only the most tangential relationship to university training (a validation of the second speaker), and ending with the encompassing statement that scholarship and love of learning—personal characteristics—are common to both the university experience and career growth.
4. A consensual statement was thus created, though not formally stated, and was affirmed by the whole group. The process of affirmation comes from the observation that subsequent discourse takes that statement as a premise: statements are made that affirm its validity by treating it as an a priori. This statement might be paraphrased or made explicit as follows.

The university experience is a participatory one (i.e., not an "institution-client" relationship), and instead of looking at linear cause and effect (e.g., "the university prepared me") a person should look to personal characteristics, volition, and interaction (e.g., "I actively approached my field, in university and afterwards")

The point is that this is reached by a series of implicit disagreements that contribute to a consensual, though explicitly unstated, evolving (i.e., not "final") statement

The Good and the Bad: How Do They Feel About UBC?

The facilitator opened the session as follows:

Today we'll be hearing some of our memories that you had at UBC, good and bad, and talking about your education in general. To begin with, it's been said that many of the students have felt ambivalent at UBC, have felt educationally challenged, and have felt a certain amount of joy at attending here, but at the same time they've had some feelings of frustration and disappointment. I'd like to begin today by asking you to share with us any such feelings that you have, so that we can describe those feelings to

other people who come after you. If you'd like to talk about your feelings, at least as far as UBC is concerned ...

The seven graduate participants spoke in sequence but sometimes broke in to affirm, amplify, or validate another participant's statement. There was a remarkable consistency in response to this first query; all participants spoke of:

- their experience in terms of their own First Nations identity,
- individual identity as a member of a First Nations community, and
- the tension between, on the one hand First Nations identity, First Nations perspective, and First Nations authority; and on the other university orthodoxy, individual and institutional challenge to First Nations identity, and the exercise of racism.

This consistency of address was imposed neither by the facilitator's question nor by the sequence of responses (i.e., a first speaker's theme being taken up and amplified by the others), because some of those who spoke last had prepared their comments before the meeting began.

In this group the discussion was predominantly about racism and the memory of its experience on campus. However, that discussion was in the larger context of a generally positive assessment of the experience of having gone to UBC.

The topics discussed in the groups are listed below, in relation to its discourse context. The positive aspects of the participants' experiences at UBC were:

- Institutional climate in the context of support;
- NITEP in the context of support, relations with other-than-Education students, public perception, strengths in preparation for teaching, individual identity;
- Ts'kel Program in the context of support, entry and program choice/definition;
- Characteristics of First Nations scholars in the context of program choice in the subcontext of motivation for entry.

The contexts in which racism was mentioned or discussed included:

- Racism in the context of the individual's experience in counseling prior to entry; the K-12 system generally and the need for programmatic change in education; the definition of issues within academic traditions, instructor-student interaction;
- Instructor-student interaction in the subcontext of lecturing, interpretation, and validation of "legitimacy"; evaluation of student performance; instruction in the subcontext of textbooks, exams, sexism, classism in allocation function of educational system, institutional climate, and interpersonal relationships within a profession.
- The nature of racism (i.e., covert, subtle) in the context of instructor authority; interpersonal interaction, personal predispositions of instructors, the "authority" of the disciplines of anthropology and English and institutional climate and institutional policy.

- Lack of respect in the context of authority and legitimacy of a perspective, especially First Nations, interpersonal interaction.

With a single exception, discussed in Part V, none of the specific examples of racism is provided here. Every participant brought his or her own responses to racism in the contexts noted above to the group discussion as examples of a major factor that, in retrospect, characterized the UBC experience. They expressed these things to each other as in a safe place. When the examples are isolated they appear to be just that, isolated incidents of discrimination, and this was manifestly not the intent of the participants. The only way to represent this section of response accurately would be to provide the total transcript of the focus group session.

We reiterate their statements: deeply discrediting perspectives, opinions, and stereotypes based on racial/cultural identity are common experiences of First Nations students before coming to UBC and at UBC. They range from interpersonal to institutional, and are particularly intractable when (a) they are subtle but inescapably there; (b) they discredit through appeal to an academic justification as though self-evident; (c) there is no avenue for speaking back or healing a situation.

The consensual statement may be stated this way:

A First Nations person attending UBC has to deal with issues of individual identity vis a vis (a) the First Nations community of which they are a part, (b) the academic community, and (c) processes of legitimization of knowledge that both the academic and First Nations communities incorporate. Those processes may be generalized in microsystemic terms, but they are acted out between people, face-to-face. Because of systemic racism, this can be a painful process. The pain is personal and individual, yet a shared phenomenon. The processes are effected in a social context in which the balance of 'legitimacy' is accorded the 'authority,' the people with the power in this context, the instructors. The exercise of racism is personal and transpersonal as well: it is personal and individual at one level (i.e., perpetrated in individual action) and shared (i.e., its systemic pervasiveness may make well-meaning individuals unconsciously 'racist.'). First Nations students should be prepared to face this when they come to campus.

Preparation for career. The second question by the facilitator was: *I'd like now for you think about your experience at UBC in relationship to your job. How did UBC prepare you or not prepare you for the job you presently hold?*

Some responses to that question focused on venue, place, and atmosphere:

- NITEP in the context of practicum in the context of preparation for teaching (i.e., NITEP's more extensive practicum was seen as positive);
- "family" relationships in NITEP in the context of: field centres at NITEP in the context of: support in the context of: aspects of good preparation at university;

In other words, one good aspect of preparation was the First Nations community, the First Nations program, that created a good place to learn.

Participants brought up topics that focused on the areas where they did not feel that UBC had prepared them well:

- job stresses in the context of: lack of preparation at university;
- explaining goals and processes to First Nations parents in the context of: lack of preparation at university;
- "mainstream" educational theory in the context of poor preparation at university for First Nations educational venues;
- the social context of teaching in the context of things not covered in courses;
- intensification of responsibility focused on teachers in the context of things that university does not prepare one for;
- planning and administration in the context of misrepresentation of university course focus (i.e., "planning and administration" is really only "administration");
- misrepresentation of course focus in the context of community versus institutional concerns (i.e., institutional interests were in fact the focus);
- self-direction in definition of issues in the context of thesis work versus course work.

The building toward consensual statement here includes focus on the individual as agent in his or her own education, retrospectively evaluating course work, thesis work, and theory as deficient in certain contexts, particularly in the context of application to community realities.

One positive relationship made explicit was in the matter of the formal credential, related both to the information one has access to through university study and the formal credential that legitimates it:

- acquisition of specific information base in the context of acquisition of formal credential;
- formal credential in the context of confirmation of self-confidence;
- formal credential in the context of authority to "speak up," to speak out.

A consensual statement for this set of relationships might be that the acquisition of specific information, resulting in formal credentials, both confirms the individual's self-confidence and gives the authority to speak about such matters.

Positive relationships were drawn between university and career. The flow of discussion was as follows:

- curriculum and instruction courses in the context of things that made participant a good teacher;
- the study of curriculum theory in the context of things that made participant a good teacher;
- course work, the study of theory in the context of study of abstract things that prepare an individual to learn on the job;
- general curriculum preparation in course work in the context of preparation for adaptability to other kinds of work, even outside education;

- processes of discovery, information, in the context of transferability of information and skills to other areas (specifically in science and anthropology);
- research skills in the context of areas of good preparation at university;
- university work in the context of career orientation versus scholarship orientation;
- applied work in the field in the context of the application of theory to the process of working for constructive change in the field;
- usefulness of possible course in critical thinking in the context of institutional inertia and change.

This discussion was used as an example of building to consensus as discussed earlier. This collection of topics represents part of the building to consensus. What it leaves out is the place of the individual in making a continuing education. The participants are building to a statement that all of the UBC experience, if a person has been proactive and engaged in learning, can form a basis for continued learning.

The final summary statement adds to this: *Adaptability of general knowledge, theory to articulating a First Nations perspective on issues, in the context of synthesis of traditional knowledge with university knowledge, in the further context of individual and societal change.*

And then *confidence* was invoked again to point back to the individual. The participants are collectively speaking back: the place that UBC has in preparation is not one of linear causality ("UBC gave me the following ..."), but a richly contextual, holistic statement: "At UBC I became engaged in a specific inquiry, a critical process of reflection, assessment, self-objectification, and the acquisition of skills. I continue that now and can describe it holistically, not in terms of 'factors'."

Recommendations for change

A third question addressed by the group was: *What changes would you like to see made, in order to make UBC a better working place, with better experiences for future First Nations students?*

The recommendations of the participants must be read in the context of all the foregoing.

Support for students

- emphasis on counseling services "to take away pain," to help students do what they can to survive (e.g., existing peer support programs to deal with culture shock are a good idea);
- make students aware that First Nations House of Learning is not just for education students.

Preparation of students for learning and for survival

- preparation of future students in home communities before they come to UBC;
- the nature of the latent racism at UBC;

- notice that UBC is a highly secularized environment where talk about love and respect is not legitimated, but rather is a place where ideas are objectified and analyzed;
- notice that UBC is (in First Nations terms) a secularized, out-of-balance system;
- introduction to instrumental enrichment learning, thinking about thinking, in an effort to get away from the cut-and-dried presentation of "material" and "information" presented as authoritative statement;
- general introduction to linguistics in order to see the structure of English, in order to understand Western society; to objectify "reserve" English;
- objectify Western learning styles so people understand them;
- provide study, research skills during first three months in a program;
- teach writing skills at all levels, in connection with reading;
- encourage students to share their knowledge (i.e., not to be passive recipients of knowledge);

Institutional changes

- change institutional climate to deal with problems with racism;
- establish better links between colleges and university;
- establish better links with reserves;
- take advantage of distance education delivery;
- enter partnerships with open learning agencies;
- provide day care facilities for children on campus because concern for children weighs so heavy on the minds of student parents;
- better provision of supplementary funding through Canada Student Loans;
- appoint more First Nations professors on staff, especially in the fields of sociology and anthropology;
- mandate First Nations staff in changing the nature of Native studies, which is still articulated from an outdated European point of view;
- mandate First Nations staff to teach about racism;

UBC and personal changes

The last question that had been formally prepared was: Would you like to share some of your feelings about the way that UBC influenced your feelings about yourself and your culture?

The participants did not spend much time on this question, but their responses were to the point. The consensual statement might be articulated as one of a dynamic between "challenge to" and "confirmation of" self, with First Nations identity an integral aspect of both challenge and confirmation. The challenge can be degrading,

The tenor of the challenge is exemplified in the way one participant began, "My first experience with UBC stunk!" He or she said that coming to UBC as a professional, a graduate student, was humiliating; it was a "debilitating experience," in that he or she was "patronized and criti-

cized" to the point where he or she "lost my bearings." The participant felt "silenced" through a "massive attack on self-esteem," that "everything I did was in some way poked at," that supposed deficiencies (e.g., the use of metaphor and others figures of speech in writing) were objectified by supposed mentors as being the product of an "oral culture."

The confirmation is a function of the support of, and reference to, a First Nations community of support. It comes through family, the First Nations family at First Nations House of Learning, and (this is implied) through the ancestors' strength. They said, "[I realized] I wasn't alone. That realization built my confidence. Now I can now speak out." The UBC experience "made me feel stronger about my culture." It gave strength to confront racism and courage to speak up in order to change things. One said that the UBC experience "directs me back to my community and to traditional teachings" and that he or she is now "feeling a lot better about being Indian."

One spoke of being an exemplar for his or her own children in the manner in which things are dealt with. Being physically distant from the accustomed spiritual support circle of home, the participant "developed the spiritual side of myself praying ... I had to learn to pray for myself. [Now] I still have to take it back to my family and community."

Some spoke of the UBC experience as a place where they learned about other cultures and "got rid of a lot of anti-white racism," learned to recognize racism in school. The personal experience of overcoming racism gave possible direction in overcome larger-scale, systemic racism.

What to do about racism

A final question was generated situationally by the facilitator, as appropriate the tenor of the afternoon's discussion: *When I look back at the notes I've written it seems that we've talked a lot about racism, so I want to pose a question here. How can we effect change in the faculty; how can we help students prepare to handle the kind of racism they'll face? I know that there aren't easy answers, but we have to start somewhere.*

The participants rapidly generated a series of suggestions, which appear in Part V as part of "Recommendations."

Telephone Interviews: Findings

Of the 12 people who were contacted for telephone interviews, successful connection was made with only five for formal interview. When asked about their best memories from UBC days the respondents included graduation itself as a best memory, excellent professors, helpful and supportive staff, the First Nations people they met at UBC, the support of people at NITEP people, and the unity of NITEP. Worst memories included adaptation to Vancouver after moving from a smaller locale, confrontation with a rude professor, another professor without empathy or understanding for personal trauma, and finding accommodation.

They reflected positively on NITEP's preparation: "NITEP helped me to be a good teacher"; and one person credits UBC's preparation for a position at a major Canadian university. They said, however, that UBC did not prepare them for working in band-operated schools and suggested better communication links be established between NITEP and the bands. Teacher education at UBC did not prepare them for teaching multigrades. One thought that there should be better preparation for dealing with "disclosure and abuse." Other recommendations for improvement included the suggestion that perhaps First Nations House of Learning should reach out more to other departments, that UBC should actively teach First Nations language, and that the focus of inquiry in academic study should be defined as a study of the relationship between practice and theory.

First Nations identity was reinforced in the support system of the family atmosphere among First Nations people at UBC. The UBC reinforced what one participant knew about his or her culture, and another said that, already strong in the culture, UBC had no influence in that area, either positive or negative. Another said that at UBC "I became more proud of who I am."

A Summary of the Findings

The summary of the UBC experience is organized as follows: first the process model is discussed, then the substantive areas (i.e., participant characteristics, their experiences at UBC, success factors, barriers and the employment/education relationship).

The process model. It appears that the process model as first used at UBC has some potential for revealing information about the substantive interests of the Ministry (the goals of the present study). However, low return rates, longer than usual return times, and the need for frequent personal contact to ensure returns are factors that should be taken into account in planning future applications of the process model. These may be a function of the particular characteristics of UBC; however, cross-validation is desirable before change in the process model is made. Other issues are discussed in Part V under "Issues, Reflections, and Recommendations."

The participants. Most of the questionnaire respondents had attended UBC during the past generation (i.e., the past 22 years); the majority were graduates of the Faculty of Education. Of the 111 diplomas and degrees represented in the group of 67 respondents, master's and doctoral degrees accounted for 25. About 70% of the respondents were women; the median age of all respondents was 40 years. They identified most closely with a large number of First Nations from across North America. Just under 40% were "competent" in a First Nations language.

About two thirds of the group had worked in a field related to the area of their university study. About one third were admitted as mature students, reasons for entering were about evenly divided between institu-

tional (e.g., program offered) and personal (e.g., desire to learn). The respondents' perceptions of their preparedness revealed strengths in English and reading, weakness in math, science, and second languages and intermediate levels in essay, exam, and study skills. About three quarters of the respondents found the application, admission, and registration procedures to be positive or neutral experiences: 23 participants mentioned "crucial" support they had received from NITEP or Ts'kel. About two thirds of the group felt that UBC had generally met their expectations.

Success factors. In response to two items about sources of support, the graduates saw a clear division between family, friends, and First Nations student services and other UBC and community services: of 137 named sources, 119 specifically focused on First Nations people, institutions, or UBC First Nations agencies (especially NITEP and Ts'kel, which appear to have impact beyond their program mandates). This perception is reinforced by the number of times First Nations student services were seen as facilitating or encouraging success. Non-First Nations services appear to be of limited impact as success factors. The focus group participants clarified this general statement: *The presence of First Nations teachers allows a more open educational climate*, as did the student seminars; the NITEP and House of Learning "families" functioned as a caring, loving support structure; the diversity among staff and students and the presence of Elders were also important, as was the practical support (e.g., tutoring) they provided.

It is clear from the questionnaire responses that the participants' First Nations cultures had a major impact on their UBC experiences, virtually all which was positive. The participants' cultures provided the imperative to choose programs, courses, and topics to actively ensure the presence of a First Nations perspective and to demonstrate the nature of First Nations culture and values. Their families and communities of origin gave them support, identity, values, determination, and commitment; on an individual level it gave them identity, power, a number of positive attitudes, and cognitive strengths. Being strong with a First Nations culture, then, constituted a major success factor for the questionnaire respondents.

Barriers. The first barrier may be the respondents' initial perceptions of the university: about 70% of the questionnaire respondents recalled their first few months at UBC in negative or neutral terms; about the same percentage of the adjectives they used to describe that experience were negative as well (e.g., *scary, lonely*). How serious a factor initial discomfort is must vary with the individual, but it appears that the majority of First Nations respondents do not feel positive in the first few months. Aspects of entry that the focus group participants mentioned included the shock of relocation from a rural First Nations setting to an urban white one. Relocation sometimes splits up families for months or years; the presence of one family member in university can cause difficulties at home that may be intractable.

A second barrier is lack of funding or inadequate levels of funding. Just under 80% of the questionnaire respondents reported "barely adequate" funding or below: most funding came from DIA or bands, and it was this funding that was seen as inadequate much of the time (two thirds as compared with about one quarter to one third for other funding sources). Irregularities in receiving promised monies in some cases added to the problem. The focus group participants reinforced this view; strategies to overcome the lack of money included selling a house on one person's home reserve and borrowing from others to make ends meet every month.

A major barrier discussed at length by the focus group participants was racism in various contexts and various forms. Some incidents took the form of belittling persons or cultures, some were depersonalizing incidents of tokenism and assuming that First Nations programs and achievements were inferior to those of the majority culture. The legacy of past discrimination and racism had present impact as well: aspects discussed by the focus groups included unrealistically low self-assessment and low self-esteem, genuinely low skill levels, emotional barriers, and lack of awareness of First Nations identity and issues.

Problems are often barriers to success: the questionnaire respondents included 170 problems or obstacles, 98 of which were some personal issue or characteristic (e.g., financial, emotional, identity problems, lack of skills). Most of the remaining obstacles were institutional (e.g., deficiencies in support services, poor teaching staff). A number of these obstacles may be related to specific First Nations factors; in addition, problems with racism, lack of respect for First Nations culture, and intolerance of traditional First Nations ways appear to have been factors in about 20% of the listed problems. Other responsibilities (e.g., family) may also serve as a barrier to success; over one half the respondents had such additions.

Negative perceptions of UBC as an institution constitute another potential barrier. The questionnaire respondents felt that on the whole UBC as an institution was somewhat more discouraging than encouraging; negative outweighed positive for general characteristics of the institution (e.g., impersonal, uncaring), for rules and regulations (e.g., inflexible), and some staff (e.g., totally negative, prejudiced). Although students of all cultures may share these feelings, many take on a special meaning in the First Nations context because of the history and present status of First Nations in Canada and may weigh more heavily than for the general population.

Education and employment. All but five of the questionnaire respondents reported no difficulty in finding employment, almost always in the field in which they had studied. (Of the five, one was specialized, one wished to work in a second field of specialization, and three experienced job dissatisfaction). In general, the respondents have broadened their work horizons within their field of training and/or have assumed progressively more responsibility in the field of training rather than changing fields.

Two thirds of the group are working in a First Nations context. Just under two thirds felt that UBC had generally prepared them well; another 15% had mixed feelings about quality of preparation. Negative comments tended to focus on the gap between preparation for work and the reality (e.g., in education, in community schools). The focus group participants concentrated on details of their university training including a number of perceived inadequacies and various "useful" aspects.

An outcome of the UBC experience that is likely to have both a direct and an indirect effect on employment is the impact of UBC on the graduates' First Nations identity. For 53 questionnaire respondents, this impact was positive, but not everything reflected positively on the institution. In response both to the nurturing milieu of the House of Learning and other First Nations programs and services (e.g., NITEP and Ts'kel), as well as to the negative factors often seen in the general university community, the graduates reported that First Nations identity and strength evolved progressively during the university years. The positive aspects confirm identity and legitimacy; the negative aspects challenge it and force resolution and firming of identity and power. Healing and the achievement of inner peace were additional aspects mentioned by focus group participants, as was the mending of family breaches.

Personal growth, another outcome of the UBC experience with both direct and indirect effects on employability, was revealed in a number of the questionnaire respondents' statements about UBC's influence. In a general way it can be seen as the result of focus on the individual as agent in his or her own education. For some their university experiences pervaded their whole lives; for others it broadened their perspectives and gave many specific skills. An aspect of personal growth is the graduates' ability to act as role models and to serve their communities (the one allows the other), which in turn increased the sense of personal strength and efficacy. Negative personal growth was rarely reported. The focus group participants discussed several aspects of personal growth (enhancing the whole person), including self-acceptance, increased power and strength, love of learning, and ability to meet challenges in private life.



Honoring What They Say

Part III: The Native Education Centre Experience

Introduction

The Native Education Centre (NEC) was involved in adapting and testing the UBC research questionnaire and focus group methodologies. This section of the report describes the history, development, and seven goals of the NEC, as established by the charter of the Urban Native Indian Education Society; it then describes the NEC's involvement in the research process.

The process provided an opportunity for the NEC to interact with the UBC research team over six months beginning in February 1993. The interaction consisted of meetings about the details of the UBC graduate survey process, findings, and ongoing implementation.

The decision to participate as a separate First Nations postsecondary institution was made, and the steps that followed the decision are discussed. The steps include adapting and implementing the questionnaire and focus group methodologies and examining and interpreting the substantive findings. The final aspect of this section is a discussion of related issues and reflection on the research process method.

History and Origin

The Native Education Centre has operated as an adult education program in downtown Vancouver since 1967. The program originated with the late Ray Collins, who began working as an instructor funded by a grant from the Department of Indian Affairs. The objective then was to provide basic academic and preemployment skills that enabled the learners to better cope with the transition to an urban lifestyle. Through life skills and cultural programs, learners could adapt to life in the city without repudiating their past. Education in this setting provided them an opportunity to learn even more about their rich history.

At the time the Centre was the only program in Vancouver that combined life skills and educational upgrading for First Nations adults. Each year the program graduated roughly 35 learners, and in most cases these

learners either found employment or continued their education in other institutions.

The Urban Native Indian Education Society

In 1977 the Department of Indian Affairs decided to discontinue funding for the Centre. Through the involvement of members in the First Nations community, as well as lengthy negotiations with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, an agreement was reached that allowed for the continued operation of the Centre. These people from the community formed the Urban Native Indian Education Society.

In 1979 the Urban Native Indian Education Society was registered under the Societies Act of British Columbia with the following seven goals:

- To help meet the educational needs of people of Native Indian origin who have made or are making a transition to urban living;
- to provide central and suitable facilities where educational meetings can be held;
- to encourage fuller participation of people of Native ancestry in educational and community affairs;
- to assist in, and to undertake if necessary, any educational program or activity designed to promote the welfare of Native people in the community;
- to aim for the creation of better understanding within Indian groups and between Indian and non-Indian groups and citizens for the general benefit of Native education;
- to plan and develop with agencies of governments, churches, businesses, and benevolent organizations the increase and improvement of educational, occupational, and other beneficial services and facilities for Native people in the community;
- to manage and operate the Indian Education Centre.

As a result of this dedication the Board of Directors organized a conference in October 1979 to discuss urban Indian education. URBICON drew over 200 delegates from varied public and private organizations and was a great success.

The Period of Growth

The focus of the Society's activities is the Native Education Centre, and as a result of this focus, the Centre has been able to expand into a valuable resource for First Nations people. An integral part of that resource is a team of three full-time counselors who work with learners experiencing personal struggles.

The scope of this document precludes a detailed description of the accomplishments of the Centre. Following are some highlights of the past 14 years, presented in order to illustrate UNIES commitment to education controlled by First Nations.

- Expansion from one (preemployment) program to 17 programs ranging from basic literacy to first-year college programs in seven areas of study.
- Initiation of a program of studies in Native Adult Basic Education from Level 1 (grade 3) to Level 4 (grade 11).
- Initiation of college preparation programs with two concentrations: general college entry and health/science careers.
- Construction of a Haida longhouse to accommodate the expansion of the NEC.
- Ongoing curriculum development for all programs with the aim of providing a First Nations context that enables learners to better interpret their experiences.
- Development of culture and life skills programs that give the learners hands-on experience with culturally related activities for program credit in all NABE classes.
- Annual Centre/community events—Christmas Party, Elders' Day, Cultural Festival—to develop and strengthen the community relationship.
- Development of outreach education whereby the programs and curricula of the Centre are directly available to First Nations organizations and communities. In 1992-1993 the Centre operated programs in nine communities throughout BC, with a total enrollment of 163 learners.
- Development of the reputation of the Centre as academically, administratively, and fiscally responsible. The Centre is a well respected institution in the educational system of the Province and is regarded as a model to emulate as a First Nations-controlled educational facility.
- Establishment of formal affiliation with Vancouver Community College to provide joint accreditation of academic programs.

Working with the Research Team

The Proposal

In January 1993 the University of British Columbia through the First Nations House of Learning submitted a proposal to the Native Education Centre (NEC) inviting them to participate in a research project on its graduates. The proposal outlined the rationale and methodology of the overall research project UBC was undertaking with its graduates and gave information that the project was being funded by the Ministry of Advanced Technology and Training.

The Native Education Centre would participate in adapting a research model that had already been developed by the First Nations House of Learning research team. The proposal also included a report of the First Nations House of Learning/UBC research process for the period July 1992 to October 1992; a revised research timeline; and a copy of the UBC First

Nations Graduate Survey questionnaire. The proposal explained that the NEC would be piloting the UBC research model using either or both the survey and focus group methodologies.

In making the decision to participate in the project, the NEC pondered the following questions:

1. What would the political implications be of participating or not participating in the research project?
2. To whom would the research data belong?
3. How adaptable were the questionnaire and the focus group methods?
4. Would NEC be able to respond within the UBC timeline? and
5. Did NEC have the time and human resources to get the job done?

The NEC had been invited to participate in a meeting with the research team held February 11, 1993.

Meeting the Research Team

Meeting the UBC research team would prove to be a major contribution to NEC's decision to participate in the research project. It was during that meeting that a member of the NEC management team had the opportunity to present to the research team members a thumbnail sketch of NEC; the historical and present political context of First Nations postsecondary education in British Columbia; and possible implications in the NEC choice to participate. The NEC also had the opportunity to explore with the research team some of the above questions.

The team reviewed details of the research process; provided a summary report and literature review; and discussed issues related to the research methodologies. In addition, part of this one-day meeting was devoted to reviewing some of the returned UBC survey questionnaires while discussing approaches to analysis. Time was also devoted to exploring ways of contacting UBC graduates who had not returned their questionnaires and to planning for the focus group component of the research process.

Making the Decision

The NEC was given two weeks to explore and discuss related issues and inform UBC of its decision. One of the NEC management level staff reviewed her thesis proposal to do graduate research of NEC students from the skills training (college level) programs. The UBC master's student was interested in investigating the reasons NEC graduates gave for the successful completion of their program. A proposal had already been submitted to the Urban Native Indian Education Society's (UNIES) Board of Directors, so it would be a matter of deciding whether the student would be interested in exploring the adaptability of the survey and focus group methodologies.

Once NEC decided to participate in the research project, the next step was to explore which questions to ask and to decide which graduates to

survey. NEC was interested in two of the three questions presented in the UBC proposal that were to: (a) to determine the relationship between their (NEC) education and employment; and (b) to identify factors leading to successful graduation. However, NEC was interested in adding another dimension to the first question, which was to determine the relationship between their (NEC) education and the graduates' further education.

The third question that interested NEC was why the students chose to attend NEC for their education. The target group that NEC decided to survey was the skills training graduates from 1989 to 1992 inclusive. When NEC made the decision to participate it gave oral confirmation followed by a letter of intent to the First Nations House of Learning at UBC.

Adapting the Questionnaire

NEC decided that most of the questions were appropriate to meet its overall objectives but added two other aspects. The NEC would investigate previous school experience of NEC graduates and determine the correlation between the NEC education experience and further education. Before completing the revisions of the questionnaire, NEC reviewed the methodology section of the literature review prepared by the research team. NEC decided that the language and format of the questionnaire would be maintained. Minimal changes were made and the whole series of questions was retyped by one of the staff at NEC.

Hiring a NEC Graduate

The adapted NEC graduate survey questionnaire was ready for mailout during the first week in June 1993. To facilitate this process the NEC, in consultation with the UBC research team chair, decided to hire a NEC graduate. This decision was based on the expectation that the graduate would be able to gain leads from maintained association with classmates and other learners who graduated from NEC.

The NEC graduate was given a list of Skills Training Program graduates of four academic years (1988-1989; 1989-1990; 1990-1991; 1991-1992), and she began making phone calls to the most recent graduates and worked backward to obtain current addresses. One hundred, seventy-one graduates received questionnaires, and at the time of the questionnaire analysis 33 (19%) had been returned. The survey questionnaires were mailed out over a period of three weeks during which follow-up phone calls were made to confirm with the graduates their receipt of the survey. In late July a reminder letter was mailed to learners who had not returned their surveys. As a result, NEC continued to receive questionnaires even as the report was being written.

The 33 surveys were submitted to the UBC research team for data tabulation and interpretation.

The Questionnaire and its Findings

The questionnaire was developed to focus on:

1. graduates' educational background before enrolling at NEC; entry into NEC;
2. experiences while at NEC;
3. participants' perceptions of the role of NEC in employment and further education.

It was mailed to 171 graduates of skills training programs identified from NEC records, followed by a letter and a telephone call reminding the graduates to complete the form. There were 33 completed questionnaires returned for a rate of 19.3%. This is comparable to the return rate in the UBC study before the telephone survey was undertaken to promote questionnaire return. Copies of the questionnaire and the invitation to respond are included in the Appendix.

The Participants' Characteristics and Their Programs

Gender. Four men and 29 women responded to the survey.

Ages. The current ages of the participants range from 25 to 54. The median current age is 34.5 years. The age range at entry was from 19 to 51, and median age at entry to NEC was 29 (see Table III.1).

First Nations identity and language. Tabulation of participants' First Nations identities would reveal individual identities, so we report them here by noting the number of First Nations represented at NEC. Some people have ancestry in more than one Nation so more than 33 First Nations are represented. The most commonly cited Nation is Cree: six of the participants. The following other nations are represented, listed in orientation from the Centre.

East: Delaware, Ojibwa, Saulteaux, Cree, Metis, Okanagan, Interior Salish, Sto:lo;

South: Dakota;

West: Halalt, Haida;

North: Squamish, Sechelt, Nisga'a, Tshimshian, Gitksan, Tlingit, Chilcotin, Carrier, Northern Tutchone, Lillooet, Stl'atl'imx.

Table III.1

Age	Currently	At 1st Entry to NEC
19-20		2
21-24		5
25-30	10	10
31-35	8	3
36-40	3	3
41-45	5	2
46-50	4	2
51-55	2	1
Missing	1	5

Twenty-three (69.7%) say that they identify with a particular people, lineage (2), band (6), village (1), or group (12). Nine (27.3%) say that they do not. It is interesting to note that eight of the participants (24%) do not identify most closely with the groups they have listed as their own ancestry: the groups they identify most closely with range from noting identification with "all Nations," through telling of their identification with other First Nations cultural groups, to noting identification most closely with the NEC.

Twenty (60.7%) of the participants speak or understand at least one First Nations language, though five qualify their competence to "a bit" or "some," and only 10 claim fluency in both speaking and understanding the language. Six of the 20 say they have some competence in a second First Nations language. The languages represented are named by the participants as Salish, Chehalis, Sechelt, Hulq'umi-num, Okanagan, Interior Salish, Lil'wat, Cree (5 participants), Ojibwa, Haisla, Nisga'a, Gitksan, Tsimshian, and Chilcotin.

The Programs. Eight participants have completed one program at the Centre, 14 have completed two; five have completed three; and one has completed four. They give us retrospective reflection from the period 1976 to 1993 from a variety of programs (see Table III.2).

Variety of programs. The individual programs completed are shown in Table III.3.

Admission. One participant did not specify the basis of admission. Seven fell into more than one category, so the number of bases for admission is 39 (see Table III.4).

Table III.2

Period	Number of Programs Completed
1976-79	2
1980-82	3
1983-85	2
1986-88	4
1989-91	24
1991-93	20
not noted	5

Table III.3

Program	Sequence of Multiple Program Participation			
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Native Adult Basic Education 2/3	1	1		
GED	6			
Office Skills		11	6	4
Public Administration	5	3	1	
Tourism	4	2		1
Criminal Justice	3			
Family Violence	2			
Early Childhood Education	2	2		

Table III.4

Completed Secondary School	11
Adult Basic Educ/GED	10
Mature student applicant	7
Other basis for admission	11

Some who checked "other" have told specifically what that other basis was: six of the participants note some other postsecondary experience (university, community college, technical school, etc.).

Educational Experiences Prior to NEC

It is clear from text responses that several participants misinterpreted *school* in the questionnaire to refer to NEC, not to their prior schooling as was intended by the questionnaire. All text responses were assessed to see whether the participant was referring to school experiences prior to entering NEC or to NEC itself. Only when it could be established that the participant was clearly referring to *school* as opposed to NEC was the judgment made to classify the response accordingly. Of the 33, 16 clearly referred to school. It is the subgroup of those 16 that are referred to below.

Academic achievement in school. Participants' self-assessments of their academic achievements in school are shown in Table III.5 by area. They are arranged in declining level of assessment of achievement (i.e., self-assessments were highest in English, lowest in music).

Support in school. The 16 participants who focused on their school experience made assessments, in a restricted-choice questionnaire item, about the sources of their support while they were going to school (Table III.6).

Table III.5

	<i>Good</i>	<i>Fair</i>	<i>Poor</i>	<i>Not marked</i>
English	11 (68.8%)	3 (18.8%)	2 (12.5%)	
Humanities	8 (50.1%)	6 (37.5%)	1 (6.3%)	1 (6.3%)
Math	6 (37.5%)	6 (37.5%)	4 (25.0%)	
Phys Educ	5 (31.3%)	7 (43.8%)	1 (6.3%)	3 (18.8%)
Fine Arts	2 (12.5%)	9 (56.3%)	3 (18.8%)	2 (12.5%)
Science	2 (12.5%)	7 (43.8%)	6 (37.5%)	1 (6.3%)
Music	1 (6.3%)	9 (56.3%)	3 (18.8%)	3 (18.8%)

Table III.6

<i>Indicated As a Source of Support</i>	<i>N and %age</i>
Friends in school	9 (56.3%)
Family	8 (50.0%)
Teachers	8 (50.0%)
Counselors	7 (43.8%)
Out of school friends	2 (12.5%)

Table III.7

Culture gave participant a positive value e.g., instilled strong sense of pride	8
Culture gave participant awareness e.g., an awareness of land claims; more consciousness of prejudice	7
Culture had a negative effect e.g., "culture was more of a hindrance than an influence"	3
Neutral comment e.g., "no acknowledgement of culture as we grew up without it"	1
No comment	14

Effect of First Nations culture before NEC attendance. This question is a text completion question, reading "My First Nations culture influenced my pre-NEC school experience by ..."

The pre-NEC aspect is so clearly specified that the responses of all 33 participants are considered here. Fourteen people—almost half—chose not to respond to this item. The responses may be classified with the categories shown in Table III.7; short quotes from responses are extracted as examples of the kinds of statements categorized under each heading, and the number of participants who responded in terms of that category is noted to the right. Of the 19 responses, 15 referred to the positive value of culture, or to culture giving the respondent awareness.

Problems, Responsibilities, and Influence of School

Problems. The 16 who focused on school discussed problems with a completion question: "The major problems and/or obstacles I faced at school were ..." The number of participants who identified a problem in the area is shown in the right-hand column of Table III.8. Of the 16 problems, nine were either racism or institutional.

Responsibilities. The question was "Besides my academic work, the major responsibilities I had while attending school were ..." The categories and incidence (from the subgroup of 16) may be found in Table III.9. Of the 12 reported responsibilities, seven are family and home.

School influence: Help or discouragement. The text question for this item reads "Would you comment on how the school helped and/or discouraged you (for instance the administration, the faculty, the rules)." One of the 16 did not respond, and one simply said "no problems." Of the remaining 14, seven responses that were felt to indicate the range of participant's answers are presented here.

They seemed of a different world, not in tune with the students. It didn't matter who was sitting in the chairs.

Public school does discriminate, although they try to appear like they don't. Being there I could see little things, e.g., basketball captain was always a white person. I was just a good player.

<i>Table III.8</i>	
<i>Racism</i>	5
e.g., "always being put down by white people"	
<i>Academic Problems</i>	3
e.g., "my written English," "trying to pass math and sciences," "lack of homework, study skills"	
<i>Institutional</i>	4
e.g., "lack of knowing the teacher"; "overcrowded classrooms"; "There were counselors available but there were communications problems due to cultural differences"	
<i>Financial Problems</i>	2
e.g., "no money for extracurricular activities"	
<i>Personal</i>	1
"drugs," "bad influences"	
<i>Logistical</i>	1
"getting to and from public school"	
<i>No comment</i>	2

The students always insinuated that "Indians" were lucky because they always received everything in life "free"; we had many heated discussions about this. The instructors always pretended not to be aware ... around these issues.

I was discouraged because there were no programs in place to help students adjust to mainstream society.

I didn't like being put in a low, low class category (grade 8s didn't talk to grade 9s and so on, grade 11s and grade 12ers ruled). Everyone was put in groups. I was in the outcasts group.

The rules helped as they were very strict. Because it was a small town the faculty were for the most part generous with their time. Administration was not helpful because no First Nations culture was taught.

Did not allow me to develop personally

Entering and Attending NEC

Related work experience prior to attendance. Three people failed to indicate whether they had related work experience prior to initial enrollment at NEC. Fifteen reported that they had such previous experience (e.g., as a teaching assistant in kindergarten, doing office work, bookkeeping, wait-

<i>Table III.9</i>	
<i>Family and home</i>	7
e.g., looking after siblings, household chores, etc	
<i>Volunteer and community work</i>	2
e.g., "soccer, basketball practices and games"; "teaching Sunday school, camp counselor"	
<i>Logistic</i>	2
e.g., "getting to and from public school - 6 km from reserve"	
<i>Personal</i>	1
e.g., "just being there to do school work was a major task itself It took a lot of courage to show up"	

Table III.10

<i>Private Individuals</i>	
Family members	8
Friends	8
Past or present students	3
Specific individuals	6
<i>Other sources</i>	
Word of mouth	2
Publicity (brochures, etc.)	3
Other agencies and institutions	7

ing tables, court worker, drug and alcoholism treatment work, etc.). Fifteen people reported no related work experience.

Initial sources of information. The first question reads "How did you hear about NEC and its programs?" Three participants cited more than one source, and one said "can't remember," so the numbers in Table III.10 refer to the number of participants who cited a particular source; the total number of sources listed is 37. It is interesting to note that private individuals were the most important source of information, being listed 25 times, whereas agencies and NEC publicity were listed 10 times.

The decision to attend. The question is "What made you decide to come to NEC?" and the most basic distinction in the way the question was answered is that responses may be made in terms of either (a) the institution itself, its characteristics, programs, general atmosphere, and staff; or (b) in personal terms, expressing participants' aspirations or motivations.

Only one person failed to respond to this item. Fourteen (42.4%) responded in terms of institutional characteristics of NEC, 10 (30.3%) answered in personal terms, and the responses of eight (24.2%) participants combined both personal motivation and NEC's characteristics. The column to the right shows the number of participants who cited that reason; because a few participants cited more than one reason, the column adds to 35 (Table III.11)

Table III.11

<i>Institutional Characteristics</i>	
The attractiveness of specific NEC programs	6
NEC's Native orientation and atmosphere (related to the following)	15
The nature and the extent of NEC support, the different approach to learning	4
NEC's physical setting	2
<i>Personal Characteristics</i>	
Personal aspirations, desire for personal growth, and desire for Native cultural knowledge	6
Family encouragement and support	2

Application, admission, and registration. The question is relatively long: "Please comment on how you felt about your application, admission, and registration (for example, information or assistance you received or failed to receive; any difficulties, etc.)."

Four people (12.1%) did not respond to this item, but only one person (3.0%) registered anything negative at all about the processes named in the question. Eight participants (24.2%) were more or less "neutral" (e.g., "no problems; good information [provided] at that time"; "No problems whatsoever"; "It was okay").

Twenty (60.6%) commented on those processes in very positive terms: three who had had difficulties external to NEC commented on how positively NEC staff members dealt with those difficulties. The key terms are *helpful* and *welcoming*. Other examples of comments are: "The staff makes each person feel like they matter," and "great reception." The negative comment focuses on two (unnamed) people who were "rude" at the participant's initial approach for information.

Funding. A picture of the financial situation of NEC students is shown in Table III.12 in responses to the restricted-choice item.

Table III.13 shows the pattern of student support by agency and the participants' assessments of whether that specific funding was adequate or inadequate.

Fifteen participants reported some kind of negative experience in funding (lateness, problems in eligibility, etc.). Four commented on the formula for funding not taking account of Vancouver's exceptionally high cost of living. Three had had some difficulty with band funding.

Table III.12

While I attended NEC my funding was usually	
adequate	6 (18.2%)
barely enough	10 (30.3%)
at subsistence level	7 (21.2%)
below starvation level	4 (12.1%)

Table III.13

Source of Funding	N	%	Participant's Judgment		
			Adequate	Inadequate	Missing
CEC	16	(48.5%)	3	12	1
MSSH	5	(15.2%)	5		
UIC	6	(18.2%)	1	5	
Health and Welfare Canada	2	(6.1%)	2		
Band	10	(30.3%)	4	5	1
DIA	3	(9.1%)	1	1	1
Student Loan	2	(6.1%)	2		
Bursary	1	(3.0%)	1		
Other Sources	1	(3.0%)	1		

Table III.14

Area	Good	Fair	Poor	Missing
Humanities	20 (60.6%)	10 (30.3%)	3 (9.1%)	3 (9.1%)
English	18 (54.5%)	11 (33.3%)	3 (9.1%)	1 (3.0%)
Reading	21 (63.6%)	9 (27.3%)	3 (9.1%)	
Exam Writing	13 (39.4%)	14 (42.4%)	4 (12.1%)	2 (6.1%)
Study Skills	13 (39.4%)	12 (36.4%)	6 (18.2%)	2 (6.1%)
Essay Writing	11 (33.3%)	14 (42.4%)	6 (18.2%)	2 (6.1%)
Math	8 (24.2%)	15 (45.5%)	8 (24.2%)	2 (6.1%)
Sciences	7 (21.2%)	16 (48.5%)	7 (21.2%)	3 (9.1%)
Second Language	6 (18.2%)	2 (6.1%)	21 (63.6%)	4 (12.1%)

Three participants commented on the high level of stress that is associated with low financial support while attending, and some mentioned that they felt like quitting because of it. One participant wrote:

As a single mom on welfare there was not a lot of financial incentive to take a Manpower-sponsored course. [The motivations were] only my personal desire to better myself and the strength to take risks.

Academic preparation. Self-assessments of academic preparation for study at NEC were made in a restricted-choice questionnaire item. The academic areas are presented in Table III.14 in order of decreasing assessment of preparedness.

Some of the comments made by the participants reflected the whole range from a sense of preparedness to a little anxiety:

I had not been in school for a long time. It would be nice to have had a review

I am the first to admit that I need to brush up on my academics.

I felt that I was ready to continue my education.

Initial adjustment to NEC. All but one participant commented on this period of adjustment. The words the participants used to describe their first few months at NEC show a sense of expectation and challenge. The adjectives they used to describe their initial period at the Centre are as shown below: the most common description was *exciting*. Terms marked with an asterisk are descriptors that were used by more than one participant:

*academically good, educative, promising, excellent, *exciting, interesting, positive, *enjoyable, fun, *great, happy, nice, wonderful, calm, *comfortable, easy, a feeling out process, new, refreshing, *challenging, difficult, frustrating, hell, overwhelming, scary, *stressful, trying, cramped for space.*

The adjectives indicate the flavor of their responses, but they can only begin to indicate that most of the graduates remembered their beginning at the Centre in positive terms. Only five (15.2%) recalled the time in remotely negative terms (e.g., a misunderstanding with an instructor, misgivings about ability to do the work). Twelve (36.4%) were neutral (e.g., those who said "hectic") or responded with both positive and nega-

Table III.15

Family responsibilities (e.g., children, spouses, single parenting, maintaining household)	13
Financial responsibilities (including 3 who held part-time jobs with attending)	6
Personal situations (e.g., coping with illness, disability, learning punctuality, consciously being a role model, learning time management strategies)	6
Community responsibilities, volunteer work	1
None (no noteworthy other responsibilities)	3

tive comments (e.g., that it was academically good, but financial problems made the time frustrating). Fifteen (45.5%) were positive (e.g., "Great! [I] felt comfortable immediately").

Problems, Responsibilities, and Sources of Support

Responsibilities. Because adult students often have responsibilities other than their academic work, we asked participants to describe the additional responsibilities they had to meet while attending NEC. Their responses fall into five categories and are shown in Table III.15. The numbers indicate the number of participants who noted responsibilities in the category.

Problems. The problems participants noted are shown in Table III.16 in decreasing order of frequency. The number of participants who mentioned a particular problem is shown to the right.

Their notation of things as problems must be compared with the things they mentioned as additional responsibilities. The five participants who listed financial responsibilities as a responsibility did not note finances as problems, so taken together at least 33% of the respondents remember financial issues in terms of either responsibility or problem. Day care

Table III.16

Financial problems	5
Day care, child care	4
Problems with specific staff members	4
Dealing with a personal characteristic or situation	4
Relationships with other students	3
Institutional characteristics	3
Academic areas (e.g., homework, lack of skills)	3
Commuting to NEC	2

Table III.17

Friends	29 (87.9%)
Family	20 (60.6%)
NEC Student Services	10 (30.3%)
Other Sources of Support	10 (30.3%)
Community Support Services outside NEC	3 (9.1%)
Employment opportunity at NEC	2 (6.1%)

Table III.18

Specific (named) individuals on NEC staff	17 (51.5%)
Instructors, staff, counselors at NEC in general	11 (33.3%)
Other students	9 (27.3%)
Friends (not necessarily at NEC)	3 (9.1%)
Family	2 (6.1%)
Everyone at NEC, The place itself	2 (6.1%)
Instructors, counselors outside NEC	1 (3.0%)

facilities are predictable as a problem area in light of the responsibilities of students who are parents. The other problem areas are self-explanatory except for institutional characteristics. The issues mentioned include a program lack (e.g., two said cultural learning activities). One mentioned the concentrated nature of a program.

Sources of support. A restricted-choice questionnaire item reads: "The things that really helped me get through NEC successfully were ..." The response pattern observed is shown in Table III.17.

On the other hand, the open-ended item that asks for completion of this statement, "The most support I received at NEC came from ..." shows a somewhat different picture of sources of support (Table III.18).

The two items are phrased somewhat differently and imply different contexts of support; the text item might be read to imply support specifically by NEC, yet obviously friends, family, and others outside the Centre were named here as well. When the two items are considered together it is clear that family and friends are important sources of support, but that the NEC staff (instructors, counselors, other staff including support staff) are important sources of help and support as well, because 85% of the participants cite them as sources of "most support" in a context where choice is not necessarily restricted to NEC as agency.

NEC and First Nations cultural influence. The connection between NEC and First Nations cultures has a remarkable and important realization at the Centre. Twenty-two (66.6%) people commented on their First Nations culture with respect to their experience at NEC and 11 had no comment. Of the 22 respondents, three (9.1%) spoke of aspects of their culture that gave them a positive approach to learning, to doing one's best, and to sharing. A crucial role of the NEC is demonstrated in the responses of the other 19 participants (57.5%) who wrote that for them NEC's role was one of introduction, reintroduction, or reinforcement of their First Nations culture and identity.

The Centre as an institution. We asked for comment on how NEC helped and/or discouraged the participants. The 27 who commented defined these areas as salient:

1. specific institutional characteristics;
2. personal growth;
3. relationships with and characteristics of staff,

4. program and course content; and
5. rules and regulations.

It is noteworthy that only six participants provided comments that were in any way negative, and only four participants' comments were entirely negative: the areas in which those four commented were:

1. the participant's perception of lack of responsibility on the part of some students in connection with rules for attendance;
2. relationships with specific staff members;
3. information and content: a participant thought that more information should have been provided about access to other services; and
4. general evaluation: one participant simply said that NEC had been no help to him or her.

On the other hand, of the 21 whose comments were clearly positive, 13 participants focused on institutional characteristics that they said had enhanced their educational experience, and eight commented in positive terms about how NEC as an institution had contributed to their own personal growth. The institutional characteristics that they identified were:

1. the atmosphere: "open," "relaxed," "comfortable," "welcoming," "supportive," "encouraging," and "helpful" were terms that were used to describe NEC;
2. the staff (e.g., "encouraging," and "supportive");
3. the First Nations identity of NEC (which was highlighted by six participants);
4. course and program content; and
5. regulations (e.g., "the rules were strict, but helpful").

The comment that seems to capture this area best is that of the participant whose paragraph began "Totally encouraging," and after elaboration, included the summary statement "People cared."

The eight who credited NEC with contribution to their own personal growth spoke in terms such as these:

I became independent and strong

The institution helped me be responsible toward completing assignments; also helped me to be aware of First Nations people and . . . beliefs.

NEC gave me a chance to become something more than just another statistic.

Careers, Work, and Further Education: Retrospective Assessment

Continuing education. A large proportion of the participants have gone on to further education after their NEC experience. Eighteen noted such further participation; 16 had been involved with courses at other institutions; and 14 had taken more than one course at NEC. Ten indicated that they have not taken further courses after their NEC course (though two indicate that they are planning to do so), and five did not respond to this

item. Eleven of those who have gone on to further educational programs also document post-NEC employment.

The high proportion of those who have gone on to other courses after taking NEC courses, or who have been involved in more than one program at NEC, prompt a question about progress and level. It is impossible to do more than infer here but the inference is very strong: only two participants note a change in direction or field in the further education they have sought, whereas in the cases of the other 16 it is clear that the pattern of the programs in which they have been involved is one of progress (e.g., to higher certification levels; to university or college programs in the same field; to specialization; from ABE or GED to skills training programs, etc.).

We asked for participant assessment of how well NEC had prepared them for continuing their education, and the responses were almost uniformly positive. Eight responded with positive comments in general terms (e.g., "Yes -excellent"); six responded with specific reference to academic skills and knowledge areas (e.g., "I improved my educational skills [math, grammar, English, tenfold"]; two others were more or less neutral, though they indicated that they could have used more training in English, math, or communications skills; one was positive in personal terms (i.e., in gaining academic confidence, something that was implied by several others); and the single completely negative assessment focused on a single instructor.

Employment We did not ask for post-NEC employment histories, but rather for comment on the relationship between NEC training and employment. Only the responses of those who explicitly stated employment status after completing NEC programs are included here: 21 (63.6%) document employment after completing their NEC programs, and included in this figure are 11 who document both post-NEC employment and further education after NEC graduation. Only two people indicate neither further education nor a history of post-NEC employment; the responses of another four participants do not indicate employment explicitly, but rather infer it.

If we were to document the specific employment positions of graduates anonymity might be compromised. Instead, by general area we can say that they describe work in sales and service, work as teacher aides, secretarial work (including specialized areas), tourism promotion, administration, and program development.

Two participants noted under discussion about further education that they realized that they needed more training and that this realization motivated further education at either the Centre or another institution. No participant made a negative connection between the educational program in which they had participated and subsequent employment: most noted

a description of their position and let that statement, in connection with the nature of the individual program, speak for itself.

General Assessments of NEC and Its Influence

Three open-ended questions sought general assessments from participants directed at:

1. the NEC experience relative to participants' expectations;
2. the influence of NEC on the participant, both personally and as a community member; and
3. any influence of NEC on the graduates' First Nations identity.

Expectations. The generally positive relationship between employment and an NEC experience is reinforced and made explicit in response to a question, "How well did NEC meet your expectations?" Twenty-seven (81.8%) of the responses were very positive. Six of those respondents qualified their generally positive assessment by mentioning some aspect of expectation that had not been met (i.e., two had had difficulty with an instructor—this was a repeated theme by two respondents; one brought up the lack of day care facilities; one said the program went too fast; and two remarked that though the program met expectations, expectations for employment were not realized.

Of the remaining six, two (6.1%) had negative assessments related to what they perceived to be a lack of materials and/or misunderstanding with an instructor. The evaluation of two respondents (6.1%) was more or less neutral, and two others (6.1%) gave no response to this question.

Influence of NEC. In another area of retrospection we asked participants to discuss the general influence of NEC "in general (both personally and as a member of your community)."

Three people (9.1%) chose not to respond to this item, though their responses to other related questions indicated generally positive assessments of NEC. There were no negative statements here, so the 30 who made positive assessments of NEC's influence represent 90.9% of the group.

The most common area of influence was building confidence and determination (8), and self-esteem (2). The second most common area for comment was that the NEC experience gave them renewed affiliation with First Nations culture, recognition of belonging, and a sense of community (8). Another three participants were specific about the influence being that they were able to learn more about First Nations culture. Another three focused on the First Nations value of respect, and named it as an important influence from NEC. Awareness of First Nations issues and understanding of present situations was an area named by six participants as having been a product of NEC attendance. Two people said that the process of learning self-evaluation had been an influence, and another two simply said that they had become better people by attending NEC. One

commented that a major influence had been forming positive social ties in the urban environment.

Identity as a member of a First Nation. The question was phrased "Did NEC as an institution have any impact on your First Nations identity? If so, what?"

Four people (12.1%) did not comment, and another four (12.1%) said that they had already been well grounded in their culture and identity so could not say that NEC had had an impact in that area. Another four (12.1%) made comments that are difficult to interpret and thus categorize definitively (e.g., "We can be very strong people when we work together," and "There are a lot of us Native people wanting more out of life and going for it. We are not all ... inadequate").

Twenty-one (63.6%) answered in unequivocally positive terms: NEC had had a positive impact on the participant's identity as a First Nations person. Several of the participants described how the NEC experience had given them a sense of identity as a First Nations individual, how it brought them to a recognition of community, and how pride and being comfortable in their identity as a First Nations person had been awakened in them or enhanced at the Centre.

Additional comments by participants. In a space provided for additional comments, five people appended general commendation to NEC to their recommendations; the participants appeared to have interpreted the question as a request for recommendations. Among recommendations that were brought up by several of the participants the need for day care (8) and housing (4) were commonly mentioned; as well as physical expansion of the facility itself, due to current space demands and in the expectation of offering a broader range of programs (3). The most commonly mentioned suggestion (by five participants) in terms of policy was that all students have access to cultural studies.

The Focus Group Sessions

The NEC graduate hired to research addresses and mail the surveys would also play a major role in contacting and confirming attendance at two focus group sessions held in late June 1993. Conscious effort was made to have a representative from each of the seven Skills Training Programs and a representative from each of the four years' (1989-1990) graduating classes. The focus groups were led by an NEC management staff with one or two UBC research team members to assist in recording and further questioning.

The NEC graduate transcribed the recordings from both focus group sessions and submitted the transcripts to the UBC research team. A member of the UBC team worked with one NEC management staff person to categorize and interpret the findings.

The graduates who volunteered to attend a focus group session were sent a letter to confirm their attendance; provide the questions; and inform

them that the session would be tape-recorded but that their anonymity would be maintained.

The graduates had the opportunity to think about and answer the following questions, which relate to their experience before, during, and after attending the NEC.

1. What led you to choose the Native Education Centre versus other educational institutions?
2. As a First Nations person, what at the Native Education Centre did you find most/least helpful?
3. In what way is your experience at Native Education Centre relevant to what you are doing now, either educationally, career, or community wise?

The interpretation of the findings are categorized under each of the above questions with a central quote and quotes with some variations. The quotations from both focus group sessions have been merged.

Question 1: What led you to choose the NEC versus other educational institutions?

Desire to learn about FN heritage and be with FN people. One graduate clearly makes a connection between learning about FN heritage and being with First Nations people: "And I wanted to be around Native people and people I could relate to and find my roots."

Another graduate expresses learning about heritage as a benefit: "I could learn about my heritage ... and I could benefit from that."

The following quote shows responsibility of learning and passing on that learning to others and relates to that heritage in a collective way: "So, I thought I should get myself educated in our Native heritage and be able to pass it on."

Others emphasize the importance of being with Native people: "And I wanted to go to school with Native people"; "And it was all Native people"; "To try and say yes, I belong here, I deserve to be here."

Milieu at the NEC. Some express the importance of feeling comfortable and welcome: "When I first came here, even just coming here to apply, I felt immediately welcomed and that was the comfort in it"; "There's one thing Native people find ... there's a lot of comfort with each other"; and the importance of being accepted: "And then I ... you know ... I knew I didn't have to prove myself"; and feeling at home: "When I came here I felt like I was coming home."

Some felt comfortable in a "Friendly atmosphere": "The reason I started here was everybody was friendly ... the first time I thought 'Oh no, I shouldn't go,' but everybody ... was so friendly ... that I thought, 'I'll feel comfortable'"; "Everybody was so friendly here, I was happy"; "I was very impressed ... [with] the atmosphere of the school."

It was also important that some were able to anticipate making friends--one especially when older: "You don't know whether you'll be

able to make friends, you know how it is when you get older?" "[My sister] ... had made some friends and then ... we all became fast friends"; and to enjoy oneself: "And they all praised the school ... how much fun it was to be there."

Others express the need to check out NEC before registering: "Coming here ... when I heard about the NEC, I came here and immediately felt comfortable"; "So I came down here one day and checked into everything and took it from there."

And at least one feels ambivalence about attending a non-Native institution: "I felt if I went to a non-Native institution I would be pretty isolated."

Accessibility of NEC. One compares the accessibility of NEC with a community college: "I found out it really was quite easy to get into this school ... if I wanted to go to [other community college], I'd have to put my name on a six-month waiting list."

Another describes the efficient admissions process: "It was like, I think I want to go to school and here I am, I'm here, I'm in! Ya know, I didn't na, maybe next year"; one recalls the personal interview with a senior staff member: "[I had] an appointment with [staff name] ... so I came to see [name] and talked to him and he accepted me."

Relevance

There are three subcategories here.

Relevance of NEC. The topic of relevance is related to aspects of personal, academic, and career life. Some relate the importance of program relevance: "They told me about ... what the courses that were offered to them"; "I came across a book from the NEC that had all the programs and everything and the Criminal Justice one really caught my eye ... it was in the field of what I was doing at the halfway house"; as it relates to First Nations issues: "[Because First Nations were represented here] ... I did a little research and found out what the NEC was all about and it was what I was looking for"; to content: "I came to get all the information I needed so that it would benefit me"; and to how motivating it is when one is able to relate to ideas: "You really start getting the seeds of ideas happening and growing right here, you get really motivated."

Others relate their choices to return to school with making major personal life changes: "I quit school when I was 16 ... and I had been going to various different schools off and on, trying to reestablish myself into a learning mode but it wasn't working"; "I'm a recovering alcoholic and after I'd been sober for a couple of years I didn't like where the alcohol had led me ... I decided I wanted to go back to school."

Another relates choosing NEC to his responsibility of rearing his son: "My son came into my life at that time ... that changed my whole life ... I was thinking I've got to find a job ... I thought about going back to school, get my grade 12 ... I knew about the NEC."

Relevance to career. Others chose to attend NEC because programs related directly to careers they were interested in: "I took a work experience and found I liked working in an office atmosphere ... they said the NEC has secretarial training now ... so I ran around ... and they accepted me"; "I sort of looked around at some of the programs ... and tourism seemed kind of fine"; "I came here to get all the information [to] ... benefit me ... careerwise"; "I just got tired of working manual labor, different odd jobs, and I always liked criminal justice system so I came down and I ran across a pamphlet."

One refers to the transferability of the program: "It was a university transfer [program] ... that's what I was looking for."

Another recognizes the employment skills gained: "You've got employable skills ... get out there and get a job!"

Relevance of non-First Nations institutions. A couple of individuals emphasize that other schools/institutions were problematic: "When I was going to [residential school], they pushed this English into my face, whether I liked it or not. I remember the first day I started in grade 1, I had problems. They didn't like me"; and "In all other educational institutions, I found that First Nations people or history weren't represented politically or otherwise."

Goals appropriate to First Nations context/community. The importance of how education would impact self and others in the wider community is emphasized: "So that it would benefit me and the world out there."

One expresses commitment toward First Nations children: "I hadn't really thought of what I wanted to do then, our children ... who is out there for our children? ... you don't hear of too many day cares on Native [reserves] ... so, I took my ECE [early childhood education]"; another expresses commitment to the future and to the next generation: "I wanted to be prepared for that [future] and also have the educational background of the history of the people that were ahead of us; that brought us to this point in our development and we are the stepping stones for the next generation."

Experience with prejudice/racism. Some of the respondents express painful experiences with racism during elementary school: "I really became aware that Native people were being really discriminated against"; "Before, I had a hard time being a minority in grade school in my environment and in my community"; "And a lot of things went on during ... grade school, like a lot of prejudice against me, and I didn't understand it."

Others experience similar concerns in high school and/or college: "And a lot of things went on during high school ... like a lot of prejudice against me"; the shameful feelings and its effect academically: "In high school ... there weren't very many Natives ... we were always picked on, called on, and I became very ashamed of being Native ... the other two learned to fit in with the Caucasians--did certain things that they were

accepted ... they figured, oh well, she can't handle it anyway ... so I gave up"; and the undue stress in proving oneself: "In the high schools and even in college ... was the feeling of wanting or the need to prove myself to be there ... with this constant fight, the stress would overload."

Finally, one respondent feels caught between both worlds: "All the way through my childhood, I was not welcome in either my home reserve or in Vancouver in my school ... I'd hang around with my Native friends and I'd be called derogatory names, you know, chug and squaw and stuff, and then I'd go home for the summer and be called honky, white trash, and whatever."

Cultural alienation/deprivation. Many of the respondents relate serious concerns about not having the opportunity to grow up in their culture. Such deprivation causes negative feelings toward oneself: "I didn't grow up with my Native background and I was at a point [in] my life where I really needed to know who I was and where I came from ... because I was changing my life and I wanted a better life ... because I didn't really have a pride in who I was, not just being Native, but just in who I was"; and one relates it to feeling restless with regard to career: "And at this stage, I hadn't really much to do with my culture at all, and I think ... there was probably a great gap in my life ... I wasn't aware of it except that I seemed to be awfully restless ... careerwise."

Another spoke of the importance of learning about oneself: "I started to ask myself a few questions about myself, who I was ... because I didn't ... I wasn't raised in the Native way or Native tradition and I didn't know very much about myself in that aspect."

One talks about growing up away from home: "Because I was raised in a non-Native community and I knew nothing except for mother's hobbies, or part of her culture ... she spoke Native at home and stuff like that, but I never grew up in the environment."

Another discusses the negative effects of residential school: "Because for years when I was in residential school, you know, I mean, we were brainwashed into thinking our history was nothing to be proud of."

Personal knowledge received from trusted others. Some of the learners hear positive comments about NEC, which influences their decision to attend: "Then a close personal friend of mine, we had a good chat and she said, 'What about the NEC?'" "I applied ... not with heart in it really ... I guess what it came down to was that I was scared to come back to school ... then a friend just kicked me in the butt and said, 'Do it!'"

Another knows one of the staff and expects to do better: "[In a previous job] ... I contacted the NEC here to see if they could do something better [about outreach] ... I happened to know the coordinator at that time ... so I came to the centre and applied."

Yet another heard positive comments from her family: "I had heard a lot about it from friends and family and I only heard a lot of positive things ... my younger sister came here ... and she really praised this school."

Referral from agency. Finally, two respondents relate recommendations from funding agencies: "I went to Manpower because I couldn't get a job ... I noticed this notice on the board that they had a NEC: I came to see the Manpower about it and they told me to come"; and "I went to the DIA and ... they recommended the NEC."

Question 2. What at the NEC did you find most/least helpful?

Most helpful

Possibility of multiple programs. At least three of the graduates were enrolled in NABE (Native Adult Basic Education) before they enrolled in the different skills training programs: "She took her GED, Microcomputer and similar things I took"; "I only made it to grade 8 ... it's time I started. I started in '89 and then I started here in ECE [early childhood education]"; and "I left and I came back again last year and took my ECE ... I've been wanting to do this for years."

One graduate expresses the desire to take another program: "I wanted to stay and get into another program"; one comments on finishing two office skills programs: "I got my Secretarial Office Training and my Micro-computer." (These two programs were designed as Part 1 and Part 2, but have become one program, Office Administration Training.)

Courses and program quality. The following extract praises the program organization and instructor commitment: "The course itself was really organized and she [program coordinator] really kept the students [in] with it"; the involvement of qualified instructors in the field: "The course here was really great, we got a lot of instructors from outside the course as well as in"; and the added opportunity of practical, hands-on learning: "And we went on practicum, we went on field trips and we did it all—made drums. It was all beneficial to the course."

One comment praises the benefit of many courses: "My education with the school has taught me a lot. We had a variety of courses"; and the following expresses receiving the opportunity to begin and continue learning: "The day I stepped in, I started learning. I went from my grade [8], got my GED, and I carried on to my ECE, and from that point on I've been just going forward."

The next comment shows the empowerment experienced in learning and the motivation gained from course opportunities: "They basically showed you how to run a video camera, then they took you into the studio where you learned editing ... and what we'd do is have little mock news-cast and interviews. Then we started getting kind of political and we started going, 'Let's have a march and videotape it'!"

Learning about First Nations cultures/issues. One indicates that learning about heritage is most helpful: "That [learning about heritage] is the most

helpful thing that I've learned at this Centre"; another the strong desire to learn about Native people: "And I thirsted for that. I needed to know more about the Native people, where we stand in today's society and where we might be going in our future."

Others express some negative feelings when confronted with some of the living conditions and habits of some classmates: "I was always used to being very independent ... that wasn't so with a lot of my classmates who sort of expected or looked to others to solve problems for them ... it took me a long time to realize that ... it came from 150 years of living under the Indian Act"; and "I became aware of substance abuse from some of my classmates ... I had a really difficult time relating to ... these insurmountable problems ... I had one really best friend and I would talk to her ... she sort of made me realize that this wasn't unusual in the Aboriginal community ... I left home when I was 13 ... so I did know it existed, it was distant ... whereas I came here, it suddenly became a part of me and it hurt."

Yet others are disappointed that cultural classes are not a part of the Skills Training Programs curricula: "What I would like to see ... when I came here I was really disappointed that I couldn't take any of their cultural courses ... I had this awesome opportunity to come to this school and I couldn't take even one of the cultural courses, I was really heartbroken ... that would have helped with some of the healing, with that attitude"; feel left out: "We are having lecture after lecture downstairs while [other] students are playing, you know, making drums and playing their drums and ... it could have happened in the second semester."

One speaks for self and others wanting cultural classes: "I know for a fact we really wanted to get in on some of the culture"; while another relates taking cultural classes as being a part of NEC: "They'd feel more part of NEC if they did get to do something [a cultural course]."

Being at NEC is supportive to self-expression: "A lot of people, the way I see it, that come here are searching for direction of some kind and being able to express themselves in whichever way they can is good on a positive note."

Another speaks honestly about struggles associated with classroom learning and the effort required to learn: "I had to learn to take my ego and set it aside and be quiet ... I had to learn to be quiet ... I guess I was a detriment sometimes to the learning process in that group ... and it still is difficult"; and one relates the difficulty she has with a course because of the healing process she is in: "I just barely passed [course] because I had so much healing to deal with, but the other subjects I had taken, I had not problems with."

Personal empowerment, self esteem, and development of First Nations identity One relates how confidence increases with learning about self: "I benefited by learning about myself and who I am ... I can stand up and I know what I am talking about"; and others are empowered by the learn-

ing process: "You realize your potential and you go, 'Oh my God, I can do anything'"; the opportunity to discover new skills: "I really liked the opportunity to start new things ... it was really good for the self-esteem and to be able to practice skills I wasn't aware that I had ... I could help others enjoy things in a very positive way"; and to strive for academic excellence: "Whenever I got frustrated or tired or didn't think I could write another page ... I thought of that plaque [achievement award] and I thought how badly I wanted it ... And I got it! ... it is the incentive to actually go out and do it and be proud of working for it and getting it."

One recognizes the pride in accomplishment: "[Cultural courses] would increase your confidence in your abilities too ... it's known to give a person pride in creating something"; in resisting low standards: "Sometimes the attitude in the class ... I felt it myself a few times, that because we're Native don't make it too tough for us"; and desiring to be a part of the Native community: "I really needed to find out where I fit and I know where I wanted to be, I wanted to be part of the Native community."

Helpfulness of instructors and staff. Several comments are about instructors who encourage and give positive reinforcement: "It was the instructors ... the instructor told me I had good potential ... she said if you really want to pass, you got to come in and do work on your own ... so she gave me a chance and I took the option to do it ... they understand ... I had emotional support as well as the understanding"; show caring and advise learners to be challenging: "Some of the teachers were helpful ... they were so caring and took a key interest in our lives and in our thoughts ... encouraged us to challenge them, not in a confrontational way but to challenge their theories and beliefs"; instill pride and promote self-acceptance: "They talk to you to be proud of who you are and not to hide the fact or try to be somebody else ... it just more or less helped me"; insist on high standards: "Some of our teachers were brutal ... everyone would be complaining and really upset ... he said, 'You've got to show improvement in that area, you're going nowhere with that type of writing skill.'" "After a while I learned to appreciate that"; and encourage learners to ask questions: "Our teachers were very helpful ... we were told that no question is a stupid question ... we were openly encouraged to ask anything ... that was very helpful"; "I found all my teachers here extremely encouraging and helpful ... even if you asked the same question three times ... they would keep answering as long as you needed help."

Some commented on the approachability of the instructors: "And the instructors as well. And we could approach them at any time no matter how trivial the question may seem, they were always there to help and usually these were the pieces of the jigsaw that gave you the whole picture in the final analysis"; and their helpfulness: "I got that little push and you get that urge to go on"; "If you had any problem at all, myself I had a bit of a language problem [and] they provided help for you here. They got

somebody in special. [And] there's no other place that you can get that"; "Yeah, they pushed me, 'cause I was about ready to drop out, especially the first time—and we talked and talked and talked. Then I said, 'Okay, I'll give it a try.' So I gave it a try and I had to talk to them again"; "And the teachers, everyone pats you on the back saying, 'You can do anything you want to do'"; "The most helpful for me was ... there were two teachers who I really appreciate"; "How great the teachers were."

Others praise counselor support: "If you need counselors they were a lot of help to me for solving my difficulties ... and they were so helpful when I needed help. They were there and when you needed them, they said, 'Come on in, talk to us'"; and "[A staff member] had a whole bunch of doors for me to try and ... ended up helping me get funding from UIC for the year"; others note staff helpfulness: "Everybody was just so helpful"; approachability: "Other staff in the school were good, used to be able to go talk to them, anybody"; and dedication: "The staff and everybody was just great. They were there"; "The staff were pretty good, the instructors especially that [program coordinator], she was really good. I heard the others were just as good too."

Others comment on the positive and helpful environment: "I'm not too sure whether I would have kept on if I wasn't in this environment"; "The most helpful, just being at the Native school, really helped a lot"; "Just the atmosphere I think for me was good for kind of a move from a small town into the city, it was kind of a culture shock. Meeting everybody here, it's like a family. So that's the best part"; "I found most helpful, is everything that's located right here in the building. Everything is so available: the library, the counselors"; and "Another thing I found helpful was the environment, just being in the building ... it's always a good feeling"; "It's like a big family."

Others comment on student unity: "And the unity of the students ... I really enjoyed that experience of the students coming together and being really close"; "The most helpful thing I found here I guess is the unity of all the students and the instructors as well."

Two contrast being at NEC with other learning (college) institutions: "[In contrast to the NEC] ... I found it hard ... going to [community college], 'cause of the unity of the students here ... you don't know anybody, they're not the same. You don't get the same unity"; "In other institutions ... I mostly did find it sort of cold, sort of a sterile environment ... I didn't realize that there was anything different until I came here ... it was like coming home."

Influence of friends and family. Many commented on the support they received from friends: "It was the teachers and my friends ... we gave each other support and it was encouraging that we all give each other that kind of support"; and how they formed study groups: "[We] kinda reached out to others right from the start ... once we got to know each other, we usually

formed our own study groups"; "We had to help each other ... we did form study groups and we supported one another and if someone didn't show up, we called"; and helped one another: "I found my classmates extremely helpful ... you don't wait until you fall into a certain way, we were automatically in that circle just by being here"; "Because you get all this support from the students."

Another felt fitting in was quite natural: "You just blend naturally, it's not like a group apart where you have to be a certain way ... everyone accepts everyone the way they are."

One learner felt disappointed when others weren't ready to be helped: "There were a couple of people in our class that were going into the field of helping people and ... were not ready themselves ... that was really distracting and really hard sometimes ... some of their problems ... were sort of dragging everybody down ... you'd want to reach out and help ... but they still had to learn how to deal with it themselves."

Others met relatives or friends from other times: "[I found that I] ... knew people that [I] hadn't seen for awhile ... when [I started talking] to somebody in terms you are related to them? I came across a few students that, 'my God, you're my mother's cousin' and, you know, stuff like that"; and "Coming here and seeing that you have friends from different place and I ran across a lot of people whom I met over the years. Just kind of never kept in touch ... it was nice."

Least helpful

Problems with funding. Some commented on the inadequacy of funding: "We struggled because everyone was so poor ... the last week of every month I was always out of money and I borrowed it from a friend ... it was an endless cycle of borrowing, paying it back and having to borrow it again"; others have difficulty gaining funding: "When I got accepted ... my band wasn't willing to fund me for the first year ... they didn't know who I was"; "The door was closed to me when I went to Manpower although I was entitled with my UI ... it was like they said to me even before I sat down ... by chance I happened to talk to Sue and within that day she told me that I was signed up to come"; and: "I had a horrible time at CEIC even though I had worked for years and put into UI ... by getting the help of Donna at the school, she was able to get me alternate funding ... I really truly felt that the woman at CEIC had made up her mind ... before I went through the door."

Other comments show funding was not available for further studies: "Unfortunately, finances weren't there so I went out and got a job"; "But funding would be stopped right in its tracks and that's it"; and "Unfortunately, that door was closed for me. [I] can't go nowhere else. [I've] got to stay where [I am]."

Need for day care. Two graduates express concern about the lack of day care: "For lack of day care, I notice that a lot of the students were having

problems getting to school and because they were encountering problems with day care. Their babysitters wouldn't show up."

Workload or program details. Several of the graduates expressed difficulties with workload: "The workload got a little heavy ... it's really jammed into a short period of time and that was really hard ... I almost didn't make it. I think everyone considered quitting at one time in that class"; "When I was in Secretarial, it was quite a heavy workload ... and I got discouraged"; "We had an incredible workload"; "The workload ... if somehow the secretarial course could be broke up or else extended ... the only person in our class that actually really got a full understanding of the accounting ... had taken it before, so she came in with some knowledge ... that was really the hardest for me"; and "The first term ... was so difficult ... we were doing something like 25 hours a week of home studies on top of 30 hours of classroom stuff."

One wanted to do more cultural classes: "I wanted to do more cultural, but I wasn't able to make the drum, make the sweaters or do the beadwork ... if you're going to teach the children, you'd like to know some of the things yourself ... I don't think it necessarily has to be my culture, it could be other [FN] cultures"; one wants a second year at NEC: "I'd like the second year of ECE, if possible, to be offered here, 'cause there's not too many places that have full-time ECE."

Other comments are about teachers: "Some of the other teachers were biding their time ... were very indifferent ... I didn't find that very helpful or encouraging"; and "Some of the teachers were burnt out and some of them were just there to collect a paycheck."

One graduate expresses concern about confidentiality: "If we had problems ... every time I seemed to go to this one person ... and it almost seemed like everyone knew ... so I guess confidentiality for counselors, they really got to take that seriously ... my instructors had confidentiality ... it really hurts when other people know"; and another about course transferability: "I realize the course [practicum] was for job skills training and other than that not all the other courses were transferable to university, so that's the only thing negative about it."

Racism and discrimination. One student comments on misunderstandings between teachers and students: "Some of our teachers were non-Native. We expected them to be understanding and sensitive about Native people ... and if they weren't some students weren't too polite to them ... I admired those non-Native teachers that would come in here"; and "About the racism ... the white man ... I never heard that before ... I heard that a little bit here or felt it more like ... I started to learn about more people and where people's pain and the attitude was coming from ... in that attitude ... it's their form of healing."

Transportation. At least two graduates find commuting to school a challenge: "Having to come all the way from Surrey, I was fortunate in

that I knew the city ... if someone didn't show up, we'd call, we'd arrange rides"; and "It was hard, I had to travel from Surrey."

Accessibility. At least one graduate would like more access for communities: "At least a third or a quarter ... come here to the city for the first time ... and some of them don't make it ... so I'd rather that we took the NEC to the community."

Question 3: In what way is your experience at the NEC relevant to what you are doing now (career, education, community)?

General FN culture, pride, values. One graduate relates learning about her culture to pride and belonging: "And coming to this school made me feel proud of my culture and also let me enjoy and be part of the community ... like open the door for me to be accepted in the Native community"; "And I learned my heritage."

Learning about First Nations cultures, issues, community. Some emphasis is put on learning about Native rights, especially pertaining to the concept of community development: "The program ... gave me overall view of what's available out there in the community, or what I could do for the community. So my experience here covers all three areas, strongest in career and community, but, educationally it gave me a broader view of what I could learn and what I can pass on to others. My main focus right now, is to encourage all First Nations people to get themselves educated, because we're going into self-government and so we need educated people that can deal with the community at large, as well as within the First Nations community", and one increases that community sense and bonds more closely with family: "Coming here ... has brought in my community sense ... I've asked questions, you know, it's strengthened my bond with my family ... it will grow stronger and stronger as I fulfill my needs in the spiritual sense."

Another becomes aware of discriminating policies: "It was like a whole new world opening to me ... I became aware of the Indian Act, I became aware of some of the suspicions I'd had in my head for some time ... that, yes, Native people were severely discriminated against"; "I learned a lot about politics and Native rights and this school's taught me a lot in regards to rights—a lot of Native issues."

Another observes: "I think a lot of the students here ... want to give something back to the community, to the people ... what sets Indian people apart is if you ask most of them what they want to do it is something in some way serving their own people."

One becomes sensitive to community needs: "Being at NEC made me aware of all the needs there are in the aboriginal community ... to achieve self-government"; and others become sensitive to community needs: "Being at NEC made me aware of all the needs there are in the aboriginal community ... to achieve self-government"; to involvement in community change: "I wanted to encourage other people to become involved, because

now we have to do for ourselves what was previously done for us. That's where I stand on the educational part of it for now"; "I don't feel too alone. And, because of this program, I try to talk to younger people, be a role model; just do my best and hopefully they'll help other people"; "So it's really brought me into the community and then I'm sharing with the community things that I am learning from the Centre itself"; and actually become involved: "Oh basically, because of coming here, it kinda got me into the Native community. I got to know a lot of Native people in the city, like a family. It's good that way"; in volunteer work: "I wanted to mention something about community as well ... I've been a volunteer with the radio program and I've had a couple of radio shows. All of this is coming out of what I've gotten out of the NEC. I had a radio program on Native education"; "I want it to be a continuing series. I want to do a program on the residential school. I've also had a show on affordable housing and I have another show scheduled for [date] and I'm going to be interviewing some of the instructors of and facilitators of the [NEC program] and [NEC program]."

Personal meaning and growth. The following explain some significant life changes: "I realized after I started in the program that I must have hated school ... even in reform school ... but at least it helped pass the time"; and "I think I've benefited tremendously from walking in and being a scared person with a grade 8 education and coming up with all these ideas and ambitions. I think I'm the number one PR person for the Native Ed! But I think all students are. I would encourage anybody to come here."

The following expresses improved commitment to education: "Then [I] realized, 'Yeah, that's what I want to do, is continue my education'"; and one has children attending NEC: "I have three children coming here ... and they are doing very well right now for themselves."

Another relates personal to career development: "It put my goals straight ... the position I'm in today I do ... all the things I like to do ... I've had to learn to become more assertive."

Directly relevant to employment. Of the 11 focus group participants seven are employed; two are continuing their education; one is actively seeking employment; and one is developing her own business. Some cite their employment experience: "Work has really worked out well because [of] what I gained from different courses ... the [program], first aid [course]. Those things worked for me really well because I've been working ever since; two steady jobs, basically, and other part-time jobs. I've always been working since I've been in school"; "I'm working now, but all the courses that I took got me to this point of employment. And I'm using everything I got out of my job training, so that's really helpful, and the job that I'm in, I'm learning a lot about community services"; "With the practicum placements, the majority of the class, I myself, they were really good. They gave the students the experience they were interested in---whatever their inter-

ests were. It was a really good part of the program. A lot of students did get jobs from them. I've had a job since then and I'm still working"; and "Now I see people from [my home town] and I tell them [I finished school at] the NEC ... they're like, 'Wow are you ever lucky' ... they asked me what I'm doing now and I'm like, 'Oh, I'm working for them now' ... they just can't believe it."

Others relate their NEC experience to future career goals: "Just the experience of being here has given me a clearer vision of exactly what I want to do—it's narrowed down to where I have a target in my mind which is always my dream ... it's given me the direction of where I'm going"; "And now I want to run my own day care on my reserve ... [now I have my ECE] ... I'm working together with my Chief and a social worker to get everything together for me"; and "As far as my career, my ultimate career is to be in the media, either in news broadcasting or journalism. And those things came to me from being part of the NEC [in their] ... noncultural courses ... The newsletter got me interested in journalism and being part of the video course really got me into the producing, directing and new issues, into the broadcasting areas"; and the person who is actively seeking employment: "I have two positions that I am waiting for, [field] at [place] and the Band, whichever comes first, I'm going to take it"; and the other who is developing her own business: "But because I took the Native course I really enjoyed what was offered, I would like to position myself in Native Tourism industry. It has taught me quite a bit in regards to all my interests, careerwise and my creativity."

Academic achievement. Two continue education in the field started at NEC: "I'm continuing my education ... into my third year at [college] ... I could have gotten a job but I knew if I had taken on a job with good paying money I wouldn't go back to school ... so they're still in the back of my mind"; and "All I needed was my first year [received at NEC] and then with the second [at other college] I just carried on"; "Coming here was really good for going on to college and most of the courses were transferable to [local college]"; and "I'm still going to school today, and I'll be finished next summer."

The graduates who are employed have future academic goals: "[It] gave me a wonderful foundation to go further ... I'm going to take more schooling and using the knowledge I have with the computers and the beginning accounting I would have enough to start my own business"; "I've got my [field] diploma and right now I'm at a crossroads where I might go for my BA in my [field] at [local university] or [other local university]"; "I'm going to continue on toward getting a degree so I can be a part of the solutions toward educating First Nations people."

Another comments: "It wasn't boring, so educationally it's taught me quite a lot about the industry that I'm in right now that I'm striving for. I'm going into a retail outlet that I'm opening in about two months"; and

others pass on academic support to students or community: "I deal with students pretty well most of the day ... some of them know that I was once a student ... they see that if they stick with their studies ... they do get somewhere"; and "[Where I did a practicum] ... the NEC helped me get my ties there ... and ... they're starting a scholarship ... for students who have gone through the NEC ... so it's helped me in that sense as well."

The following express academic confidence: "And academically, it helped me out tremendously ... I had a grade 8 education, I came here and acquired all my basic education"; "Now I consider myself to be somewhat academically sound"; "I'm really proud of how far I've come—from a grade 8 education"; and another passes on pride in being Native: "There are quite a few Native women there ... and being that I found out a little bit more about the Native part of myself I'm more about to help them ... in dealing with their Nativeness or telling them that they can be proud of who they are."

Finally, one individual finds the program so interesting that he or she doesn't want to leave: "And I found that it [program] was so interesting that when I did graduate, I didn't want to leave here."

General ability and self-esteem. The following show the self-confidence that relates to the NEC experience: "It's given me the confidence to know that I can, you know, that I can learn ... when I was here I was amazed that I could do so well ... there must have been needed healing from past experiences in school ... I have the ability to attain knowledge"; "It's hard to explain, the change that happened to me over the year that I was ... came here ... I gained the confidence and I found, I'm clear in what I am and where I am going"; "When I first started the school here ... I was very doubtful I could do it ... now sometimes I think [the teachers] wish I'd shut up' ... I've gained a lot of experience and confidence here."

Others express personal pride: "I did graduate ... and now I'm working for the NEC and I'm really proud of that"; in graduating: "I didn't graduate high school and I thought, 'oh yeah, just another school, probably won't' ... but then I learned to be proud of myself"; "I graduated from the [program] here last year in '92."

General evaluative comments. The following relates success to feeling comfortable at NEC: "They can't believe it ... you're one of the ones who was always picked on and you still made it. I said, 'Yeah, that's 'cause of NEC ... you feel comfortable there'"; and others make the following statements: "[I learned] through my program ... and support from other staff that it was OK to make mistakes ... I'm still a little hard on myself"; "Good education experience, everything's worked out perfectly"; "It's been a great experience, attending the school"; "I really enjoyed my experience at the NEC ... I'm glad I came"; "So, other than that, everything about the Centre, I find really positive"; "So, those things came from being right here in this environment, in the NEC."

Finally, "If anybody wanted to ask me about this school, I think I'd recommend them here ... it's very friendly ... the people and the teachers"; "It was beneficial to me and that is what I was working for when I first started the program here ... it would be a stepping stone for me."

A Summary of the Findings

Like the summary of the UBC findings in Part II, the summary of the NEC experience discusses first the process model, then the substantive areas. Here they are those of interest to the Native Education Centre (i.e., what brought the respondents to the NEC; success factors and barriers—what graduates liked most and least; and education-employment relationships).

The Process Model

With regard to the applicability of the process model, it appears that the model itself is sufficiently adaptable to be of use to a postsecondary institution as different in its goals and student population as the NEC. Further, it appears that the relationship with the UBC research team served a number of purposes: to influence the decision to cooperate with UBC's request; to witness and model a number of research processes; to complete the collection of participants' responses using both questionnaire and focus group; and to analyze and interpret the resulting information.

During this collaborative venture, however, some limitations of the process model became evident. The return rate on the questionnaires, while above average for a First Nations population asked to fill in a form of this length and complexity, is similar to that of UBC's and is equally unacceptable. Adding a telephone interview to a sample of nonrespondents would in part remove this limitation from the process model. It is unfortunate that one question in the written form was not clearly worded in one third of the respondents' eyes. However, it raises one limitation of the process model and its adaptation by other postsecondary institutions—it is not always easy to anticipate what participants in a survey will read into written questions, and some experience in constructing questionnaires is desirable if ambiguity is to be avoided. However, care in wording, followed by limited pilot testing, will prevent many such problems.

With regard to the focus group methodology, it would have been desirable to have had some "contextual" analysis (like that done with the UBC data). However, it is more difficult to teach; future projects undertaken with the process model will undoubtedly address this limitation.

Analysis of the information, and its reporting, in the absence of a trained research team on which to model and with which to work or witness may be a further limitation. Further testing of the process model will both reveal the extent of this possible difficulty and provide solutions if necessary.

The Participants

Most of the 33 graduates who responded to the questionnaire were women. The respondents' median age at time of entry to the NEC was 29 years; they were from many First Nations, enrolled in a number of different skills training programs. They had been admitted on any of several bases of admission in approximately equal numbers (e.g., completed secondary school, adult basic education). Their school experiences before attending NEC were mixed, but 9/16 school problems were seen as having been either "racial" or "institutional," while 7/12 had "family" responsibilities in addition to academic ones. Of 19 respondents, 15 stated that their First Nations cultures had either a positive value or had given the respondent awareness of First Nations issues (e.g., land claims, racism).

The focus group participants were all graduates of at least one program; more than half were presently employed by the Centre; and several were continuing their postsecondary education. Two off the 11 participants were male. They represented a variety of ages and programs.

Getting in: The Decision to Attend

Before attending NEC just under half the questionnaire respondents had had work experience related to their skills training program. Most heard about the NEC from private individuals; 25/37 listed sources fell in this category. NEC brochures were cited 3/37 times. However, it was primarily the institutional characteristics of the NEC that respondents listed as influencing their decision to attend—of 35 factors listed, 27 refer to characteristics of the NEC (15 of which are specific references to the NEC's First Nations orientation and atmosphere). In general, the respondents found the application and registration processes to be a very positive experience. Like the UBC respondents, the NEC people felt best academically prepared in English and reading, moderately so in exam, essay and study skills, and poorly prepared in math, science and second languages.

The comments by participants in the focus groups enhanced the knowledge gained from the questionnaires. Generally, the decision to attend the Centre revolved around two broad factors: relevance or accessibility and First Nations milieu or identity (each of which operates, of course, in the context of the other). A major aspect of accessibility is the comfort level students felt, even on first entering the Centre; this has in part to do with the First Nations atmosphere and personnel. Focus group participants commented on three aspects of relevance: personal goals, academic goals, and career goals. A number of graduates commented on the fit between program descriptions and their own interests and vocational goals, and on the ease of access. With more specific regard to First Nations milieu or identity, an important aspect was the desire to learn about First Nations heritage and to be with other First Nations people, to experience the

"comfort" felt when with other First Nations people. In part this may have been a response to prejudice felt in the majority culture society.

Other factors involved in the decision to attend the Centre included: the wish to learn and pass it on to others (in keeping with the First Nations value of sharing and generosity); a commitment to First Nations children (for a person studying early childhood education) and a wish to benefit the community at large (again, in keeping with First Nations values of being explicitly concerned about future generations and of giving back). Personal knowledge, or knowledge received from trusted others, also seems to have been a factor in the decision to attend.

Success Factors (Most Liked)

The first few months at the NEC were not a barrier for the majority of questionnaire respondents, because only 5/32 had any negative comments at all. The experiences of this period are likely to have been a success factor for at least the 15/32 who reported positive experiences (e.g., "I felt comfortable immediately"), because the effects of first impressions have been found to be lasting. Sources of support are likely to have been an important success factor: friends and family were cited 49/74 times as sources of support, while in NEC staff were cited 28/46 times, and other students a further nine times. People who encourage and support clearly matter, whether outside or inside the institution. Other success factors included the atmosphere of the Centre, the First Nations identity of the NEC, relevance of course and program content, and the regulations ("strict, but helpful").

The comments of the focus group participants concentrated on four aspects: the possibility of taking successive programs, course or program quality, the personal qualities of instructors and staff, and the First Nations culture learning or milieu. Again, these factors would operate together, interacting with each other to create a context for learning and success for First Nations students; this context is reflected in the comments on the positive and helpful environment. Comments on the teaching skills and positive personal qualities of the staff and instructors are particularly frequent, while comments on the First Nations classes and atmosphere focus on a strong desire to be involved with the cultural aspects of the NEC and the personal empowerment and growth associated with both the discovery of new skills and the increasing sense of oneself as a First Nations person.

Barriers (Least Liked)

Problems experienced by the questionnaire respondents included limited finances; 21/27 respondents felt that their funding was barely adequate or less. The inadequate source was an agency or Band for 29/37 instances of funding, as compared with 1/4 for other sources. For some respondents, responsibilities or perceived problems were like to have been barriers:

these included family responsibilities (13/29), financial responsibilities or problems (11/33), and personal situations (6/29). Negative perceptions of the Centre, likely to have been barriers for the individuals making them, included specific problems with staff, perceived lack of information, and "lack of responsibility" of fellow students (a measure of academic climate in one particular class perhaps).

A major barrier for the focus group participants was funding, particularly the problems encountered when attempting to qualify for CEIC (Manpower) funding. Inadequacy was also a problem, as was lack of availability, particularly for further education. Other barriers included the lack of day care, a lack or difficulty in getting transportation, and discomfort resulting from racism toward non-First Nations instructors and others. Several people commented on specific factors that may well have been barriers for them (e.g., course transferability, lack of confidentiality in one staff member).

Education and Employment

The connection between education at the NEC and employment is clear in the case of the questionnaire respondents: of 27 respondents, 21 explicitly spoke of employment status, four implied it, and only two did not indicate employment. Most were employed in an area related to their skills training. Of the 21, 11 were also taking further courses or programs (of the 18 respondents discussed in the next paragraph). The Centre met or exceeded people's expectations in 27/31 responses. With regard to the focus group participants, 7/11 were employed, two were continuing their education, one was developing a business, and the 11th was seeking employment (negotiating with two employers simultaneously). All found the NEC programs or courses relevant and useful.

Eighteen of the 33 questionnaire respondents had gone on to take further postsecondary education after completing one program at the NEC, all but two in the same area (e.g., child care, academic areas). Programs or courses were taken both at the Centre (14/18) and at other institutions (16/18). The Centre prepared its students well (14/17 respondents), academically. The two focus group participants who were continuing their education agreed with them.

An important aspect of the NEC is revealed by the 22 questionnaire respondents who commented on their First Nations culture, 19 of whom wrote about the Centre's role as one of introduction, reintroduction, or strengthening of First Nations culture and identity. In response to another question, a number stated that the NEC gave them renewed affiliation with First Nations, a sense of community, and a renewed appreciation for the First Nations value of respect; awareness of First Nations issues and of present situations were also mentioned. This increasing awareness and affiliation with First Nations is an intended outcome as far as the Centre is concerned. In addition, because of the interaction between a sense of

personal power, feelings of personal comfort and a sense of belonging, and employability, this outcome is far from irrelevant to the relationship between employment and education. An additional factor is the need in the First Nations world for skilled people in most areas. These factors were also mentioned by the focus group participants, who in addition noted a desire to be actively involved at every level with First Nations issues and concerns.

Another unintended outcome, strictly speaking, was personal growth. Eight of the questionnaire respondents reported this, using words and expressions such as *independent, strong, responsible, and more than just another statistic*. In response to another question about the influence of the Centre, a number spoke of increased confidence, self-esteem, determination, and increased forming of positive social ties. Once again, the relationship between this outcome and employment is probably indirect. Confident people find it easier to make the effort required to get jobs and to survive the application and interview processes. People who are positively socially situated in a community are more likely to be stable, productive members of that community, First Nations or otherwise. In addition, focus group participants commented on an increased commitment to learning, pride in academic achievement, and the discovery of a broad ability to function in life.

General Comments

It is clear from the above summary that in the respondents' view, the NEC is fulfilling its mandate to train First Nations people in a variety of postsecondary programs and to create a milieu in which First Nations culture and identity is primary. Other outcomes, equally desirable, include personal empowerment and growth, an increased involvement in First Nations issues, and an increasing sense of oneself as a member of a valuable culture. Success factors include the matching of program to needs of students, but equally important is the careful creation of an environment conducive to learning and comfort for First Nations people, including the skills of a caring staff. Barriers appear to be primarily financial, but also include a number of other factors reported as isolated, personal incidents. Reputation and milieu, in addition to ease of access and fit between programs and career and personal goals, appear to be major factors in the decision to attend NEC programs.



*Honoring What They Say
Part IV: Sharing the Research
Project/Process Model*

It will be recalled that the original research proposal included provision for a daylong workshop/symposium, which would allow the sharing of the research process and its findings with any interested representatives of British Columbia postsecondary institutions. This workshop/symposium was held on June 29, 1993: about 35 people attended, in addition to the research team and a representative of the Ministry for Advanced Education, Training and Technology. In addition, a number of First Nations graduate students from UBC attended for at least part of the day.

The day was structured as follows: after an opening prayer and circle, which included introductions and any comments that any participant felt he or she wished to make, the morning session began. It consisted of the presentation by various team members of the research process and findings. After lunching together, the team members presented summary statements of various issues (e.g., First Nations research, uses of the information). Finally, questions and discussion were followed by a closing circle and prayer.

This report of the sharing day includes a summary of the proceedings, followed by a summary of the evaluative comments by the participants. Because virtually all of the materials that were shared may be found in other sections of this report, they are only briefly presented here. Participants' comments during the workshop and their evaluative statements are described in more detail.

The Day's Proceedings

Opening

The opening included a prayer circle and sharing, smudging with sweetgrass for those who wished to participate, and introductions.

Morning Session

This session consisted of presentations on the background of the project, the general methodology, the review of literature, the findings from the UBC experience, and, finally, the involvement of the Native Education

Centre and the findings from that part of the project. Questions and comments by the participants were addressed through the session, but are grouped at the end of this section of the report for convenience.

The background to the project included a description of the original proposal by the Ministry of Advanced Education, and the changes in it that were negotiated by the UBC research team to develop a research and evaluative model/process for use by any postsecondary institution with First Nations students. The people in the team, and the general approaches they took to the project were described, as were the important aspects of the project's orientation: to be aware not only of the goals of the project and both present and past research, but also to be constantly aware of the need to honor and respect the people we are researching and those whom we serve. The team also felt strongly about the need for a flexible process in keeping with the principle of honoring not only the individual, but also the varying needs and questions of the different postsecondary institutions and their First Nations students.

The project took just over 12 months; at each step the team tried to do things in a way consistent with First Nations principles, including the formulation of the research process model itself—a guide, flexible and responsive to institutional needs, rather than being rigid in scope or form.

The methodology selected for trial consisted of an extensive literature review, both substantive and methodological; a survey of postsecondary institutions about their evaluative or research activities with First Nations graduates; a survey of First Nations graduates at the University of British Columbia, and focus groups or telephone interviews of some of those graduates; and testing the research process on a second postsecondary institution (i.e., the Native Education Centre, Vancouver).

Reviewing the literature was, in the words of one member of the research team, "like digging up bones," reports that give hints and clues about First Nations postsecondary students but that do not reveal anything like a comprehensive picture. The intent of the very extensive literature review was to look for consistencies and changing trends in the research, and to give guidance in planning the research process model. It included North American literature in the areas of First Nations education, survey methodology with First Nations samples and populations, and use of focus groups in the First Nations context.

The UBC experience consisted of constructing, piloting, and sending a comprehensive questionnaire to all identified First Nations graduates, forming and holding two focus groups (one in Vancouver, the other outside the Lower Mainland), and conducting a number of telephone interviews with graduates who lived in the more remote areas of the province and who were unable to attend a focus group (even though they wished to). Issues in the survey administration and analysis, such as attempts to increase the return rates and need for personal reassurance or contact with the graduates, were shared with the participants at the sym-

posium/workshop, as were some of the results discussed in earlier sections of the report. Issues about formulating focus group questions and structure were described, as were some of the results. Analytic issues and strategies were described.

The administrators of the Native Education Centre then described their experiences as part of the research project. Their discussion included the factors considered when deciding to participate; their decision making process about the questions on which to focus; the process of constructing, piloting, and administering a survey to graduates of a number of the skills programs offered by the Native Education Centre; deciding on the format, number, and content of the focus groups; analytic and reporting decisions; and thoughts on the use of the results of the project (both in-house and in a broader context).

The comments and discussion during the morning session focused for the most part on the process and results of the study, and a few general comments on the methodologies selected. They are given in some detail below. Comments and questions are prefaced by *C*, responses by *R*.

Questions or comments about the findings

C: With regard to the literature review, some have found differences between Canada and the United States, also in writings by First Nations and non-First Nations peoples.

R: The review we conducted indicated that it is a continental literature with many commonalities across the borders. Some of the common issues include the slow rate of change in First Nations education. There are certainly some differences, including the different demographic pictures in the two countries and the tribal colleges in the United States and their successes.

C: Were responses by the males different from those of the females?

R: There were 29% males in the UBC group (i.e., 20 people); there were no differences between genders, perhaps because of low numbers. Incidentally, there were no differences on a number of other variables, including time of graduation and program.

C: What did graduates report about employment?

R: Only one of the 67 reported that UBC did not prepare them for employment, that is, that they did not get a job in the area they were trained for. In general, there seems to be a recognition of their ability to work and serve in First Nations communities. In addition, people seemed to feel very free to express their opinions about this—much work they were doing in the area was extra, unpaid, but still in their areas of training.

R: The graduates' comments tended to be on personally relevant issues and clearly had reflected on their responses. They tended to focus on course requirements, practica in education, the academic requirements, etc.

C: Were the graduates' experiences generally positive?

R: UBC experiences generally were proactive. The participants generally expressed an appreciation for the learning opportunities and the preparation they received, for example, they felt comfortable at work, in doing their job as a result of the preparation. They generally felt that UBC experiences had raised their self-esteem, not so much in particular knowledge or skills but in the areas of greater confidence in their abilities overall, and in the areas of increasing their opportunities to work in First Nations communities, serving their own people. They did, however, acknowledge their academic struggles as well.

C: Did their feeling about their academic preparation change over time?

R: No, it didn't appear to.

C: How well were the students prepared for UBC and how did they handle the competitiveness?

R: They commented on the degree to which they suffered from poor preparation, especially at residential schools, and from the effects of racism both before UBC and during their time here.

Questions or comments about the methodology

C: Some of the questions were hard to answer, not because they were unclear but because they were difficult. For example, the changes the person saw in themselves and in the institution over time made responding to some questions hard, as do the multiple issues involved with changes in self-esteem every time.

C: What about the differential return rate?

R: It would be interesting to find out respondents were mainly from education. The most likely reason was that the House of Learning was doing the study and many graduates knew at least one team member, or had personal contacts with other students, graduates, and so forth.

C: There was a lack of involvement by Law graduates.

R: Yes. We met and got further information from the faculty. In general, the lack of response appears not to be attributable to any one factor.

C: With regard to question about First Nations ancestry, there are many possibilities.

R: Yes. There are many different ways of phrasing questions, with different implications. We tried to give a general question, and to look at the responses in terms of what was said and what was not said.

Other questions or comments

C: The results are rather provocative and bring other questions to light, for instance, how much impact does the residual effect of racism have. Some believe that it accounts for at least 10% of the variance in grades in postsecondary students.

C: As a philosophical issue, number crunching is not useful or sensitive and can be misused by readers, taken out of context.

R: There is a blending of quantitative and qualitative information in the final report, and in addition, during each stage of the research there was a serious attempt not to go beyond our knowledge in quantifying. Both numbers and words can be misinterpreted and used out of context. Numbers imply different things—for instance, a single person reporting a problem may imply a need for counseling services; if many do, some structural change in the program may be indicated.

C: There are a number of constraints on the study, including time and resources, but also the need to respond to a problem that was defined outside the larger First Nations community. The work by the team to redefine the research question was in part a response to perceived community needs. There is always a question of what goes in a report, who will benefit, who can use it, and so forth: these issues must always be kept in mind.

Afternoon Session

The afternoon session consisted of a number of presentations of issues arising from the research project, followed by participants' comments and questions. The topics discussed included First Nations research methodology, the analytic process, the focus groups, and constraining factors in First Nations research. The session was concluded with the research team's thanks to the participants for attending, and a closing prayer.

The four issue presentations are summarized below, followed by a description of the participants' comments and questions.

First Nations methodology

A basic question, which is more complex than it appears to be on the surface, is *What is First Nations research, and what should it look like?* This question arises from a fundamental belief that research should come from the culture, like all cultural activities. Culture should not be added to some generic research activity. First Nations research is an important factor in validating traditional ways of knowing.

Important words and concepts to reflect on and to take into consideration when planning and conducting First Nations research include: community, spirituality, respect, honoring, healing through participation and sharing, context, negotiation, and consensus. Some possible problems that may arise when planning and conducting First Nations research include conflicts and disagreements with funding agencies, inappropriate institutional demands (e.g., ethical requirements of the institution that contravene First Nations traditions or standards), confidentiality issues and ownership of data and reports, and use and misuse of reports (e.g., for political purposes).

A few specific examples from the current research project include the issue of sampling. We decided to try to survey the population, but if we had not, snowball sampling would have been a better strategy than random procedures. Personal knowledge and contact with participants' re-

sults may be necessary in a First Nations context to ensure acceptable return rates. It appears, then, that sampling to ensure a full range of responses is more feasible in the First Nations context than is sampling to estimate proportions of incidence in the population.

A second example is concerned with the interpretation and the methods used to express the findings and issues of research. For instance, in the focus groups the time taken with each question may be longer as First Nations ways encourage each person to give his or her personal interpretation of each topic. The result is a much fuller picture of the topic discussed—a picture that is not summarized at the end by any of the participants, but is allowed to stand by itself.

A final example concerns the applicability of any findings to other First Nations peoples and places. In keeping with First Nations ways, others will take ideas and adapt them to their own context—just as today participants will adapt this project to their own institutions, their own goals, their own specific cultural contexts. It is part of an ongoing dialogue among research, peoples, and institutions—a long-term process.

During the discussion, we were reminded of a story told by Elder Vi Hilbert of the Skagit Nation about Lady Louse. She was going to host a gathering at the Longhouse, so she cleaned and cleaned. The dust built up in front of her broom as she went toward the middle of the room, until she disappeared in the middle of the dust cloud. Some thoughts that this story might encourage include: “dust” appears when we fail to follow our ways, our traditions; we can work together, we don’t have to do everything alone, so we aren’t in danger of disappearing; what we do influences our setting and the people in it; but she and we are responding to the tradition of taking care of ourselves and keeping our places clean; we must make sure we and our work won’t disappear in the dust.

Analytic approaches

Some of the issues involved in doing an analysis of this sort of data include the problems of being both an insider and the need for putting yourself outside the data at the same time—the need to be simultaneously subjective and objective. This general issue apart, some of the specific considerations that came up during the analysis were: issues of transportability of the methodology and the findings; the issue of possible gender differences; and the process of reflection on the graduates’ responses to the questionnaire. A couple of methodological issues were the question of whether focus groups should be held before surveying the graduates as well as, or instead of, holding them after the survey; and the value of the survey when compared with the return rate and the cost of ensuring those returns.

Focus groups

The purpose of the focus group is to find out information that was not accessible or covered in the questionnaire, to take advantage of group

dynamics and thoughts provoked by other group members' comments; not to direct to make decisions or to come to consensus in the usual sense of the term. People who lived too far away for one of the focus groups were interviewed by telephone—one issue arising from this methodological decision is the equivalence of the results of the two processes. A second issue is the effect of the setting: the two UBC focus groups were very different, possibly because one was held in the First Nations House of Learning, the second in a former residential school. Time of day could also be an important factor: of the two Native Education Centre groups, the one held in the evening was much shorter than the morning one—could the participants have been inhibiting their comments because of fatigue, the need to get home, and so forth?

The objective/subjective issue in analysis mentioned above arises here as well; in addition, it also arises when the role of the moderator is considered. The moderator for the first UBC group was well known to the participants, unlike the second UBC group, where the moderator was a relative stranger. Did this make a difference? In the Native Education Centre groups, a senior administrator was the moderator—did this inhibit responses, or, on the contrary, did her knowledge of the Centre and its programs encourage responses from the graduates and thereby enhance the results? A related issue is that of confidentiality—the graduates were promised anonymity, yet in order to respect their responses quotes from their statements are necessary (rather than using generalizations created or imposed by the researchers). Where are the limits of confidentiality and anonymity? It is easy to talk about respect, less easy to do it.

Finally, of course, there are the many issues that arise in the process of analysis of verbal statements, including type of analysis, reporting decisions, and amount of generalization across statements by the researchers.

Constraining factors

A primary issue is that of First Nations control of, and support for, education and educational research. Because of control by most funding agencies, the results give little advice to those most concerned with this issue. In general, however, research shows the need for Indian Control of Indian Education (the policy first put forward in 1972). The demands for First Nations education by the First Nations community are sometimes at odds with those imposed by funding sources and the larger society. Yet First Nations concerns must take precedence.

The involvement of the Native Education Centre was a unique experience for the Centre itself. We were interested in two main questions: how well are we doing; and how can we meet the demands of the mandate given to us by the First Nations community? One example, which is itself quite complex, is the role of the Native Education Centre in the area of self-government and the process of decolonization. Research indicates that First Nations educational institutions prepare First Nations people better, both educationally and for living successfully in society. Some

related issues are: whose action and agenda are being served by doing any research, including this project? to what extent are we (First Nations peoples) responding to someone else's research needs? and substantive issues of how to address the basic question of how to enhance First Nations education, how to optimize the effects of the various success factors and eradicate or minimize those of barriers. In general, these questions become: as educators of First Nations peoples, how do we best recognize and deal with the unique pressures and challenges that face First Nations peoples today?

Questions and comments

Questions and comments during the afternoon session fell generally into one of two areas: questions or comments on the methodology and context of the research project, and general statements about the project as a whole.

Questions or comments on the methodology or context

C: Were there questions you should have asked, and didn't?

R: Some people commented that we should have asked if they were better prepared for specific programs. Other things we thought about were that we should have asked specifically about NITEP. A few people felt that it was hard to criticize the program.

C: Another issue is whether the respondents were clear about the questions. What people say to one another is different from what they say in questionnaires often. Where does this consideration fit in with your understanding of what's going on, ethical considerations, and the completeness of responses?

R: You acknowledge them. We also had the focus groups, and for UBC the telephone interviews. But validity is always an issue.

C: In the Native Education Centre, the focus group facilitator was an administrator. Did this affect participant response?

R: As we said, with any facilitator you have to help the participants feel comfortable and to feel that any comments won't affect them. It helped that UBC had someone there, it offered variety and was reassuring.

C: Were the focus group questions made up from the questionnaire?

R: No, we had a long discussion about the questions—they were completely different. The order we collected information from the participants was questionnaire first, then focus group. But the focus group could have been before; then it would have had a different function. We ended up with five questions, piloted them on a small group, and changed the order of the questions.

C: How were the focus groups different?

R: One big difference was that in the focus groups, people took turns talking, as we said above, so that the information about a topic was more complete. People collaborated and augmented each other's words, in a way. Topics also arose in the group. For instance, racism and discrimina-

tion were not focus group questions, but they were very much the concern of one group and to a lesser degree of the second UBC group as well.

Questions or comments on the project as a whole

C: I want to commend those who did the research and the participants: the UBC and NEC staff and students, the researchers. The support as a success factor or friends and family of the students in helping prepare them for challenges of the future is important too. There are unique pressures or issues and challenges: how can we make the success factors stronger?

C: This seems to be a successful working model for First Nations research. It will be given more effective access to First Nations communities for their own work, their own purposes.

C: I am concerned with many of the issues raised above—there is the need to contextualize everything for your own setting; this has to be made clear because readers won't always know this. They won't always understand, either, that research should also reflect the spiritual basis of First Nations traditions and life. If they don't understand that, they are really missing something.

C: For many First Nations peoples, as educators we have the responsibility to teach proper overt behavior, and to learn it ourselves where it is lacking.

C: People do not usually base their decisions on existing research. Rather, they pick and choose from the literature.

R: That is often so. In our case, however, we had First Nations participants and First Nations team members, and we do not make a particular argument or come to a particular conclusion. This is exploratory research, which in many ways raises more questions than it answers.

Evaluative Comments

Following the workshop, a questionnaire was sent to each participant, inquiring about their opinions of the sharing day and of the project in general. Eleven institutions had replied by the end of July; their responses are reported here in the order of the questions asked on the form.

1. How did you feel about the structure/format of the symposium in general?

The participants generally felt positively about the workshop:

Very positive—it was well-organized and informative.

Very good format and excellent mix of more formal presentations and informal discussion.

Effective format—good interaction and plenty of opportunities to ask questions and discuss research.

I was pleased with it and found the format comfortable.

A respectful and harmonious environment.

I felt that people had the opportunity to share ideas

However, some would have liked more time or more content, or came with somewhat unclear expectations:

Collaboration critical in the research—extended invitation to First Nations educators and those gathered are interested—of course more from them would have been interesting.

I wasn't quite sure what to expect, so I went with no expectations. Enjoyed the conversations and the company.

Very conducive to information sharing, but not enough time for the group to comment on the issues. It feels like there is a need to reconvene on the research project for more discussion by small groups, etc. It was a relaxing atmosphere.

I feel the discussion and feedback was very important. However, I was the wrong person to ask to attend (I have passed the information along).

In general, the symposium was very interesting, although there should have been more discussion on results rather than research. I enjoyed it, also enjoyed the lunch ... I was looking at this symposium through a student's eyes, and that's how I reacted.

One participant would have liked to receive more information before the symposium:

I thought the research was well explained. The process of doing your research as well as the results was complex and they were very clear by the end of the day. An advance organizer might have helped save time, so there may have been more time for responses from the participants who were not part of the research team. Responses might have been more considered and possibly more helpful if the participants had paper before the event.

2. How did you feel about the content of the symposium?

Several participants felt generally positively:

I felt the content was well presented.

It was well organized and very informative.

Many fine insights into the data and the methodology

I feel the content was very important ... even though I know very little about the research process.

Others commented on different aspects of the sharing day:

I was particularly pleased with the circle prayer group—set the pace! The real challenge is to find some way to honor Musqueam ancestors as a matter of course.

It was exceptional to have the researchers right there at the preliminary stage of their findings.

Still others would have preferred a different focus, or more information about the results of the study:

I found it very interesting, although I would have preferred hearing more about the results of the research and a little less about the methodology and literature review.

Would have liked all the data in and analyzed. Partial analysis was a bit of a limitation.

a. About the research process itself?

Once again, participants commented positively:

Interesting and ground breaking

Thorough.

The research process was very thorough and should provide a good basis for other postsecondary institutions [such as NEC] to conduct similar research.

For some of the participants, the workshop/symposium seemed to make the research methods and results more accessible:

It was nice to hear about the practical problems encountered and how you handled them ... clearly presented ... useful to have copies of questionnaires ... focus group was an interesting adaptation of the focus group although process seemed more like a group interview

I believe it was stated that the follow-up for the students would happen [students or alumni] For me personally, having been part of the symposium, it backs up my work in development. I was so thrilled with the results. Collaboration with other institutes a plus. I wanted to know if it added confusion at all to the results.

Admirable model—presenting research to people involved in First Nations education for feedback—instructive for both researchers and participants—it was honest, rigorous, respectful. These qualities were demonstrated during the presentations.

Participants expressed interest or approval of specific aspects of the study:

I will be very interested to see the lit. review in particular.

I think the questionnaire is as complete as possible, and can't think of any additional questions.

[The questionnaire was] very respectful. I really thought the thank you's throughout the questionnaire were an added touch. Somehow it felt their input was extremely important. You let them know. Of course people who are educated would seemingly not mind questionnaires. But Native people in our community do not like them.

I think that the combination of the more quantitative questionnaire research and the more qualitative focus group research is valuable and will give more richness to the research results.

The focus group methodology in particular attracted a number of positive responses:

[Regarding focus groups] appreciated learning about this type of research method—seems most appropriate to the First Nations context—diversity apparent depending on location, etc.

I understand [the focus groups] are a very successful method of research, one that I plan on using in the fall with senior high school students. One of the concerns that comes up for me was environment—where focus groups would do their work after Floy discussed her group in the interior seemingly struck a residential school topic. This proves environment is so important

[Focus groups were] very interesting, clever, and useful. Really appeared to amplify understandings of findings.

These [focus] groups add an additional perspective to the process and allow for first person reactions and additions to the study.

I really like the idea of the focus groups—mutualistic thinking!

Two negative comments were noted:

Excessive ... it seemed more of an evaluation of UBC than a research questionnaire on First Nation graduates.

Again informative but I thought there was a little too much in the explanation of research ... focus group, interview.

Finally, some comments on specific problems or issues of the research project:

It covered most areas ... but one of the instructors gave questionnaires to the students so they may not have answered truthfully ... there could have been one more focus group

I really think the research process is appropriate. However I am concerned about the lack of response among the law students.

Not sure how questionnaire and focus group discussions were [could be] connected and related

b. About the discussion of research related issues?

In response to this question, several comments were generally positive:

Useful.

OK.

Important

Detailed ... substantial ... interesting and impressive, considerable amount of findings.

One participant noted:

That racism is a major issue in postsecondary education doesn't surprise me. However, given the content of the questionnaire, I am amazed that racism surfaced so frequently.

Several participants felt that the atmosphere encouraged discussion of the project and related issues:

Good discussion.

The free flow of information, dialogue allowed us to examine related items.

Honest ... perhaps more discussion would have come forward if all participants were clear about their mandate at the session.

However, one participant appears to have felt somewhat alienated from the proceedings: "I felt that some people missed some issues ... something missing."

3. How do you feel about the applicability of the research process/model?

The general comments about applicability were very positive:

Excellent. You seem to cover all ground by utilizing different methods.

I find the model has absolute relevance and while still in progress, suggests changes in attitude and funding as important factors for retention.

The First Nations House of Learning is a unique resource in that you have available an organized group of First Nations researchers familiar with how research should be conducted and be conducted in First Nations communities because of participation in those communities.

a. To your institution?

Most comments to this question were general and positive:

Very applicable (2 respondents).

Very important, satisfied.

To our program ... very useful.

It can be effective.

Two respondents commented somewhat more specifically:

Will use the focus groups.

We have been involved in a study of minority students and their career aspirations. I would have welcomed the opportunity to discuss and compare processes and results.

b. To First Nations postsecondary education in general?

Most people who commented generally felt that the research was in fact applicable:

Very applicable (3 respondents).

Assume they would be very helpful.

Covered the issues.

My hope is that the information will be shared at all levels of government, boards, etc. including other universities, colleges.

It would be beneficial for other institutions to learn from your research project and adapt the research design and questionnaire to suit their own needs, as NEC has done.

Effective ... research on graduating students is necessary because of all the stumbling blocks that have been crossed.

Two comments were made on the research format, one positive and the other uncertain:

The interview and focus group format seems an effective way of conducting ethnographic research in this area.

Not sure—due to lack of experience with the particular problems of doing participant empirical research with First Nations people.

One participant applied research findings to current operating policy in the federal government:

Admission criteria data sheds particular light on current Indian Affairs policy requiring bands to place a priority on grade 12 entry when the majority of applicants may come from the pool of mature students.

4. Would you be interested in taking part in other workshops/symposiums in the areas of First Nations research and postsecondary education?

The majority of the respondents felt that they would like to take part in other workshops:

Yes (7 respondents).

Yes, but not at this time ... I will be returning to university in Sept.

Someone at my institution should be involved.

The areas of interest ranged widely, from the very general to the very particular, from the focus of the present research project to First Nations studies in general: "in general, I'd like to see more sessions in which the

‘cultures’ of Native students are discussed and their implications for program design and delivery are explored.”

Some focused on First Nations teacher education:

All ... NITEP ... need to review report and questionnaire to be more specific.

Training and education of teachers of First Nations languages.

Areas that have impact on what is taught. First Nations studies.

Other comments reflected the participant’s concern with other course areas:

Decolonization courses are taking place in the province. It would be interesting to start research on those students

Science and technology education of First Nations students ... postsecondary education and development of First Nations communities ... case studies of First Nations graduates.

Two participants spoke of taking the present research project further:

How the results and processes could be further used with currently enrolled students in an action research project both to amplify findings and to develop an historical and contemporary understanding of First Nations peoples and postsecondary education in Canada. I think the possibilities in this area are pretty exciting

Research ethics ... First Nations methodology.

Most areas of interest, however, seemed to be those participants had wondered about, either as a result of that day’s workshop or as a result of some other experiences:

How mainstream curricula in postsecondary education can/should be modified to better accommodate a wider variety of perspectives (e.g., First Nations students, women).

Where are Native graduates employed—First Nations or cities, towns, universities, schools.

Interviews, focus groups ... how their education relates to their current jobs ... degrees/diplomas/certificates.

How about finding out how many single vs. married students complete postsecondary education?

First Nations studies ... science/gender issues, particularly men in postsecondary education

What are the major obstacles students face in postsecondary schools, that is, financial, loneliness?

Stumbling blocks—what are they and why do they happen? ... research on midterm blues ... how did the students survive and graduate and get their current job/career?

Success factors ... whether survey responses suggest any improvement in institutional climate over time, results of survey of postsecondary institutions in Canada regarding needs of First Nations students.

Two others emphasized racism or discrimination:

Racism

Discrimination, funding, Floy Pepper’s treatment of the subject [racism].

Finally, one participant noted an interest in "letting the students know it is OK to fail, that it sometimes happens, and that they have to keep trying to succeed."

Other comments

Most comments in this category were expressions of thanks.

Many thanks.

Thanks for a useful day.

Thank you for inviting me to your symposium.

Hope the writing goes smoothly. All the best. Thank you for inviting me.

One person noted he or she was looking forward to seeing the bibliography.

Finally, one participant had some difficulty during the symposium: "I found some speakers hard to hear ... in addition to speaking louder could perhaps sit together as a panel."

Summary

The contents of the sessions are described at length in the body of this report, so they are not summarized here. The comments by the workshop participants during the morning session focused on a number of specific details of the research process, limitations and aspects of the research methodology and the process model, and the redefinition of the research process to fit community needs. Issues discussed during the afternoon session included the question and definition of First Nations research methodology, issues involved in analysis of the resulting data, discussion of focus groups, and a number of constraining factors. Comments by participants during the afternoon fell into one of two areas—details of the research process and comments on the enterprise as a whole.

Comments made after the workshop/symposium by the 11 respondents to the evaluative questionnaire were generally positive. They felt that the structure was comfortable and that the research team helped to make the specific research and the research process in general accessible and adaptable to their various needs; they tended to feel that the process model was applicable. Some participants also felt that the day provided a demonstration of First Nations values of honesty, respect, and sharing, and another commented on the prayer circle, which honored First Nations ways and set the pace. Interest was expressed in specific aspects of the study and the process model as a whole, whereas the few negative comments tended to focus on details of arrangements or the process and its findings. Interest in future workshops was high, with a number of topics being suggested.



Honoring What They Say

Part V: Reflections and Recommendations

I could write a book about how my experience at NITEP and Ts'Kel has influenced my life. It has been great! What I have gained I am able to return. That's the beauty of it. The expression I like that describes the feeling is: "My Heart Soars."

Introduction

In Part I of this report, we stated a point of view that we felt to be vital:

As people concerned with First Nations education and research, we seek respectful ways to bring First Nations contexts and research together. We must question our methods, approaches, and practices. We must consider whether our motives and our methods honor and respect First Nations ways.

Throughout the body of this report, we attempt to carry out such an examination. In this section we briefly discuss the process model, and then offer comments on two areas. The first is a discussion on participation in the research from the Native Education Centre's point of view. The second reflection contains two subsections: a discussion of racism and analysis of one particular incident. Recommendations follow.

Reflections

On "coming home":

"One of the very first times I was introduced to the drum was at university ... in my community nobody used it ... and I remember, those button blankets and ... the dance and I was just in awe, you know ... it was like coming home ... it opened the door."

The Process Model

It appears that the process model, as first conceptualized at UBC and adapted by the Native Education Centre, has the potential both for reveal-

ing information about substantive interests and for transfer or adaptation by other postsecondary institutions interested in their First Nations students. It also appears, with regard to the applicability or the process model, that the model itself is sufficiently adaptable to be of use to a postsecondary institution as different in its goals and student population as the NEC. However, a number of limitations became clear and are discussed in the body of this report. They included the problem of low return rates and the need for frequent personal contact to ensure returns; the possibility of socially desirable responses rather than honest ones; differences in the flow of focus groups; issues of the rules of ethical conduct within a First Nations context; and the teaching of the process model to others.

On a limitation of the research methodology:

"I find [it] difficult ... to talk about the weaknesses of NITEP ... it's ... like saying something bad about your mother."

When examined in the context of the impact assessment approach, it appears that the process model reveals the extent to which intended outcomes occurred and in addition allows for a loose estimate of the magnitude of the effects (on employment and on personal development, much greater than was generally expected). The process model allowed the revelation of some unintended outcomes—personal growth and empowerment, and strengthening of First Nations identity. As far as can be seen at the present time, it is very unlikely that most of the effects of postsecondary education noted in the body of the report were due to extraneous factors (e.g., widespread social change). In this context, however, it is interesting to note that, on an anecdotal level, it appears that for some respondents or participants the act of sharing their experiences has a healing effect. This possibility should be systematically investigated in future adaptations of the process model, as should the "extraneous variable" factor and the "social desirability" factor.

Other limitations are pointed out in the recommendations below.

Portability of the Process Model: Going to Other Institutions

One aspect of the research project, which was largely implicit, was that by sharing the project and its results with any interested party we were attempting to humanize and demystify the act of doing research. But there were other important aspects as well. A discussion of three of these from the point of view of the Native Education Centre is presented below.

The decision by the Native Education Centre to participate in the research involved some risks, which deserve comment. The areas of uncertainty follow.

Adoption or adaptation of a new model. The research model developed by the University of British Columbia research team attempted to define an

approach to research that was (a) untested beyond their own research agenda, and (b) established to gather data related to somewhat different research questions than were of interest to the NEC.

Thus the first risk was in the application (and adaptation) of a model for which no information with respect to generalization or transferability was available. Indeed, the work done by NEC was largely a test of that transferability. At the same time it was understood that the results of the research would necessarily be entered into the public domain, together with the results of the UBC research.

The results of the research are gratifying in that they are indicative, if not yet definitive, of the importance and role of First Nations institutions. The model appears to have the potential for adaptation to more definitive research agendas. The model was successfully transferred from a well established university setting where it was utilized to collect data on the in-school and postgraduation of past students to a small learning centre with the mandate and goal of providing quality academic programs combined with cultural validation. In this latter setting the model was applied to survey similar questions to those at UBC, but expanded to explore pre-NEC experience and role of the institution.

The results indicate, at least from the learners' point of view, that the institution met needs and provided confidence and commitment the graduates had not found in previous academic exposure.

In part the results also provide indicators important to funders of both the research and the smaller centre. It was this "political" context that provided the other major risk of the research.

On benefit to the whole person:

"It's given me the confidence to know that I can, you know, that I can learn ... when I was here I was amazed that I could do so well ... there must have been needed healing from past experiences in school ... I have the ability to attain knowledge."

Political context of the research. The emerging network of First Nations educational institutions exists and develops in what is largely a policy vacuum. Because the research reported here occurred in the context of both (a) a research agenda that was at least in part motivated by policy development needs residing outside the centre's community of origin, and (b) the relative absence of previous formal, rigid research examination, the risk taken was that the application of the model might yield results that challenged some of the basic precepts underlying the emergence of the network, for reasons that might more directly reflect inadequacies of the model rather than inadequacies of conceptualization, operation, and academic principles of the institution. And it is worth emphasizing that it was known that the research result was bound for the public domain, whether

favorable to the cause and concepts of the need for First Nations-controlled education or not. That the results are generally favorable in this respect is gratifying, but there is yet no guarantee that the policy impact will be felt to the same degree as might be expected if the results had been otherwise.

The last area of concern is related to all the above and relates to the scope of the necessarily restricted research agenda.

Further research. The present research focused on a restricted set of questions designed to explore aspects of the operation, development, and planning of one centre in a way that respected important policy questions inherent in the research. And, as mentioned above, the probing involved only past learners (graduates) of the centre.

Given that the First Nations institutions must also be responsive and responsible to their communities of origin, an important component of further research must be the inclusion of those communities of origin in the research process.

Racism: A Pervasive Barrier

On the effect of educational success on assertiveness and self-esteem:

"A lot of things went on during high school or grade school like a lot of prejudice against me, and I didn't understand it ... now [my experience at the NEC], it's turned me into a good argumentative person! ... taught me to be more proud of who I am ... like a more whole person."

This subsection consists of two parts: a position statement on racism and a description and analysis of a particular incident told by one of the graduates, which we felt would foster understanding of this complex, destructive, phenomenon.

Racism: A position statement. Our Elder, Floy Pepper, prepared this statement on racism, a central barrier confronting First Nations students.

Racism

Racist policies and practices are heavily laden with assumptions and emotions. What exactly does this mean? And why should it be discussed in the Graduate Study Project of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada? The experiences students have going through the program will shape them significantly for the rest of their lives. They are part of a program that represents a new effort of Native Canadians to educate Native people in a setting run by those who have been seen to practice racist policies with impunity in the past. It is important that students learn what racism is, both from others and from themselves, and learn how to relate constructively within the program, not to be caught up and hurt by this issue.

Racism involves the prejudicial idea that groups are biologically superior or inferior to one another. Along with this is a pattern of behavior with arrangements or power practices benefiting the supposedly superior group at the expense of the inferior group. Racism can be aphoristically defined as the combination of prejudice and power. "Institutional" racism involves practices within social institutions favoring one ethnic group over another. Racist practices may develop with deliberate intent (as in former segregationist policies) or without conscious racist intent (as with educational differences based on economic disparities).

One of the most difficult aspects of racism is that there may be racism that is almost unconscious, as if the deficiency of a group were "given in nature," but in which there is no conscious link between ideas and action, ideology and action. This appears to be residual from more deliberate practices of the past. Sometimes blatant racist actions based in ignorance and fear may occur. But more commonly, and much harder to deal with, it may be subtle and implicit in assumptions that different looks or background mean different goals. Such differences may be addressed in racist ways unless better understandings develop.

But wait! Isn't racism where people with power say you're different and no good, and use that to keep you down? Shouldn't they be set straight about how to think? These questions oversimplify the situation in understandably biased ways. Their "obvious" answers may actually lead to promoting more racism, particularly in cases of more subtle racism, unless there is a broader understanding of what is involved.

Some distinctions are important. The acknowledgement of actual differences is not racism. Just as each individual is unique within his or her cultural group, so is the group they represent different from other groups. This is the principle of *diversity*. Through diversity comes broader understanding and a wider range of views and resources brought to bear on problems. Through diversity there can be greater strength. But diversity differs from *divergence*. The former necessitates a common goal where the latter pulls in different directions that can be quite opposite. The greater the divergence, the less shared are the goals. Where diversity is obtained through the exclusion of similarities and rejection of acculturation or assimilation with attendant deficits of information and mutual respect, racist divergence begins.

Where differences are not resolved, and processes become destructive, racism can come to be seen to offer tools to resolve conflicts of divergence. Resolution of conflict (e.g., land possession) begins to rely on power with each side seeking to invoke their strongest resources. For some it may be weapons or money and whatever can be obtained in this way. For others power of moral superiority may be seen to come from spiritual, divine, God-is-on-our-side arguments. For still others the role of the victim, with its power of weakness, is assumed. At this point prejudice enters. In order to carry out the sometimes heinous actions needed to achieve our goal at

the expense of them, it is necessary to validate the prejudicial assumption of favored status for us and less favored, or inferior, status for them. If we don't believe that we're morally, biologically, or divinely better than they are, it is not possible to rationalize the actions we need to take to win. This, then, is the function of racism: to provide a rationalization for acts to resolve conflicts where there is a lack of shared goals. Note: the same goal—for example, economic success—is not necessarily a shared goal when success for one is seen to occur at the expense of another.

The social dynamics of racism cannot be separated from the psychological and emotional dynamics of racism, but we do not know much about those areas in a formal way, because it does not appear to be a process based on rationality or logical relationships. We do know that racism is intimately tied to self-image in several ways. The individual identifies with a group and takes some aspects of self-image from that group identity. A person who is systematically "put down" may suffer in terms of self-esteem. By the same token, self-esteem is the area in which the psychological and emotional effects of racism can be rendered less damaging through coping.

Coping with racism involves the development of a number of skills. First, it is important to adjust expectations regarding racism. Racism, intended or not, can be expected to occur. If it is expected, though not pleasant, it need not be shocking so that one is only able to cope by giving up or fighting back. It is important to recognize racism at the subtle as well as obvious levels. But it is very important to resolve to not take it personally. This sounds like a tall order. Effective resolution of this conflict over shared goals depends on not becoming defensive. Neither fight nor give in. Become prepared to provide information where ignorance exists. Factual information constructively presented by one who respects himself or herself gains the respect of the listener. Mutual respect can be earned between individuals who are quite different from each other. People do not need to like each other in order to respect each other.

The most difficult strategy is the development of shared goals. Often people hold the "zero-sum" assumption: your gain is my loss. The response to this is that if people work together there is more for all through the synergy of their efforts. If a professor, someone in a position of power, provides seemingly racist, spurious information in class, it may be useful to think of a shared goal of expanding knowledge from different points of view. A thoughtful, well researched paper addressing the knowledge deficit, presented with an attitude of mutual respect, may go far to winning respect and reducing racially related barriers of prejudice. Expect that not all people will give up prejudices easily as they may be too threatened. But attitudes that have been in place for centuries change slowly, one success at a time.

Faculty may be uncertain how to conduct discussions of racial topics. Both faculty and students may be afraid that their remarks or their silence

will be construed as racist in nature. There are, however, a number of ways to break higher education's long silence on racial issues as outlined by John F. Noonan, Director for Improving Teaching Effectiveness, the Program in Community College Education, *Innovation Abstracts* February 4, 1983, Vol. V, No. 3, The University of Texas at Austin, EDB 348, Austin, Texas 78712, pp. 40-41, published by the National Institute for Staff and Organizational Development.

1. Communicate your uncertainty to students and invite them to convey theirs.
2. Acknowledge your ambivalence about raising provocative issues. (Left unacknowledged, the conflict between not wanting to upset others and wanting to pursue truth can silence students and faculty.)
3. Listen without judging.
4. Create zones of silence where students can compose their own thoughts.
5. Invite students to evaluate underlying assumptions in their statements. (Without consistent emphasis on assumptions, discussions about race quickly become stalemated.)
6. Maintain as top priority the examination of differing viewpoints. (Taking all statements seriously enough to examine them is a good way to teach students to take responsibility for what they say.)
7. Reduce the fear majority culture people have of being seen as racists (We want to discover the ways racism affects all of us.)
8. Acknowledge the legitimacy of anger. (Racism is an upsetting subject. It is appropriate to be upset by it.)
9. Examine the belief that only minorities are hurt by racism.
10. Help students recognize the unique strengths minorities have developed in America by correcting the tendency to equate "minority" with "problems." (Many minority students bring an awareness of the contradictions in the American economic and political systems: Instructors who tap into this resource enable all students to learn.)

Professors who want to facilitate discussion of racial topics must work to create an atmosphere supportive enough for students to speak and listen, yet challenging enough to enable them to discover the hidden assumptions and consequences of their thoughts. Students and faculty may resist such discussions because they threaten their world view. The assumption has been that maintaining silence is the best way to face the subject. Faculty and students must break that silence before it deafens us.

A complex incident. It is sometimes difficult for majority culture people to understand just why "racism" is such a pervasive barrier. The stereotyped incidents (e.g., refusal of an apartment) fail to capture the complexity and pervasive nature of the problem. The incident highlighted below is taken from the Vancouver focus group. Discussion follows.

As we stated above, racism is complex. The racist core interacts with a number of other factors. In this incident, one of these factors is sexism;

Transcripts can make dull reading.

It is hard, when reading the written words below, to visualize the woman speaking softly, head bent, tears flowing unimpeded.

It is hard to hear the silences when she pauses, to regain a semblance of control or to find the words she needs to say.

It is hard to feel the pain that vibrates through the room as she speaks, to appreciate the love and empathy that flows from the others who are witnessing her pain.

I was in this one class ... I guess the two worst ones ... this Anthropology instructor ... was ... lived in the community and he just came to the university ... and he said he got his doctorate from living ... working with the ... people up North and ... he hated being questioned and would get really nasty and ... but ... he was always putting down ... and he'd ... he'd do things like ... he considered private parts as being almost like a monster and ... he'd say because of the taboos ... around hunting and not having intercourse with their wives ... that ... Indian women would always perform oral sex on their husbands and ... oh ... oh there were always First Nations students at the back and ... and all these white people ... especially white men ... would turn around and ... and would look at us ... and he'd just belittle everyone.

This brave woman kept coming to class. She brought the incident to the department's attention and received a vague letter in reply.

another is the question of power and authority in the classroom setting. Some of the factors, which we felt were the most important, are presented below.

The substantive. Within this factor are a number of aspects. Two are outlined here. First, the instructor stated, "Indian women" performed—all Indian women in the community? A statement of this sort, which is almost certainly an overgeneralization, is racist in that it implies that all members of the group behave (and perhaps are) alike, indistinguishable from one another. Second, the instructor seems to have failed to place this material in its proper context. Spiritual preparation for hunting (or, perhaps more correctly, preparation by the people so that the animals can allow themselves to be killed) for many indigenous peoples involves a state in which "sexual purity" is not the chief focus. What is central is the state of the whole person; intimate matters are only one aspect of this. A more contextual view would have been considerably more respectful and less amenable to corruption. Racism is involved here, in part through the lack of respect, but also perhaps through the apparent acceptance of superficialities. The academic world is dedicated to looking beneath the surface—did racism blind the instructor in this instance?

Depersonalization. The instructor is treating the people he is discussing as objects, not as people with human qualities. Further, this same attitude is clearly present in his ignoring the sensibilities of the First Nations students in the class. Depersonalization is a frequent part of racism—denying the “other” the qualities that you yourself possess in abundance. Power relationships compound this aspect as well.

Sexual harassment. This sensitive material was clearly not presented in a careful and well-thought-out manner. The instructor was a Caucasian male; the students who “turned to look” at the First Nations women were also Caucasian males. There is clear sexual harassment here, which is embedded in the voyeuristic way the instructor presented this material and in his failure to provide an appropriate context for discussion. Sexual harassment and racism often interact.

Classroom control. Every instructor should be aware of the need to monitor and guide student response to any unusual or “taboo” material. Talk of sex in many contexts is a source of embarrassment and discomfort for students. In this particular context, the First Nations students are likely to have been seen by the white students as belonging to the group being talked about. Did the instructor fail to control class response because racism blinded him to the responses of the class?

Institutional response. The student received nothing but a “vague letter” in reply to her report of this incident. Administrators should be aware that it takes courage to make a complaint of this sort and it must be investigated, as the Department in fact reported that they did. Yet it is apparent that the student felt that her experience and the resulting psychological pain were not taken seriously. Such perceived failures can seriously affect scholastic achievement and constitute racist acts.

It is also important to note that the student quoted above gave permission for the inclusion of this passage and verified both the description of the incident and the analysis included above. She felt that reporting this incident was a part of the healing process, both for herself and for others. We are honoring her wishes and her words in including it here.

Recommendations

From the Project Team:

On motivation to seek postsecondary education:

“I hadn’t really thought of what I wanted to do then, our children ... who is out there for our children? ... you don’t hear of too many day cares on Native [reserves] ... so, I took my ECE [early childhood education].”

In a general way we feel that many of the findings of this research project speak for themselves. In this section we highlight the areas that we feel are the most important, and the major recommendations that we feel arise from the findings of the study.

With regard to the *research project and process model*, there are a number of positive recommendations and, at the same time, a number of recommendations for change. First, it is evident that *the consensual team approach to the project worked well and was fully consistent with First Nations principles. It should be continued.* Not only did it work in planning and carrying out the various tasks, but informal communication with the Native Education Centre associates revealed that one of the factors that helped them decide to participate was in fact the relationship among the team members and the atmosphere of sharing and mutual respect. Because the main purpose of conceptualizing and testing the process model was its future use by other postsecondary institutions, this factor is important.

A second recommendation is focused on the structure of the research team and its general orientation. *The inclusion of Elders and students in the project, and the atmosphere of spirituality in which meetings and discussions were often framed, worked well and was, again, consistent with First Nations principles; both should be continued.* They allowed the presence of a broad range of views in a milieu where all personal experiences and views were honored; this recommendation leads to another, that when community-based First Nations postsecondary institutions are applying the process model, local community members be included at every stage of the research.

The third recommendation is concerned with the process model: *the basic components of the process model proved to be useful and adaptable; they should be retained.* These components were those we initially derived from the general research process and from our reflections on the impact assessment approach. However, during the two tests of the process model a number of limitations were revealed, which lead to the subrecommendations:

- Because the use of mailed questionnaires proved to be costly relative to benefit (due to a complex of factors, some of which related to First Nations' experiences with surveys and research), *the use of mailed questionnaires should be replaced with an alternative method, such as the telephone or personal interview.* Such interviews have additional potential advantages (e.g., tailored interviews of different lengths; potential for probes for, for instance, how barriers were overcome).
- The construction of an interview or survey is a complex task, as is coming to understand the facets of a complex area. *Additional focus groups, held before interviewing or surveying, would allow more precision in the final instrument; held at other times, they would allow more variety in questions asked and information received.* Groups held before a survey or interview have a different purpose than those held afterward; both should be utilized.
- The formality of the cover letters and permission forms may have discouraged some graduates from participating. Consequently, *institutional screening committees should allow more flexibility in defining*

the elements of informed consent to allow for cultural differences and expectations.

- The use of research techniques by professionals who are substantively informed but not methodologically informed is often problematic. Consequently, more work should go into clarifying the stages in the process model, its flexibility and its approach; more work should also go into developing ways in which the model and its variations can be clearly and usefully communicated to other institutional personnel. This would include developing manuals, examples, and other learning devices and should include allowance for such traditional First Nations learning-teaching techniques as witnessing, modeling, and guided practice when the learner feels ready to do so.

With regard to *substantive areas* of interest to the Ministry, it is evident that, first, the relationship between postsecondary education and employment is a close one, for the First Nations graduates from two very different institutions (i.e., UBC and NEC). Not only are virtually all graduates either employed or pursuing further education in the same field, over two thirds are working with First Nations peoples in positions of greater responsibility over time. Other important outcomes include the development of an increased understanding and strength of First Nations identity and a stronger sense of personal power and efficacy, the result of marked personal growth in a caring, accepting atmosphere (which in turn allows natural talents to blossom). *Because the uses to which First Nations graduates are putting their education are so clearly related to what they learned and to increases in such variables as self-esteem and strength of First Nations identity, the programs for First Nations students are clearly worth the moneys put into them. It is important that they be supported. Institutional commitment is needed, as well as commitment at other levels.*

On the "strengthening" effect of postsecondary education:

"It gave me confidence in ... meeting ... a major challenge in my life and ... I beat that challenge."

"I really found my identity and I know who I am ... I'm true to that person ... all of that came from university."

Major success factors include the presence of a First Nations support system (both institutional and more broadly social); other success factors include an adequate level of academic preparation before entering the institution, a strong First Nations identity, and ongoing support from caring staff and instructors. Major barriers include both the lack and the inadequacy of funding, perceptions of the institutional climate as cold and impersonal, contextual factors (e.g., relocation difficulties), personal problems, and the central problem of racism (dealt with at length below).

Because the major success factors and barriers were so clearly delineated by the participants, recommendations arising from them are equally clear:

1. encourage and fund First Nations support systems in postsecondary institutions; and enhance levels of support for those already operating, whether in First Nations controlled or in other institutions;
2. work at preentry levels to ensure good preparation, especially the secondary school level;
3. do everything possible to foster strong traditional First Nations culture, both inside postsecondary facilities and in the larger society;
4. ensure the presence of adequate numbers of skilled, caring staff (especially important is a strong First Nations presence), including counselors to help students overcome the effects of past and present discrimination and racism);
5. work to alleviate personal funding difficulties;
6. foster change in the wider institutional climate so that the institutional climate is welcoming and humane (this factor is especially important in non-First Nations-controlled institutions); and
7. work systematically to eradicate racism at all levels.

From the Participants: What to do About Racism

The consensual statement that was derived from the Vancouver focus group's initial statements read with regard to dealing with racism:

We should prepare First Nations students (a) to deal with the face-to-face discrediting that occurs; and (b) to deal with the systematic discrediting, the unilateral definition of First Nations issues, that is found in texts, examinations, lectures, and policies. We affirm that support, explanation, healing, is found in the First Nations community both on and off campus.

Racism is related to the issue of relevance to academic orthodoxy in several disciplines (e.g., anthropology, health services, science, English), which either implicitly or explicitly challenge First Nations perspectives or define that perspective as irrelevant, even when "applications" of theory are manifestly oriented toward a First Nations population.

A First Nations perspective challenges us to create a superordinate theoretical approach to social issues that will include both First Nations and "others," and to look for applications of that theory in practice. Part of that involves the recognition of how to operationalize "respect." A First Nations perspective can be valuable for others; our communities can make a contribution in learned discourses, if "power" to define discourse is not exercised to discredit First Nations perspectives.

First Nations people have a responsibility to attempt to change systemic racism.

They followed this implicit, consensual statement by generating the following list. It includes a number of *useful recommendations*:

- Appoint more First Nations teachers to teach all kinds of children; a latent policy of assignment of First Nations teachers predominantly in First Nations venues should be examined and changed.
- Decolonize the mentality, the mind set, of governments that make policies based on assimilation.

- Break down the fear, horror, or complete ignorance that many people seem to have of “First Nations thinking.”
- Promote existing courses in systemic racism and antiracist pedagogy; consider making them compulsory
- Empower people to confront racist situations in a peacemaking way.
- Build self-esteem to deal with racism; tell students that they are going to encounter it in class; acknowledge it; build skills to deal with it.
- Institutions should create a policy about dealing with racism, to give notice that it is preventing some people from learning; to make professors consciously aware of it.

This list stands on its own, and the items were put forward as recommendations by the focus group the participants. As a group they addressed all the major arenas where racism is found and provide cogent solutions. We honor their suggestions.

Finally, we would like to emphasize one participant’s recommendation, who pointed out that racism can go both ways and often begins in the home: “Racism should be ... addressed at the community level ... the Native people first have to focus on ... how racist we are toward other groups and from there ... how other groups are racist to us ... at my school you hear a lot of racist remarks ... it comes right from the home.”

From the Participants: The Last Word

In keeping with the First Nations principle of honoring the individual and of seeing each individual’s point of view as something precious, something to be respected, cherished, and fostered, we have given the responding graduates a voice throughout this report, as well as in this section. Most of the statements we selected are found throughout the text; they are cogent and pithy, rich with images, and stand as eloquent statements of the roles played by postsecondary education in the world of First Nations peoples today, of the factors important for success and the barriers that challenge.

But the world of today is a continuation of the world of the ancestors, the world of tradition. *We do not preserve traditions; our traditions preserve us. It is important that we let this process happen.* Postsecondary education in a First Nations context, like research projects of this sort, are part of the process of allowing tradition to preserve present and future generations of students. First Nations programs and research are effective because they spring from tradition; traditions are the bountiful source and inspiration for every aspect of life, including the academic.

In conclusion, we leave the reader with statements from four graduates. They give us an inspiring view of the effects of postsecondary education for First Nations people that extends far beyond the intended outcomes, flowing into and enriching the graduates’ lives. The effects, as described in the graduates’ own words, are themselves the strongest possible argument for generous support of such programs: The statements

remind us of the reasons for education—the major outcomes—in addition to the important effects on the individual of personal growth and empowerment. These statements tell us something about people who are fulfilling their potentials as individuals and as citizens, both of their First Nations and of the Canadian context in general.

"[Before UBC] I was curled up, not feeling too good about who I was ... also I didn't quite feel I knew who I was ... and after attending the NITEP program and working, it was like the rose has bloomed ... that's what it was like for me."

"Just the experience of being here has given me a clearer vision of exactly what I want to do—it's narrowed down to where I have a target in my mind which is always my dream ... it given me the direction of where I'm going."

"In a broader sense ... the experience ... was really the greatest help to me ... to round out my life ... it made me a more complete person ... helped me cope with ... being an equal citizen ... an equal member of the human race."

"I'm living a dream ... I'm living my dream ... like something I dreamed about and I don't need to struggle any more ... I'm living it now."

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Part VI: First Nations Postsecondary Education: A Review

Overview

The academic literature about First Nations education, though its volume has increased over the past 20 years or so, does not define the experience of First Nations university education well from either the perspective of the student or that of the institution. We do not have a well developed descriptive literature, and our analytic traditions in this field are even less able to explain the social dynamics of the First Nations experience.

As we complete the process of surveying First Nations graduates of the University of British Columbia, we have surveyed that academic literature as well. The objective is to have a summary representation of how the demographics and issues of First Nations participation in university-level studies have been defined, described, and analyzed.

Summary

Background

The participation rate of First Nations people in higher education is less than 20% of the rate of others. At the postgraduate level the rate is even lower. At the undergraduate level more than 70% of First Nations students who begin university do not complete a degree. The current situation reflects a dramatic change since the 1960s when the participation rate was negligible. The change from "negligible" to "low" reflects a change so fundamental in all aspects of First Nations education since the 1970s that it might be called a revolution.

Prior to the 1960s the barriers to First Nations participation in education were formidable and based on legislative sanction. Surely part of the reason for the current low participation rate lies in the peculiar history of the policies of control and containment of First Nations, policies that directed the schooling of First Nations children to be oriented toward assimilation.

Significant changes since the 1970s have been (a) that currently more than 80% of First Nations people attend provincially established schools, rather than federally operated schools; (b) hundreds of First Nations now manage their own schools; (c) special university-based programs have been established in all regions of Canada, first in education and law, and also in "transition" or "compensatory" university preparation areas; (d) some First Nations communities have established tertiary education institutions themselves, some in cooperation with Canadian universities; and (e) though the teacher education programs (TEPs) established in the 1970s have educated many First Nations teachers, it appears that there is now a proportionally slower rate of increase due to growing First Nations populations.

The United States experience is cited for both comparative purposes and because the literature in this area is a continental literature; the issues are similar. One difference in the United States is the relative importance of the 24 tribally operated colleges, where a large proportion of students begin university-level study. Another difference is that First Nations tertiary education is often contextualized in a discussion that includes other ethnic minority groups, a result of legislation and regulations aimed generally at ethnic minority group equity.

The literature identifies several factors associated with success or attrition at university. A major factor is the nature of the K-12 school system, where it appears that these characteristics are widespread problems: (a) inappropriately trained teachers, teachers with low expectations of First Nations students; (b) curriculum (which appears not to be appropriate for building the academic skills First Nations people require in university study); (c) lack of or inappropriate career and academic counseling; and (d) the personal experience of racism. Other major factors are financial support for university study; family and peer support; institutional climate; and racism.

First Nations people represent the same range of career, field, and disciplinary goals as others at the postgraduate level. Financial support in graduate study is again a major factor in success. The relationship between graduate faculty and students is crucial, and departmental and institutional climate is important as a success factor.

Studies of university measures to improve First Nations university education include (a) monitoring the situation by collecting information; (b) evaluation of programs for First Nations people, which in practice creates research projects in which the substantive findings are based on descriptions of characteristics of program participants; (c) institutional evaluations and self-studies, in which characteristics of institutions are described in terms of descriptive statistics and in terms of student and alumni perceptions.

University response to statements of needs has been (a) to establish support services on campus for First Nations people; (b) to establish new academic programs for First Nations people or to modify existing ones; (c) to work with First Nations communities to offer educational programs in those communities; and (d) to modify admissions protocols, especially in First Nations-specific programs. The one descriptive term of successful institutions in attracting and retaining First Nations students is *institutional commitment*. It is often the case that successful programs are associated with the work of one individual.

The literature tends to indicate that support services work best when support personnel are First Nations people themselves. There is competition among institutions in attracting First Nations staff to tertiary educa-

tion institutions, but the literature is clear that more First Nations people should be appointed to the teaching staff at the university.

The Changing Context

Change is the one-word description for both First Nations university participation and the social context in which we discuss it. The recent political context has been one in which self-government by First Nations has been widely accepted by Canadians as an inevitable consequence of applying standards of justice and equity to a new definition of the relationship between First Nations and others. Since the 1970s devolution and local control have been the policy catchwords for a federal government imperative for First Nations management of their own affairs. It would be a mistake to see this assumption of more control over their own community life as responsive to government policy. It comes about because of an assertion of moral authority and responsibility to be self-governing.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC, 1991) says that in 1991 178 bands were at some level of negotiation for self-government, and that in 1990 74.5% of all Indian and Inuit program funding was administered by First Nations themselves (Gauvin, Fournier, & Gloade, 1991, pp. 66-67, 70-71). It appears that one of the most remarkable changes is thus devolution of control.

The fact that change is occurring at a rapid pace may cloud the issue that First Nations education all over North America continues in a state of crisis. Two major document sources are illustrative of that crisis. The first is American. In 1990 in the United States the federal cabinet secretary responsible for education commissioned a task force to investigate current dimensions and issues in First Nations education and to point out directions for change. The information published by the task force summarizes academic, political, and First Nations community responses to crises in education. Except for the aspects of education that relate to American government structures, the substantive issues that the task force identified are issues we share with Americans.

The second documentary source, the report made by the Auditor General of Canada to Parliament in 1991, illustrates the crisis nature of issues in the Canadian social sphere that have a current direct bearing on First Nations higher education (AGC, 1991). This report deals with fiscal accountability and its object was to document and evaluate with specificity the way the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs accounts for money. Makokis (1992) refers to this report to demonstrate that "devolution" has meant that the federal department moves already committed money to Indian bands to disburse in ways that have been externally predetermined and that there is little allowance for First Nations discretion or judgment in setting priorities.

The Auditor General prefaces his report by saying that the "Department has not been able to provide information to Parliament on how well

... money was used" (AGC, 1991, p. 17), and then raises a central issue, which Makokis summarizes this way: "it is not just a question of responsibility for the administration of money, it is the fact that a policy vacuum exists which immobilizes Indian people and Indian government" (1992, p. 3). The Auditor General pursues the rhetorical question "Who is ultimately responsible, in an environment of devolution, for meeting the needs of First Nations in health, education and housing?" and responds that the department has been unclear and confused about this basic question (AGC, p. 18). More to the point, the Auditor General challenges the Department in the clearest of terms, not only in the area of fiscal accountability to Parliament but as a prior question, in its failure to demonstrate that it has been accountable to First Nations people in meeting information and personnel needs. The report takes the department to task particularly for the failure to establish an "accountability framework" (AGC, 1992, Sections 14.43, 14.42) based on the creation of an information and knowledge infrastructure.

We summarize both the documentation of lack of policy and initiative, and the implication for university-based education for First Nations peoples: a knowledge and information base and a technological infrastructure for its management and interpretation is a fundamental requirement for self-government or "devolution," and its creation and maintenance unquestionably invokes university-based education and research in education, science, management, health care, information sciences, the humanities, and other fields. Yet no clear policy and no clear accountability have been established by the federal government for the involvement of universities, with First Nations people, to create such an infrastructure and to educate.

There is thus a crisis in policy. There is a crisis in personnel: though numbers of university-trained First Nations people have increased dramatically since the 1970s, problems of access remain. One of the major sources of the problem of access to university-level education is the continuing deficiencies and problems in K-12 education, where figures for performance and attrition show improvement but also continuing crisis. There are no precedents for these current problem issues. Thus the challenge that faces universities and First Nations communities is to collaborate in a creative address to a well-defined educational need.

The literature defines the problem issues and points to some direction for even more change.

Demographics

Making demographic generalizations about First Nations people in Canada is a complex task, and one that is sure to miss the mark in some way.

Collecting this information presents a demographer's nightmare. A complicating factor is the range of descriptive identity categories of First

Nations people in Canada; further, these identifiers are not consistent, so social, legal, and political contexts produce conflicting identifiers for the same individuals in different contexts. Chartrand's (1991) recent discussion of the historically accidental nomenclature of aboriginal people in Canada is a good illustration of why that is so, but even the several identifiers he discusses do not exhaust the list of identifying terms for aboriginal people. Some First Nations governments have resisted the collection of demographic information, which may be indicative of distrust between First Nations governments and the levels of other governments.

A broad picture of current demographic trends in postsecondary education in Canada for Treaty and Registered Indians is provided in a summary report by Armstrong, Kennedy, and Oberle (1990), in which they document an overall Indian participation rate in postsecondary education of around one third the rate of non-Indians. Compared with non-Indians a smaller proportion of Indian high school graduates go on to university studies (p. 9); only around 25% of the Indian students who begin university studies complete a degree, while 55% of the non-Indian first-year students complete their studies (p. 10). The result is that compared with Indians, "non-Indians are about ... seven times more likely to successfully earn a degree" (p. 31). Nationally the proportions of students in the various general fields of study (e.g., education, engineering, etc.) are similar in the two populations according to their report (p. 30), but an important question for which it is very difficult to find consistent data is whether this varies by region.

A major source of difference between Indians and non-Indians in both participation and success rates appears to be the difference between the populations in high school completion rates (Armstrong et al., 1990, p. 8), because when these are controlled, the figures for Indians "are much closer to non-Indian figures" (p. 31). When the authors compare the Registered Indian population with other aboriginal student populations, they document a higher participation rate among Registered Indians, but a somewhat higher success rate among other aboriginals; these authors, from the Department of Indian Affairs, suggest that the higher participation rate is due to their department's Post-Secondary Education Assistance Program (p. 37).

The figures in the study mentioned above are based on an analysis of 1986 census data, and gross statistics for Registered Indian populations show a remarkable increase in total numbers of postsecondary students between 1986 (i.e., 11,170, including 5,800 at university) and 1991 (21,300, total postsecondary, Gauvin, Fournier, Gloade, & Thompson, 1991, pp. 33-39). It must be pointed out, however, that different categories of postsecondary students are included in each of these total figures. The totals represent a revolutionary increase over 1961 (60 students); and 1971 (432 students)

The off-reserve population of Registered Indians shows some differences from reserve residents and from the population at large: while 10% of the Canadian population has completed a university degree, only 2% of off-reserve Registered Indians have done so; labor force participation and income for First Nations people are considerably less than for the population at large.

Vancouver has the second largest population of off-reserve Registered Indians in Canada—slightly fewer than Winnipeg and slightly more than Edmonton (McDonald, 1991, p. 6).

The comparative figures between the 1960s and the 1990s show dramatic change. The change was so complete in all aspects of First Nations education in Canada, beginning in the 1960s and accelerating in the 1970s, that it might be called a revolution, not in the sense that it was a confrontational struggle for power, but because it seemed to be a rapid movement through a cycle to the point that the direction was opposite to what it had been. The historical background to that change is not the subject of this research project, but reference to the context of events that took place before 1970 must be made in order to understand current patterns of access to higher education.

Historical Background to the 1970s Revolution in First Nations Higher Education

The late Bobby Wright made a significant contribution to our knowledge of a history of Indian higher education from colonial times to the present (Wright, 1988, 1990, 1991b; Wright & Tierney, 1991). From him we know of Caleb Cheeshateaumuck, an Algonquin graduate of Harvard University in 1665, who died shortly after graduation; and of the organized system of Cherokee and Choctaw schools that thrived in the 1830s. Many students went on from these schools to further success in study at elite American universities. From his historical data Wright argues that it was the US federal government's increasing domination of Native education that eventually destroyed the initiative demonstrated in these examples, a domination which tragically inhibited First Nations peoples. There is an echo of that argument in the experience of the Brantford Institute in Ontario, a successful Mohawk-operated school that became dramatically unsuccessful within two years after the Canadian federal government took over its operation in the mid-1920s (Daniels, 1973).

Uniquely in Canada and as a matter of policy, for many of the early years of this century a Treaty or Registered Indian individual's success in higher education meant enforced "enfranchisement" and the loss of Treaty or Registered status. The history of this century's Indian policies, of which that was but one aspect, goes far to explain not only the origin, but also the persistence of current problem issues. There is a developing literature in this area, and only a representative few titles are cited here. The crisis nature of the current stress levels experienced in many First

Nations communities is well exemplified in Cariboo Tribal Council's (1991) self-study of the dimensions and effects of interpersonal and substance abuse in their communities. This work points directly to the history of schooling as part of a general history of containment and control as a cause of community stresses. Ing (1991) presents a cogent argument about the current and lasting effects that the residential schools had on the process of parenting; Bull's (1991) discussion of Alberta residential schools includes archival evidence of the nature of such residential schooling, and by pointing out school administrators' characterizations of Indians, goes some distance in explaining the motivation and justification for repressive practices. A large bibliography about residential schooling in Canada and the US is included in Urion (1991). The residential school is only an aspect of the origin of the problem; acknowledging that some people look back to their experiences there with appreciation for the opportunity to learn, it appears that on the whole the history of Indian residential schooling demonstrates that the Canadian social and political contexts that allowed for the maintenance of such institutions were generally repressive, and that individual access to higher education was purposively inhibited. It is clear in the literature that for most of this century there have been regulatory and legislated inhibitions *against* pursuing higher education in Canada.

It would be a mistake to interpret reference to the historical literature only as a background statement or as a token of comprehensiveness of treatment. The policies of repression and restriction of access refer not only to the generations who were young in the early part of this century. The generation that might be expected now to provide leadership and direction in institutional access to higher education are those First Nations individuals who are currently in their 40s and 50s. The educational system through which this cohort of First Nations peoples were processed was perhaps even more obviously restrictive than the system of earlier times. During the 1950s and 1960s, when this group was young, the level of education of other Canadians was increasing, economic and educational expectations were increasing, formal educational requirements in employment were higher, and communications and contact had improved so that disparities between First Nations people and others could be more easily observed; yet the formal, institutional, and policy inhibitions were still there as barriers to higher education.

Joseph Dion (1888-1960), the Cree statesman, wrote an account of his experiences in the late 1910s—his certification as a teacher and subsequent establishment of a community controlled school—which illustrates the nature of the struggle during an earlier era (Dion, 1979). There is a need for a case-history literature on which to base generalization about the more recent era: the account of the efforts of individual First Nations people to enter higher education, from the late 1930s to the early 1970s, is a literature-

that we should be producing now. There is little published in the way of life-history data and case study about the relatively small cohort of people who faced entrenched bureaucracies, restrictive policies, and negative attitudes, to become involved in higher education. Though the scant published literature is largely anecdotal or ad mbrated, anyone working in this field knows of a number of individuals—teachers, principals, lawyers, academicians, health care professionals, social workers, scientists, and others—whose often unremarked achievements for First Nations access in the face of great odds are, without exaggeration, heroic. The nature of their struggle was aptly characterized in an informal interview in 1983 with Michael Dorris, who directed the establishment of Native studies and First Nations access programs at Dartmouth' College in the 1970s. Speaking of the scope of the issues involved in access, the intractability of some of the problems, the limited personnel resources available, and the personal commitment required of those who worked to promote First Nations access in education, he reflected on the personal costs involved, and spoke especially of those whom he said had worked themselves to death in this field during the 1970s and early 1980s.

Building on the Changes from the 1970s

There are hundreds of accounts in the literature of the political and educational foment of the early 1970s that created the change. Many authors writing about First Nations education feel it necessary to make an almost formulaic statement of the history of the events of 1969, 1971, and 1973, and this pattern may indicate a major problem in the academic literature in this field. This formulaic expression of those events and outcomes provides for a canonical and orthodox interpretation of those events, a posture that might obscure critical analysis of the standard perception of a sequence of action and reaction (e.g., the federal government's proposal for assimilation, "the White Paper"; First Nations response, "the Red Paper"; protest, e.g., sit-ins, demonstrations at schools and offices; and Jean Chrétien's statement of a government policy of local Indian control of schools).

In terms of outcomes, the formula also generates a context for some ambiguously defined catchwords of the field (e.g., *local control*, *community involvement*, *bilingual and bilingual education*, and *culture conflict*). The formula is repeated consistently in the literature to contextualize almost all orders of discussion in this field. This repetition may demonstrate a major problem in the literature, that despite the volume of it, the literature is neither well developed nor cumulative. It is on the one hand particularistic, with a wealth of local description interpreted in the light of competing low-level theories (e.g., low achievement related to self-concept); on the other hand, it is typified by sweeping and global argument (e.g., low achievement a symptom of a larger malaise that will be remedied by

various interventions to bring about "empowerment"). It does not seem to constitute an academic tradition.

The formula from the literature is not repeated in this review, beyond the restatement that things changed fundamentally in the early 1970s.

Several Canadian universities and some colleges became involved in special programs for First Nations students in the early 1970s. The programs were defined as special in terms of any of the areas of (a) admission and recruitment; (b) counseling and other support resources; (c) location, in that some were established away from main campuses; and (d) program course content. The success of those programs must account in some measure for the increase in demographic indicators of university access. Law and education were the disciplinary fields in which the first special content programs were established. The University of Saskatchewan program in law, with the collaboration of other law faculties in Canada, has been important to the increase in First Nations lawyers.

Several universities and colleges established First Nations student support programs in the mid-1970s, such as the one described at the University of Manitoba by Hurlburt (1984). Between the mid-1970s and the early 1980s a pattern of address to postsecondary educational issues for First Nations people involved "additional counseling, use of distance education and satellite campuses; college introductory and orientation programs" and revisions in patterns of providing student aid, but it is unusual to see such directions justified by and founded on research results, as Lee (1983) attempted to do in a report for the Manitoba Department of Education.

The Teacher Education Programs (TEPs) that were begun in all regions of Canada have been crucial to the increase of First Nations teachers and to the increasing number of First Nations people involved in postgraduate programs and research in education. Twenty of them were established (More, 1980; Lawrence, 1985). Late in the decade, More and Wallis (1979) distinguished three kinds of programs, (a) programs that provided entry to existing on-campus programs; (b) programs that were modified from regular programs on such bases as practica and First Nations content courses; and (c) community-based programs in which there was significantly more First Nations control. The distinctions were more abstract than real in some programs; Project Morning Star at Blue Quills School in Alberta (Read, 1983) incorporated aspects of all three of the categories, as did NITEP at the University of British Columbia (Archibald, 1986). All of the western Canadian universities and several in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes became involved in these or comparable programs in the 1970s. By 1970 they had produced 369 degreed and 725 certificated teachers, and in 1985 there were 885 students enrolled in TEPs in Canada. Wyatt-Benyon (1991) provides a summary comparative evaluation of Simon Fraser University's three off-campus programs, and Pepper (1988) provides a

comprehensive summative evaluation of UBC's ongoing NITEP. Wyatt-Bennon points out that, despite the success of the programs "if employment of First Nations teachers were proportional to numbers of First Nations students [in British Columbia], we would need nine times the current number of [First Nations] teachers" (p. 68).

The 1970s saw a number of specifically focused ad hoc programs either at universities or at colleges. Some of the college programs were oriented specifically toward university transfer. This pattern of programming continues. The range of focus and content of specifically focused programs in First Nations higher education is wide. Some examples are cited here from public statements of need, program proposals, and from information about programs now operating or in some cases defunct: there was a program in journalism at the University of Western Ontario; in agriculture at Lethbridge Community College ("Indian reserve puts the push," 1992); access programs in medicine at the Universities of Manitoba and Alberta (Krause & Stephens, 1992); statements of need for programs in banking ("Bank pledges Native focus," 1992) and engineering ("First Nations need native engineers," 1992); a program in museology and curatorship at the University of Lethbridge ("Program provides funding," 1992); a Micmac Bachelor of Social Work program at Dalhousie University (Smith & Pace, 1987); the University of Lethbridge's Centre for Aboriginal Management (Purvis, 1987); the University of Lethbridge's Four Worlds Development Project in education and community development (Mazurek, 1988); a cooperative program between UBC and Camosun College, the Sencoten Immersion and Language Training Program (Simcoe, 1992); and a program in nursing at Lakehead University (Lakehead University, 1987). These examples may not even be indicative of the range. Better public access to information about programs in Canada is needed, perhaps through the creation of a directory.

The demographics of First Nations education demonstrate why discussion of university access and higher education is more closely associated with general adult education, college, and vocational education than for the population at large. There is probably more literature about vocational, paraprofessional, certificate, and college-based programs for First Nations peoples in Canada than about university or preuniversity college studies. Yet it is surprising, given the number of the programs that exist, that there is so little in the way of description or documentation about such programs. The literature about university preparation programs is equally misrepresentative of the number of university-based or college-affiliated programs that exist.

Some typical examples of the discussion of vocational and paraprofessional postsecondary programs, as reflected in the Educational Research Information Centre database, are noted here. The Ontario Ministry of Skills Development (1991) established a set of guidelines for training First

Nations people in construction work in response to needs identified by the United Council of Chiefs of Manitoulin. Another example of provincial involvement in First Nations postsecondary education is the report of a private sector committee in Manitoba, which advised the provincial government to strengthen its community colleges and to develop a Native education and training strategy to better address the postsecondary needs of Canadian Natives (Manitoba Department of Education and Training, 1990). A community-based two-year certificate program for school counselors in Manitoba is described in MacKenzie and Beaupre (1986). Using Alberta and the Northwest Territories as an example, Murray (1985) argues that a major problem in vocational postsecondary programs for First Nations people is that funding is inequitable.

Ward (1986) describes a problem in postsecondary educational assistance to argue that during the period of initial increase in First Nations participation in postsecondary education (i.e., between 1972 and 1982) the federal government's unilateral decisions about funding of postsecondary education had an inhibiting effect on the increase.

Another aspect of change was the founding of Native studies departments. Some of the first were at Dartmouth College and the University of Minnesota in the US, and at Trent University and the University of Lethbridge in Canada. These departments survive, and there are now several more in Canada (e.g., Brandon, Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan); many in the US failed. One reason for the failure was lack of continuity of funding, but an even more serious problem had to do with mandate: there was an unexamined assumption that academic address to Native issues in a special department promoted First Nations access. The failure to distinguish between the operational objective of access and the intrinsic academic value of Native studies meant that many of the departments lacked definition of purpose.

Focus on First Nations issues in higher education and on First Nations students is sometimes reflected in statements of institutional mandate, as is the case with Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (SIFC) in Regina, and the mandate proposed in British Columbia (e.g., "Northern chief," 1989). The case of SIFC is special and exemplifies yet another area where an impact began in the 1970s in First Nations postsecondary education in terms of First Nations control and administration of tertiary education institutions. SIFC is unique in its range of programs and the mandate it has received from both First Nations governments in Saskatchewan and the government of the province.

The establishment of SIFC represents a First Nations movement toward the creation of cultural colleges in the mid-1970s. These colleges, operated by individual First Nations governments, are local manifestations of the same imperative to First Nations management of higher education. The Canadian literature does not reflect current conditions in this

area as documentation or discussion in the Canadian record about First Nations-controlled postsecondary institutions and cultural college- is scarce. These institutions often broker university courses and create university-level courses on their own, though only SIFC presently offers complete university programs. SIFC is cited as an exemplar for the future by the Assembly of First Nations in its statement of the current condition of First Nations education.

AFN's Summary of Current Issues

There is no single comprehensive review, description, or analysis of the current state of First Nations postsecondary or university education in Canada. An important general summary statement of current conditions and needs was made in *Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of Our Future*, published by the Assembly of First Nations in 1988 (Charleston, 1988). In the context of general problem issues in secondary education (e.g., dropouts, continuing education, special education) the Assembly notes the inappropriateness of current programs in several areas of technical and vocational education, and some of the areas mentioned (e.g., forestry, agriculture, animal husbandry, Vol 1., pp. 90-91) have implications for university and college programming. The issue of First Nations jurisdiction and involvement in postsecondary educational governance and administration is discussed (Vol. 1, pp. 92-93) in the context of the note that SIFC is "the only First Nations controlled postsecondary institution presently granting degrees" (in Canada). The AFN report uses SIFC as a model and raises many central issues in university-based education in the recounting of a summary history of the development of the college (Vol. 2, pp. 62-70).

The general issues, from the first volume of AFN's report, are summarized as positions articulated by AFN, both because theirs is the most comprehensive statement of the issues in the literature, and because, insofar as there is a common First Nations perspective about university education, AFN's summary is the most clearly indicative of it:

- Most First Nations people with postsecondary education are working directly or indirectly with other First Nations peoples.
- Tertiary education should be oriented toward competency in areas reflected in the current job market.
- A continuing priority need is for university-trained First Nations teachers.
- There is a need to develop postsecondary curriculum that is in fact relevant to First Nations people in several areas, particularly in areas where there are culture-specific considerations (e.g., communications methods; teaching techniques).
- The area of First Nations languages is of special concern: the nature of the relationship of First Nations languages to First Nations communities has to be taken into consideration in developing

language-related programs; an extraordinary need exists for the training and certification of teachers of First Nations languages.

- More university-based teacher education programs are needed, but so are "satellite" and "extension" programs in First Nations communities.
- Lack of good counseling and guidance at the secondary level have created a requirement for especially good counseling resources at the tertiary level.
- First Nations need an information sharing network for developing and dealing with postsecondary education issues, and other mechanisms whereby they can work cooperatively.
- Financial support for First Nations students in tertiary education must be improved, with a high priority placed on such support; the AFN takes the position that postsecondary education is an aboriginal right, and that funding for individuals should be administered by individual First Nations (Charleston, 1988, pp. 92-99).

The American Comparison

The situation and the issues. The standard sources of literature do not reflect what is actually going on in Canada. A more comprehensive picture of First Nations postsecondary education in the United States is reflected in the customary literature sources, but it is possible that even with its comprehensiveness it does not adequately document the present American experience, and Wright (1991a) comments on the unavailability of accurate demographic data. The general comparison with Canada is that the change between the 1970s and 1980s was somewhat more pronounced in Canada than in the US, where the increase in the number of First Nations peoples enrolled in university-level studies doubled during the decade. The total number of degrees awarded to First Nations people between 1976 and 1981 increased by 8% (Fries, 1987). Wright says that now 6% of American Indians have college degrees, as compared with 23% of the rest of the population (and as compared with 2% of First Nations people in Canada), and notes a decrease in full-time attendance by First Nations college and university students: 38% were attending part time in 1976, and now the figure is 52%. Most (54%) of the students enrolled in 1984 were in two-year colleges, not universities. In the total US population, 67% of the population over 25 years of age has completed high school compared with 56% of American Indians and 46% of Alaskan Natives (Hillbrant, Romano, Stange, & Charleston, 1991). There are indications of greater access, both proportionally and in absolute terms, than in Canada: for example, of the approximately 900,000 baccalaureate degrees awarded in the US in 1978-79, 3.4% were awarded to First Nations peoples (Brown, 1982; Deskins, 1984).

Nichols (1991) says that the lack of reliable information is a tremendous hindrance to evaluation and the definition of new directions, and points

out that the need for a national database—still unrealized—for First Nations education has been discussed since at least 1928.

The infrastructural support for the college and university system, as well as individual state and federal agencies, appears to have a more comprehensive data gathering apparatus than Canada, however. It has not been customary in Canada for many universities to keep records distinguishing First Nations people from others, so reports such as those created by Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (e.g., AUCC, 1985) provide little information about First Nations access and retention. Tabular or proportional data are published in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (e.g., Staff, 1988; "Racial and ethnic makeup," 1986) and in reports of the Center for Education Statistics in Washington (CES, 1985a, 1985b, 1988a, 1988b). The legal context for minority education is different in the US and it appears that the information that is collected about minority education is for the purpose of recruitment and monitoring overall success of affirmative action programs. The data are often summarized in comparative terms on the bases of population proportions, so it is possible to find such statements as that by the staff of *Change* ("Minority access," 1987), in which it is stated that Hispanics are less well represented in higher education than Indians.

Surveying a 10-year period (1975-1985) with data from all accredited universities and colleges in the US, in addition to figures for participation and completion, Fries (1987) found data on American patterns of university employment: 60% of the American Indians employed full time by universities and colleges were support staff, 19% were faculty, and 6% worked in administrative and managerial positions.

The literature reflects a salient difference between Canada and the US in that the perspective of a significant portion of the American literature is one of First Nations higher education in the larger context of inequity associated with ethnic minority status generally. First Nations peoples are considered along with other major population categories (Black or African-American, Hispanic or Latino, Asian, Pacific Islander, "immigrant," and such circumlocutive American categories as "white non-Hispanic"). This perspective surely obscures some of the issues, in that there are not only historic and legal differences between the groups, but qualitatively different life experiences that one would expect to see reflected even in a generalizing literature about Indian higher education.

Despite the observation that the database is inadequate, and despite the contextualization of discussion about First Nations higher education within the general topic of minority group education, there are more published and unpublished sources of information and discussion about First Nations higher education in the US, and its scope is more comprehensive than Canada's. A major watershed of recent information and opinion is in the documents that archive the activities and information

gathering of the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force (INARTF), a commission that was established by the American Secretary of Education in 1990. The task force commissioned papers, invited written submissions, and held regional hearings for local input at several places in the US.

The large (445 pages) report of the regional hearings reflects concern for a broad range of issues that affect postsecondary university education (INARTF, 1990c).

Administrative issues of concern include:

- levels of government funding;
- coordination of effort of federal, state, and tribal governments;
- teacher training;
- postsecondary student financial aid;
- the role of tribally controlled colleges;
- postsecondary student recruitment;
- the place of special services for students; and
- the issue of research and data collection.

Substantive issues include:

- postsecondary readiness;
- student persistence;
- problems in standards and testing;
- program content and interna (including the place of First Nations languages and culture); and
- the First Nations experience of racism on both the institutional and personal level in educational settings.

The document includes a variety of statistics indicating the scope of the issues involved.

Another substantial report (231 pages) that the Task Force has published comes from the joint session it held with the National Advisory Council on Indian Education in San Diego in 1990 (INARTF, 1990f). One of the implications of this discussion for higher education comes from the evidence presented that the K-12 system has failed to prepare students for postsecondary education: the argument is emphatically supported in this document that First Nations postsecondary education cannot be discussed in isolation from either the still astoundingly deficient K-12 system or the social context of Indian life in America.

A good source for review in a kind of *Reader's-Digest* perspective of the Task Force's commissioned papers is the short work edited by Cahape and Howley (1992), in which these papers are summarized. Wright's (1991) commissioned paper on postsecondary education is summarized (Cahape & Howley, beginning on p. 93) in the context of other papers dealing with decreasing spending on Indian education since 1975 (p. 17) and the student retention problem in K-12 (p. 42). Wright evaluates Montana State University, Northern Arizona University, and Clarkson University as models for "noteworthy programs aimed at providing comprehensive

support for Native students" and that "common characteristics of [noteworthy programs] originate in a strong, ongoing commitment, often led by one influential administrator" (p. 95). He says that the general problems in First Nations postsecondary education are "inadequate academic preparation, insufficient financial support, very few available role models, and an unsupportive institutional climate," and says that some characteristics of university programs that are successful in First Nations postsecondary education are "collaboration with Native communities, an emphasis on precollege programs, enhanced financial services, and strong student support services" (p. 95).

The 1980s seems to have been a time for increased discussion and research about American Indians in university. Early in the decade the American Indian Studies Center at the University of California at Los Angeles devoted its annual conference on American Indian issues to the identification of issues in American Indian higher education (American Indian Studies Center, 1981). Guyette and Heth (1983) completed a survey of 107 academic programs for First Nations people in the US and compared the range of programs to the range of expressed needs. The categories of needs were defined by surveying 119 First Nations communities and interviewing 30 senior students. They documented the institutions' problems as being financial, and the students' problems as being lack of preparation for university study and problems with "cultural pressures," which they said had its most negative effect at PhD-granting institutions. They noted that the fields to which the programs were oriented (education, art, history, and counseling) did not cover the range of needs expressed by the communities (business, counseling, medicine, and law).

Cloutier (1984) included First Nations people in her comparison of patterns of access along minority ethnic and gender lines at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and Laval University in Quebec, in order to find factors that restricted access along gender and ethnic lines. Other fairly recent American work that deals with Indian postsecondary education in general terms include Carter's and Wilson's (1989, 1991) demographic comparisons and assessments of trends of enrollment of Hispanics, American Indians, and Blacks in college and university programs; and a longitudinal study of almost 400 Indian students to identify factors that led to retention: (a) family background; (b) postsecondary intentions both before and during attendance; (c) "formal and informal" academic integration; and for beginning students, (d) academic and personal skills and abilities, and (e) prior schooling (Pavel, 1991).

Another comparison between institutions provides a valuable collection of imperatives: for a three-year period, Richardson and de los Santos (1988) compared 10 predominantly white tertiary education institutions that have had good records and comparatively more success than others in attracting and retaining American Indian, Black, and Hispanic students.

From this comparison they were able to derive a statement of 10 principles for institutions as follows:

1. announce institutional priorities (elimination of racial disparity in access);
2. back those priorities with funding over 10 or more years;
3. employ minority group leaders;
4. track institutional progress;
5. provide comprehensive support services;
6. emphasize quality;
7. reach out to schools and community institutions to raise aspirations and to improve academic preparation;
8. bridge the existing gaps in preparation with programmatic approaches to tutorial, laboratories, study groups, etc.;
9. reward good teaching and diversify the faculty, especially in the cultivation, through mentoring of junior minority staff and graduate students, of minority professors;
10. eliminate racism: construct a nonthreatening social environment.

The discussion of American-specific issues in minority education is often consistent with the Canadian literature, for example, Wells and White's (1990) argument for the need for community involvement, which is included in a wider range of papers collected at a major conference on minority university education. Additional American-specific issues discussed in the literature are (a) an American social system with a reduced commitment to equality in education—described as a “growing national indifference” in a discussion by Tijerina and Biemer (1988) in their article “The Dance of Indian Higher Education: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back”; and (b) reduced financial commitment to American Indian university education by the American federal government, discussed in Wiley (1979). This reduced financial commitment to First Nations education was a subject discussed by in a US Congressional hearing on the role of predominantly Black colleges in 1990 (Congress of the United States, 1990).

Tribal colleges. Barnhardt's (1992) discussion of three varieties of institutional arrangements in First Nations tertiary education is similar to the More and Wallis (1979) categorization of Canadian TEP programs: independent institutions under First Nations control, affiliation arrangements between First Nations institutions and dominant society institutions (such as SIFC's affiliation with the University of Regina), and programs integrated within dominant society institutions. The concept of tribally controlled colleges is not new, as Wright's work, cited above, shows that such institutions were established at least as early as the 1830s. The movement to establish new tribal colleges in the US began in the 1950s and accelerated in the 1970s, most of the 24 now in the United States are struggling with underfunding, but providing programs in tertiary education that the communities see as vital (Houser, 1991b; Wright, 1986). An association of

such colleges includes several of the Canadian First Nations cultural colleges. A new journal, *Tribal College: Journal of American Indian Higher Education*, focuses on tribal colleges and deals with such issues as the role of the colleges in self-determination (Bad Wound, 1991; Barden, 1991), the nature of First Nations adults' learning styles (Conti & Fellenz, 1991), the incorporation of traditional values in administration (Houser, 1991), and practical issues such as budgeting (Shanley, 1990) and federal funding issues (Shanley, 1991). Stein (1986) describes tribally controlled colleges in terms of their history and development, their multiple roles and objectives, program interna, and their contribution to the enhancement of First Nations cultures and languages. Expectations of the tribal and cultural colleges are high and resources are limited (Duran, 1991; Houser, 1991a, 1991b; Isaac, 1980; Wright, 1987, 1989).

Regional studies and specific fields. There is quite a range of somewhat more specific and local treatment of general issues in American Indian postsecondary education. Beaulieu (1991) holds Minnesota as an example of successful integration of state government into First Nations postsecondary education, through preparation and scholarship programs. Newell and Tyon (1989) discuss job placement of First Nations tertiary education students.

Some reports deal with the place of minorities, including American Indians, in specific fields. The relative standing of minorities and women applying for and completing postsecondary education in the health professions was the subject of a report by Health Resources Administration (1984). Cummings (1984) describes the efforts of the College of Engineering at the University of New Mexico to identify promising minority students, including American Indians, in basic algebra courses, and the encouragement provided to such students through orientation, tutoring, counseling, and support programs, with the object of achieving ethnic parity in the field of engineering.

The Colorado association of executive officers in higher education had Ford Foundation sponsorship to survey eight states (New York, Arizona, California, Colorado, Illinois, Massachusetts, Tennessee, and Montana) to evaluate the current structures of minority participation in higher education and programs established to improve the current position of inequity. The report documents a critical research need for continuing assessment of the situation, observes that Indians, Blacks, and Hispanics have not been served well in higher education, discusses some of the reasons why this is so, and summarizes the kinds of concerted and coordinated efforts for change that must be made by all agencies involved (Colorado Higher Education Executive Officers' Association, 1991).

The State University System of Nevada (1988) reports the results of a task force on minority tertiary education, documenting a declining proportion of such enrollments since 1985, and recommending (a) articulating

a written policy promoting recruitment, admission, and retention of Black, Asian, Hispanic, and American Indian students; (b) increased personal, academic, and financial support programs; and (c) continued task force involvement.

Indians were included as a minority category in California's study of 10-year trends, 1974-1984 (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1985, 1986, 1987). An unpublished comprehensive paper by Martinez (1985) analyzes minority university enrollment in terms of demographics and social contexts in California, to point out the unfavorable position of Hispanics and American Indians with respect to other minorities. A compendious report and guide was created at California State University, Long Beach, giving 1980 minority census data as background, and focusing on minority student postsecondary enrollment patterns and problems, the objective being to inform affirmative action recruitment (California State University, 1983; for an example of a negative perception of affirmative action in California, see Bunzel, 1988). A survey of community college students in California showed fluctuating rates of transfer to four-year colleges for other minority group students, but general increase, while American Indian transfers from community colleges remained constant over the five-year study period (California Community Colleges, 1989).

An earlier report of hearings held by New Mexico State Board of Educational Finance (1984) documented recommendations from university and tribal leaders to improve Indian postsecondary education by affirmative action, the funding of recruitment and retention programs, improving teaching about Indian issues, and providing off-campus programs.

Comprehensive data about American Indian enrollment is contained in the State of New York's reports on minority enrollment and graduation during the 1980s (New York State Education Department, 1984, 1988, 1989). The state also issued a report on minority employment within the system, which shows the relative place of American Indians on staff (1989). Attention has also been given to the substantive issues surrounding the broad picture of problems in access and retention painted by the demographic data, as in Zwana's (1988) *From Problems to Solutions*, published by the African American Institute of the State University, Albany. New York also publishes a description of a program that assists American Indian and other minority students in private colleges and universities in the state (New York State Education Department, 1991).

Three publications by the Arizona Board of Regents illustrate that state's efforts. In the first, a "research guide" details the kind of data to be collected in state self-study of retention and persistence of minorities, including First Nations students (Cotera, 1988). One of the reports of the Regents' task force that looked at minority student retention is a bibliog-

raphy of practical sources, edited by Cowart et al. (1988), and it includes another article by Fries that compares patterns of Native American access and retention during two periods in the 1970s and 1980s. Another one of the Regents' Task Force documents is unusual in that it focuses on student performance data (Cotera et al., 1988), and yet another documents the universities' efforts to attract and retain American Indian and other minority students (Wood, 1988).

Other states that have published reports describing American Indian enrollment are Connecticut (Connecticut State Board of Higher Education, 1983), Maryland (Schwalb & Sedlacek, 1988), and Massachusetts (Dulac & Vasily, 1987, Massachusetts Board of Regents, 1987). Colorado's 1987 report, in addition to discussing the demographics of Indian higher education in the state, raised the concerns of institutional response to the issue of minority retention, the academic climate for minority students, and the ambiguous area of values that are described in connection with student culture (Mingle, 1987). Mingle and Rodriguez (1990) edited a report that includes recommendations for improvement in Colorado. The Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board (1990) publishes reports on annual conferences it sponsors to discuss attracting and retaining Black, Hispanic, and American Indian students.

Another feature of the American literature is the inclusion of information packages. For example, New Mexico State University publishes a booklet telling of a variety of sources of financial aid for American Indian postsecondary students (e.g., Willie et al., 1985; Tsosie & Cherino, 1984); similar information for New York is included in Johnson (1985) and a national guide was compiled by Young and Hicks (1989). The Heart of the Earth Survival School in Minneapolis has published resources, including placement tests, to aid in career and education choices (HESS, 1985; American Indian Career Exploration, 1985), and the Indian Health Service has an explanation of postsecondary scholarship programs available (IHS, 1985).

In the following sections of this review, Canadian and American literature are treated as a continental literature. The first reason is that many of the issues are the same. The second is that the traditions in the literature are in fact continental. A good illustration of this is in the distribution and content of the two major journals in First Nations education, *American Journal of Indian Education* and *Canadian Journal of Native Education*. The Canadian journal published 48% of all articles about Canadian First Nations education in academic journals during the 1980s, and 17% of all the articles published in North America during that time about American Indian education—a figure for the American literature that is roughly equivalent to the American journal. Canadians subscribe to and contribute to the American journal, and Americans to the Canadian journal. They have roughly equal distributions and both, for example, are promoted by

the American Indian Education Association. The contexts for discussion are, of course, somewhat different but the similarities appear to have been more compelling in the formation of the literature.

In both countries the major impact on access to higher educational opportunity is from the nature of the schools that offer K-12 instruction, and in both countries the general perception is that the schools have failed.

School Failure and First Nations Higher Education

The schools have been seen to create inequity, not diminish it, so a major current in the literature is a discussion of the nature of elementary and secondary schooling in both historical and current perspectives. Second, that description is contextualized in the general social climate in which K-12 schooling takes place.

The literature describes this in macrosystemic terms and so generalizes about large-scale social dynamics. Two major problems result from this generalization. First, even in the reporting of local circumstances, the literature sometimes loses the perspective of diversity among and within First Nations groups. Second, the large-scale description of problems is, of course, in terms of social dynamics and population parameters, and it is possible to forget that we are describing and reporting the lived experience of individual human beings.

There was not much in the way of literature about First Nations K-12 schooling until the 1960s but it began to grow in the 1970s and now constitutes a huge, even monumental, body of discussion, research reporting, essay, and imperative. For purposes of this review, a selection criterion for that literature is how closely a theme about K-12 schooling is related to tertiary educational outcomes. A few general observations initially contextualize those themes in the general area, and then examples of literature that deals with the themes are presented.

1. The first observation is that there is a complex, deep-seated, and widespread problem in K-12 education in First Nations communities, and that though the structures involved in First Nations schooling have changed dramatically in the past 20 years, it is a problem of very long standing.
2. The second observation is that the complex problem is one of a number of problems that face First Nations peoples: many First Nations communities, including the large urban communities in Winnipeg, Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, and Toronto, are communities under uncommon stress. The history of schooling in First Nations communities demonstrates that education has historically contributed to the creation of the stresses and problems.
3. The third observation is that the historical origins of the problem must be understood in order to change. In summary terms, government policies between 1870 and the recent past can be characterized as focused not on development but, first, on containment of First Na-

tions peoples and communities; second, on control of those communities; and only recently on accommodation of those communities in a broader Canadian society. The history of First Nations schools reflects these priorities, dramatically so in the history of residential schooling. This perspective seems to be deeply ingrained in the literature and may be one of the reasons for the formulaic historical introduction to so many articles and books.

4. The fourth observation is that the literature reflects a long history of First Nations' assertion of the *right* and the *responsibility* to control their own schooling, and of negotiation for such local control; and further, that beginning in the early 1970s local control became one of the single most important issues in First Nations education. The issue of local control is now related to the broader issue of self-government as an inherent right.
5. A fifth observation is one of bias. The historic exclusion of First Nations peoples from the formation of formal education has resulted in a foundation and superstructure that have been biased against First Nations precepts and custom in curriculum, testing, protocols, and administration; the retention of the acculturation model in academic address to those issues has resulted in alienation of First Nations interests in the articulation of research questions. And finally, the bias is seen in face-to-face interaction in that we live in a society where First Nations people often experience racial bias on university campuses as elsewhere in society on an individual level.

Several of the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force sources reflect a wide range of salient aspects of the general state of affairs, including discussion of wider community factors (INARTE, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1990d, 1990e, 1990f). For example, in the joint sessions with the National Indian Education Association, high unemployment in First Nations communities was cited as an inhibiting factor in school completion, directly related to access to tertiary education, and the National Advisory Council on Indian Education told the Task Force that substance abuse and suicide prevention were important areas in K-12 education. The range of problems in K-12 that influence university access and that are reflected in the Task Force's hearings is much wider:

- declining numbers of First Nations students in teacher education;
- test bias at all levels, including for university admissions, a premise that is fairly widely discussed in the literature;
- inadequate preparation in secondary schools, to the point of lack of basic academic skills;
- inadequate career guidance and counseling in secondary schools;
- exclusion of parents from involvement in educational decision making;
- the need for higher employee standards in federally operated schools;

- the need for First Nations advocacy for First Nations students in public schools, particularly for special needs students such as gifted and handicapped;
- teachers: low expectations of First Nations students and self-fulfilling prophecies in performance; lack of teacher accountability;
- stresses in student transition from First Nations schools to public schools;
- lack of specificity in preparation for vocational versus academic postsecondary experience;
- a curriculum that alienates First Nations students through its exclusion of First Nations concerns or inadequate treatment of those concerns;
- curriculum that is not sensitive to the cultures of First Nations; and
- lack of attention to First Nations-specific learning styles.

The literature generally reflects these and other areas as problematic. The phenomenon of dropping out is central to this discussion, especially the high dropout rate that begins at the late middle school level and accelerates to late high school. Steinberg et al.'s (1982) discussion includes a large literature review of this phenomenon, and makes the summary judgment that the factors can be summarized as the current schools' production of a negative self-concept in First Nations children. Coladarci (1983), in a study in Montana, says that the dropout rate is a function of irrelevant curriculum and perceived teacher indifference to First Nations students. Rehyner (1991) goes beyond a specification of the causes of dropping out to recommend the kinds of changes that are needed to retain students in secondary schools: he says that large schools have to be restructured so that teachers can come to know students; there should be active recruitment of teachers who demonstrate that they are caring enough to spend time with students, and to learn from them; the curriculum has to speak to the Native experience; testing should be diagnostic, not focused on streaming students; and parents must be given their rightful place in ensuring that the kind of education that is provided will strengthen the family, not weaken it.

The reductionist explanation for the dropout phenomenon is that of culture conflict. Wilson (1991) describes a Manitoba school in a larger white centre where secondary students transfer after successfully completing middle and elementary school in a band-controlled school on a reserve. The modal pattern is to drop out, and Wilson says that it is because of unresolved culture conflict. This is also the explanation that Giles (1985) provides in her study of Indian high school dropouts in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In a study that inventoried values and attitudes of students and dropouts, she says that it is the more "acculturated" students who experience most success in schools.

The theme of culture conflict is pervasive in the literature that deals with K-12 schooling, hardly less so in the literature on postsecondary

schooling. One problem with the concept is that it is based so fundamentally on a doctrine of cultural determinism, a concept that no longer has much currency in anthropology, the discipline that gave the concept to educationists. The conceptual problem with the idea is not just that the premise of determinism has never been demonstrable, but that the construct adds no explanatory power to a description of a situation. Another problem is that the remedy for culture conflict is even more problematic than its definition; and yet another problem is that because it puts the explanation in the abstract realm of "culture," it exculpates those who maintain biases and supposes that the "conflict" is inevitable.

Many local examples of community stresses impinge on successful K-12 completion. Some of them are described for the Northwest Interior tribes of the US in reports of hearings before the US House of Representatives Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families (Congress of the United States, 1986); for Northern Canada by Griffiths (1987), who discusses Northern youth, poorly served by a welfare system and a juvenile court system imported from the south, and youth who have had to leave home for secondary education and who then face alienation and crisis; and for the Northwest Territories by Hall (1986), who describes 90% of the youth of the Territories as dropouts from secondary school. Smith (1983) exemplifies negative aspects of the situation of urban First Nations children in his description of their experiences in Detroit.

Bias in testing in K-12 is cited as a contributing factor in failure by Dana (1984), who challenges the use of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale with First Nations children; by Chavers and Locke (1989), who relate inappropriate applications in testing directly to postsecondary access; and in the joint discussions on academic performance between INARTF and members of the National Indian Education Association in 1991 (INARTF, 1990a). Chrisjohn (1988) and McShane and Plas (1988) have added an informative dialogue to the literature in their disagreement about the place of assessment of cognitive operations through test instruments.

The summary judgment in the literature for the long term is that there is a need for radical change in schooling and for more constructive models of schooling. For the short term, the answer is remediation and intervention at the K-12 level and for compensatory programs and opportunities for the many whom the schools have failed.

In the large literature about local control of schools since the 1970s are reports that demonstrate the potential of local control and the relatively successful establishment of schools with First Nations priorities, such as Gardner's (1986) description of the Seabird Island School. Another current in the literature, however, maintains that the movement toward local control has not in fact recreated schools: the same problems and new ones exist (e.g., Hall, 1992; Kirkness, 1985).

Factors that Make Success or Failure at University

Aside from the complex factor of K-12 schooling, where the discussion is about the lack of preparation and skills for university work, inappropriate or no counseling, teacher characteristics and effects (e.g., Coburn & Nelson, 1989), and inappropriate testing and curriculum, the factor that is mentioned most often is financial aid (Cibik & Chambers, 1991; Falk & Aitken, 1984; INARTF, 1990d; Wiley, 1989; Wilson, 1983). Problems are in source, amount, and continuity.

Several studies, varying in scope and compass, have attempted to find other factors that influence the academic success or failure of First Nations students in university education. The metric for success may be on the basis of grade-point average, other measures of academic performance, or simply persistence. The obverse is academic failure or student attrition. It is difficult to find documentation of specific program or institutional attrition, but the global rate, as remarked above, is high. McIntosh (1987), for example, says that only 10% of American Indian first-year college students finally graduate and, as previously noted, for Canada the figure is between 26% and 28%.

One of the most important generalizations to be made from the literature is that some apparent contradictions between studies should keep us from too readily overgeneralizing among localities, among the several First Nations, and among the kinds of institutions in which the students have enrolled. For example, in one study at UBC, mature, married students had a significantly better degree completion rate (Whittaker, 1986), while in another it was the younger students, as opposed to the mature students, whose indices were higher (Benjamin & Chambers, 1989).

Another good example is in the operational research distinction between groups, based on "more" or "less" identification with First Nations traditions. The short research question is whether there is a difference in measures of success between "traditional" and "acculturated" people. Sandoval (1978) seemed to imply that the Jicarillo Apache college students that were tested in a study of success factors, coming as they did from a more "traditional" community, may have had a relatively greater cultural divide to cross in order to be successful in tertiary education. (The import of his article, however, was to state that the difficulties he observed in student performance outcomes reflected a failure of the high school to prepare the students in terms of skills and by counseling.) Insofar as Sandoval's implication about relative adherence to "tradition" is implied, other studies point in the opposite direction. Blue and Blue (1983) found that traditional First Nations students reacted to stress differently from others, but there is no implication that performance varies between groups distinguished on the basis of "tradition."

Other studies have indicated that adherence to First Nations tradition may play an important role in university success. Rindone (1988a, 1988b)

connected traditional Navajo values to family strength and family support in her assessment of factors that motivated 200 randomly selected Navajo college graduates' success: tradition contributed to success. Huffman et al. (1986) found "cultural identity and retention of native cultural traditions" to be the most important factor for a smaller sample (38) of Sioux college students. Family support has emerged as a tremendously important contributor to university success for First Nations students in a number of studies, such as Falk's and Aitken's (1984) survey of 125 Southwestern First Nations college students; Wilson's (1983) open-ended opinionnaire study, completed by 214 Wisconsin First Nations graduates and students; and Pavel's (1991) secondary analysis of the large US *High School and Beyond* data corpus.

It is not unreasonable to assume that "tradition" translates to "family support." Lin's (1990) study of 87 First Nations college students in Montana found that students from more traditional families had higher grades and applied themselves more directly to academic tasks than those from "modern" families. One reason for the need for such family support may be indicated in an earlier study of Lin's (1988): Lin found that for many First Nations students, campuses are unfriendly, even hostile, places, and the sense of self and identity provided by strong adherence to tradition is probably the students' mainstay. Comparing attitudes and achievement between groups of Anglos and Montana First Nations students at a predominantly white university, Lin found that a common feeling among the First Nations students was alienation, and that the response of alienation to institutional life had the most important of all other factors' effects on grades.

Unfortunately, such alienation emerges as a common theme in the research literature. Aitken and Falk (1983) cited alienation as a reason for dropping out in their study of 132 Chippewa students in higher education. Bennett and Okinaka (1989), in a follow-up study of minority students at Indiana University, found a high dropout rate among First Nations students, and articulated a major concern: the "negative quality of campus life for ethnic minorities and strong feelings of social alienation and dissatisfaction." Stuhr (1987) explained that a factor in his study of First Nations' student attrition seemed to be "cultural" factors that were at issue between white instructors and First Nations students, and he cited institutional policy, poor instruction, poor curriculum, and instructors' lack of knowledge about the students as factors contributing to attrition.

Racism is obviously a factor that contributes to the alienation of First Nations students. It is cited as a negative factor in postsecondary education in Washington et al. (1985) in discussion of the high attrition rate, and by Williamson and Fenske (1990). Its effect is not limited to undergraduate students; its incidence is suggested as an important factor in graduate student completion rates; Richardson and Fisk (1990) pose the elimination

of campus racism as an objective for universities who want to attract First Nations students; and it is identified in the INARTF (1990c) massive summary of regional hearings as one of 17 major areas of concern in First Nations education. Anti-Indian racism and negative stereotyping were the subjects of a comparative study among groups of undergraduates in Texas, North Dakota, and Wisconsin, with the two latter venues having higher indices of negative stereotyping than Texas (Rouse & Hanson, 1991). The same researchers had earlier documented the dimensions of negative stereotyping in a sample of 226 Texas undergraduates (Hanson & Rouse, 1987). In a small sample (22 First Nations students) in the US Midwest, more than half reported verbal racism from other students and staff (Huffman, 1991). The elimination of racism in educational venues is the subject of a collection of 19 articles edited by Katz and Taylor (1988).

A few reports and essays focus on single factors as contributors to university success, such as positive role models in academic life for First Nations female students (Edwards et al., 1984); the need for a more coherent institutional commitment to First Nations education (Tierney, 1991); differences among First Nations in indices of career maturity (West, 1988; but the differences were found only at the second year of study); differences among First Nations students in socioemotional adjustment (Whittaker, 1986); participation in minority student organizations (Rooney, 1984); and areas of attribution of success (Powers & Rossman, 1983).

A small segment of the literature addresses learning and communicative styles as problematic in First Nations postsecondary education: Fiordo (1984) described paralinguistic differences between Natives and non-Natives in university-level classes in Alberta and made recommendations for accommodation to First Nations "styles"; and Koenig (1981) compared "cognitive styles" in matched groups to assess differences that First Nations people apparently brought to the postsecondary education experience, and that might have been altered by that experience. Wiesenberg's (1992) discussion of postsecondary First Nations students' learning styles remains unusual, because so little is researched and published specifically about First Nations adults. One of the difficulties of First Nations university students that has received little research attention but which appears to be troublesome to many students is the difficulty of seeing their own cultures and languages inappropriately objectified and trivialized in university courses. Te Hennepe's (1992) work in this area is unique.

Few studies of success factors are designed as explicit comparisons with non-First Nations groups. A study that is comparative between ethnic groups and between venues, but that is only implicitly about performance, was completed by McDonald, Jackson, and McDonald (1992), who measured perceptions of state and trait anxiety among groups of students at a tribal college, Dull Knife Memorial College (Northern Cheyenne) at Lama Deer, Montana, and students enrolled at the University of South

Dakota. They found higher levels among the reservation-based students, and gender differences, and found as well that First Nations students had less self-confidence about their academic ability.

In another comparison, when Indians and "Anglo" postsecondary students who were enrolled in remediation courses were compared on the basis of the factors to which they attributed success in postsecondary work, in a study reported by Powers and Rossman (1983), Indian students were more likely than "Anglo" students to attribute their success (or lack of it) to effort, rather than to ability, context, or luck. College entrance test mathematics scores for Pueblo Indians and "Anglos" were compared to discuss "possible" differences in performance (Scott, 1983). Tyler and Swan (1990) compared First Nations and Caucasian college students on the axis of perception of extraordinary mental experiences and found differences in definition of mental health between the two groups.

A summary list from the literature about contributing factors to university success and failure follows. When sources are not noted in the text above, they are noted in connection with the item on the list.

1. K-12 schooling;
2. financial aid;
3. family support;
4. family background;
5. having a personal goal; related to career maturity (West, 1988);
6. determination;
7. intelligence (Wilson, 1983);
8. no perception of discrimination before high school (Wilson, 1983);
9. (related to 1, but noted as a continuation through university) developmental academic preparation (Falk & Aitken, 1984);
10. overt institutional commitment (Falk & Aitken, 1984);
11. role models (Edwards et al., 1984; Guyette & Heth, 1983; explicitly "American Indian faculty" in McIntosh, 1987);
12. maintenance of cultural identity (Huffman et al., 1986; Murguia et al., 1991; and others as noted);
13. (related to 1) lack of high school counseling and university recruitment information;
14. alienation (Browne & Evans, 1987; cited as the predominant factor by Lin, 1988; and others);
15. racism;
16. closeness to tradition;
17. anxiety and stress levels;
18. self-perception;
19. venue of program (campus or community);
20. gender;
21. community stresses (e.g., McDonald et al., 1991);
22. institutional climate (e.g., Bennett & Okinaka; Stuhr, 1987);

23. bases for admissions (e.g., no one conditionally admitted had persisted in the study by Benjamin and Chambers, 1989, which is not the experience in many special programs);
24. culture conflict (Sanders, 1987);
25. threat of loss of cultural identity (Washington et al., 1985);
26. inadequate preenrollment counseling (Stuhr, 1987);
27. poor instruction (Stuhr, 1987; Te Hennepe, 1990);
28. friends (Aitken & Falk, 1983);
29. institutional commitment to student support (Aitken & Falk, 1983).

Generalizations made from this list of factors might point us to an arbitrary classification of factors; note that some factors are mentioned under multiple headings:

1. *Intrinsic personal characteristics*: family support and background; having a personal goal; career maturity, determination; intelligence; maintenance of cultural identity; closeness to tradition; anxiety and stress levels; self-perception; gender.
2. *Institutional factors* (i.e., influence or mediated in the tertiary institution itself) financial aid; developmental academic preparation; overt institutional commitment; role models and First Nations faculty; lack of high school counseling and university recruitment information; alienation; institutional climate; bases for admission; poor instruction; institutional commitment to student support; racism.
3. *Environmental factors that originate outside the institution*: financial aid; community stresses; the nature of K-12 schooling; lack of high school counseling and university recruitment information; friends; racism.
4. *Cultural factors*: closeness to tradition; culture conflict; threat to loss of cultural identity.

The summary judgment is that there is a limited range of possible institutional interventions, but that institutional interventions in the appropriate areas are crucial to academic success and retention.

Focus on special fields The range of specific fields discussed in the literature is wide, but it is not representative of either the efforts that have been made in individual fields to promote entry, or of the range of aspirations of First Nations students.

If only broad general categories are considered, the range and distribution in fields that First Nations people in fact enter appear to be comparable to the range and distribution entered by others, according to 1986 census data in Canada (though that summary includes all postsecondary education, not just university); the modal field is in technical fields and trades, followed by commercial training and business education, and the university-based fields of education and social science follow (Armstrong et al., 1990). In the US, the modal field changed from education in the 1970s to business administration in the 1980s (Fries, 1987).

The literature about university education in specific fields is artifactual and not representative. Isaac (1986), for example, discusses the recruitment and training of minority people for research careers in psychology at the graduate level and poses a model program. This does not represent any widespread movement in recruitment, but the US National Institute of Mental Health defines the area as important and promotes First Nations access (NIMH, 1989). Professional bodies, First Nations organizations, and to a lesser extent academic institutions have made considerable efforts to encourage and promote the entry of First Nations people into engineering, mathematics, and other sciences (e.g., Matthews, 1990; Miranda & Ruiz, 1986; American Indian Science and Engineering Society, 1990a, 1990b; Farrell, 1989)

Though there are special recruitment, admissions, and support programs in medicine in the US and at some of the medical schools in Canada, it is difficult to find academic literature about such programs. Sweney (1990) describes a program that begins preparation of First Nations secondary students for medical school and for other health professions. The program includes a summer program in math and science at the University of North Dakota. An interesting adjunct to discussions of recruitment in medicine is a collection edited by Beiswenger and Jeanotte (1985), which they call a "survival manual" for First Nations women in medicine.

Teacher education, along with law, was the first field in which there was significant participation by First Nations people. Noley (1991) says that the number of First Nations teachers in the US is declining relative to the growing population (Noley 1991); whether or not this is the relative case in Canada, the need for First Nations teachers is growing.

In addition to the programs already discussed, such as the TEPs, it should be noted that in both Alaska and the Northwest Territories there is a relatively new movement toward community-based teacher education programs for First Nations people. *Kw'atindee Bino Community Teacher Education Program* is a coursework guide for just such a community teacher education program at Rae-Edzo, NWT, and provides an idea of program intent and intent in that program (Dogrib Divisional Board of Education, 1991); Alaska's community-based teacher education program is summarily discussed in the INARTF documents.

The INARTF discussions brought up problems in teacher education: some of the problems in attracting teachers appear to be the employment conditions (low pay, poor facilities, increasing expectations and responsibilities) and the fact that other fields attract more students. Campus conditions that affect teacher education, discussed in the INARTF sessions, include biased admission criteria, lack of student financial aid, and on-campus racism.

Postgraduate education. In the US in 1984 First Nations people comprised only 0.4% of total graduate school enrollment (Kidwell, 1989), so it ap-

pears that access and persistence are problems at that level as well. In the early 1980s attention began to focus on admission and survival in graduate education, and one of the most vocal promoters in the US for minority graduate education has been Howard Adams, a Canadian Metis at the University of California, Davis (e.g., his 1985 summary of the issues and advice to potential graduate students). Canadian figures will not be as high as this low American figure. Until data from the 1991 postcensus survey are released, estimates of Canadian participation rates can be reliably made only through snowball sampling at Canadian universities, and this will miss those who study in the United States and other countries abroad.

Aspirations and choice of field were apparently similar for First Nations people as for other populations in the US as long ago as 1979. A study of ethnic differences in aspiration among GRE-test takers showed that gender (i.e., being a male) and grade-point average, not ethnic identity, were associated with the expectation to complete a PhD, and this held true for all ethnic groups in the study. Indians (as well Blacks and Hispanics) had higher degree aspirations than whites or Orientals with similar characteristics, and choice of field was not associated with ethnicity (Centra, 1979). Centra draws from this data the relativist conclusion that each ethnic group is a "frame of reference" for its students (though it appears that the "frame of reference" is one imposed by the author, as the correlations he found are not based on having elicited information about bases of choice).

Gender was an issue in 1979; the demographics of graduate study have changed since then, but we do not understand the role of gender in choices made for graduate study, and this must hold especially true in First Nations research. For this reason, Beatrice Medicine (1988) wrote a summary of issues about First Nations women in university education at all levels, including postgraduate, as preface to a call to research.

Macias (1989) had as interview subjects 11 First Nations female graduate students who were academically successful, and found that their success factors were systematic study habits and an approach to learning that included (a) multimodal approaches to learning; (b) ability to synthesize knowledge; and (c) an approach to new information that was "reflective pragmatic." According to Macias, these approaches to graduate school reflect indigenous approaches to learning.

The central issues in postgraduate education, as seen by the professorate, may be introduced with reference to a meeting in 1988 of the US Council of Graduate Schools, where Trevor L. Chandler made a short statement that contextualizes the thrust of the American literature. He said that there was heavy competition for both qualified minority graduate students and minority staff members, and that the most important relationship in postgraduate education was the relationship between faculty

members and minority graduate students. Graduate work involves personal relationships.

Senior scholars' and staff members' role in making minority postgraduate education successful is seen as so crucial that two major conferences were devoted to the subject in 1988 (Adams & Wadsworth, 1988). Mentors influence career choices; Brown (1987), based on survey data, described crucial transition points in academic careers, from elementary to graduate school, the most crucial choice during transition from undergraduate to graduate training being that of career choice.

The other relationship between staff and graduate student is that the graduate students of today are the staff of tomorrow. Howard Adams (1988) argues that the age of the present professorate and the low numbers of trained postgraduates mean that minorities will not be in a position to replace current staff when they retire, so concerted action should be taken now to encourage minority entry into graduate school. In 1986 Adams proposed that a national office be mandated to act as a clearinghouse for information for graduate access; that steps should be taken to educate and sensitize graduate faculty to the nature of student needs; and that we needed more specifically defined research in this area. He introduced two other themes that are common to much of the literature: (a) sources of graduate student funding should be internal to the university, such as assistantships, a theme he repeated in stronger terms in Adams (1988); and (b) universities must hire more minority faculty and staff.

Chandler's and Adams' statements are representative in another way of the American discussion. Though funding is more of a problem now, there has been federal financial support for universities in the US to recruit and retain graduate students from defined ethnic minority groups (Pruitt, 1984), so the discussion of First Nations issues at the graduate level, as at the undergraduate level, is often in the context of minority group education in general, even when there is specific reference to First Nations peoples. In the collection on minority group education edited by Ward and Cross (1989), for example, many aspects of the issue are discussed with direct reference to American Indians, including special program descriptions.

A survey of American Indian postgraduate students in the US Southwest by Williamson and Fenske (1990) brought out these general factors that contribute to success in the completion of graduate degrees:

1. satisfaction with program;
 2. grade-point average in doctoral program;
 3. intention to finish program; and
 4. intention to join faculty;
- with other specific factors being
1. mentoring; relationships with faculty;
 2. perception of faculty and departmental attitudes toward Indians;

3. gender;
4. feelings of racial discrimination and alienation;
5. academic self-concept;
6. aspirations; and
7. family support.

Kidwell (1986), in a digest review of issues in First Nations postgraduate education stated many of the same premises in the terms paraphrased below, but cautioned that there was no implication of priority in the items, that all are related:

1. parental and peer encouragement, especially as First Nations families often cannot provide effective support systems for graduate study; though parents have high expectations, most do not have experience in higher education and socioeconomic status means that they usually cannot support the graduate student financially (Kidwell, 1989);
2. awareness of career options;
3. role models;
4. adequate academic preparation;
5. adequate financial and academic support services at graduate level; (Kidwell notes that tribal governments often provide scholarships for graduate study; she says they should also provide loan funds and encourage local academic employment of graduate study graduates, e.g., in tribal colleges).

Even in descriptions of local programs, such as the one at Hunter College to promote graduate access for research positions in mental health and substance abuse, recommendations are made for global strategies to attract and keep students. Isaac (1986) takes from Hunter's experience that graduate departments should sponsor activities that relate to minority student interests and should support minority student organizations. Another local program with global implications is one in which First Nations teachers were prepared in a special graduate program for becoming school principals (Lujan et al., 1985). One of the unusual aspects of Hunter College's program is its justification: Isaac describes the rationale for the program not in terms of service to a client population, but because of the unique contribution that minority students can make to psychological research.

University Commitments and Interventions

Special programs. A common approach to First Nations university education is the creation of a special focus or special needs program. Programs with special focuses are discussed in other sections of this review. They are those like the summer program at University of Lethbridge, set up to orient adult First Nations students to university study and to improve performance and retention (Beaty & Chiste, 1986). Such programs are locally motivated and organized but there are so many of them, including

a number of "transition year" programs meant to ease entry into the university, that in total they represent a movement that is international in scope. A common feature of these programs is that they are externally funded, not base-budget items in most universities, so even when they are programs of long standing they have an ad hoc aspect.

Not all special programs are restricted to formal teaching. Winchell and Esse (1981) describe a program in Native American Public Administration that involved graduate and undergraduate students, as well as 253 other tribal members, and tell of the transformation of the program from a postgraduate course for the Navajo Nation into a centre for tribal government and First Nations issues.

Counseling and other support services. The research literature and the essay literature confirm a need for First Nations-specific support programs on campuses. Wright (1985) notes that the formation of student support groups on campus is vital, and is one way that universities meet the objective cited by Moore-Eyeman (1981), that social as well as academic support systems must be in place.

Counseling services are central to this support. A body of research literature indicates that the identity of the counselor is important. Haviland et al. (1983) found that both male and female First Nations students had a strong preference for First Nations counselors and were more likely to go to one, no matter what the nature of the counseling issue (Haviland et al., 1983). In a comparative study, Bennett and Big Foot-Sipes (1991) found that both white and First Nations students preferred counselors with similar values to their own, and that there was a stronger preference among First Nations students for First Nations counselors. Given the critical nature of literature about testing, it is surprising that there is not more literature about psychometrics in counseling, such as the work by Haviland and Hansen (1987) dealing with the appropriate use of psychometrics with First Nations students. One theme in the counseling literature calls for educating non-First Nations counselors about how to relate better to First Nations students (e.g., Ford, 1983). This is the intent of some of the discussion about counseling in specific areas such as suicide prevention (e.g., Capuzzi & Golden, 1988, especially the article therein by Jordan, "Interventions with Native Americans" and the Ottens, Fisher-McCanne, & Farber discussion of interventions with college populations) and in employment interviews for First Nations college students (Mahoney, 1992).

Compensatory or academic support programs are fairly common for First Nations students, either in general study areas or in specific fields. An example of support oriented toward a specific field is Clever's (1982) description of a model for a comprehensive mathematics clinic found useful by First Nations students. Evaluation of the Personalized Education Program (PEP), a program meant to improve retention and achievement

among traditionally "underprepared" first-year students at the University of Minnesota, showed a fairly high attrition rate from university among the participants, but the program was successful in that among those who persisted academic performance was comparable to that of other university students (Garfield & Romano, 1983). The use of tutors with First Nations students is exemplified by the University of Manitoba's formal tutoring program; in addition to providing study skills workshops, volunteer tutors worked with 300 of the 600 First Nations students at the University of Manitoba in 1983-1984 (Hurlburt, 1984).

Recruitment and admissions. Most of the special programs for First Nations students use modified admissions criteria. Affirmative action programs are the norm at American universities, but it is not clear in the literature what proportion of First Nations students are admitted to undergraduate programs on that basis. A substantial American descriptive statistical literature is generated in monitoring institutional progress in admissions (e.g., in addition to the state, regional, and national sources already mentioned, see Birdsell, 1984; Hand, 1988; Hofstra University, 1990). A smaller though substantial literature exists about strategies and measures of retention (e.g., Degen, 1985; Don-Paul & Chambers, 1989; Fallows, 1987; Smith, 1981; Weidman, 1985).

Competition among US universities for qualified minority applicants has produced some studies of specific factors and strategies involved in admissions. For example, at a large university in the US Midwest it was found that the primary factor influencing ethnic minority choice of university was the institution's proximity to home (Stewart & Post, 1990); and in a study of Minnesota Chippewa students, the authors promote readmission strategies by suggesting that tertiary education institutions encourage a return to studies among those who have dropped out (Aitken & Falk, 1983).

Guides and directories help American First Nations students make admissions choices. For example, a large school division in Nevada has published a guide for choosing a university, related to career choice, aimed at a First Nations audience (Clark County School District, 1980). US tuition benefits for American Indians are discussed in an information package included in Olivas and Sickward (1986); and Texas publishes a directory of financial aid available to Indians in Texas (Texas College and University System, 1986). A large privately published guide to 500 different colleges and universities directs American Indian and other minority students to universities on the axis of record of access for minority students (*Minority Student Enrollments*, 1987); and First Nations parents of students who want to enter engineering or science have access to a guide for choosing universities (American Indian Science and Engineering Society, 1990a, 1990b).

Implications for university recruitment reach to earlier years of schooling, not just to secondary school. San Diego's Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID) Program is oriented toward several thousand minority children in 80 schools in grades 6-12, with the objective of university preparation of First Nations and other minority students. Evaluation of the program after 10 years demonstrates that it has had a positive effect with American Indians (San Diego County of Education, 1991);

Program evaluations. Reports of evaluations of special programs have added a great deal to our knowledge of First Nations education, but because they have limited or restricted distribution it is impossible to assess the scope of this kind of literature.

For this review, a small sample of convenience of program evaluations was reviewed in order to illustrate the categories they employ in evaluation. The evaluations were (a) a report, with recommendations, on services provided to First Nations students at the University of Alberta (Council on Student Life, 1990); (b) a report on the Project for the Education of Native Teachers (PENT) at Brandon University (Reimer & Doerksen, 1982); (c) an evaluative report, over four years, of the Native Nurses Entry Program at Lakehead University (Lakehead University, 1987-1990); (d) A program evaluation of Toti:lthet Centre, a First Nations Community Learning Centre at Mission, BC (Vedan, 1992); and (e) a program review of Saskatchewan's Northern Teacher Education Program at LaRonge (NTEP, 1991).

The substantive findings in the reports are similar, as are the recommendations. A review of the components of the reports, however, is instructive. Not all reports have all these components, but the genre includes these categories for description:

- Rationale;
- Integration and relationship with host institution(s);
- Mechanisms for First Nations involvement in policy;
- Courses;
- Statement of relationship to traditional university program (and statement of academic justification for modification);
- Support services;
- Administrative structures;
- Student record data;
- Student performance data;
- Retention rates;
- Discussion of problem areas;
- Graduate follow-up study focusing on any of
 - postprogram experience;
 - evaluative statements with reference to program components;
 - evaluative statements with reference to host institution;
- Recommendations

The substantive findings are usually formed around descriptions of student characteristics or performance. Recommendations are sometimes motivated by discussion of problem issues in administration or implementation of programs. There is sometimes a recommendation for some kind of program change, and rarely a recommendation for a change in relationship with host institutions. This genre is clearly evaluative of programs as an adjunct to established tertiary institutions.

Institutional self-study. Universities, consortia of tertiary education institutions, government educational agencies, and sometimes individual researchers direct a kind of reflexive research to the institution itself, to find out what institutional characteristics or processes promote institutional access for First Nations people or set up barriers. There is typically an information gathering component to such research followed by a series of recommendations.

Research strategies vary by method, scale, and focus. A recent case study of 10 large American universities attempted to assess the effects of state policy on the university and policy effects on minority students, and recommended the implementation of a model of adaptations to "organizational culture" of the university in order to improve minority student performance (Richardson & Skinner, 1990). On the other hand, Tierney (1991) based his argument that institutional recognition of cultural diversity has to be a higher priority for universities on interviews with three First Nations personnel at university. An example of individual researcher involvement at institutional evaluation is Friesen's (1986) description of institutional mistakes made during the implementation of an outreach teacher education program.

Based on summative evaluation of 10 small-scale projects for minority student services at American universities, Brown (1985) generalized that institutional "success conditions" were (a) institutional commitment; (b) program leadership; (c) program conceptualization; and (d) faculty involvement in the program.

In Arizona the state university system's Board of Regents initiated a large-scale self-study of minority access to the university system (Cotera, 1988; Cotera & Wood, 1988; Wood, 1988) out of which grew recommendations that echo the terms of the literature in access, support, recruitment of minority staff, community involvement, and continued information gathering. State University of New York, after self-study, recommended address to the issues of racism, more effective recruitment and admissions of minorities, and involvement of minority staff in policy decisions affecting minorities (Zwana, 1988).

The Action Council for Minorities in Engineering surveyed minority engineering students at 64 universities to assess institutional strategies for promoting access to science and mathematics careers, and the interventions they recommended were in the areas of financial aid, mentoring, and

exposure to scientists at an early age; sensitizing faculty to minority issues; and taking measures to reduce ethnic conflict in the institution (Friedman, 1990).

A few studies deal directly with the dynamics and causes of campus racism (Huffman, 1991; Rouse & Hansen, 1991), but many more are studies of factors in which the experience of interpersonal racism is noted as an inhibiting or negative factor in performance and retention. In fact, it might be said that racism is a footnote throughout the literature, yet no studies were found that directly and solely address the incidence and extent of campus racism involving First Nations people. In the past few months several Canadian universities have begun discussion among themselves to share information about self-study about racism on campus, and to share strategies both for education about racism and for dealing with its incidence (personal telephone interview, Lois Stanford, Associate Vice-President Academic, University of Alberta, November 1992).

Institutional change. One phrase describes the characteristic of universities that are more successful in recruiting and retaining First Nations students and describes the change that by implication is directed to less successful institutions. The phrase in the literature is usually *institutional commitment*.

This commitment motivates change in other areas. The next summary statement is that universities should cease to cast First Nations as "client" communities, but incorporate First Nations people and concerns in all the processes that involve the lives of educational careers of First Nations students and staff. This may involve formal agreements with First Nations communities in university-related work that goes beyond the instructional program to include such activities as research and applied social science and science.

Several authors, including McIntosh (1987) and Wright (1985), are particularly impressed with the necessity of hiring of First Nations professors and instructional staff. Institutional commitment means that First Nations people would be involved in policy discussion about admissions and programs as these affect First Nations communities. This commitment may mean the support of special programs and, taking account of the unique needs of First Nations students, support services.

Institutional commitment implies a commitment to improve the institutional climate: there is no necessary conflict between the maintenance of academic autonomy on the one hand and an evaluation of program internal and course content that is perceived as misleading, offensive, or irrelevant to First Nations, on the other. Institutional commitment would see processes established for the resolution of such conflicts.

The literature dealing with undergraduate university education includes the term *mentoring*, a function for university staff members. It is amplified as an essential in graduate education. The area of change im-

plied when the term is used is the improvement of professional interactional, face-to-face encounters between students and faculty members.

The implications for institutional change are clearest in the area of teaching. Two examples of strong statements of responsibility charged to instructional staff are Hornett's (1989), who puts the onus on instructors to promote success by acknowledging and dealing with racism, encouraging students, and clarifying instructional goals (Hornett, 1989); and Vasquez and Wainstein's (1990) statement that it is the instructional staff members' responsibility to conceptualize cultural difference, not deficit, and to adapt instructional strategies to meet the needs of minority students. There are reports in the literature of formal address to that issue. Texas A&I University, for example, attempts to educate instructional staff about the needs of minority students, especially in the area of dealing with racism, though some staff resent the implication of the need for such sensitization (Mangan, 1991).

On the other hand, this part of the literature record contains many public reflections of the positive experiences of non-First Nations university instructors who have learned about instruction and themselves in the process of teaching First Nations students (e.g., Collier, 1993, in press; Proulx, 1991; Sturgess, 1984).

Fiordo (1984) spoke of adapting university instructional styles for First Nations adults, but cautioned that the adaptations should not be mechanical, and should be made only after study of local conditions and needs. Just what the instructional style should be is a problematic: Hurlburt et al. (1990) examined preferred teaching styles with students in Manitoba on the axes of structured teaching and teacher control, to discuss paradox and contradictory expectations of students. Wiesenbergs (1992) analyzes visual versus oral (perhaps sequential versus simultaneous) approaches to learning of First Nations adults, while Huitt (1988) discusses psychometric finding of personality differences of First Nations students and recommends adaptation of instructional strategies based on those differences. Many of these approaches posit an indigenous learning style: an explicit reference to such a learning style as a foundation for instructional modification is Hesch's (1990) attempt to use models of indigenous thinking in applications to teacher education in a special TEP in Saskatchewan.

Part VII: Review of Methods Customarily Used in Postsecondary Educational Research

Background

Graduate surveys. The scope of graduate surveys employed by universities and colleges is wide, ranging from a surveying only a handful of former students of one institution to thousands of former students from a range of institutions. The purposes of such studies can be characterized by the distinction in focus: most of the surveys deal with employment or postgraduate education to describe educational outcomes, but many of the surveys include alumni opinion, perception, or self-reports of effects of the educational experience. When this is the case, another distinction in the tradition seems to be whether the survey is intended in any way to be evaluative of the institution or documentary of educational effects.

Some universities survey graduates as a matter of course and have maintained fairly large bases of response data, which are useful in the documentation of trends and for other longitudinal research.

The graduate survey is an important part of program evaluation, but this may account for the fact that although graduate surveys appear to be completed quite regularly, they are often not reported in the academic literature and their distribution appears to be for the most part local.

The most common research method used in graduate surveys is the mail survey, but telephone surveys and interview are used extensively, often as complementary to the mailed survey.

Questionnaires. Major issues in design of mail survey in graduate research involve sample selection, questionnaire design, response rates, and triangulation or complementarity with other methods.

A standard for mail survey research for many people in education is Dillman's (1978) *Mail and Telephone Surveys*, which specifies attention to the detail of planning and suggests strategies for improving response rates. Response rate is the metric of success in Dillman's method. The summary judgment in the literature in interpreting results in the light of low response rates is that a judgment must be made about the reason for nonresponse and whether this factor is related to the research question. There is no agreement in the literature about the effect of increasing response rates through incentives (including small money incentives), but it appears that telephone or mail follow-up to nonrespondents generally improves response rates. Prenotification has influenced response rates in only a few reported cases.

A major question is how to design the questionnaire instrument. It appears that open-ended or free-response questions, although they may take more time and effort to code and interpret, are good in exploratory research or in cases where the object of the research is to have an in-depth knowledge of respondents' reports. Some researchers have attempted to

create an empirically verifiable metric for the complex issues involved in questionnaire design, but aside from very basic directions there seems to be little agreement between experts about the specifics of questionnaire design. The two researchers who have published the most evaluative work in this area in the 1980s, Judith Boser and Sheldon Clark, have stated finally that it is the nature of the population being questioned that dictates how a questionnaire should be constructed, and that questionnaire design is an "art" more than it is a "science." One rule is that the questionnaire should "engage" the respondent. Research about questionnaire format and appearance is inconclusive as to the effect of format on response rates.

Focus groups This technique was developed in sociology, but its effectiveness has been demonstrated in marketing research where it has become a popular research tool. Its use is motivated when a range, not a mode nor a norm, is the research objective. Its power is said to lie in *explanation*, not *description*. Groups are asked by a trained facilitator to discuss a focused question, the discussion is recorded (written notes or electronic recording), and the discussion is subjected to thematic or content analysis. There are some techniques for quantifying values found in interviews and those techniques may be useful in focus group discussion analysis. The definition of the groups who discuss in this research is based on homogeneity: they must be homogeneous with respect to the salient identifying factor of the research question.

Sensitive questions can be dealt with in focus groups if the group itself is defined in such a way that social desirability does not become an inhibiting factor. It has been claimed that the use of focus groups has been useful in many diverse populations and is particularly useful in traditions where orality has been the usual mechanism for cultural transmission.

There is an applied aspect to focus group research: because participants become engaged with the topic, focus groups can be included in participatory research.

The Nature and Scope of University and College Graduate Surveys

Most of the reports of graduate surveys that appear in the available literature deal with high school graduates. Other common areas in which graduate surveys appear to be useful are (a) evaluations of special programs at the elementary to secondary level; and (b) vocational programs. Like the latter, surveys of graduates of universities and university-level institutions and programs tend to focus on employment, though information collected for university follow-up studies often begins with questions of employment but then focuses more coherently on graduates' opinions and attitudes.

Thus the information that is customarily collected in survey studies of university and college graduates may be broadly categorized as demographic and attitudinal. The demographic information often includes gender, ethnicity, employment status, and factors associated with

employment (e.g., salary and level), further education, and codification of data relating to institutional entry, such as level of education prior to attendance. The attitudinal and opinion questions usually consist of evaluative statements about experiences during postsecondary education and evaluation of former students' perception of benefits of their university education.

Graduate surveys may refer to single institutions (e.g., a single university), large public jurisdictions (e.g., an entire province, or even country), or a single program in an institution. In the latter case, graduate surveys are often included as integral parts of program evaluation research projects. Even when that is not the case, the objective of institutional evaluation is often part of these surveys: most of the reports that are available include attitudinal data and institutional-evaluative questions. It is surprising, given that so many graduate surveys include some aspect of evaluation of the institution, and given that evaluative projects often include graduate surveys, that the literature search turned up no use of graduate surveys in projects that assess the cost-effectiveness of programs.

Analysis of data is almost always descriptive and documentary: it is surprisingly quite rare that any kind of analysis based on social science theory informs the study, explains the configuration of the data, or is used to address a particular theoretical construct.

Except for the very few large-scale studies found in the literature, which are entirely descriptive, the audiences for reports of graduate surveys appear to be local and the reports usually have limited distribution. Given the number of studies completed, it might be expected that more reports would appear in appropriate specialized journals. Yet for the most part the available literature consists of institutional reports, with a few journal articles that are remarkable for the way that they appear to be truncated summaries of obviously much more comprehensive research reports. We assume that the relatively small number of more or less publicly available reports (e.g., only 24 abstracts were generated in the ERIC database where the descriptors *graduate surveys* and *college graduates* are concatenated) reflects a pattern. It is clear from the literature detailing how such reports should be done that a considerable body of research is actually undertaken. Most of it must be completed for client institutions or agencies. Even though almost all the projects are reported in summative terms, it might be said that the intent of the tradition as a whole is more nearly formative.

The scale of reported projects varies: the smallest graduate survey in this review focuses on nine Black graduates of North Carolina University (Allen, 1985a), and the three largest are US's 1985 *Survey of 1983-84 College Graduates* (National Center for Education Statistics, 1985), a machine-readable data file with related tabular summaries, a database that includes 18,000 graduates who were mailed a 39-item questionnaire; and Ontario's

Employment Survey of 1982 Graduates of Ontario Universities (Davis et al., 1984), repeated in 1985 (Denton et al., 1987). Ontario's studies include field work as well as questionnaires and are addressed to all university graduates for a given year within one year of graduation. In smaller scale studies the reports vary on the basis of sample selection and sample type. In many studies as many graduates as can be identified constitute the sample; in others random samples or stratified random samples are defined; and in yet others the graduate population is represented by a sample of convenience. The sample is often defined by a single year of graduation; samples defined over more than five-year periods are much less common.

Most projects oriented toward graduate follow-up are designed as surveys. The term *survey* is usually associated with two data collection methods, questionnaire and interview, which appear to be the techniques most often used in university graduate follow-up studies. The questionnaire is by far the most common. Records review sometimes complements the questionnaire; interview is the second most popular method and is sometimes used to complement the questionnaire. A small proportion of this literature employs the method of secondary analysis of existing data or secondary analysis of other reports.

Examples of university and college graduate surveys. The above discussion presents several possibilities for ways to categorize the literature about graduate surveys. Examples are provided here based on the following typology. First, some reports are presented as models for specific methods or research strategies, and the report of findings is of secondary focus. The second and third categories are derived from a fundamental distinction, one not often made in the reports themselves, about the extent to which the questions of the survey relate to employment. This distinction may reveal the substance and intent of a study more clearly than the explicit research question. A significant number of studies are focused exclusively on employment. These seem to be fundamentally different from the studies in that graduates are invited to express opinions. A few studies which invite opinions are focused on graduates' self-assessments of some kind, but a larger number ask graduates to express opinions about their perceptions of the relationship between the quality and nature of their post-graduation experiences and their university education. Many studies are focused directly back to the institution and ask graduates for evaluative statements and judgments about programs, services, and the general institutional climate while they were attending university.

Examples of reports that demonstrate research methods. Reports of graduate surveys are often presented to demonstrate research strategies and techniques, not to report substantive findings. Bender and Cockriel (1983) illustrate how alumni associations' databases can be used to maximize response rates in studies of alumni perception of association activities and for other "market" research. The authors demonstrate their techniques for

obtaining a 76.8% response rate from 1,743 alumni of the University of Missouri.

A model for continuing institutional assessment is provided by the University of Illinois, which has been systematically studying its graduate outcomes since 1972 (Dodd & Duff, 1986). A computerized data system has allowed for generalizations over an 11-year period about demographic information relating to employment and postgraduate educational experiences. Half of the questions on the graduate surveys, however, relate to graduates' assessments and attitudes about the University and its programs.

Sagaria et al. (1985) completed a project in which the research objective, like the project for which this review is prepared, was to create a model for evaluation. Their survey "assessed student characteristics, activities during college, endeavors after graduation, and attitudes, goals, and values" in order to "evaluat[e] whether the college is accomplishing its mission and [to] provid[e] a management tool to evaluate the effectiveness of specific programs" (Sagaria et al., 1985, ERIC abstract). The authors describe the administrative set-up for the survey (a management committee with subcommittees to oversee specific evaluative components, follow-up, and implementation) and also present their project management plan for the survey as an appendix to the report.

Secondary analysis of existing data allows for yet another valid survey method, one exemplified in Frankel and Stowe's (1990) study of several hundred thousand newly qualified teachers. They found that only 61% of American newly qualified teachers were in fact employed in teaching. Another survey that began with a secondary analysis of existing data was the study completed by Pavel (1991), who used the US database provided in the High School and Beyond study (Center for Education Statistics) to evaluate Tinto's model for institutional departure. Pavel sampled almost 400 American Indians and Alaskan Natives to find factors and patterns for either staying in postsecondary education or dropping out. Secondary analysis may be done of other research reports: Evers and Gilbert (1991) conclude, after review of two other independent studies, that Canadian university education does not "add value" on such dimensions as "social skills, supervisory skills, conflict management, and creativity."

Examples of reports that focus on demographics and employment In Maryland's 1981 survey of bachelor's degree recipients (Maryland State Board, 1984), the focus was almost entirely on postgraduation demographic variables such as employment, and the attitude component related to graduates' perceptions of the relationship of their undergraduate education to their employment.

Johnes and Taylor (1991) compared demographic information (e.g., family background, labor market experience, etc.) in a survey of a group of 149 former University of Lancaster (UK) students, 95 of whom graduated

and 49 of whom did not. The study is unusual in that it uses salary differential between the two groups as an independent variable.

Chizek and Miller (1984) surveyed 539 graduates, from 1964 through 1981, of Iowa State University Agricultural Education Department, and the questions were related to the demographics of employment patterns and professional associations in the field. A cohort of one-year bachelor's graduates' employment status was the focus of Braddock's and Hecker's (1984) analysis, and an unusual aspect of the Ontario studies (Davis et al., 1984; Denton et al., 1987) is that the report documents not just employment status and variables, but the various methods that graduates used to obtain their jobs.

Borgen's (1988, 1990) work in university graduate surveys focuses on employment, but is based on in-depth interview with relatively small numbers of graduates (e.g., 12 to 15): life history data and the graduates' reported feelings constitute the data.

Example of reports that focus on graduate attitude. Duvall et al. (1985) analyzed questionnaire responses from 242 graduates of education programs at Indiana University over a 14-year period ending in 1983, to find out what kinds of positions the graduates held in education. The focus of the study was to ask for graduate evaluation of their training at Indiana in both specific and general terms: the questionnaire invited address even to specific courses, but also to general areas (e.g., effects in awareness of disabilities and cultural differences).

A combination of interview and questionnaire was used by Glencke-Hall and others (1985) to get at graduates' self-evaluations of self-sustained learning after graduation and self-assessments relating university experience to personal goals: graduates' from 1978 ($N=56$) and 1980 ($N=63$) completed questionnaires and were interviewed, both in 1978 and 1980, and the two cohorts were compared.

Sixty-eight percent of the Saint Mary's College (Indiana) graduates from 1985 provided data about their employment or further education in a survey completed the following year (Lester, 1986). The focus of the study was on employment, but an important aspect of it was graduates' assessments of the relationship between their employment and their program majors, evaluation of their degrees, comments about the atmosphere at the college, and recommendations. A similar focus on employment was the object of Allen's (1985) survey of 765 graduates of North Carolina University, 325 of whom responded. In addition to demographic information about employment, Allen asked for evaluations of satisfaction levels with graduates' education and for self-assessments about the personal effects of their education. Unlike Lester, Allen did not ask for more specific evaluative statements about the institution.

A study that is focused entirely on attitude, not employment status, compared psychology graduates with other graduates in terms of atti-

tudes about their work and interests and assessed the comparative likelihood of entering graduate education (Finney et al., 1989). Another narrowly focused study is exemplified by the University of Nebraska's survey of 1,358 graduates from 1986, simply to relate age at entry to the time it takes to complete a degree (Crawford, 1989). An unexpected finding of that study was a difference between minority and mainstream student groups along gender lines, and Crawford's recommendation was for more studies of ethnic minority students, comparing those who graduate with those who do not.

The object of Mendocino College's 1990-1991 graduate survey was to get former students' impressions of the educational growth and change they experienced in the institution (MacMillan, 1991). The study combined records review ($N=156$) with questionnaires ($N=73$), to compare demographic and quantifiable variables with the former students' assessments. MacMillan found that 50% of the respondents rated the college's resources as "very" to "somewhat" helpful, and documented that the students reported the most development in the area of "scientific and critical thinking," with lower development in "maths proficiency" and "aesthetic awareness."

Hunziker's (1991) survey of 3,016 of the 1989-1990 graduates of the University of California, Davis (53% response rate) focused on employment status, continuing education, and other demographic variables such as salary, but included institutional assessment as a major part of the study. Preparation for graduate studies received a high mark from students (4.22 on a 5-point scale), and there was general satisfaction with the academic environment and with university programs and services. Significantly, however, graduates were unhappy with their perceptions of the measure of racial harmony on campus.

Wright and Weasel Head (1990) conducted a survey of graduates of Montana tribal colleges; they reported that a majority of the graduates found employment or continued their education and also reported high levels of satisfaction with the educational institutions from which they had graduated. Rindone's (1988) questionnaire survey of 107 randomly selected Navajo college graduates, although it is based on demographic description of the group, is oriented toward the graduates' explanations of their success, which appear to be confirmed by the demographic data: student motivation and family support are important factors in achieving college graduation.

Wilson (1983) combined graduate surveys ($N=214$) with interview ($N=189$) to identify factors that contributed to completion of college degrees in her study of opinions about Wisconsin Indian postsecondary education. Richert (1987), in a report prepared for the Gabriel Dumont Institute about the Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program, included evaluative responses by school principals and superinten-

dents, along with a summary of responses from the 88 graduates of the program. Though employment status is a baseline, the focus of the report is evaluative of the competence of the graduates, based on their own assessments and confirmed by the assessments of the administrators.

Saskatchewan Indian Federated College is presently compiling results of a survey based on a questionnaire sent to the 800 who have graduated since 1976. Its focus is employment and postgraduation experience, but two questions solicit open-ended evaluative statements about general aspects of SIFC's programs.

The evaluation of the Native Indian Teacher Education Program at the University of British Columbia (Pepper, 1988) included a graduate questionnaire survey ($N=44$, a 46.5% response rate of 94 sent to graduates), as well as a survey of former registrants ($N=50$, a response rate of 24.1% of 207 sent out). It included an instructor questionnaire component to professors and interviews of administrators and others associated with the program. Due to the nature of the research question, the questionnaire relied heavily on graduate assessment, attitude, and opinion.

Summary A limited number of methods are used in university graduate surveys, the predominant one being the questionnaire. With larger numbers of study participants, the fact that they are graduates dictates that the questionnaires be distributed by mail. Numbers of participants range from below 20 to several thousand, and populations of graduates may be sampled on a number of bases. Though this kind of survey seems to focus on questions of employment, a number of such surveys include graduate opinion and attitude, and there is often a component of institutional evaluation in these studies. The publicly available literature in this area is more than likely not representative of the work that is in fact completed in the area.

Mail Surveys and Questionnaire Design

Mail surveys are closely associated with market research, and some of the refinements of the technique have been developed in that field. The research strategy has an important place in educational research, particularly in program development and program evaluation. On the following page are some examples of the application of mail survey research reported over the past 10 years in education. (The first statement in each description identifies the population that was surveyed, and following the colon is a short statement of the research objective.)

The range of research questions addressed with mail surveys is quite broad and the populations are diverse. That observation raises the issue of what aspects of the technique are common requirements in design and implementation, and what aspects are dictated by the specific research condition. Review of what researchers say about methodological requirements followed by summary comparison of reports of how people have

Examples of survey research using questionnaires

- College students and alumnae: attitudes toward loan debt (Bodish & Cheyfitz, 1989).
- Doctoral program graduates: assessments of program's instructional systems (Redfield & Dick, 1984)
- 46 Black student drop-outs at Indiana University: factors, attitudes contributing to attrition (Sales, 1990)
- Associate degree graduates of Howard Community College (58% response rate for 253 responses), followed by telephone calls: personal goals (Frank, 1991).
- 1000 public administrators in Indiana (24% response rate): opinions about issues in graduate education in public administration (Mohapatra et al., 1991).
- 800 vocational graduates in North Dakota (61% return rate, for 486 responses): impact of vocational education and perception of effects on employability (University of North Dakota, 1989).
- Graduating seniors at Columbia and Barnard College, questionnaire with follow-up mail survey: comparison between initial professed enthusiasm for teaching, with one year postgraduation perspective (Kane, 1989).
- Mail survey of business programs in community colleges: program description and program demographics (Florida State Board, 1988)
- Personnel and students in postsecondary occupational education delivery at 384 institutions (over 6000 responses): student motivation and instructional decision making (Hollenbeck, 1987)
- Graduates of Wayne State University: instructional technology programs: student characteristics, self-assessments, assessments of academic preparation (Richey, 1988).
- Student loan borrowers: random sample of 2000 with response rate of 70%: demographics and opinions about loan process (Baum & Schwartz, 1988).
- All 425 students in learning assistance classes at Mt. San Antonio College: self-assessments about reaching educational goals (Hall, 1987).
- 1,200 vocational employers in South Carolina: assessment of vocational educational (South Carolina State Council, 1986).
- 740 beginning vocational teachers from 50 US states: the process of competency testing (Pratzner, 1987).
- 1,682 graduate students in science and 758 faculty at University of Texas (30% response rate): library needs assessment and characteristics of users (Lawrence, 1983)

actually completed the research brings out the following observations and generalizations.

1. The mail survey, by its nature, automatically raises the issue of questionnaire design.
2. One characteristic of mail surveys is that people need not respond, and nonresponse is a major issue in mail survey research:
 - a. does the rate of response (which varies in studies which have been reviewed here from a low of 20% to over 90%) bias research findings, and if so, how? and
 - b. what can be done to increase response rates? what are acceptable response rates?
3. Selection of subjects is a research problem, whether or not sampling procedures are involved in the definition of a study population: who receives the questionnaire?

4. It is fairly common to combine mail survey techniques with other techniques, particularly telephone surveys; quite often interview research techniques are used in addition to mail surveys.
5. Responses are more easily generalized if the variables are at least ordinal, and it may be that sometimes responses that may be more appropriately expressed as nominal are forced into an ordinal scale. This is related to the next item.
6. Analytic techniques with mail surveys are often based on questionnaire design which anticipates generalization or inference from responses that can be scaled: techniques for dealing with open-ended questions raise some of the same problems as analyses of semistructured interviews. The size of the sample or study group, as well as location, sometimes motivate mail surveys with open-ended questions when semistructured interviews might provide a wider range of data categories.
7. There are several different varieties of mail surveys:
 - a. a group of authorities or experts may be surveyed about consensus in a field, or to document a range of expert opinion in a field;
 - b. mail surveys often focus on demographic data, in order to provide a description of a population on some axis;
 - c. evaluative research sometimes involves mail surveys;
 - d. mail surveys often deal with respondents' opinions and attitudes.

One kind of mail survey is directed to institutions. Examples of some of the recent research that has used questionnaire survey techniques in the area of First Nations postsecondary education are shown below.

One authority who appears to be favored as a standard by several education researchers is Dillman, whose 1978 text, *Mail and Telephone Surveys*, details research strategies for ensuring that there is coherence between research objectives, questionnaire design, strategies to improve response rates, complementary data collection techniques, and interpretation of results in light of actual responses. There are reports of projects in which the adequacy of Dillman's "total design approach" itself is evaluated. Brady (1989), for example, says that the 90% response rate in a study with 50 subjects was due to the use of Dillman's approach, which includes pilot testing of the instrument and the use of the telephone. Smith and Bers (1987) conceived of their own study of college alumni as a test of Dillman's techniques to improve response rates. Dillman himself (Dillman et al., 1984), on the basis of a large comparative study, attempted to demonstrate empirically that attention to the *detail* of "total" design in mail surveys was of primary importance.

Questionnaire design. Recent extensive methodological discussion is provided by Oppenheim (1992) for questionnaire design and assessment of attitudes, and Moorthy (1991), who contrasts responses in which overall judgments are made, with judgments of attributes, in order to raise as

salient the order in which the contrasted kinds of judgments are made. Converse (1986) takes the researcher through steps involved in creating survey questions, and Berdie (1986), though his work is focused on psychometrics, has provided a kind of standard for questionnaire design. Questionnaire design in social science is treated comprehensively by Sudman (1982; Sudman & Bradburn, 1984).

Given such a range of authorities, one expects a kind of orthodoxy for the technique. Yet agreement between authorities is only at the most basic and general level. During the past few years Judith Boser and S. Clark have researched the issues involved in questionnaire design, through application of techniques as well as through soliciting evaluations (through mail survey questionnaires) from recognized authorities and experts. In three of their reports (Boser & Clark, 1990a, 1990b; Clark & Boser, 1989), they tell of various attempts to establish some objective measure of characteristics common to mail questionnaires, and their review of literature showed that the common concerns were with (a) general appearance; (b) instructions; (c) choice of items; (d) order of items; (e) item format; (f) choice of response options; and (g) wording. This should surprise no one. Identifying areas of concern is perhaps important but provides little in the way of direction for good or even adequate design. Boser and Clark's search was for a set of objective standards. Their painstaking survey of experts, through two rounds of analysis and validation, provided no consensus. They found that the experts could not agree with each other except on the most fundamental issues and concluded that the characteristics of the population being surveyed by mail will dictate the "tailoring" of questionnaires to the population that is of interest in the project, and that questionnaire design is as much an "art" as a "science."

Whether or not the questions are open or restricted-choice is a concern, because open-ended questions take longer to answer. They also make analysis and generalization of results much more difficult. For information that can be scaled or quantified, or for information for which the responses are restricted to few reasonable choices, precoded items with restricted-choice responses are possible and usually preferred. A motivation for open-ended questions is summarized by Sudman and Bradburn (1982):

Institutional questionnaires about First Nations issues

- Questionnaire, interviews, with 129 information gatekeepers in ethnic communities including First Nations communities in California, characteristics of gatekeepers (Metoyer Duran, 1991).
- 79 colleges and universities in First Nations areas in US (33 responses): assess access to information; demographics; and institutional responses (Wells, 1989)
- 47 child-welfare officials participating in related workshops in Montana perceptions of needs and appropriate processes (Dull Knife Memorial College, 1986)
- 18 public higher education institutions in Arizona: extent of First Nations services and personnel in higher education in Arizona (McIntosh, 1987)

the open format allows and encourages respondents to give their opinions fully and with as much nuance as they are capable of. It also allows respondents to make distinctions that are not usually possible with the precoded formats... and to express themselves in language that is comfortable for them and congenial to their views. In many instances it produces vignettes of considerable richness and quotable material that will enliven research reports. It is an invaluable tool when you want to go into a particular topic deeply; it is an absolutely essential tool when you are beginning work in an area and need to explore all aspects of an opinion area (pp. 150-151)

Sudman and Bradburn also remark that open-ended questions take much longer to code and analyze, and that open-ended questions entail more time and cost.

Some of the literature focuses narrowly on specific aspects of questionnaire design and their effects on both the sincerity of responses and response rates. Pitiyanuwat and Phattharayuttawat (1991) compared the effect of ink color on the questionnaire (as well as the effects of prenotification and return deadlines). Ink color and prenotification had a positive effect on returns in their large sample (800 public school teachers in Thailand): their lowest response rate was 71.4%, their highest, 94.9%. Israel and Taylor (1990) measured the effect of question order in mail survey questionnaires, and found no effect for single-response items, and in interaction of question order with any of these categories: question complexity, social desirability, and inter-item association.

Boser (1990a) studied questionnaire format (folder vs. booklet; typed vs. laser printed, etc.) with medium-sized samples (100 and 297) of alumni groups in Tennessee and found no significant differences in response rates with different formats, nor in fact with questions of different length.

In a study involving 288 individuals who had completed teacher education, Boser (1990b) also reported the results of a cost-effectiveness survey, comparing prenotification strategies; postcard versus letter reminders, by one versus two weeks postquestionnaire mailing; and the timing of mailing of duplicate questionnaires. She found that preliminary letters are not cost-effective, but that reminders and follow-up with duplicate questionnaires are. On the issue of cost effectiveness, comparing the mail survey with telephone interviews, on the basis of time spent and return rates, James et al. (1984) telephoned 161 individuals and mailed questionnaires to 728, all of whom had been accepted at university but failed to register. They found that the mailed questionnaire is better when time is not important, because it reduces investigator distortion and avoids bias with issues involving social desirability; a telephone interview is not a good method for sensitive questions, but with nonsensitive questions, when time is of the essence in a research project, they concluded that telephone surveys could be cost-effective.

This review found no discussion in the literature about any special consideration that should be taken into account when using questionnaire research techniques with First Nations people, though there are many

Examples of questionnaires with First Nations peoples

- First Nations associate degree recipients from Montana's seven tribal colleges, to find educational outcomes (employment and education); most respondents had either continued their education or found employment, and were satisfied with their educational experiences (Wright & Weasel Head, 1990).
- First Nations high school graduates in the US Pacific Northwest, find positive factors that influenced outcomes (Coburn & Nelson, 1989).
- Navajo college graduates (n = 107): factors contributing to educational motivation (Rindone, 1988).
- 32 First Nations teachers who had participated in special program to become principals: program evaluation (Lujan et al., 1985).
- Graduates of four Alberta First Nations teacher education programs: retention of graduates in First Nations communities (Martyn, 1984).
- Representative sample of 206 American Indian women (114 respondents): job satisfaction and ethnic and sex role stereotyping (Warner, 1991).
- 710 First Nations people in a three-state area, about sexual activity, alcohol, and drug use: assess HIV risk (Hall et al., 1990).
- 87 First Nations college students in Montana: closeness to tradition and attitudes about college (Lin, 1990 Percep).
- Secondary analysis of comprehensive US Census supplementary questionnaire (Crook et al., 1986).
- 64 male First Nations students, compared with 354 male White students in Montana: attitude differences (Ruey-Lin, 1985).
- Micmac heads of household: attitudes about education (Murphy, 1984).
- 214 Wisconsin Indian college graduates (a 27.8% return rate of those distributed): attitudes, positive factors in college completion (Wilson, 1983).
- 195 Cherokee children (questionnaires not mailed, of course) between ages of 5 and 11: language proficiency in Cherokee (Berdan et al., 1982).

examples of the use of questionnaires in research in First Nations postsecondary education.

Response rates. One of the most interesting questions in the literature is whether incentives (e.g., small cash gratuities) are effective in increasing response rates. In a series of research projects with students and alumni, Denton and Tsai (1991; Denton et al., 1985; Denton et al., 1987; Denton et al., 1988) found that they have not increased their response rates with small cash gratuities (\$0.25, \$0.50, \$1.00) nor with \$50 raffle entries, nor with multiple mailings, but they did so when they established a newsletter for communication between respondents. Yet Hopkins and Cullickson (1989), reviewing other studies, said that the literature demonstrated that even small cash gratuities increased rates of return among both professional and nonprofessional respondents. Wilde et al. (1988), found as well that an in-hand monetary incentive (ranging from a stamped envelope, through a 50-cent gratuity, to a chance at a \$50 drawing) increased response rates among scientific professionals and college instructors; the overall response rate was 46.95%, but with the stamped envelope the return was 63.9%. They also maintained that time spent on developing a pleasing presentation style for the questionnaire was well spent, as they

found that a questionnaire that engaged the respondents brought responses from people who had had no previous interest in their subject.

The danger in nonresponse is aptly stated by Passmore (1981), that differences between return and nonreturn on unmeasurable axes create inconsistent estimates of population parameters and/or values. Of the several ways to deal with the problem Johnson (1991) reviews five, noting that ignoring nonresponse is the least reliable, and that double sampling is the most reliable. On the other hand, when the demographic data were compared for respondents and nonrespondents, through a records review of teacher education graduates, Boser (1988) found no difference between respondents and nonrespondents in two groups where return rates were 88.6% and 78% respectively. In a survey of 540 newspaper editors, telephone follow-up confirmed that nonresponse does not show severe or significant bias, even with a fairly low return rate (Chang et al., 1989). Aiken (1988) reviews statistical procedures for dealing with nonresponse or low return on mail surveys.

How does a researcher know when a response rate is sufficient? Though the question is more compelling when a population is sampled rather than surveyed, and when parametric inference is made, the questions raised are important in the present study. Predicting response rates is difficult. In one large study (comparing groups of 810 and 2549 college-bound students, distinguished on the basis of declared majors) Webb (1989) attempted to predict response rates on the basis of academic ability, demographic data, and choice of major, but had identical response rates (40.7%) in each group. In terms of analysis, Johnson (1991) cautions that the main consideration is to assess the relationship between the tendency to respond and the items of interest on the questionnaire.

The factors that influence response are varied. The reason that many of the journalists in Chang et al.'s (1989) large sample did not respond was simply lack of time. In a survey of doctors, Sobal et al. (1990) found that the more homogeneous the group, the greater the response rate. When Green (1991) assessed late and nonresponders, through interview, in a study involving 600 elementary and secondary schoolteachers with a response rate of 71.2%, she found that delay in response is associated with lower interest in the topic and lower self-perception in terms of skills examined in the research. Tailoring interest to specific groups may be one strategy involved in the multiple matrix survey sampling suggested by Munger and Loyd (1988), when a large questionnaire can be segmented and sub-groups receive different questions.

Summary Mail surveys are effective (and cost-effective) research strategies for finding out about attitudes and opinions, for collecting certain kinds of demographic information, and for various kinds of follow-up studies. The objectives of the specific project; the nature, size, and location of the population involved in the study, and the relationship between the

way the population is defined and the study objectives all conspire to make a very complex task of the creation of an appropriate questionnaire, and further to relate those questionnaires to other techniques used in the study.

Questionnaires should be engaging; prenotification appears not to be as important as follow-up and mailing duplicate questionnaires (though surely this must vary by population and perhaps even by each project); and response rates, while problematic, must be evaluated post hoc to see whether specific questions might relate to nonresponse.

Mail survey and questionnaires have been used in First Nations groups, though there appears to be no discussion in the literature of specific issues involved in using questionnaires or mail surveys in First Nations research.

Focus Group Research

Focus group research was developed in sociology in the 1940s and 1950s, but adopted in the field of marketing, where it has become one of the most popular of techniques (Lindsay, 1979; Merton, 1987; Ryan & Martinson, 1990). It is apparent that its use in educational research has increased over the past seven years. Its use is appropriate when an in-depth explanation is necessary; when a *range* (as opposed to a norm or mode) of attitude, reported experience, or perception is required by the research question; when other methods show relationships that are inexplicable or paradoxical, and a broader context is needed for explanation; when data is about sensitive issues, or from groups of people might address a question in discussion that they might deal with only obliquely—if at all—if requested in some other format such as a questionnaire.

In general, more or less homogeneous groups (homogeneous on axes identified as salient with respect to the research question) are interviewed, or have a focused discussion, with a facilitator or moderator who is trained to keep the discussion focused on the question at hand, and not to impose judgment or topical structure other than in the maintenance of focus. The discussion may be recorded and transcribed, or a recorder may make notes (or both), and the records are then subjected to content or thematic analyses. It is usually thought of as a "qualitative" research method, but Krahn (1990) has provided a method for scaling and quantification of semistructured interviews, which may have some application in focus group research. Simard's (1988) framework for analysis of focus group research is based on quantification of the "qualitative" discussion of the group.

The kinds of research questions that are addressable with this strategy are wide, but include questions in which the range, not mode, of attitudes, values, and perceptions of an identified group relates to the research question. Depending on the nature of the research question, focus groups may be the sole research strategy in a project, but it has become fairly

Examples of focus group research

- Middle school principals and media coordinators in North Carolina: role of the library in instructional programs (Lewis, 1991)
- Military populations: HIV studies relating to patient participation in treatment (Carey & Smith, 1992).
- Thai individuals: beliefs and attitudes about the proper age of marriage (Pramualratana, 1985)
- Six groups of women experts in applied women's areas: needs assessment of women and girls in the Kansas City area (Noble & Klein, 1992)
- Five focus groups of adult literacy programs in Philadelphia: effects of literacy in terms of empowerment (though the data indicate that these adult learners' self-determination motivates their participation, rather than being an effect of it (Novak, 1991).
- Focus group on the use of computers in religious education (James T. Roberson, Jr., in Miller, Ed., 1991).
- The use of student portfolios in teacher education (project involves questionnaires, classroom observation, and content analysis of student portfolios) (Wolf, 1991).
- Beginning teachers: following telephone survey, sought perceptions and evaluation of Connecticut's mentor-induction program into the teaching profession (Yosha, 1991)
- 50 junior and senior high school students in Ontario: racial and cultural bias in Canadian learning resources used in schools (Johnston & Crawford, 1988).
- Members, active in civic affairs, of Canadian visible minorities: issues involved in civic participation for members of visible minorities (Bancroft, 1990).
- Two small groups of vocational teachers from 3 American states: comparison of problems faced by teachers in traditional education routes and those without formal teacher training (Camp & Heath-Camp, 1989).
- Wide range of focus groups from constituent groups in education in British Columbia, complementing large survey and interview strategies, focus groups addressed effects of province-wide Grade 12 examinations (Bateson, 1990)
- 75 females, 13-19 years old, at risk of dropping out of school in Philadelphia: perceptions of race, gender, and class among drop-outs and at-risk female teenagers (NOW, 1988)

common in the past five years to combine focus group research with survey research.

The issues raised by the technique may be summarized: (a) criteria for composition of groups; (b) criteria for size of groups; (c) the role of the moderator/facilitator/researcher; (d) data recording; (e) complementarity of techniques with other research strategies; (f) analytic techniques for data reduction and generalization (e.g., Byers & Wilcox, 1991); (g) issues of validity and reliability, and to a lesser extent (h) inference to populations defined in terms of the axis on which the focus group may be said to be homogeneous.

The kinds of data that can be collected with focus groups, as Byers and Wilcox (1988) point out, could not be collected through questionnaire response nor observation: it is possible to get at underlying attitudes and behaviors that would not be forthcoming with other methods. They say that the format may allow respondents to be less inhibited in response

Institutional/individual relationships with focus groups

- Various library user groups: assess how the libraries' business services were being used (Baker, 1991).
- Focus groups in public relations: a department of mental health attempting to reduce stigma of mental illness (Crung, 1990).
- Admitted postsecondary applicants: evaluate recruitment campaigns (Miles, 1988).
- Focus groups of employers, students, college personnel: employer needs, labor market experiences, and the place of community colleges, along with large-scale (1,151 students, 8 colleges) survey (Seppanen, 1991).
- "Nontraditional" students as a community college: student perception, institutional effectiveness (Bers & Smith, 1988).
- Members of various technical training stakeholder groups in 6 regions in Australia: substantive problem issues in technical training in Australia (Navaratnam, 1992).
- 11 focus groups representing all segments of the college community in a 2-day retreat: revision of institutional goals of a community college (Marrow & Reed, 1991).
- 114 fourth-year university student "persisters": factors critical to long-term retention of university students in a study that also involved records review and other quantitative methods (Lyons, 1991).
- Community members (constituents of public schools): following content analysis of written school communications, groups confirmed analysis that the school's written communications were inappropriately constructed and oriented (Hanson et al., 1991).
- 40-60 community members in several different communities in Idaho: definition of issues and solutions in retention of Hispanic youth in school (Idaho State Department of Education, 1990).
- Focus groups of constituents complemented surveys, interviews, and commissioned research papers to assess current status of Ontario's university system and to project future dimensions and needs (Pascal et al., 1990).
- Project review of pilot project to strengthen basic competencies of vocational program students using observation and focus groups (Watkins, 1990).
- Focus groups of students at Syracuse University: comprehensive information about quality of student life relative to use of student center (Peters & Yonai, 1989).
- Administrators, counselors, and teachers from 12 schools in Dallas: to recommend change following large-scale survey of Hispanic dropouts in Dallas (Dallas Independent School District, 1989).
- Former community college students: definition of instructor attributes and behaviors that contributed to student success (Elliott, 1989).
- Constituents in community colleges: evaluation of lecturing and preparation for lecturing at the community college level (Engleberg & Boileau, 1989).

than they would be in semistructured interview or in questionnaires, and the range of responses is greater. They point out as well that a major danger is that of biased results.

A standard reference for the technique is the second edition of *The Focused Interview: A Manual of Problems and Procedures* by Merton, Fiske, and Kendall (1990). Stewart and Shamdasani (1990) and Morgan (1988) have written basic texts about the strategy; Morgan's, one of the Sage Publications series in qualitative research, was favorably reviewed (Bryman, 1988) and provides comprehensive treatment. Some of the anthropo-

logical interview techniques discussed in Weller and Romney (1988) are applicable to focus group interviewing as well.

The record of reported research results demonstrates that the venues, populations, and applications of the research strategy represent a wide range of research questions. Cumulatively, the literature shows that focus group research in education has increased remarkably since around 1985. It appears to have been particularly useful in institutional and program evaluation, program planning, and in needs assessments. Its cost-effectiveness relative to other techniques has been remarked on.

There is some implication, but no explicit claim, that focus groups are an effective data collection strategy in populations in which access is otherwise problematic, in which prestructured formats exclude salient "cultural" data, or in which bases for interpretation of participant input may be a problematic issue. Simard (1988), in a review of research about the family in Francophone Africa, claims that focus groups are particularly effective in oral societies, and particularly when the researchers are members of those societies as well.

In that vein, it might be said that the first motivation for the use of focus groups with other than Anglo populations relates to the quality of data that can be obtained with the method. For example, the study of the needs of the Black communities in 118 US cities, reported by the National Urban League (1990), noted that both large-scale survey techniques and focus group techniques were valuable in documenting the needs and problems facing Black youth. In the Washington, DC area, four focus groups totaling 58 employed and unemployed Black men and women discussed whether they felt they could get themselves out of poverty through working: the appendix containing quotes from the group illustrates that focus groups provide the kind of information that could not possibly come through survey (Foster, 1988). Focus groups with a cross-section of Latino community leaders in Los Angeles complemented broader community surveys of needs and issues of Latinos in that community (Tomas Rivera Center, 1989).

Focus groups may be used with ethnic minorities when the research topic is sensitive. Singer (1992) reports their use with Latinos in five US states and Puerto Rico in a project aimed at judging and enhancing the effectiveness of health agencies in education about HIV risk. The technique was used because it was thought that survey techniques would not get at the "nuances of constructed sociocultural meaning" that had to be understood in order to make the agencies' approach to the problem meaningful to their constituents.

The second motivation for the use of focus groups in cross-cultural situations has to do with validity: Harari and Beatty (1990) say that their quantitative results were inexplicable without the use of focus groups in a study of Blacks and whites in work relationships in South Africa.

Yet another use of focus groups in cross-cultural study is illustrated in one of the rare references to the use of focus groups with First Nations groups, and that use is in manifestly comparative research. Shively (1991) wondered why westerns (movies) were popular among First Nations peoples because those films were about an era that, in Shively's words, "celebrates their destruction." She showed such a film to matched groups of Anglo and First Nations reservation residents and then collected data with written questionnaires, individual interviews, and focus groups. She said that comparisons between groups showed that First Nations people responded in terms of values (e.g., autonomy, closeness to nature) and Anglos responded in terms of their group identity and its historical association with the process of imposition of their own values.

Methods. In addition to the classic and comprehensive text by Merton et al. (1990), and texts by Morgan (1988), Stewart and Shamdasani (1990), and Krueger (1988), comments on method are provided by Lederman (1990) and Sevier (1989). Basch (1987) includes a theoretical justification for the use of the technique, relating theory to method.

Zimmerman (1989) includes instructions for focus group research as a component of a general guide for creation of learning materials in health for "low-literate" populations. Two discussions of research methods are of special interest to this study. Brodigan's (1992) brief description of the use of focus groups in research about universities and colleges is complemented by the text by Bandura (1992), who assesses the shortcomings of relying on surveys in studies of minority student retention in higher education, and demonstrates the advantages of using focus groups. Brodigan's criteria for the motivation of the technique are (a) in new research; (b) when combined with quantitative studies; (c) to provide a context for interpretation of survey results; and (d) as a means of investigation. The use of focus groups is included in a manual that details how continuing education units can involve themselves in market research in program planning (Campbell, 1990). The technique seems to be so closely associated with marketing in some discussions that Deatruck and Knox (1989), who are involved in the design of "client-centered" sexuality education courses, propose focus groups as a "market research technique" to inform the improved design of the courses to attract young males to the course.

Cohen and Engleberg (1989), noting some of the problem issues in focus group research, provide some cautions for the use of the technique in postsecondary institutions. They comment on the difficulty of interpretation of the results of focus group research and specify guidelines for its use. They think that because its use is problematic, institution-wide protocols should authorize only specified individuals in the institution, who have demonstrated proficiency, to moderate focus group discussions, to recruit members or to interpret results. They caution that market researchers and consultants do not know the college institutional environ-

ment, and so may misinterpret responses. This is part of a general caution in the literature about who should moderate the sessions and analyze results. Nelson and Frontczak (1988), for example, evaluated effects of analyst identity and whether or not focus group participants were acquainted with each other. Their metric was idea quantity and quality, and they evaluated the process of scoring discussion transcripts. They found little interaction between variables on the basis of acquaintanceship, but found that analyst identity had moderate to large effects.

Bertrand et al. (1992) discuss the relative merits of working from transcripts, tapes, notes, or combinations (e.g., notes, amplified by reference to audiorecording).

Complementarity with other methods. Validity is said to be enhanced by combining focus group research with other kinds of research. The argument in Glik et al. (1986) is typical of this discussion. About their study in Rwanda of mothers' actions when children have diarrhea or malaria, they said that combining focus groups with interview and questionnaire methods allowed them to express findings in both quantitative and qualitative terms, and the triangulation of methods demonstrably increased the validity of the study. Harari and Beaty (1990) report a cross-cultural study of workers in South Africa: survey instruments from studies in 1946 and 1980, used in a 1987 study, had suggested that there was consensus between white managers and Black blue-collar workers on workplace issues. Focus groups revealed a different story, and the authors are clear that quantitative measures in cross-cultural research of this nature are inexplicable and misleading without a technique such as focus groups.

A project in Conakry, Guinea assessed child immunization services. It was designed to triangulate methods with a combination of two surveys (one of mothers and another of immunization facilities), key informant interviewing among health care providers, and focus group discussions with parents. This research model has now been adapted by the Centers of Disease Control for assessment of American child immunization programs (Glik, 1991).

Three studies of medical sterilization as a component of birth control in Central America and Africa are reported by Ward, Bertrand, and Brown (1991), who found that focus groups provided similar results to their survey results except on questions of parameter and inference. It is combined with survey techniques in Widdows et al.'s (1991) study of the perceptions of the users of a university library; Krugman and Johnson's (1991) study of movie rental versus television viewing; Noble and Klein's (1992) survey (686 respondents) on which to base a needs assessment of women and girls in Kansas City. Fox Valley Technical College (1991) used focus groups to explain the context of the results of their random sample of college records, telephone survey ($N = 300$), and individual interviews with employers, in their assessment of the position of the aging worker.

Focus groups were used in connection with a survey study of 1,114 gay men in South Africa, to try to find out why for some of them AIDS-risk behavior did not seem to be related to their knowledge of risk (Schurink & Schurink, 1990). It was used by Basch et al. (1987) to complement semantic-differential values assessments of youth about impaired driving; and at Virginia Commonwealth University, 31 students in focus groups generated a range of values, orientation statements, and descriptions of valuing processes that allowed a research team to create a 95-item survey questionnaire for administration to another 210 students (McMillan, 1989).

Focus groups may be used to explain results of quantitative measures. Several focus group sessions were used to verify and contextualize findings, and to project outcomes, after a psychometric instrument selected impulsive, high risk-takers among undergraduates (Valenti & Ferguson, 1991); and in a study in Singapore on learning styles, measures based on scales of cognitive and affective learning were qualified with the use of focus groups (Cheung, 1991).

In a curriculum policy analysis in language arts involving 300 schools, the place of focus groups was in the initial stages of research, when the technique was used to develop the survey instrument (Hough, 1991). Buttrairn (1990) uses a needs assessment in education to demonstrate that focus groups are particularly useful in improving survey design, in that the objective is not to document consensus but to document variety.

Hugentobler et al. (1992) combined focus groups with survey, field study, and semistructured individual interview in a study of work stress and health, and discuss the contribution to construct validity that the combination of techniques provides. Roy (1991) discusses focus groups combined with case studies and oral histories, and Johnson (1989) reports the combination of focus groups of migrant families, combined with ethnographic studies, in a research project oriented toward school recruitment of migrant children. Records review and on-site observation, in a national study of volunteers and teachers in adult basic education and English as a second language instruction, were combined with focus group research at nine training sites in a comprehensive examination of the nature of teacher and volunteer training in these areas (Kutner et al., 1992). Another large-scale study of the processes involved in becoming a vocational teacher, comparing groups by entry route to the profession, combined large-scale survey techniques with ethnographic study, program evaluation, and focus groups in eight regions of the US (Heath-Camp et al., 1992).

Beyond research: Focus groups as interventions. Focus groups involve subjects more coherently in the research process, and Jacobi (1991) cites this as an advantage in institutional research. She remarks on the cost-effectiveness of focus group research, and cites as another advantage the area of *explanation*, not simply description.

Bers (1989) discusses problems and advantages as well, but the advantage that Jacobi sees in involving subjects integrally in the process is a characteristic of focus group research that in some cases gives the research a kind of participatory research thrust: when four focus groups consisting of 60 managers and employees in a large teaching hospital addressed the common needs and problems, the focus group itself was seen as place for change through the improvement of communications in the institution (Capps, 1991). In a large scale study involving four American states and dealing with the ability of the states to manage economic change, focus groups were built into the design as a mechanism for "citizen input" (Jobs for the Future, 1991). The technique may be used concurrently with research as an instructional development technique, as it was in two computer-assisted university courses (Kubota, 1991). In an applied project with at-risk youth in a school system, Kleiner (1990) saw the focus group and a "School System Empowerment Report Card" as strategies to keep the youth in school.

Focus groups are used not only in research in education, but in applied situations. Connors et al. (1991), for example, suggest using focus groups to share information with parents and stakeholders in the process of building community support for schools. In the volume edited by Topor (1992) focus group research is discussed as marketing strategy and as a research tool in higher education.

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Part VI

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