PUSHING AGAINST THE MARGINS: INDIGENOUS THEORIZING OF "SUCCESS" AND RETENTION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

MICHELLE PIDGEON
Simon Fraser University, Surrey, Canada

ABTRACT

What does it mean to be "successful" in higher education? For some in mainstream society, the value is placed on the financial status gained from a university education. Governments and university administration measure success through graduation rates. While the economic and social benefits of a university education are also important to Aboriginal people, successful negotiation of mainstream higher education also entails maintaining their cultural integrity (Tierney & Jun, 2001). Broadening notions of success and corresponding retention theories is important to move forward the agenda of Aboriginal higher education. The purpose of this article is to further the theoretical and practical discussions of educational success of Aboriginal students. Using social reproduction theory and a post-colonial framework, this article presents an argument that shows how/why conventional discourses on retention and student success often exclude Indigenous understandings and worldviews. To this end, it provides a counter-hegemonic on current discourses relating to retention and Aboriginal persistence in mainstream institutions. The article concludes with some thoughts on how to enrich the educational experiences of Aboriginal students from an Indigenous under-standing of success and retention.

"Success" in society is often measured by financial gains, which are inherently linked to educational attainment and social status. For example, a university

degree is a social marker of success that leads to upward career advancement and higher socio-economic status (SES). Counter-hegemonic points-of-view of educational success do not devalue the economic and social benefits of higher education but do challenge the limited boundaries of what it means to be successful in universities. For example, success in university for many Aboriginal[1] nations means more than matriculating through prescribed curriculum to graduation. The benefits of university-trained Indigenous peoples extend beyond financial outcomes. Higher education is valued for capacity building within Aboriginal nations toward their goals of self-government and self-determination (Danziger, 1996). Higher education is also connected to empowerment of self and community, decolonization and self-determination (Battiste, Bell, & Findlay, 2002; Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (RCAP), 1996; Smith, 1999).

The challenge within Canada is that although Aboriginal participation in higher education has been increasing (e.g., from 33% in 1996 to 38% in 2001; Statistics Canada, 2003a, 2003b), this growth has been predominately in the area of male-dominated trades professions. University degree completion has remained marginal with 8% of Aboriginal people age 20-64 reporting completion of a university degree compared to 20% of other Canadians of the same age group (Statistics Canada, 2003a, 2003b). The current low rate of university completion in Aboriginal populations influences the overall state of Aboriginal societies' health, wealth, and potential to overcome their current third world status in a first world country (Hampton, 1995, 2000; Malatest & Associates Ltd., 2004; RCAP, 1996). Consequently, Indigenous definitions of success in education are also about larger societal issues of social justice and equity.

The intricacies of Indigenous epistemology, capital, and habitus that will be discussed in this article need to be contextualized with acknowledging the cultural and linguistic diversity between the 80 plus Aboriginal nations in Canada. It is also important to understand that the majority of Aboriginal people in Canada attend mainstream institutions for their post-secondary education. As a result, social reproduction theory is helpful in understanding how the micro- and macro-structures of education (e.g., curriculum, pedagogy, and policy) impede minority student persistence (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979, 1990).

What is commonly seen as the "problem" of Indigenous education is in fact a larger problem of an educational system that perpetuates and models the goals and values of Western epistemology (Maldonado, Rhoads, & Buenavista, 2005; Wildcat, 2001a). Because the system privileges one way of knowing and understanding individuals and groups, those who are predisposed to other values (i.e,

---

[1]Aboriginal is used as an inclusive term for Canada's Indigenous peoples. It refers to Aboriginal, First Nations, Métis, Inuit (also includes status, non-status, treaty, non-treaty, reserve, and off-reserve). It is used interchangeably in this article with Indigenous and First Nations. Where speaking of research in the United States, the term Native American is also used.

Bourdieu's notion of habitus) and who possess less capital (social, cultural, and economic) are less likely to progress unharmed through the educational system. Indigenous epistemologies or habitus (perspectives and inherent beliefs) are based on the idea than one must understand one's relationship to the world, grounded in one's own geographic location and culture. Wildcat (2001d) uses the term "habitude" to describe "an attitude or awareness of a deep system of experiential relations on which the world is building or living" (p. 34). Habitude therefore can be seen as Indigenous habitus in that it is based on Indigenous predispositions and worldviews.

The colonial legacy of Canada's educational system cannot be ignored within higher education, primarily because this system has been and continues to be both a hidden and overt model of colonization.[2] Post-colonial theory creates an avenue for dialogue around the inter-related issues of colonization, higher education, and Indigenous notions of success. This framework acknowledges that colonization is still occurring and not a historical event. It provides a lens to examine current models of education and retention that continue to be reinforcers of pedagogic authority (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970, 1990). Battiste et al. (2000b; 2002) argues that it is important to understand education's role in this way because

> Education is not only the arena in which academic and vocational skills are developed by all, the arena in which culture, mores, and social values are transmitted to the student. The educational system, fostered by government and society is the basis of Canadian cultural transmission. However, for [peoples] whose languages and cultures are different from mainstream immigrant expectations, this education system is a form of imperialism (p. 193.

Many minority and Indigenous groups' ways of knowing are different from the dominant culture. According to Smith (1999), Indigenous knowledges honor and maintain strong cultural connections to the traditional ways of knowing (e.g., storytelling and oral tradition). Indigenous knowledges may also be described as a manifestation of human knowledge, heritage, consciousness, and a way of relating to the ecological order of the universe (Battiste, 2000b; Battiste & Henderson, 2000b). The anti-colonial framework acknowledges the multiplicities and diversities of epistemologies outside of the dominant hegemony.

The impact of the "hidden curriculum" in maintaining social and cultural divisions within society is important to understand the complexity of Aboriginal persistence in education. This control is exerted in the every-day "taken for granted" values, norms, and beliefs of the dominant cultural interests, which are

---

[2]Some scholars, particularly those marginalized, see the reproductive nature of education institutions as validating the dominant as a tool of colonization, where the real purpose of education is to affirm the political and social status quo (e.g., Antone, 2000; Barnhardt, 1992, 2002; Battiste, 2000a; Battiste & Barman, 1995; Battiste & Henderson, 2000a; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Urion, 1999).

inscribed in students through the rules, routines, and classroom practices of schooling (Apple, 2003; Battiste, 2000b; Bourdieu, 1990; Smith, 1997). For many Indigenous peoples, this has meant loss of language, disruption of Indigenous culture, and imposition of Euro-Western values that have accumulated into the existing inequalities (RCAP, 1996). Policy and legislation (e.g., Indian Act 1876 see http://lois.justice.gc.ca/en/I-5/), along with educational practices, occurred in an effort to preserve the multiple interests of the dominant society. Within this reproduction one needs to be cognizant of the contradictions between capitalist social relations and Aboriginal students, who are not "passive agents" within these structures (Apple, 1995). For example, to succeed in today's educational system, Aboriginal peoples need to negotiate a system that does not value their own epistemologies and cultures. These covert and overt efforts to purport mainstream values and beliefs results in various acts of "symbolic violence" the elimination of others from the educational system, the exclusion of different ways of knowing, alternative sets of rules, and "Other" voices (Andres, 1994; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979, 1990; Harker, 1990a; Robbins, 1993; Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002). Symbolic violence can include being treated as inferior, being denied resources, or limited social mobility and aspirations (Webb et al., 2002). Cognitive imperialism, as described by Battiste (2000a) is a form of cognitive manipulation and symbolic violence. It has been used to disclaim other knowledge bases and values by denying people their language and cultural integrity by maintaining the legitimacy of only one language, one culture, and one frame of reference.

The treatment of Aboriginal peoples in Canada with regard to educational policies and their implementation can be looked at as a form of symbolic violence. For example, while education for non-Aboriginal students is a provincial responsibility, Federal jurisdiction of Aboriginal education has often excluded First Nations participation in critical policy and decision making at the provincial level (British Columbia Human Rights Commission, 2001). While some efforts have been made to include First Nations parents and communities in decision making at the K-12 level, more work needs to be done at the post-secondary levels. Symbolic violence occurs because through the ages we have come to believe that this is the "way of the dominant world" (i.e., Euro-Western); therefore, it is critical that Indigenous education be thought of as multiple struggles occurring in multiple sites (Smith, 1997). Harker (1990b) argues if our system is to be multi-cultural or even bi-cultural in any real sense, then we should be engaging in fundamental re-appraisal of the structural features of our educational institutions at the K-12 and tertiary levels.

According to Bourdieu (1990) "there are always in a society, conflicts between symbolic powers which aim to impose their vision of legitimate divisions, that is, to construct groups. Symbolic power in this sense is a power of 'world making'" (p. 137). Similar to Bourdieu's work, the anti-colonial discursive framework acknowledges the role of societal/institutional structures in producing and reproducing endemic inequalities (Dei & Asgharzadeh, 2001).

Research has found that various aspects of school, overt and covert (e.g., such as course selection, school culture, peer relationships, and events), all come together to influence the ability of Aboriginal students to identify with and connect to the school in meaningful and productive ways (British Columbia Human Rights Commission, 2001; RCAP, 1996). The acquisition of the information and training offered by educational institutions is dependent on the ability of students to receive and decode it, which depends on previously acquired "valued" cultural capital and habitus. The concept of cultural capital covers all groups within society, hence, "it allows an examination within the same theoretical framework the educational outcomes for marginalized cultural, social and gender groups" (Harker, 1990b, p. 25). Educational success can be viewed as a cultural reward that is "transmitted" by the cultural capital of the family; that is, familial knowledge of the education system assists the student's negotiation through the system (Andres, 1994). Therefore, the issue is that the forms of Indigenous capital and habitus valued by the family and community that are bought to mainstream institutions by Aboriginal students (e.g., Indigenous epistemologies, languages, and cultures) are not "valued" within mainstream society or schools. Consequently, in addition to the economic and social capital higher education provides, Aboriginal students must also maintain their cultural integrity to be successful within and outside of their own communities.

Capital is a set of actual useable resources and powers. The structure of the distribution of the different forms of capital (social, cultural, and economic) at a given moment represents the structures of the social world (Bourdieu, 1986). These forms of capital can be translated into social networks, material possessions, educational credentials, and social and financial status (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979, 1990). This fact is important because Indigenous people's linguistic and cultural competence has been delegitimized by colonization (Marker, 2004). Indigenous epistemologies, cultural traditions, and languages are in fact Indigenous capital, as they are valued within Indigenous society (Harker, 1984, 1990b). Hooks (1994) acknowledges that social class is more than just economics: it determines values, standpoints, and interests. She states that the link between "class" (habitus and capitalism) and "success" hinders minority student progress because the "expected" behavior necessary to "make it" in education is often at odds with students' home behavior. An Aboriginal student's cultural background is a critical component for acquiring Indigenous cultural capital and success. In the larger society, importance of traditional knowledge and culture are lost amid the competition for capital that gives one the edge and the power to succeed.

The purpose of this article is to add an Indigenous perspective on retention theories and how these theories relate to the educational success of Aboriginal students. In providing an Indigenous perspective on the construction of success in mainstream education, it places the discussion of minority student success within the margins of the larger macro-context of education and within the current discourses relating to retention and Aboriginal peoples. This article will

present a critique of current retention theories using social reproduction theory (Bourdieu, 1986, 2000; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979, 1990; Bourdieu, Passeron, & De Saint Martin, 1994; Harker, 1984, 1990b) and a post-colonial framework (Battiste et al., 2002; Said, 1979; Smith, 1999; Spivak, 1999; Spivak, Landry, & MacLean, 1996). The anti-colonial discursive framework is an epistemology of the colonized, anchored in the Indigenous sense of collective and common colonial experiences (Dei & Asgharzadeh. 2001). Therefore, a post-colonial and, more specifically, anti-colonial framework (Dei & Asgharzadeh, 2001) provides a lens to explore and critique colonial educational systems, while social reproduction theory explains how education is a tool of hegemonic power, along with notions of agency within these structures.

An important message in this article is education should empower Aboriginal peoples. Although education is not the only empowerment tool Aboriginal peoples have available to them, education is the tool of reproduction that needs to be addressed to make positive changes. For example, in examining current retention theories, the hidden agenda of reproduction of the dominant hegemony is prevalent. Recognition of Indigenous epistemology and experiences that address Aboriginal student persistence are absent. This section critiques popular retention models and questions their applicability to Aboriginal perspectives of success in higher education.

RETENTION THEORY AND ABORIGINAL STUDENT EXPERIENCE

Astin's "involvement theory" (1978, 1993) and Tinto's "theory of persistence" (1975, 1986, 1988, 1993, 1999) are popular theories used to explain retention and "success" (i.e., graduation) in higher education. Astin's input-environment-output (I-E-O) model can be translated into notions of valued capital in terms of high school credentials (input) which affects the type of post-secondary institution one has access to, students' social experiences during university, and type of academic program entered. The chosen program and institution (environment) in turn relates to the probability to degree completion (output). Astin developed his I-E-O model on a student body that was predominately white, middle-class, male, and less than 21 years of age. This student population had the valued forms of capital and predispositions to successfully negotiate the university system. However, Aboriginal students do not fit easily within this model for several reasons. The K-12 system often leaves Aboriginal students unprepared academically to meet entrance requirements of universities. Aboriginal students are typically first-generation college students who do not have the valued forms of capital required in the institution. Statistics Canada also shows that Aboriginal university students tend to be older than average (i.e., older than 21 years) and may have dependents along with other familial and community responsibilities, which influences how they engage with and develop experiences within a

university. Their experiences and, more importantly, successes in higher education are not considered in Astin's model.

Additional research must be undertaken to adapt Astin's I-E-O model for use with Indigenous student populations. The purpose of the I-E-O model is to access the impact of various environmental experiences by determining whether students grow or change differently under varying conditions (Astin, 1978, 1993). As Kelly (1995) has found, long-term persistence is based on early measures of academic performance and social integration. Students from high socio-economic status (SES) families compared to low SES have more positive outcomes in college regardless of ability, academic preparation, or other characteristics (Astin, Astin, Green, Kent, McNamara, & Reeves Williams, 1984). I would argue that seemingly simple methodological changes may perpetuate inappropriate cultural assumptions. For example, substituting negative input variables attributes faults to students, perpetuates essentialist deficit assumptions about Indigenous people, and ignores the obligation of higher education systems and institutions to adapt their programs and practices for historically marginalized and excluded student populations. The differences highlighted above between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students should not be discounted and must be reflected in current retention models.

Another consideration is that many Aboriginal students tend to begin their post-secondary education in a college system and then transfer to university or another post-secondary institution (Montgomery, Miville, Winterowd, Jeffries, & Baysden, 2000). Tinto's (1993) description of various types of departure from system and institution can be used to describe Aboriginal participation in higher education. Instead of being viewed as stop-outs (complete withdrawal from the educational system), many Aboriginal students are either:

1. institutional stop-outs because they withdraw from their institution for periods of time; or
2. can be considered delayed transfers, where they withdraw from one institution to later enroll in another.

Astin et al. (1984) found Native American students were more likely to pursue college over university. This educational choice is similar to Canadian Aboriginal peoples' educational pathways. College is seen as a less threatening environment than university and often geographically closer to students home communities (Archibald, Selkirk Bowman, Pepper, Urion, Mirenhouse, & Shortt, 1995). Transfer and academic support programs offered at local colleges also encourages Aboriginal student participation (Seidman, 2005). Such educational paths have direct impact on career choice and social status. First-generation Aboriginal students do not necessarily have cultural capital of prior family experience with higher education so their knowledge of negotiation is very different from a student whose parents are university educated and are able to translate that form of capital to their children. It also has to be acknowledged that

students of color face significant barriers forming social ties at many campuses, particularly at predominately White institutions.

Researchers rely on Tinto's theory of persistence to explain student retention and experiences. Several scholars have written either in support (Braxton, Milem, & Sullivan, 2000; Elkins, Braxton, & James, 2000; Terenzini, Lorang, & Pascarella, 1981; Terenzini & Wright, 1987) or have critiqued various aspects of the model (Hawkey, 2004; Maldonado et al., 2005; Renn & Arnold, 2003; Tierney. 1992). Although Terenzini, Lorang, and Pascarella (1981) and Terenzini and Wright (1987) found support for Tinto's notion of institutional and goal commitments, there was less certainty regarding student-faculty relations. Braxton et al. (2000) and Fischer (2007) found that faculty teaching practices influenced active learning and decisions regarding the departure process. Hawkey (2004) described the academic integration process as multi-dimensional, and that over time, senior students benefited from social integration with faculty. Students who are members of racial/ethnic minorities receive less support for attending college and consequently find separation difficult supporting Tinto's theory (Elkins et al., 2000). However, Tinto's model does not account for prior experiences of the students (Renn & Arnold, 2003) and there is a lack of ethnic-racial considerations within the framework (Tierney, 1992). Maldonado et al. (2005), in their critical analysis of retention theories, found that "identities of students of color and the ethnic/racial communities from which they come may be left out of the academic retention puzzle" (pp. 610-611).

This lack of racial consideration is important in considering Tinto's (1993) rationalization that differences between white and non-white students' rates of degree completion are partially due to differences in average ability test scores and SES. While Tinto's model focuses on students once they are in post-secondary education, the impact of previous educational structures that hinder minority students from attaining the cultural capital necessary to achieve a post-secondary education cannot be ignored. One has to also consider the variance in social class, intellectual capital, and social capital of various minority groups that influence these students' experiences in significant ways. Given that dominant culture lies at the core of the hidden education curriculum, students from the lower social strata may not relate to the material being taught (Apple, 1995). Instructors assume students have a prior knowledge, and the educational system presumes students come to school already possessing the "cultural capital" to receive, understand, internalize the material being taught (Andres, 1994; Driessen, 2001; Dumais, 2002). This presumption of the types of knowledge students have when entering a university creates a barrier to further participation for those who do not have the types of knowledge validated within the university curriculum.

Tinto (1993) contends students must reject their attitudes and values from their previous communities to successfully negotiate the separation process and integrate into their new college environment. This particular aspect of Tinto's work is contentious because this assumes students come from the dominant culture

and their values and forms of capital they are bringing to the institution are valued within the institution. Students coming from varying cultural backgrounds experience the mainstream educational system differently according to how their own forms of habitus and capital "integrate" into the university setting. The work of Elkins et al. (2000), Huffman (2001), and Tierney (1992) argue that within this structure there is no room for those who do not wish to relinquish their own identity (e.g., racial/ethnic/cultural) to assimilate into the norm culture of the dominant society. In fact, Vine Deloria (1995) urges Native-American students to remain diligent of the costs and benefits of pursuing a higher education, especially in terms of the sacrifices (or harms) to their Indigenous culture and identities. No group should give up their cultural distinctiveness, language, or values in the process of gaining full access to higher education and full social and economic participation in society (Astin et al., 1984; Deloria, 1995; Harker, 1990b). While Elkins et al., 2000) contest Tierney's (1992) epistemological critique of Tinto's theory, the position of this article is that acknowledging that there are different ways of knowing (e.g., Indigenous compared to Euro-Western) is critical to advancing the theoretical and practical discussion of Aboriginal student success beyond mainstream conceptions of success.

The assimilationist nature of Tinto's work has been criticized by Kuh and Love (2000) and Tierney (1992) for placing too much responsibility on the students to adapt, while the institutions are absolved from their responsibilities to modify policies and practices to meet the needs of students. It is also important to envision from these critiques what a culture-based view of the Aboriginal student departure process would look like (Braxton, Sullivan, & Johnson, 1997). Although Kuh and Love's (2000) and Huffman's (2001) work provide a cultural lens for understanding Aboriginal student departure, these works are still based on the premise that the students must develop "strategies" to succeed within mainstream institutions. Moving away from student deficit thinking is key in influencing institutions to consider their role in Aboriginal recruitment and retention.

Research applying Tinto's model to Aboriginal and Native-American student populations has found that the most important influences on post-secondary outcomes are family background, post-secondary intentions, and academic integration (Pavel, 1982, 1991, 1992, 1999; Pavel & Padilla, 1993). Family background has the largest and most consistent influence on student's intentions prior to pursuing a degree (Pavel, 1991; Pavel & Padilla, 1993). Although family is important to non-Aboriginal students, it holds particular cultural significance in Aboriginal societies, and represents a difference between Indigenous and Euro-Western epistemology. Two retention models that have incorporated the family at the core are HeavyRunner & DeCelles' (2002) Family Education Model (FEM) and Billison and Brooks Terry's (1987) retention model. The role of family and community relationships in student retention are also considered within the Quality of Student Life model (Benjamin, 1990, 1994).

Like Bourdieu, Graham Smith (1997) sees the relationship between schooling and the wider society as a "dialectal" one, which can be read as another expression of the fundamental "structure-agent" dilemma in the sociology of education. That is, to determine what degree do schools function to (re)produce the state, or vice versa; to what degree does the state produce and/or reproduce the function of schools? A recent focus on minority student success (or lack of it) has become part of the dominant discourse due to the increase in minority student participation in colleges and universities. This infringement of minority groups into the dominant power structures and their impending role in the economic and social structure of society has heightened awareness about minority issues (Apple, 1995; Benjamin, Chambers, & Reiterman, 1993; Simpson, 2001). This interest is also "catalyzed" by those Aboriginal advocacy groups foreseeing the future goals and directions of their peoples.

The student experience is now broadly perceived to be more than an individual in an institution—their capital and habitus all interact to form who they are. Various factors influence retention that are not "individual" related—such as social integration with peers and faculty (Allen & Nelson, 1989; Berger & Braxton, 1998; Braxton, Milem, & Sullivan, 2000; Elkins et al., 2000; Hawkey, 2004; Terenzini & Wright, 1987), academic integration (Hawkey, 2004), level of institutional commitment, and class size (Ashar & Skenes, 1993; Terenzini, Lorang, & Pascarella, 1981). The Aboriginal student experience is further influenced by the historical factors and assimilationist agendas of:

1. education and government policy;
2. institutional characteristics (e.g., First Nations content curriculum, and mentors);
3. financial aid (e.g., Federal Aboriginal post-secondary funds, band funded, and student loan); and
4. external commitments (e.g., family, culture, community; see Archibald et al., 1995; Benjamin et al., 1993, Falk & Aitken, 1984; Gloria & Robinson Kurpius, 2001; Lin, LaCounte, & Eder, 1988; Pidgeon, 2001; TeHennepe, 1993).

So an Aboriginal student bringing his/her Indigenous capital to a mainstream university "must first acquire and accept a new form of consciousness, an orientation that not only displaces but often devalues the worldview they bring with them" (Barnhardt, 2002, p. 241). Huffman's (2001) metaphor of "cultural masks" alludes to the balancing First Nations students must endure in the negotiation through mainstream education. "Cultural mask[ing] is the process by which a person comes to construct a personal ethnic identity. It also provides a manner in which an individual uses and ultimately projects that ethnic identity" (p. 5). The four cultural masks (assimilated, marginalized, estranged, and transcultured) can be considered continuums of experiences. The assimilated mask refers to an Aboriginal person who is "assimilated" into mainstream society and has the same

valued habitus and capital. This particular mask does well in negotiating mainstream education because values are not in conflict. For the marginalized mask, this individual while semi-assimilated still maintains strong Indigenous-valued forms of capital and, therefore, has some challenges in negotiating a system that does not value the capital they bring to the institution. This alienation is even more evident in the estranged student. The estranged student has strong Indigenous capital and strong resistance to any assimilation efforts of mainstream education (Huffman, 2001). This particular student often ends up withdrawing from mainstream institutions.

It is also important to consider Huffman's models' applicability to an Indigenous student in an institution (i.e., tribal college) that was based on Indigenous epistemology and ontology and supports the student's Indigenous-valued capital. The transcultured student has strong connections to his/her Indigenous capital and uses it as a social anchor to negotiate his/her way through mainstream education. This later mask parallels Tierney and Jun's (2001) notion of cultural integrity to be discussed later in this article.

Most Aboriginal students encounter some form of initial alienation when they attend a university (Huffman, 2001). The range of the experiences of an Aboriginal student are best understood in terms of his/her emotional, intellectual, physical, and cultural encounters within the institution. Huffman (2001) did not present a mask for the student who has been disenfranchised from their Aboriginal heritage. The mask of "decolonized" may be appropriate for these students who reclaim and reaffirm their Aboriginal identity. Understanding the range and diversity of educational experiences these students might have is critical in any model developed for Aboriginal persistence.

INDIGENIZING THE ACADEMY THROUGH THEORY AND PRACTICE

Aboriginal scholars and communities continue to advocate for and work to integrate counter-hegemonic knowledges and practices within mainstream education. Unfortunately, their efforts have sometimes been "devalued" as anti-theoretical or been marginalized within peripheral spaces of the academy (Dei & Asgharzadeh, 2001). This oppression of alternative ways of knowing continues to maintain dominant authority and power within education and society (Dei & Asgharzadeh, 2001; Harker, 1990b). However, the landscape of higher education in Canada is changing as a result of these counter movements (e.g., Women's Studies, First Nations Studies, and Native Teacher Education Programs) and the changing demographics of student populations.

The challenge for those of us working on the margins of the ivory tower is to push the boundaries so that our knowledges, theories, and perspectives become interwoven within the fabric of the institution across all disciplines and all levels of governance. Within this awareness of the continuing colonizing

presence, it is important to see education as a powerful tool of decolonization and as a site of resistance and transformation (Smith, 2000). This transformation occurs as diverse students, faculty, and communities become more engaged in active and critical scholarship, dialogues and physical presences within mainstream institutions. Deloria and Wildcat (2001) suggest that as Indigenous epistemologies are entering the ivory towers, Indigenous scholars must also be actively engaged in Indigenizing and making these institutions their own. Carl Urion (1999) suggests that the changing academic discourse is a reciprocal process of "discovering the properties of the unifying context and finding out how the discoursing individuals fit within the context and thus come to unity" (p. 10). Other Indigenous scholars agree with Urion and see education as an important tool of decolonization (Battiste et al., 2002; Grande, 2004; L. T. Smith, 1999; G. H. Smith, 1997). More importantly, education can be used as a tool of empowerment for the future of Indigenous peoples by and for Indigenous peoples.

Although Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) have provided a clear path for institutions, theory, and policy to be reshaped through the 4Rs (respect, relevance, reciprocity, and relationships), institutions have not always honored the 4Rs with true intentions (Marker, 2004). These principles simply require work, dedication, and commitment that many mainstream institutions are willing to commit to only on the "surface" (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991; Marker, 2004). That being said, as Wildcat (2001d) reminds us:

> It is not enough to simply collect oral histories, student language, learn the tool making procedures, and know the arts and crafts of our Indigenous societies. All of this is being done and ought to be done, but we must explore experientially living in the world. Unless we incorporate features of our cultures into a holistic and integrated Indigenous process of education, what we have produced is most likely "educational tokenism" (pp. 38-39).

More needs to be done to bridge this disjuncture and treat education as a wholistic approach to the individual that builds both skills as a "professional" but more importantly as a human being. Therefore, a more wholistic approach that integrates Indigenous epistemology and culture is needed across all levels of education. This would involve every aspect of student life, having the support and involvement of the students, their family, and peers along with the institution, its staff, and faculty. Some of this work is happening within some K-12 and post-secondary institutions but First Nations success will not be truly experienced until the entire educational system moves beyond mere token gestures to real partnerships that embody the 4Rs.

Tierney and Jun (2001) put forth the term *cultural integrity* to account for the lack of ethnic-racial considerations in Tinto's model. Cultural integrity should be considered as another form of capital that is important to Indigenous peoples. Maintaining and gaining cultural integrity within university or college is as important as developing social networks and performing academically. Cultural

integrity in an educational context is evident in "those programs and teaching strategies that call upon students' racial and ethnic backgrounds in a positive manner in their development of their pedagogies and learning activities" (Tierney & Jun, 2001, p. 211). Cultural integrity is linked to the formation of cultural capital. For example, the college preparation program described in Tierney and Jun's (2001) study connected students to social networks (i.e., peer groups, Aboriginal staff, and faculty) and developed students' cultural capital (i.e., useable resources and skills) required to survive college. Although mainstream institutions have been criticized for lack of emotional and psychological supports (Wildcat, 2001d), this particular program is an example of how to meet the needs of Aboriginal students.

Such programs allow American-Indian students to affirm their culture (e.g., maintain their cultural integrity) while at the same time acquire the cultural capital necessary to succeed in college (Dehyle, 1995; Tierney & Jun, 2001). Therefore, cultural integrity can be viewed as a key component within Bourdieu's notion of capital for Indigenous students because it is an embodied form of capital which requires personal investment and time to ensure success. Also, expanding notions of institutionalized capital (i.e., what is valued within the academy (Reay, 1998)), to include and value Indigenous habitude and capital is important for understanding, facilitating, and improving institutional relationships with Aboriginal students and their communities. Thus, the question must be asked:

> Can the [educational system] change its modus operandi to accommodate
> diverse cultural contexts and still perform the function for which it is designed
> or must students acquire the "culture" of the [system] if they are to partake
> in its services? (Barnhardt, 2002, p. 239).

Ray Barnhardt's question asks can institutions change? Or more importantly, can Aboriginal students maintain their own cultural integrity when they enter the walls of the academy. It is arguably a balancing act that needs to become a more stable ebb and flow. Seidman (2005) proposes a retention model that considers early identification plus early, intensive, and continuous interventions throughout students' programs. An Indigenous retention model would also consider the inter-generational aspects of a retention recognizing the role family and community play in supporting educational success of Aboriginal students. From a wholistic Indigenous framework, student, family, community, and nation are all part of the persistence model (see Figure 1).

The model depicted in Figure 1 presents how an Aboriginal student's educational experiences and persistence are grounded in the student's place (culture, territory, and institution) and influenced by factors such as his/her family (e.g., prior experience, family attitude toward higher education, and support) and community (e.g., band education funding, economic development to support Aboriginal students return to community with higher education, Aboriginal communities on-campus, and university environment). Each of these relationships has
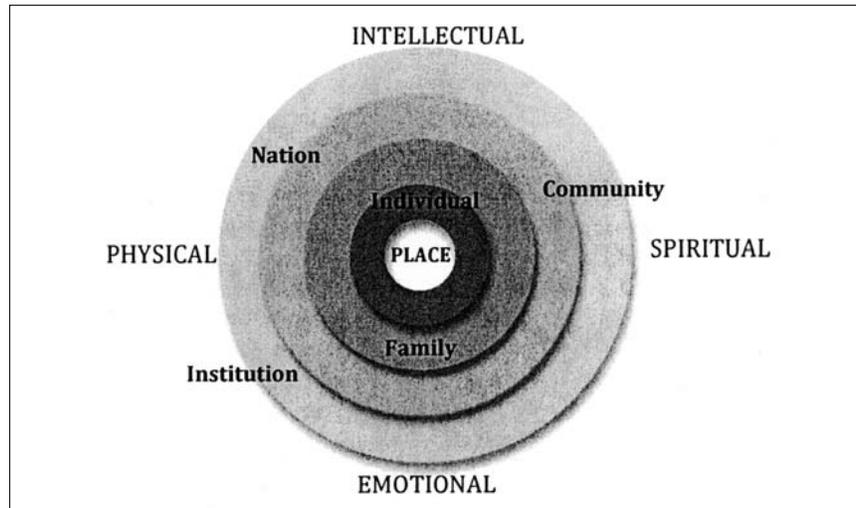
Figure 1. A wholistic representation of Indigenous
participation in higher education.

implications for the students', families', and communities' physical, emotional, cultural, and spiritual needs. There are several ways to present these experiences in diagram, theory, and practice. For example, some Aboriginal groups may use the teachings of the medicine wheel, while others may use the teachings of wampum beads. It may be presented as simply as above or more complex with multiple layers and positions presented.

This model has been implemented and practiced in various ways within the University of British Columbia (UBC), a comprehensive research university in British Columbia, Canada. The Faculty of Education's Native Indian Teacher Education Program (NITEP) has been using this framework for over 15 years, to ground the program in the interconnectedness and interrelationships presented in Figure 1. The First Nations House of Learning uses a modified version of this framework to provide support services and programs to Aboriginal under-graduate and graduate students at UBC (First Nations House of Learning, 2006; Kirkness, 1992). The Ts''kel Program within the Faculty of Education offers Aboriginal-focused graduate courses, which are grounded in Indigenous frameworks (Marker, 2004). In fact, some Aboriginal faculty incorporate variants of the presented model within their own courses and research. These few examples demonstrate how Indigenous knowledge and frameworks have been implemented and practiced within a comprehensive mainstream research university with aims to increase Aboriginal student participation and retention.

Creating space within the margins is about validating alternative ways of knowing and placing Indigenous epistemology within and across education. Indigenization of education involves Aboriginal people "making [Indigenous] educational philosophy, pedagogy, and system our own, making the effort to explicitly explore ways of knowing and systems of knowledge that have been actively repressed" (Wildcat, 2001c, p. vii). One strategy employed by the University of Alaska in Fairbanks has been taking the "institution" (i.e., professors) to local Native communities to reduce cultural distance and the role dichotomy between the producers and consumers of knowledge (Barnhardt, 2002). Through this exchange of place and power, Barnhardt (2002) notes that:

> oftentimes it is in the act of teaching that we ourselves learn the most, and in the act of learning that we become most effective teachers (p. 244).

In this instance, sharing the role of student-teacher between Aboriginal students and non-Aboriginal faculty changed how education was structured and delivered (Barnhardt, 2002). Archibald (1995) provides an excellent example of how pedagogic authority can change through curriculum and support structures that involve the teachers, schools, community, and governments acting as partners for change within the Sto:lo nations schools and communities in British Columbia. Another approach to changing the education system and contextualizing student's education within the real world is including community service as an integral component of students' experiential professional programs (Wildcat, 2001b).

CONCLUSION

Rendón, Jalomo, and Nora (2000) call for new models of retention that "consider key theoretical issues associated with the experiences of minority students in higher education" (p. 129). In understanding the power of the educational system to reproduce Euro-Western values and epistemology, new retention models must consider who is accessing higher education, how and why. More importantly, these models need to address who is not present within higher education and why. If a student's own cultural integrity is to be respected in retention models, institutions need to become spaces that validate Indigenous capital, epistemologies, and ultimately become sites of change for all students.

According to Malatest & Associates Ltd. (2004), the current low enrollment and persistence rates of Aboriginal peoples in post-secondary education are "indicators" that institutions are not meeting the social, cultural, or economic needs of Aboriginal people. Alternative models for Aboriginal education are needed and indeed present in many countries (e.g., tribal colleges in the United States, Maori K-12 schools and post-secondary institutions in New Zealand). Within Canada, there are several First Nations controlled schools, and Indigenous post-secondary institutions like Nicola Valley Institute of Technology, Institute of Indigenous Governance, and First Nations University. As stated previously in

this article, the majority of Aboriginal people in Canada attend mainstream education institutions. Therefore, mainstream post-secondary institutions need to be considered as sites of transformation for Indigenous participation and retention. These institutions, as sites of change that represent the Indigenous across the curriculum, programs, and even in their physical structures, respect and acknowledge Indigenous ways of knowing, learning, and being. Institutional responses to Aboriginal people must go beyond token gestures of representation to meaningful and respectful inclusion.

Any model developed for Aboriginal student persistence has to accommodate the diversity of Indigenous epistemologies, cultures, and languages. Aboriginal students are not homogenous; they may be rural or urban, traditional or modern, reservation or non-reservation, deeply entrenched in their culture or in the process of discovering their Aboriginal identity. A wholistic model that incorporates the inter-connectedness of the physical, emotional, spiritual, and intellectual realms along with the inter-relationships of the individual, family, and community are important steps in building a model that is flexible to the location of the Indigenous (geographically and beyond). Each institution has to develop a plan that is able to "ebb and flow" with changing student needs.

Indigenous retention must not be viewed in solely educational terms. For change to be effective and long-lasting, any critical analysis of education must also include the practical elements of transforming social policy, government funding, and K-12 schooling (Smith, 1997). The goals of Indigenous peoples can be realized by having institutions that prepare and provide education that is grounded in the epistemologies, ecologies, and geographies of Indigenous peoples. The curriculum, pedagogies, theory, and practice should emulate Indigenous ways of knowing, culture, and understanding. To retain students, universities must adapt a wholistic conception of students. This wholistic view must incorporate the physical, emotional, spiritual/cultural, and cognitive needs of the individual, family, and community (tribe/local/global). This model creates space for and maintains the cultural integrity of Indigenous students while they are attending mainstream educational systems.

REFERENCES

Allen, D. F., & Nelson, J. M. (1989). Tinto's model of college withdrawal applied to women in two institutions. *Journal of Research and Development in Education, 22*(3), 1-11.

Andres, L. (1994). Capital, habitus, field and practice: An introduction to the work of Pierre Bourdieu. In L. Erwin & D. MacLennan (Eds.), *Sociology of education in Canada* (pp. 137-163). Mississauga: Copp Clark Longman Ltd.

Antone, E. (2000). Empowering Aboriginal voice in Aboriginal education. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 24*(2), 92-101.

Apple, M. (1995). *Education and power* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Apple, M. (2003). *The state and the politics of knowledge.* New York: Routledge Falmer.

Archibald, J. (1995). Locally developed Native studies curriculum: A historical and philosophical rationale. In M. Battiste & J. Barman (Eds.), *First Nations education in Canada: The circle unfolds* (pp. 288-312). Vancouver: UBC Press.

Archibald, J., Selkirk Bowman, S., Pepper, F., Urion, C., Mirenhouse, G., & Shortt, R. (1995). Honoring what they say: Post-secondary experiences of First Nations graduates. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 21*(1), 1-247.

Ashar, H., & Skenes, R. (1993). Can Tinto's student departure model be applied to nontraditional students? *Adult Education Quarterly, 43*(2), 90-100.

Astin, A. (1978). *Four critical years. Effects of college on beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 149657).

Astin, A. (1993). *What matters in college? Four critical years revisited.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Astin, A., Astin, H., Green, K., Kent, L., McNamara, P., & Reeves Williams, M. (1984). *Minorities in American higher education.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Barnhardt, R. (1992). Higher education in the fourth world: Indigenous people take control. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 18*(2), 199-231.

Barnhardt, R. (2002). Domestication of the ivory tower: Institutional adaptation to cultural distance. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 33*(2), 238-249.

Battiste, M. (2000a). Maintaining Aboriginal identity, language and culture in modern society. In M. Battiste (Ed.), *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* (pp. 192-208). Vancouver: UBC Press.

Battiste, M. (Ed.). (2000b). *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision.* British Columbia: UBC Press.

Battiste, M., & Barman, J. (Eds.). (1995). *First Nations education in Canada: The circle unfolds.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Battiste, M., Bell, L., & Findlay, L. M. (2002). Decolonizing education in Canadian universities: An interdisciplinary, international, Indigenous research project. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 26*(2), 82-95.

Battiste, M., & Henderson, J. Y. (2000a). *Protecting Indigenous knowledge and heritage: A global challenge.* Saskatoon: Purich Publishing Ltd.

Battiste, M., & Henderson, J. Y. (2000b). What is Indigenous knowledge? In *Protecting Indigenous knowledge and heritage: A global challenge* (pp. 35-56). Saskatoon: Purich Publishing Ltd.

Benjamin, D. P., Chambers, S., & Reiterman, G. (1993). A focus on American Indian college persistence. *Journal of American Indian Education, 32*(2), 24-40.

Benjamin, M. (1990). *Freshman daily experiences: Implications for policy, research and theory. Student-Environment Study Group. Student Development Monograph Series, Volume 4.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 346 794). Guelph, ON: Guelph University.

Benjamin, M. (1994). The quality of student life: Toward a coherent conceptualization. *Social Indicators Research, 31,* 205-264.

Berger, J. B., & Braxton, J. M. (1998). Revising Tinto's Interactionalist Theory of Student Departure Through Theory Elaboration: Examining the Role of Organizational Attributes in the Persistence Process. *Research in Higher Education, 39*(2), 103-119.

Billison, J. M., & Brooks Terry, M. (1987). A student retention model for higher education. *College and University, 62*(4), 290-305.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *In other words: Essays towards a reflexive sociology.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Pascalian meditations.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1979). *The inheritors: French students and their relation to culture.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society, and culture.* London: Sage.

Bourdieu, P., Passeron, J. C., & De Saint Martin, M. (Eds.). (1994). *Academic discourse.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Braxton, J. M., Milem, J. F., & Sullivan, A. S. (2000). The influence of active learning on the college student departure process: Toward a revision of Tinto's theory. *Journal of Higher Education, 71*(5), 569-590.

Braxton, J. M., Sullivan, A. V., & Johnson, R. M. (1997). Appraising Tinto's theory of college student departure. In J. C. Smart (Ed.), *Higher education: A handbook of theory and research* (Vol. 12, pp. 107-164). New York: Agathon Press.

British Columbia Human Rights Commission. (2001). Aboriginal education: Pathways to equality. [Victoria?]: British Columbia Human Rights Commission.

Danziger, E. J. J. (1996). Taking hold of the tools: Post-secondary education for Canada's Walpole Island First Nations, 1965-1994. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies, 16*(2), 229-246.

Dehyle, D. (1995). Navajo youth and Anglo racism: Cultural integrity and resistence. *Harvard Educational Review, 65*(3), 403-444.

Dei, G. J. S., & Asgharzadeh, A. (2001). The power of social theory: The anti-colonial discursive framework. *Journal of Educational Thought, 35*(3), 297-323.

Deloria, V. (1995). *Red earth—white lies. Native Americans and the myth of scientific fact.* New York: Scribner.

Deloria, V., & Wildcat, D. R. (Eds.). (2001). *Power and place: Indian education in America.* Golden, CO: Fulcrum Resources.

Driessen, G. W. J. M. (2001). Ethnicity, forms of capital, and educational achievement. *International Review of Education, 47*(6), 513-538.

Dumais, S. A. (2002). Cultural capital, gender, and school success: The role of habitus. *Sociology of Education, 75*(1), 44-68.

Elkins, S. A, Braxton, J. M., & James. G. W. (2000). Tinto's separation stage and its influence on first-semester college student persistence. *Research in Higher Education, 41*(2), 251-268.

Falk, D. R., & Aitken, L. P. (1984). Promoting retention among American Indian college students. *Journal of American Indian Education, 23*(2), 24-31.

First Nations House of Learning. (2006, March 24). Longhouse leadership program. Retrieved April 20, 2007, from http://www.longhouse.ubc.ca/leadership.htm

Fischer, M. J. (2007). Settling into campus life: Differences by race/ethnicity in college involvement and outcomes. *Journal of Higher Education, 78*(2), 125-161.

Gloria, A. M., & Robinson Kurpius, S. E. (2001). Influences on self-beliefs, social support, and comfort in university environment on the academic nonpersistence decisions of

American Indian undergraduates. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 7*(1), 88-102.

Grande, S. (2004). *Red pedagogy: Native American social and political thought.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Hampton, E. (1995). Towards a redefinition of Indian education. In M. Battiste & J. Barman (Eds.), *First Nations education in Canada: The circle unfolds* (pp. 5-46). Vancouver: UBC Press.

Hampton, E. (2000). First Nations controlled university education in Canada. In M. Brant Castellano, L. Davis, & L. Lehache (Eds.), *Aboriginal education: Fulfilling the promise* (pp. 190-207). Vancouver: UBC Press.

Harker, R. K. (1984). On reproduction, habitus and education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 5*(2), 117-127.

Harker, R. K. (1990a). Bourdieu—Education and reproduction. In R. K. Harker, C. Mahar, & C. Wilkes (Eds.), *An introduction to the work of Pierre Bourdieu: The theory of practice* (pp. 86-108). London: Macmillan.

Harker, R. K. (1990b). Schooling and cultural reproduction. In J. Codd, R. K. Harker, & R. Nash (Eds.), *Political issues in New Zealand Education* (2nd ed., pp. 25-42). New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

Hawkey, C. (2004). Disciplinary affiliation and the experience of community among undergraduate students. In L. Andres & F. Finlay (Eds.), *Student affairs: Experiencing higher education* (pp. 122-143). Vancouver: UBC Press.

HeavyRunner, I., & DeCelles, R. (2002). Family education model: Meeting the student retention challenge. *Journal of American Indian Education, 41*(2), 29-37.

Hooks, B. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom.* New York: Routledge.

Huffman, T. (200l). Resistance theory and the transculturation hypothesis as explanations of college attrition and persistence among culturally traditional American Indian students. *Journal of American Indian Education, 40*(3), 1-23.

Indian Act 1876. Available at http://lois.justice.gc.ca/en/I-5/

Kelly, L. J. (1995). *Implementing Astin's I-E-O Model in the Study of Student Retention: A Multivariate Time Dependent Approach. AIR 1996 Annual Forum Paper.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED397732). Connecticut.

Kirkness, V. J. (1992). The First Nations House of Learning: A case of successful transformation. In K. A. Moodley (Ed.), *Beyond multicultural education: International perspectives* (pp. 264-280). Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd.

Kirkness, V. J., & Barnhardt, R. (1991). First Nations and higher education: The four R's—Respect, relevance, reciprocity, responsibility. *Journal of American Indian Education, 30*(3), 1-15.

Kuh, G., & Love, P. G. (2000). A cultural perspective on student departure. In J. M. Braxton (Ed.), *Reworking the student departure puzzle* (Vol. 1, pp. 196-212). Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Lin, R. L., LaCounte, D., & Eder, J. (1988). A study of Native American students in predominately White college. *Journal of American Indian Education, 27*(3), 8-15.

Malatest, R. A., & Associates Ltd. (2004). Aboriginal peoples and post-secondary education: What educators have learned. Retrieved November 5, 2004, from http://www.millenniumscholarships.ca

Maldonado, D. E. Z., Rhoads, R., & Buenavista, T. L. (2005). The student-initiated retention project: Theoretical contributions and the role of self-empowerment. *American Educational Research Journal, 42*(4), 605-638.

Marker, M. (2004). The Four Rs revisited: Some reflections on First Nations and higher education. In L. Andres & F. Finlay (Eds.), *Student affairs: Experiences in and through Canadian post-secondary education* (pp. 171-188). Vancouver: UBC Press.

Montgomery, D., Miville, M. L., Winterowd, C., Jeffries, B., & Baysden, M. F. (2000). American Indian college students: An exploration into resiliency factors revealed through personal stories. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 6*(4), 387-398.

Pavel, D. M. (1982). *American Indians and Alaska Natives in higher education: Research on participation and graduation.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED348197).

Pavel, D. M. (1991). *Assessing Tinto's model of institutional departure using American Indian and Alaskan Native longitudinal data.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED339324).

Pavel, D. M. (1992). *American Indians and Alaska Natives in higher education: Research on participation and graduation.* ERIC Digest. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED348197).

Pavel, D. M. (1999). *American Indians and Alaska Natives in higher education: Promoting access and achievement.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Services No. ED 427 912).

Pavel, D. M., & Padilla, R. V. (1993). American Indian and Alaska Native postsecondary departure: An example of assessing a mainstream model using national longitudinal data. *Journal of American Indian Education, 32*(2), 1-23.

Pidgeon, M. (2001). *Looking forward . . . A national perspective on Aboriginal student services in Canadian universities.* Unpublished Masters thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland. St. John's.

Reay, D. (1998). "Always knowing" and "never being sure": Famial and institutional habituses and higher education choice. *Journal of Education Policy, 13*(4), 519-529.

Rendón, L., Jalomo, R. E., & Nora, A. (2000). Theoretical considerations in the study of minority student retention in higher education. In J. M. Braxton (Ed.), *Reworking the student departure puzzle* (Vol. 1, pp. 127-156). Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Renn, K. A., & Arnold, K. D. (2003). Reconceptualizing research on college student peer culture. *The Journal of Higher Education (Columbus, Ohio), 74*(3), 261-291.

Robbins, D. (1993). The practical importance of Bourdieu's analyses of higher education. *Studies in Higher Education, 18*(2), 151-163.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [RCAP]. (1996). Gathering strength (Vol. 3), *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP).* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). (1996b). Ottawa: Author.

Said, E. W. (1979). *Orientalism.* New York: Vintage Books.

Seidman, A. (2005). Minority student retention: Resources for practitioners. *New Directions for Institutional Research, 125,* 7-24.

Simpson, J. (2001). Segregated by subject: Racial differences between the factors influencing academic major between European Americans, Asian Americans, and African, Hispanic, and Native Americans. *The Journal of Higher Education, 72*(1), 63-100.

Smith, G. H. (1997). *The development of kaupapa Maori: Theory and praxis.* Unpublished Ph.D., University of Auckland, Auckland, NZ.

Smith, G. H. (2000). Maori education: Revolution and transformative action. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 24*(1), 57-72.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples.* London: Zed Books Ltd.

Spivak, G. C. (1999). *A critique of postcolonial reason: Toward a history of the vanishing present.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Spivak, G. C., Landry, D., & MacLean, G. M. (1996). *The Spivak reader: Selected works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak.* New York: Routledge.

Statistics Canada. (2003a). *Aboriginal peoples of Canada: A demographic profile.* Retrieved September 16, 2003, from
http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/Index.cfm

Statistics Canada. (2003b). *Education in Canada: Raising the standard.* Retrieved September 16, 2003, from
http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/Index.cfm

TeHennepe, S. (1993). Issues of respect: Reflections of First Nations students' experiences in post-secondary anthropology classrooms. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 20*(2), 193-260.

Terenzini, P., Lorang, W., & Pascarella, E. (1981). Predicting freshman persistence and voluntary dropout decisions: A replication. *Research in Higher Education, 15*(2), 109-127.

Terenzini, P., & Wright, T. (1987). *Students' personal growth during the first two years of college.* ASHE 1987 Annual Meeting Paper.

Tierney, W. G. (1992). An anthropological analysis of student participation in college. *Journal of Higher Education, 63*(6), 603-618.

Tierney, W. G., & Jun, A. (2001). A university helps prepare low income youth for college: Tracking school success. *The Journal of Higher Education, 72*(2), 205-225.

Tinto, V. (1975). Dropout from higher education: A theoretical synthesis of recent research. *Review of Educational Research, 45*(1), 89-125.

Tinto, V. (1986). *Leaving college: Rethinking the causes and cures of student attrition.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED283416). Illinois.

Tinto, V. (1988). Stages of student departure: Reflections on the longitudinal character of student leaving. *Journal of Higher Education, 59*(4), 438-455.

Tinto, V. (1993). *Leaving college: Rethinking the causes and cures of student attrition* (2nd ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Tinto, V. (1999). Taking retention seriously: Rethinking the first year of college. *NACADA Journal, 19*(2), 5-9.

Urion, C. (1999). Changing academic discourse about Native education: Using two pairs of eyes. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 23*(1), 6-15.

Webb, J., Schirato, T., & Danaher, G. (2002). *Understanding Bourdieu.* London: Sage.

Wildcat, D. R. (2001a). Indigenizing education: Playing to our strengths In V. Deloria & D. R. Wildcat (Eds.), *Power and place: Indian education in America* (pp. 7-19). Golden, CO: Fulcrum Resources.

Wildcat, D. R. (2001b). Practical professional Indigenous education. In V. Deloria & D. R. Wildcat (Eds.), *Power and place: Indian education in America* (pp. 113-121). Golden, CO: Fulcrum Resources.

Wildcat, D. R. (2001c). Prelude to a dialogue. In V. Deloria & D. R. Wildcat (Eds.), *Power and place: Indian education in America* (pp. vii). Golden, CO: Fulcrum Resources.

Wildcat, D. R. (2001d). Understanding the crisis in American education. In V. Deloria & D. R. Wildcat (Eds.), *Power and place: Indian education in America* (pp. 29-39). Golden, CO: Fulcrum Resources.

Direct reprint requests to:

Michelle Pidgeon, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
Faculty of Education
Simon Fraser University
250-13450 102 Avenue
Surrey, BC, Canada V3T 0A3
e-mail: michelle_pidgeon@sfu.ca