

**NATIVE AMERICAN URBAN RELOCATION COLLABORATIVE ORAL HISTORY
COLLECTION: ESTABLISHING A COMMUNITY REPOSITORY AND
DEVELOPING COMMUNITY-DRIVEN COLLECTION AND ARCHIVAL
PRACTICES**

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Veronica M. Saldivar

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The Undersigned Graduate Committee Approves the Project Report Titled
Native American Urban Relocation Collaborative Oral History Collection: Establishing a
Community Repository and Developing Community-Driven Collection and Archival Practices

By

Veronica M. Saldivar

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Dr. Jan English-Lueck, Department of Anthropology

Date

Dr. Charlotte Sunseri, Department of Anthropology

Date

Mr. Alan Leventhal, M.A, Department of Anthropology

Date

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ABSTRACT

To document the lived experiences of Santa Clara County urban Indians who participated in the Indian Relocation Program, the San Jose State University Anthropology Department partnered with the New Museum Los Gatos to collect oral histories from local program participants. The interviews were the basis of a documentary short video on view during the Cement Prairie exhibit at the New Museum Los Gatos in November of 2016. The goal of my project is to facilitate the establishment of a repository within the local American Indian community for this collection of oral histories. The collection recounts the lived experiences of urban Indian relocatees and subsequent generations. Considerate of the potential effects of historical trauma within the local urban Indian community, my practice follows an indigenous research paradigm that supports a collaborative and service driven relationship between San Jose State University, the urban American Indian community, and identified stakeholders. Therefore, my primary foci of inquiry are (1) how the local urban Indian community wishes to use these oral histories and (2) which community organization has stakeholder support and the capacity to archive the collection for future community development and curation. To ascertain this information, I talked to people in San Jose's American Indian community who were most keenly concerned with constructing a repository for the oral histories. I used an ethnographic interview format to solicit their feedback as critical stakeholders to better understand how to curate the material collaboratively. Additionally, I engaged in participant-observation to develop a more emic perspective of the local urban American Indian community in which my project was situated. The product of my research is a set of practices for the storage, development, and sustainability of the local urban Indian communities' oral history collection. The set of practices are designed for use by local urban Indian community groups, members, and stakeholders to

collect, and archive additional oral histories. A primary benefit of my project for the urban Indian community is a set of practices that connects local American Indian groups and members to resources within Santa Clara County. The intent of connecting individuals and groups to resources is to promote the growth and sustainability of the collection thus creating a cultural legacy to be held by the local American Indian community.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	1
Project Overview	2
Background.....	3
Creating Social Networks: Building an Urban American Indian Community.....	4
Timeline of US Government American Indian Policy.....	12
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	16
Historical Trauma	16
Indigenous Paradigm: Decolonizing Practices.....	23
Collaborative Anthropology	27
Curation as Social Practice	28
3. METHODS	31
Identifying Stakeholders	32
Stakeholder Interview Findings	34
Participant Observation: Collecting Oral Histories.....	37
4. ESTABLISHING A COMMUNITY REPOSITORY	40
Locating a Local American Indian Community Repository	40
The Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley: Programming, Resources and Capacity	42
Establishing a Repository: Multiple Archival Sites.....	47
5. INFORMATIVE KEY FINDINGS AND PROJECT DELIVERABLE	52
Navigating Historical Trauma.....	53
Demonstrating Deference and Trust	55
Building and Supporting Community	57
Connecting Elders and Youth	58
Allocating Resources	61
Building Sustainability.....	62
Project Deliverable: A Brief Guide to Collecting Oral Histories	63
6. PROJECT OUTCOMES.....	63
Conclusion	66
Bibliography	68
Appendices.....	73
Appendix A: Interview Questions.....	73
Appendix B: Indian Health Center Consent Form.....	74

Appendix C: SJSU ScholarWorks Consent Form..... 75
Appendix D: Letter of Agreement for Repository 76
Appendix E: A Brief Guide to Collecting Oral Histories 77

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Stakeholder Respondents/Stakeholder Categories.....	33
Table 2. Challenges to Growing and Archiving the Collection.....	35

1. INTRODUCTION

During the first months of 2016, the New Museum Los Gatos in Los Gatos, California partnered with San Jose State University Department of Anthropology to create an exhibit about Americans Indians who relocated to San Jose through participation in the Indian Relocation Program of the 1950s. The principal investigators for the exhibit were Amy Long, curator with New Museum Los Gatos and three faculty members from SJSU Department of Anthropology: Drs. Jan English-Lueck, A.J. Faas, and Charlotte Sunseri. The SJSU team was responsible for collecting visual material, a written review of the literature, and the interviewing and recording of several generations of relocatees. The end result was visual and written information for the exhibit as well as a documentary. The SJSU team separated the project into distinct phases of collection, analysis, and video production. To assist the principal investigators from both organizations, SJSU undergraduate and graduate students aided in all aspects of collection, analysis, and exhibit preparation.

The purpose of the project was to create a historical testament to a specific government policy and the many ways the effects of the policy are lived and experienced across many sociocultural settings by individuals across generations. Both the interviews and the findings were made available to the public in November 2016 at the NUMU Cement Prairie exhibit which included the documentary, *Voices of American Indian Relocation*, produced by SJSU. The exhibit retold the Indian Relocation Program from an American Indian perspective by those who lived the experience and by those who were affected by the program.

Statement of Problem

My project developed from my participation in the collection and analyzing of ethnographic material for the exhibit. During the spring of 2016 and 2017, relocatees and

subsequent generations of relocatees' oral histories were video or audio recorded by the Department of Anthropology faculty and graduate students in relation to the SJSU San Jose Experience of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project. As a result, the anthropology department holds a collection of oral histories for ten individuals. In keeping within an indigenous research paradigm, Dr. Jan English-Lueck and I discussed the necessity of sharing the collection with the local American Indian community. By sharing the oral histories with the local urban American Indian community, the community is a steward of their own cultural legacy. Therefore, the community is able to grow and curate the lived experiences of their members in ways meaningful and relevant to an urban, tribal or multi-tribal cultural system and specific community needs. Thus, my project goal is the establishment of a local urban American Indian community repository to house the relocatee oral history collection. The project deliverable is a set of processes to collect and archive oral histories. To reach project goals, I engaged in participant-observation and conducted a stakeholder analysis to understand local American Indian perspectives on the use of the oral history collection and where to archive within the community.

Project Overview

My report is sectioned into six chapters that cover the project from inception to completion. In chapter 1: *Introduction*, I describe how recently relocated American Indians to San Jose developed sociocentric networks or hubs in places such as bars and through alumni affiliations, for example, that became essential support systems and the beginning of a local American Indian community in Santa Clara County. I end the chapter highlighting specific U.S. policies towards American Indians that significantly shaped their social, economic and political systems ending with the Urban Relocation Program. The timeline overview provides context to

understanding historical trauma, a thread that runs throughout my project. Chapter 2: *Literature Review*, forms the theoretical foundation of my project. In this section, I cover academic perspectives on historical trauma, indigenous research, collaborative anthropology and curation practices. In Chapter 3: *Methods*, I discuss research methods used to collect information and perform a stakeholder analysis. My focus is on ethnographic methods. In this section I provide a deeper description of the stakeholders involved in the project. Additionally, I detail stakeholder findings. The ethnographic findings answer the essential questions of my project: which local American Indian serving organization is a likely repository for the oral history collection and how should the collection be used. For chapter 4: *Establishing a Community Repository*, I rely on my interview and field notes to provide a descriptive account of the processes involved to establish a community archive. Additionally, I talk about the creation of the archive as a newly formed hub. Chapter 5: *Informative Key Findings and Project Deliverable*, includes my project deliverable, *A Brief Guide to Collecting Oral Histories*, and focuses on the influences and considerations involved in creating the oral history guide. In this chapter, I highlight six key findings that surfaced in both the stakeholder analysis and my participant observations from attending local American Indian events and programs. Lastly, in Chapter 6: *Conclusion*, I review my project goals and determine goal attainment based on project evidence in the final chapter. I discuss project outcomes, and conclude the chapter reflecting on the project as a whole.

Background

I use anthropologist Reyna Ramirez's concept of hubs to frame my discussion of my project. According to Ramirez, a hub is "a mechanism to support Native notions of culture, community, identity, and belonging away from tribal land bases (2007,1). Moreover, "urban Indians create hubs through signs and behaviors, such as phone calling, e-mailing, memory

sharing, storytelling...” (Ramirez 2007, 3). Hubs can be both physical places as well as social events or virtual (Ramirez 2007, 3). I assert the processes involved in community driven oral history collection and curation are hub making and reinforcing practices. In *Creating Social Networks: Building an Urban American Indian Community*, I lay the groundwork for my assertion by highlighting the role hubs played in the creation of a local urban American Indian community in San Jose as well as the history of organizations hubs within Santa Clara County. Later in the chapter I discuss the history of state and federal socioeconomic policies that disrupted and in many cases systematically dismantled elements of American Indian cultural systems in *Timeline of US Government American Indian Policy*. This section provides context to understand the multigenerational effects of historical trauma experienced by American Indians today. Historical trauma and the related psychosocial ills are acknowledged by community members and American Indian organizations such as the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley. Therefore, I discuss ways in which the hub making processes of collecting and curating American Indian oral histories can aid in healing historical trauma, grow community, and promote decolonization.

Creating Social Networks: Building an Urban American Indian Community

In January of 2017, I attended a Cement Prairie exhibit event at the New Museum Los Gatos. The event hosted panelists of American Indian elders who had participated in the Urban Relocation Program. Most of the panelists were local urban American Indian community members that had consented to sharing their oral history for the combined project between SJSU Anthropology Department and the New Museum Los Gatos. Amy Long, the curator of the Cement Prairie exhibit moderated the panel discussion. The panelist discussed their reasons for participating in the program and the development of the local American Indian

community in the Bay Area. When the panel was asked, “why relocate” the answer was a general consensus for a better life and employment opportunities. Many of the panelists talked about difficulty finding employment on the reservation. Others talked of the benefits of the program such as meeting other American Indians from different tribes. Hank LeBeau mentioned being surprised to learn there were Indian tribes in California such as the Pomo, for example. The elders also described experiencing a lesser degree of racism or had no experience of racism upon relocating to San Jose. Some recalled both gaining independence and learning to be independent. Having participated in the Urban Relocation Program for their own personal reasons, once in the Bay Area, they began to build a multi-tribal community of urban American Indian in Santa Clara County.

Listening to the elders, I heard the process by which an urban American Indian community of relocatees in Santa Clara County was created through the development of sociocentric networks or hubs. “Indeed, the hub suggests how landless Native Americans maintain a sense of connection to their tribal homelands and urban spaces through participation in cultural circuits and maintenance of social networks”, writes Ramirez (2007, 3). Laverne Roberts, an oral history interviewee, views hubs as “... almost like a virtual reality type of thing. [A hub] is a meeting and branching out and doing things. [A hub] is not just a place, but it's who you're with is the hub”. Within this sociocentric system of community building, there are multiple hubs linked together to form an expanded system that may receive and provide resources and cultural information, for example, with one another. Each node or hub is a structure of relationships based on some premise of unification such as being a relocated American Indian in a new urban city. For example, several panelists saw the Indian Center in San Francisco as one of the first community hubs in the Bay Area. Arvine Pilcher, echoing other

elders, mentioned meeting other relocatees from different tribes at the center. For others, the Haskell School experience and status as alumni became one way to connect and relate to other relocatees. Fellowship with other Native Americans created through the Haskell connection was a significant contributor to hub-building and creating a new cross-tribal Native American community within Santa Clara County. Urban American Indian community building was also done in local bars such as Cinebar in downtown San Jose. It was one social place where relocated Indians could gather, link with new arrivals, and effectively share local and tribal news with one another. Later, through the organization of local multi tribal powwows, intercity sports teams, and American Indian community centers in San Jose, sociocentric networks were created and broadened. For example, the Indian Community Center in San Jose was established by relocatees linked through their shared experiences as Haskell graduates. Elder Shawnee Hardridge talked about the Friendship House and powwows in the Bay Area as hubs. Hank LeBeau asserts relocated American Indians introduced powwows to California Indians. As an example of the cultural transmission between hubs across geographical space, he went on to say that relocated Indians perfected the powwow and then relocatees brought a heightened powwow experience back to reservations. Laverne Roberts, a relocatee, states in her oral history:

As Indian people, remember, we didn't have places to go and we needed to connect more than anything else. Stanford is part of the community. We would always support the Stanford powwow when they first started; because, it was started by students in whatever way we could do that; we did. And one of the things that Stanford did, started was no alcohol and drugs. Because back then there was nothing but alcohol. And in the powwows and everything people would be drinking and it was the norm back then. They wanted to, to change and so they were one if the first um, this is my assumption. I could

be wrong, but from my memories they made a stand and no more, no alcohol. They would hire security guards, which means us from the community. I would be one, Leon Chief Elk would be another, and Sherry and Hank would be part of the security. We would not allow anyone there with alcohol within that circle.

Laverne's experience highlights the process by which a new link between hubs, Stanford and the greater American Indian community, was created. She continues:

And it was really hard the first five years; because, they, it was just the norm with drinking. It's not now, where you can go in and you can feel safe. It's alcohol and drug free. Because, it took that long, all the way from the seventies until now to make it a norm. And, it is now a norm throughout the country. It's how things start, to me, that's why I call it hubs, we're a hub here, and then when we go back home. We bring some of the things we learn into that place as we move on. That's what's so great about it, ... 67% of Indian population are now in urban settings because of the relocation program.

Laverne's description of the local American Indian community's involvement in the Stanford powwow is an example of the linkage and function of hubs in which evolving American Indian sociocultural practices are filtered through urban experiences and an urban environment. These practices, such as the Stanford powwow becoming a non-alcoholic event, are then retransmitted to reservations and other urban centers. This creates a continuous cycle of filtering and exchange of cultural information and practices reinforcing an evolving American Indian identity. Thus, hubs support the cohesion of American Indian communities in varied forms such as a powwow across geographical spaces.

The development of a local urban American Indian community in Santa Clara county includes prominent organizational hubs such as the Indian Community Center of San Jose, the

Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley, and the American Indian Alliance. The Indian Community Center of San Jose established in 1969 by American Indian county residents was a significant hub within the local urban American Indian community (About Us: IHC History n.d.). The center included a library as well as social and economic services offered to local urban American Indians representing indigenous peoples from “approximately 60 different tribes” (La Oferta 1990). According to Al Cross, a community elder and leader, the center along with the library closed sometime after 1990 due to funding and management problems. The books and other material items from the library were given to the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley to archive. Another hub organization, the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley grew from a health service provided by the Indian Community Center of San Jose to a separate incorporated health agency in 1977 (About Us: IHC History n.d.). The IHC website states, “the newly incorporated Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley, Inc. started as a poorly funded not-for-profit clinic with no private examination rooms, dental chairs held together with dental floss, and no running water” (About Us: IHC History n.d.). The health center has since grown to have multiple locations within the county expanding its services to cover both medical and social aspects of both individual and community health. Importantly, the agency has multiple funding sources including the federal government to support long-term presence in Santa Clara County. Lastly, the American Indian Alliance of Santa Clara Valley was established in 1993 by American Indian community members in the county to offer social, educational, and cultural programs and events to “develop and enrich the local American Indian Community” (Who We Are: n.d.). The American Indian Alliance continues to provide social and cultural programs and events throughout the year. Some events such as annual powwows and holiday community gatherings can have several hundred or more attendees. Funding is a challenge for the American

Indian Alliance as is attracting regular volunteers. The organization's funding relies on small grants mostly from the IHC, gift and food donations from local businesses for events, and donations from AIA members. In summary, all three organizations worked as hubs to connect local American Indians to one another and develop a sense of community. This was done in part through cultural programs and events that reinforce American Indian identity. However, with the Indian Community Center of San Jose and library gone; the shortage of funding and volunteers at the American Indian Alliance, one of the most stable American Indian organization in Santa Clara County is now the Indian Health Center.

California has the largest population of American Indians and Alaskan Natives numbering 723,225 (census 2010). 12,960 of these individuals live in Santa Clara County representing just 7% of the of the diversity in the area, the second smallest ethnic group (census 2010). There is a significant increase in the numbers of American Indians and Alaskan Natives into the county during the Urban Relocation Program. In Santa Clara County during the 1950 census, American Indians were tabulated at 0% of the population with 144 individuals. In the 1960 census, the numbers had more than quadrupled. Except for the 1990 census, each decade has seen an increase in the American Indian and Alaskan Native population in the county.

Though the population grows steadily, it is minimal in comparison to the size and growth rate of other ethnic groups into the area. Moreover, unlike other resettled immigrants to Santa Clara County, there are no specific areas predominantly American Indian. There are no neighborhoods made up of mostly American Indian residents or shopping centers designed for and catering to American Indian needs and services. Urban American Indian community leader, Al Cross states:

But it was so difficult to get what we call the Indian community; because, there was just such a small number of Indians in a large city like San Jose. There was no particular area

that we could make an enclave in. Or we didn't have enough population to make an enclave, which protected other minorities when they came, or other immigrants when they came to the cities.

Cross's statement reflects how relocated American Indians in the area are interspersed among other ethnic groups. His view supports the need and importance of hub practices to reinforce American Indian identity, multi-tribal practices, and an urban American Indian community. Hubs play an integral role in building a local urban American Indian community from a diverse multi-tribal American Indian population. In support, Laverne Roberts, another urban American Indian community leader, reinforces the importance of social events and the role American Indian organizations play as hubs:

Well, I'm one of the founders of the American Indian Alliance and when I was here in San Jose our community was more fragmented than anything else. And, I took a survey when I worked for the county, and I found out that we have over one hundred different tribes here in Santa Clara County, which is a huge county over a million-millions of people all the way from Palo Alto to Gilroy is part of Santa Clara County here. And we never had, the only thing that we had was the Indian Center and it went under and then we had the health center left. And I always felt that more than anything else, as Indian people we needed a place, uh, to meet more than anything else. It's almost like, like communications by phone here in the city and we would call each other and meet places. So, to me, that is what I called our hubs - is wherever we are meeting. That was our hub and our community more than anything else.

Creating the American Indian Alliance organization became a way to unify American Indians within Santa Clara County regardless of tribal affiliation or tribal location in the Americas. The

unifying factor within this hub was identification as American Indian. Lavern speaks to the transmission of information from hub out to linked individuals and groups as she continues:

And, I say ‘Can you imagine if we had a hub here’. And it's something really important. And we needed to get that information out to different places, uh, because out of one hundred different tribes here they lived on over one hundred and six towns and reservations throughout here, Canada and all over. So, if we had information to [share] from our little hub, we would phone call and tell everyone what was going on. And that word would get out in half an hour. So, you know, it's amazing the communication that we have here from all different tribes and teaching each other their ways and our ways. And working together to me was always really important because family and community was important.

Roberts’s view highlights the important function of hub and hub making practices which reinforce an American Indian identity, an urban American Indian identity. This urban identity enables other relocatees in the county to build and maintain a multi-tribal American Indian community in an ethnically diverse area such as Santa Clara County.

The nine interviews collected for the oral history collection are witness to a specific government policy, the Urban Relocation Program. This program focused on assimilating reservation American Indians into the larger dominant culture. The purpose was the eventual end to federal government support of U.S. indigenous groups. Moreover, the oral histories offer a rich insight into the lived experiences of relocated American Indians that came from reservations and Indian schools to Santa Clara County. These lived experiences reveal the creation of a new urban American Indian community that supported and maintained an American Indian identity. It also played a significant role in the development of new kinship networks based on shared

experiences such as Indian school alumni, for example, that are still active today. Jackie Tulee states in her interview:

And along the way, we found...there were powwows down here. Well, let's go. (laughs)
And, you look around, and... "Don't I know you? You went to Haskell"? And that seemed to be the connection with everybody was Haskell. And we ended up...a lot of us ended up...formed a club. And it was just a get-together. It ended up being more like family, like we'd made up our own tribe.

These voices of urban American Indian community elders capture the history of urban American Indians in the county and describe the ways in which community was built and maintained in San Jose for close to six decades.

Growing and archiving the collection contributes to the further development of the urban American Indian community, an American Indian identity, and reinforces hub making practices. Collection involves the coordinating of activity and gathering community resources such as, individuals and groups, in support of a common purpose: capturing the experiences of elder urban American Indian relocatees in the county. The practices involved in oral history collection such as interviewing along with dissemination become a mechanism by which local urban American Indian can connect intra-generationally, continue to build community, and transmit cultural information.

Timeline of US Government American Indian Policy

Historical perspectives are far from objective. Differing groups have their own version of historical events that are filtered through their cultural system. However, the privileged historical narrative typically belongs to the dominant group. Since the inception of the United States, federal and state governments have had a hegemonic relationship with American Indian groups

through social and economic policies. The Executive Office of President in a 2014 report on native youth states, “despite the United States' historic and sacred trust responsibility to Indian tribes, there is a history of deeply troubling and destructive federal policies and actions that have hurt Native communities, exacerbated severe inequality, and accelerated the loss of tribal cultural traditions” (2014 Native Youth Report. Accessed May 2018). This relationship between sovereign nations can be delineated into important historical policy periods. The policy timeline starts in the 18th century with a span of treaty making between nations, U.S. and American Indian tribes. This was followed by a period of Indian relocation and the establishment of reservations before transforming into policies aimed at assimilation and land allotment in the 19th and 20th centuries. Early in the twentieth century, a 20-year policy period of tribal self-governance was reversed by termination policies that were written to promote tribal self-determination. A policy that is still in effect in the twenty-first century. These socioeconomic policies have shaped and reshaped American Indian lives and tribal lands in significant ways creating a multigenerational history of disfranchisement.

Early in the policy timeline the U.S. Congress was granted federal authority over acquisition of Indian land and trade during the new nation’s development. Later, this same political body was also granted absolute power over tribal political systems (Collins 2006, 3-24). States often acted in open disregard to federal authority by acquiring and moving Indians off lands protected by federal treaties (Collins 2006, 3-24). The Indian Removal Act of 1830 severely reshaped Indian Territory and began the Indian reservation system. Indian groups throughout the U.S. were relocated through treaties and military action to other parts of the country where they saw significant reduction in territory (Sandefur 1989, 37-38). Also, during this time Indian boarding schools were established in 1860 by the Bureau of Indian Affairs;

attendance most often was compulsory either through policy or because of poverty. Education became a tool of assimilation removing American Indian children from their families and distancing them from tribal culture. Compulsory attendance ended in the early 1900s. Though the following policy was designed to protect Indian lands and promote acculturation, the Dawes Act of 1887 eventually diminished protection of tribal lands. The act required the break-up and parceling of Indian land to individual Indian tribal members. It was not until 1924 that tribal Indians were recognized as U.S. citizens without requiring renouncement of tribal affiliation (Collins 2006, 3-24). Over time, the least productive land in terms of agriculture or mineral resources were left in individual or tribal land holdings while more lucrative Indian land had been sold to non-Indians or ceded to the federal and state governments as a result of the Dawes Act. The federal aim of the act was to “destroy tribal economic power and assimilate Indians to European-American commercial values” (Wolfley 2011, 170). The policy resulted in increased poverty and poor health among American Indians. 10 years later, in response to the failure of the Dawes Act, the Indian Reorganization Act was passed in 1934. The policy was intended to improve conditions for American Indians through tribal self-governance. One way this was done was through federal protection of previously allotted Indian lands. This created a tribal land base once again and reinstated reservations. Furthermore, to aid in self-governance, tribes were encouraged to adopt tribal constitutions that were in some cases federally sponsored rather than tribally initiated. The policy remained in effect until 1953. In 1953 the U.S. federal government begins its termination program calling for the eventual end of tribal sovereignty and federal supervision of Indian lands among other program goals. As a result, The Indian Relocation Act of 1956 was passed. The intent of the act was to promote Indian self-determination. The Indian Relocation Program designed and run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs recruited American

Indians from reservations to relocate to major U.S. urban centers. Of the seven destination cities of the program, San Jose, California was one. The program ran for two decades moving American Indians away from tribal lands and into comparatively large urban centers. The move to urban centers was meant to foster assimilation into the dominant cultural group. It was also meant to decrease government dependency through vocational training allowing for a more fully self-supporting American Indian population. Following the Indian Relocation Program (1953 to 1969) more Indians now live in urban environments than on reservations (About US: IHC History n.d.).

The American Indian and Alaskan Native population in the United States is 5.2 million as of the 2010 U.S. census (www.census.gov). This figure comprises of individuals who claim either a single race or AI/AN in combination with other races. Of this population 3.7 million or 71% currently live in urban areas (www.uihi.org). However, prior to the 1950s, most American Indians lived in rural areas or on reservations. This began to change significantly in the 1950s with the introduction of The Indian Relocation Program. In response to the federal government's termination policy, the program of Japanese American relocation was used as a template for the Indian Relocation Program (Fixico 2000, 10). The Indian Relocation Program was designed to move Indians off reservations and into urban settings where stable employment and housing could be achieved while increasing the opportunity for social assimilation (About Us: IHC History n.d.). During the span of the program from 1955 to 1969 a large migration of American Indians settled into urban centers such as San Jose, California. The development of the San Jose urban American Indian community began with the first program participants' arrival. The individual narratives that make-up the oral history collection tell the story of how multi-tribal American Indians created a new community that reinforced their concept of themselves as

American Indian. The narratives also share the multi-generational impact of a history of disempowering U.S. policies on the lives of American Indians on the reservation and in urban environments.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, I discuss in depth the theories that guide my practice and inform my deliverable. I begin with a discussion of historical trauma. The collective traumatic experience within communities historically subjugated through colonial practices are what scholars Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, Lemyra DeBruyn, Carol Kidron, Les B. Whitbeck et al., and Maurice Eisenbruch term historical grief or cultural bereavement. Also critical of the effects of colonialism, the indigenous research paradigm is a direct response to the historical and present effects of colonial practices and systems. Academics Susan Miller, Amy Lonetree, and Linda Tuhiwai, argue that to counter balance the damage done to indigenous groups through colonial systems of practice, decolonizing practice need to be adopted into Euro-American research such as collaborative and service driven relationship with indigenous groups. Like the indigenous paradigm anthropologist Luke Lassiter's view of collaborative anthropology sees the practice as collaborative and in service to the betterment of sociocultural groups. Furthermore, anthropologist Christina Kreps describes the social practice of meaning making in indigenous curatorial collections. She paints a holistic picture of curation as revealing the social, economic, and political relationships involved in meaning making that can instruct viewers.

Historical Trauma

The two highest reported lifetime mental health challenges among American Indians and Alaskan Natives for both men and women are alcohol abuse and posttraumatic stress disorder (Sarche and Spicer 2008). Relocatee oral history participants Hank LeBeau and Mildred Doris

Brown-Rodriguez share traumatic experiences in their interview. For example, feelings of loneliness upon arrival, talk of problematic alcohol use and its negative effects on self and community, and the damaging effects of the American Indians' long relationship to a hegemonic state surfaced in these retold life experiences. Historical unresolved grief or cultural bereavement is experienced through subsequent generations and is the root for many of the psychosocial problems faced by Native Americans today (Brave Heart and DeBruyn 1998; Eisenbruch 1991; Kidron 2003; and Whitbeck et al. 2004). Clinical social worker, Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart and medical anthropologist, Lemyra M. DeBruyn frame the long-term effects of physical violence and abusive sociopolitical policies and practices towards Native Americans as historical unresolved grief. Moreover, Eisenbruch defines cultural bereavement as the traumatic loss of sociocultural structures and systems due to migration, for instance, and the consequent grief or loss experienced in physical and psychosocial symptoms (1991).

Anthropologist Carol Kidron's work focuses on the intergenerational effects of historical trauma on Native Americans and the use of cultural group memory and identity with descendants to allow expression of ethnic suffering and healing. Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder encompasses many collectively experienced traumatic events such as genocide and forced relocation, for example. Kidron states intergenerational transmission of historical suffering is experienced through a sociocultural framework specific to a culture that inform how individuals and groups experience past, current, and envision future events. More specifically, Kidron writes, "In search of their troubled familial or ethnic legacy, descendants of trauma survivors around the world are now undertaking the arduous task of resurrecting the past and exploring the long-term effects of trauma in their own lives" (2003, 514). Kidron asserts that descendent groups can access traumatic memories from previous generations. Thus, she connects traumatic historical events to

sociocultural difficulties faced by current generations. For example, she cites psychological therapeutic work involving descendants of Holocaust survivors participating in group therapy. Kidron examines their personal narratives and processes of identity making in these groups to the reintegration of painful memories. She writes, “It is the communal context of group memory work that allows the descendant to make the link between present problems and the Holocaust-related traumatic past” (Kidron 2003, 519). In summary, Kidron working with group memory and identity asserts that the effects of historical trauma are passed to subsequent generations through culture specific frameworks and may be at the root of some psychosocial problems facing recent generations. Furthermore, therapeutic intervention requires group or community involvement. The collective experience, Kidron, states is necessary to connect historically traumatic events with social, health, and economic problems facing member of groups today, such as Native Americans.

In addition, clinical social worker, Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart and medical anthropologist, Lemyra M. DeBruyn posit that social problems faced by Native Americans today can be viewed through the lens of historical unresolved grief. This theory provides a unique insight that can be used as a tool of intervention to support the resolution of psychosocial ills. To support their theory, the authors’ cite the abundant research on Holocaust survivors and survivors of trauma with the transmission of maladaptive coping traits as a result of PTSD to subsequent generations. Unresolved grief or disenfranchised grief results when culturally normative expressions of grief are denied, or the process of grieving is made unavailable to a group. The result of unprocessed emotions arising from loss and grief amplifies feelings of “anger, sadness, guilt, and hopelessness” (Brave Heart and DeBruyn 1998, 67). Alcohol abuse can be seen to be an outcome of historical unresolved grief:

We could explain American Indian alcohol abuse—a self-destructive act often associated with depression—as an outcome of internalized aggression, internalized oppression, and unresolved grief and trauma. In this view, anger and oppression are acted out upon oneself and others like the self, i.e., members of one’s group (Brave Heart and DeBruyn state 1998, 69).

In support of Brave Heart and DeBruyn’s view of the effects of historical trauma, Hank LeBeau in his narrative recalls:

The same time I drank like a fish too. I was a young... never realizing it was complicating into a form of alcoholism that, later on, I straightened that out. But it took me ‘till some experiences, you know, of jail, of drunk driving, and some things you had to go through alive to learn to get your path straight.

Moving towards a method to process historical unresolved grief, Brave Heart and DeBruyn observe that, “some tribal programs are incorporating elders and teaching storytelling skills about tribal history to youth which further serve to heighten historical awareness, germane to our model of healing” (1998, 70). Here the storytelling, the recounting of tribal history becomes a tool of intervention. In addition to the need for historical awareness, “communal support, strength, identity, and the maintenance or replacement of extended family networks” is key for both individual and group intervention success (Brave Heart and DeBruyn 1998, 71). The authors point to the need to make visible historical traumatic events in Native American history through audiovisual aids to increase group awareness and begin engagement in the healing process.

Les Whitbeck et al. seek to answer two important questions regarding historical trauma among Native Americans. First, are the negative psychosocial problems symptomatic of current

socioeconomic conditions resulting from historical trauma or derived directly from historically traumatic events? Second, what is the prevalence in most recent generations? To answer these questions, the researchers have developed two measurements: the historical loss scale and the historical loss associated symptom scale. Determining the origin of traumatic symptoms allows for identification of processes involved in generational transference. Equally important is measuring how far reaching the prevalence of historical trauma and historical grief is in Native American populations as well as the symptoms. The researchers used both qualitative and quantitative analysis to measure perceptions and symptoms. Using an exploratory factor analysis, the results revealed a significant connection between historical loss and problematic thoughts and behaviors in one tribe studied. “Our preliminary results indicate that perceptions of historical loss lead to emotional responses typically associated with anger/avoidance and anxiety/depression” writes Whitbeck et al. (2004, 127). Of the 160 participants “only 18.2% never felt feelings of sadness or depression in regard to thoughts about historical losses, and only 25.3% said that they never felt intrusive thoughts regarding historical losses (i.e., “like you were remembering these losses when you don’t want to”)” (Whitbeck et al. 2004, 125). In summary, Whitbeck et al.’s findings support Brave Heart and DeBruyn’s theory of historical trauma and the lasting multigenerational effects:

The threats to their way of life and culture have been ongoing, the losses are so salient because that are not truly ‘historical’ in the sense that they began a long time ago. There has been a continual, persistent, and progressive process of loss that began with military defeat and continues through to today with loss of culture. The losses are not over. They are continuing day by day (2004, 128).

Furthermore, the highest variables associated with perceived loss were language, spiritual ways, culture, and deference by children for traditional way (Whitbeck et al. 2004, 124).

For a cross-cultural perspective of historical trauma, anthropologist Maurice Eisenbruch's work focuses on displaced and relocated populations. For example, he discusses Cambodian refugees living in America and Australia. He views these groups as experiencing psychosocial difficulties and physical problems due to cultural bereavement. His ethnographic findings suggest that cultural bereavement is often interpreted as PTSD in Euro-American psychiatry. This diagnosis is made on the basis of a Euro-American interpretation of physical or biological signs of stress. What remains unrecognized is another cultural system's expression of grief, victimization, and alienation as the root cause of these signs of stress and problems. Thus, Euro-American treatments are prescribed and according to Eisenbruch may be ineffective. He argues that culturally enacted symptoms of grief can be mediated or lessened through spiritual and healing practices of the originating cultural system. In the case of Cambodian children relocated to foster families in the West, for example, problematic psychosocial expression such as anger and anxiety, can potentially be alleviated by connecting these children with individuals and groups practicing Cambodian spiritual practices. Particularly with foster families in the U.S., Cambodian children had less access to Cambodian culture and were encouraged to assimilate more so than foster families in Australia. Consequently, Cambodian foster children in the U.S. "continued to be immersed in the past, thinking often about their families and more preoccupied than they had been at the time of arrival" (Eisenbruch 1991, 674).

An oral history participant, Mildred's experiences are similar to Eisenbruch's description of Cambodian foster children in the U.S. She remembers that she "... cried for about three years for my mom" after arriving at Stewart Indian School where rigid conformity to institutional

practices of assimilation were expected. Moreover, Eisenbruch states that “refugees are unable to mourn because they are powerless to carry out their religious and cultural traditions” (1991, 678). He also suggests that the concept of cultural bereavement can encompass more “subtle traumas such as loss of identity” which may be more difficult to determine clinically than more obvious trauma (Eisenbruch 1991, 678). In this view, forced policies of American Indian assimilation such a compulsory attendance of government sanctioned Indian schools, can be viewed as traumatic due to loss of cultural practices, language, and beliefs that connect one to a group and therefore a tribal identity. Thus, clinical treatment may be enhanced by the inclusion of culturally meaningful practices. As an example, the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley uses culturally specific practices to engage with American Indian patients and to design program interventions such as the San Jose Youth Empowerment Program for increased efficacy. Finally, Eisenbruch calls for more research on cultural bereavement particularly for cultural comparisons across groups under differing conditions using variables such as lifecycle, sociopolitical policies, and host country, for instance.

These scholars posit that by viewing the social problems faced by Native Americans today through the lens of historical unresolved grief or trauma, more efficacious interventions and treatments can be designed to aid in the resolution of psychosocial problems (Brave Heart and DeBruyn 1998; Eisenbruch 1991; Kidron 2003; and Whitbeck 2004). This viewpoint is in alignment with the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley’s youth intervention program design. The program description makes a clear connection between the psychosocial problems faced by young urban American Indians and historical trauma. Moreover, Brave Heart and DeBruyn point to the need to make visible historical traumatic events in Native American history through audiovisual aids to increase group awareness and begin engagement in the healing

process (1998). Both the process of collecting oral histories particularly from American Indian elders and viewing the oral histories communally can potentially be used as an aid to support program intervention goals. Finally, the relocatee oral history collection is a historical testament to a specific government policy. In support of Eisenbruch's call for more research on cultural bereavement of groups under differing conditions and variables, the narratives reveal the many ways the effects of the urban relocation policy are lived and experienced across many sociocultural settings by American Indian individuals across generations.

Indigenous Paradigm: Decolonizing Practices

The pan-Indian activist movement of the 1970s resulted in a significant shift in thought and practice in indigenous studies. The new indigenous paradigm focuses on a worldview of indigenous beliefs and practices while rejecting Euro-American narratives of indigenous histories, cultural systems, and methodological practices involving indigenous engagement (Lonetree 2012; Miller 2008; and Smith 1999). The larger movement is a process by which indigenous groups can influence nation-state sociopolitical and environmental policies and practices to reinforce self-determination and free themselves from a hegemonic relationship.

Native American historian Susan Miller writes that the new indigenous paradigm has four main principles: "indigenesness, sovereignty, colonization, and decolonization" (2008, 10). The general summation of Indigenous beliefs holds that the spiritual world as well as the living environment are conscious beings and should be afforded the same political and social rights to exist without harm. Furthermore, harm done to spirits and the environment create negative consequences for all humanity. Thus, an indigenous perspective requires the respectful interaction between spiritual realm, environment, and people to ensure balance as a whole entity or community of living beings. On the view of colonization and government regulation, the

concept of indigenous sovereignty rejects Euro-American views. Euro-American views reveal “that sovereignty assumes that the state has vast rights to control individual behavior in stark contrast to Indigenous legal principles whereby those rights reside in the individual” (Alfred 1999, 13). Miller also states that traditionally American historians have not critically engaged with the colonial practices of the United States in relation to indigenous peoples. However, when the topic is discussed, the language used presents the information as a historical wrong rather than a reverberating event affecting the present. This viewpoint echoes Brave Heart and DeBruyn, Eisenbruch, Kidron, and Whitbeck et al.’s perspective that historical trauma is not confined to a specific spatial and temporal event but can be experienced across generations (Brave Heart and DeBruyn 1998; Eisenbruch 1991; Kidron 2003; and Whitbeck et al. 2004). Moreover, Miller and other indigenous historians connect U.S. colonizing practices to acts of genocide and brutality. To counterbalance the effects of colonization, Miller calls for acts of decolonization: “Indigenous communities and nations decolonize their collective identities and their institutions, and individuals decolonize their minds and their ways of interacting and participating in institutions” (2008, 15). Miller also gives examples of decolonizing projects as those that recover “lapsed Indigenous practices and the utilization of non-Indigenous practices for Indigenous purposes” (2008, 15). She states that there is an energetic movement within tribes to reintroduce tribal practices, beliefs, and knowledge that were stripped away due to colonization to reclaim indigenusness individually and collectively. The relocatee oral history collection and the establishment of a local American Indian community repository has the potential to aid decolonization through the recovery of cultural practices, beliefs, and knowledge. Moreover, to decolonize is to illuminate the practices and effects, past and present, of colonization to allow healing, information contained in the relocatee oral history collection.

My project design follows Miller's perspective on academic projects involving indigenous communities. Miller states "the primary distinguishing characteristic is that indigenous projects are designed as service to an indigenous people or community" (2008, 16). Moreover, gathering and sharing information with the indigenous community is required when applying an indigenous methodology. Indigenous sources are preferred over non-indigenous as the main goal is to build a narrative focused on the lived experiences of indigenous individuals and communities. To Miller's last point, the relocate oral history collection recounts the lived experiences of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Program as well as the growth of a local urban American Indian community in San Jose, California. This cultural information, the oral history collection, is held within the local American Indian community by the establishment of a community repository.

Social scientist Amy Lonetree's work focuses on the historical and contemporary relationship between American Indians and museums. Furthermore, she views Native American activism as the reason indigenous groups desire more inclusion in the process of curation development. Lonetree exposes the role museums have played in the history of Native Americans as both representations of larger sociocultural hegemonic powers and institutions appropriating cultural information. To begin to balance the power in these relationships, she points to the ever-increasing community collaborative models of exhibit design between Native American communities and museums. The shift from academic or expert authority in determining native histories and stories to a more inclusive community driven experience is significant. Native American self-determination and cultural sovereignty is supported through shared authority in the curation process, the process of creating culturally relevant meaning. According to Lonetree, "truth telling" is another critical component of decolonizing museum

practice (2012, 32). She respectfully refutes commentary that views the incorporation of historical trauma into curatorial practices as perpetuating negative Native American stereotypes and a sense of victimization in the Native American community (Lonetree 2012, 33). “Tribal museums bear the responsibility to assist in telling the difficult stories-honestly and rigorously-in our twenty-first-century-museums, so future generations can know the past and find the means to heal,” asserts Lonetree (2012, 33). In summary, Lonetree’s work explores the changing representations of Native American history and culture in relation to museum curation and calls for increased collaboration between museum curation and indigenous communities. Moreover, she highlights the need to openly address the effects of colonial practices and the resulting harm in indigenous communities. The intended effect is improved well-being, empowerment, and community building within these groups.

Dr. Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues the effects and practices of colonization are still present in Euro-American research practices. Smith views research practiced through a positivist paradigm results in the marginalization of indigenous knowledge and beliefs. For example, the concept of the Other based on an ethnocentric construction informs biased views and fuels the exploitation of indigenous peoples. Moreover, Smith investigates the tension between Euro-American and indigenous ways of knowing. On one side is a privileged worldview and the other a marginalized site of resistance. Smith writes, “the past, our stories local and global, the present, our communities, culture, languages and social practices - all may be spaces of marginalization, but they have also become spaces of resistance and hope” (1999, 35). Therefore, indigenous research has developed to promote “self-determination, decolonization and social justice” (1999, 35). Smith uses the term, indigenous, in a broad way to encompass a global shared experience of aboriginal groups with colonization and the lasting effects. This allows for a collective and more

powerful voice in matters affecting indigenous groups locally, nationally, and globally. Indigenous research therefore is done in support and in service of indigenous communities to achieve the communities' research goal.

The main propositions for advancing the indigenous model include addressing colonization, the means of decolonization, indigeness, and sovereignty (Lonetree 2012; Miller 2008; and Smith 1999). Within the indigenous paradigm, colonization is viewed as a process of depleting resources from the colonized through manipulation and violence. Consequently, the process leaves the colonized socioculturally, economically, environmentally, and politically diminished (Miller 2008 and Smith 1999). Scholars Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Amy Lonetree, and Susan Miller argue the effects and practices of colonization are still present in Euro-American research practices. Therefore, engagement in indigenous research requires collaboration, engaging in decolonizing practices, and shared authority.

Collaborative Anthropology

Anthropologist Luke Eric Lassiter traces the emergence of collaborative research practices in anthropology from its roots in both academic and applied practices. Lassiter positions collaborative research within the theoretical lineage of postmodernist and feminist theory (2005, 83). He views postmodernism as having “resituated the goals of anthropology within a more complicated multicultural world instead emphasizing power and voice, subjectivity and dialogue, complexity and critique” (Lassiter 2005, 91). About feminist anthropology he states “...that feminism linked with conventional social science research methods can yield more humane and dialogic accounts that more fully-and more collaboratively-represent the diversity of experience” (Lassiter 2005, 89). He views public anthropology as an outcome of these two directions in thought and practice within the field. Rather than creating

knowledge to reinforce academic authority, public anthropology supports the creation of knowledge to engage and serve the public (Lassiter 2005, 83). Collaborative research supports the goal of public anthropology's main tenet to use the theories and practices of anthropology for the betterment of sociocultural groups.

Additionally, to ensure the vitality and legitimacy of the field, he argues the need to practice anthropology focused on current social concerns (Lassiter 2005, 84). Lassiter references the American Anthropological Association El Dorado Task Force's position on professional engagement with indigenous groups:

Collaborative research involves more than 'giving back' in the form of advocacy and attention to social needs. Only in the collaborative model is there a full give and take, where at every step of the research, the local community will define its needs, and will seek experts both within and without to develop research programs and actions (2005, 84).

In summary, Lassiter positions collaborative research in a historical and theoretical context that supports the co-creation of knowledge and critiques relationships of power and authority through the collaborative process (2005, 85).

Curation as Social Practice

Native activism of the 1970s had a profound effect on the representation of Native American history within museums by the inclusion of indigenous voices and shared authority (Lonetree 2012). Like Amy Lonetree's work, Christina Kreps provides a basis for engaging with the local urban Indian community to develop a set of collection and archival practices that privilege community knowledge, empower and build community.

Anthropologist Christina Kreps views the involvement of anthropology in museum

curatorial practices as applied anthropology. Kreps argues that curation has become a form of social practice, a holistic practice that recognizes and uncovers the sociocultural, economic, and political relationships that create meaning not only for objects but for individuals and groups:

We are now presented with an opportunity to redefine curating as a social practice, by acknowledging the interplay among objects, people, and society. By defining curating as social practice, we can also become more aware of how curatorial work is relative to particular cultural contexts. No one set of practices or curatorial traditions is universal or appropriate (Kreps 2003, 321).

She defines the modern role of curator as researcher, interpreter, and educator (Kreps 2003, 311). Exhibits are instructional and museums have moved their focus away from objects to a more “people - and socially-oriented” focus as “has curating” (Kreps 2003, 312). Moreover, when curating becomes social practice, the exhibit becomes a vehicle for “transmitting cultural values, traditions, and identities through time” (Kreps 2003, 317). Kreps supports a comparative museology to better understand curatorial practices from a cross-cultural perspective to see how “curating is a social practice linked to specific kinds of relationships between people and objects as well as wider social structures” (2003, 313). Additionally, her work is influenced by a critical and reflexive viewpoint that acknowledges the interplay of experiences, beliefs, and practices between researcher and community of study that influence interpretation and meanings.

Lonetree and Kreps connect the practices of collection and curation to a collaborative model of involvement between community groups and researcher or institution. They put forward meaning making and representation is a shared practice that empowers community such as indigenous groups to interpret meaning relevant to their experiences and history.

In summary, I discussed the theoretical concepts and practices that guide my project. In keeping in step with the larger SJSU San Jose Experience of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project in which my project is situated in, I continue a service driven relationship with the local American Indian community. My application of anthropological theories and methods in service to a marginalized community follows collaborative anthropological theory. The collaborative process questions and critiques power and authority while facilitating and supporting co-creation of knowledge. Collaborative anthropological theory maps onto an indigenous research model. An indigenous paradigm calls for the critique of historical and current power relations. To counteract the effects of colonialization, decolonizing practices expose systems of subjugation to allow the reclaiming of cultural knowledge and practices. Engaging in decolonizing practices, the main goal of my project is to aid in the establishment of a local urban American Indian community repository to hold cultural information as well as collection and archival processes to grow and maintain the collection. In alignment with the indigenous paradigm, the theory of historical trauma also connects challenges faced by indigenous groups today to the abuses of colonial systems of governing past and present. Historical trauma theory goes further to connect the psychosocial ills experienced by American Indians as a direct result of hegemonic practices and institutions such as compulsory boarding schools for American Indian children. I discussed the cross cultural and quantitative research that adds weight to the theory of historical trauma. Moreover, the oral histories and programming at organizations such as the Indian Health Center speak to the effects of generational trauma within the community. Lastly, I discussed collection and curation as social practice. The processes involved in community oral history collection, archival, and curation are viewed as forms of social practice that can integrate individuals into the community and encouraging community

meaning making. The theories and practices I discuss here guide and inform my project's community focus and particularly the deliverable, a set of practices for a community driven oral history project.

3. METHODS

My project is situated in the larger San Jose Experience of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project conducted by faculty from the Department of Anthropology for the New Museum Los Gatos Cement Prairie exhibit which resulted in a set of relocatee oral history interviews. Relationships and collaborative partnerships already exist between SJSU Department of Anthropology and the local urban American Indian Community. Therefore, my overarching project design follows a collaborative indigenous research model which places me in the role of service provider and facilitator. I primarily used qualitative ethnographic methods of interview and participant-observation. I conducted a stakeholder analysis to (1) identify individuals, groups, and organizations important to the local American Indian community and thus the project, (2) understand project goals for various stakeholders, and (3) build project support and participation. Additionally, I engaged in participant-observation through attending and volunteering at community events. I did this to build my credibility with stakeholders and provide community support. Moreover, through participant observation I gained a more emic perspective on prevalent issues within the community. Issues that could affect or be affected by the establishment of a community repository or the oral history collection. Furthermore, data collection relied on quantitative information gathered from county, state and federal statistics such as census data.

In this chapter I discuss project stakeholders in greater detail as well as my process of stakeholder engagement and inquiry. To make clear, I discuss and reference two separate sets of

interviews in my project report. One is the collection of oral histories from the San Jose Experience of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project and the other set is my project stakeholder inquiries. Additionally, I include my experience conducting a relocatee oral history interview. I close the chapter with a discussion of my project findings.

Identifying Stakeholders

The majority of stakeholders in my project are members and former members of the local American Indian community in Santa Clara County. This group is made of those who self-identified as American Indian regardless of tribal affiliation or status as well as American Indian serving organizations residing within the boundaries of Santa Clara County. It is within this defined population that I began to connect with individuals and organizations as stakeholders. To create my initial list of stakeholders, I started by including all interviewees of the SJSU Anthropology Department San Jose Experiences of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project as primary stakeholders. These individuals had a direct stake in the outcome of my project; their oral histories would be viewed by a public. All other identified stakeholders were considered secondary stakeholders. Next, I included American Indian and specifically American Indian serving organizations in Santa Clara County that were listed on the Indian Health of Santa Clara County website's American Indian Resources page. These were grouped into categories: community organizations, college/universities, and elder services. Lastly, I included American Indian faculty members from universities and colleges in Santa Clara County. Other stakeholders were added during the project through chain-referrals. These individuals and organizations comprised my stakeholder pool from which I began to connect with the local American Indian community and other project stakeholders.

Some of the challenges I faced when reaching out to potential stakeholders included skepticism from potential stakeholders and access to community members and organizations. I already had contact information for most of the relocatees from my involvement with the SJSU San Jose Experience of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project from which my project grew. Except for a few, most relocatees would not return my call. Understandably, the few that I did reach were skeptical of my request to ask them questions. They were not familiar with my name nor my association to the local American Indian community. I learned to leverage my connection to both Al Cross and Amy Long’s name through the SJSU San Jose Experience of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project and the Cement Prairie exhibit to gain credibility early in the phone call or when in-person. I recognized Al Cross as a community gatekeeper to members and organizations within the local American Indian community. A referral from Cross or simply the use of his name provided me access and legitimacy. It was through Cross’s in person referral that I connected with Vernon Medicine Cloud, the Inter-Tribal Resource Director at the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley. Medicine Cloud has an expansive social network within the local American Indian community. Through Medicine Cloud I was able to connect with staff within the Indian Health Center as well as attend American Indian Alliance community meetings. Over time, local American Indian community members came to recognize me and became more willing to talk.

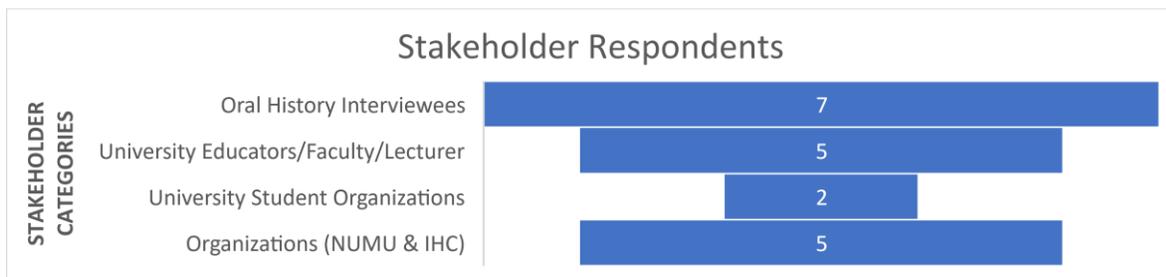


Table 1

Stakeholder Interview Findings

I used semi structured interviewing to learn how stakeholders wanted to use the oral histories and which community organization had the capacity to archive the collection for future community development and curation. My survey instrument (see appendix A) consists of 8 open-ended questions. I used the instrument to guide the conversation onto specific themes of investigation: how to use the oral history collection, project challenges, community participation, and how the growth of the oral history collection can be sustained. Of the 24 stakeholders I contacted, I was able to connect either in-person, by email, or by phone with 19 respondents (11 females; 8 Males). The opinions and perspectives of all 19 stakeholders resulted in theme saturation for most domains of my inquiry.

The first three interview questions ask for the respondent's vision for the oral history collection, who needs to be involved, and any challenges to achieving their vision. When I asked the first survey question, how they envision the oral history collection being used, less than half of respondents did not know or were unsure. All but one oral history interviewee answered in this way. Most of the respondents in the categories of education and student organization expressed thoughts about how the oral history collection could be used. Those that did respond envision the oral history collection being used in ways to support the American Indian community, connect generations, and to archive and display the content. In response to my second question, who should be involved and why, many names within the AI community were given. Vernon Medicine Cloud, the Director of Inter-Tribal Resource at the Indian Health Center was mentioned most. His involvement is seen as important due to his connection with the American Indian community in the Bay Area, his participation in the American Indian Alliance, and his directorship at the Indian Health Center. Though not the only link, Vernon is seen as a

strong link between the two hubs, the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley and the American Indian Alliance. Additionally, the involvement of two groups within the American Indian community are mentioned: youth and elders. Involving these two age groups would offer an opportunity to build support within and between the groups within the American Indian community. The answers to the third question reveal foreseeable challenges to achieving the envisioned use of the collection: to support the American Indian community, connect generations, and to archive and display the content. Figure 2 illustrates the most common responses to question 3. Responses tend to focus primarily on the challenge of promoting and sustaining community interest to grow the oral history collection.

Other challenges include gaining consent to archive material from both individuals and organizations. Potential lack of resources within the local American Indian community and organizations serving American Indians is another concern. More

specifically, resources were discussed in terms of personnel and available technology to grow and sustain the oral history collection.

Question 4 asks where should the collection be located and why. Most of the respondents felt that the Indian Health Center should be the physical location to archive the oral history collection. Many view the IHC as one of the few remaining local American Indian organizations with the greatest likelihood to continue to receive funding to remain present in the community

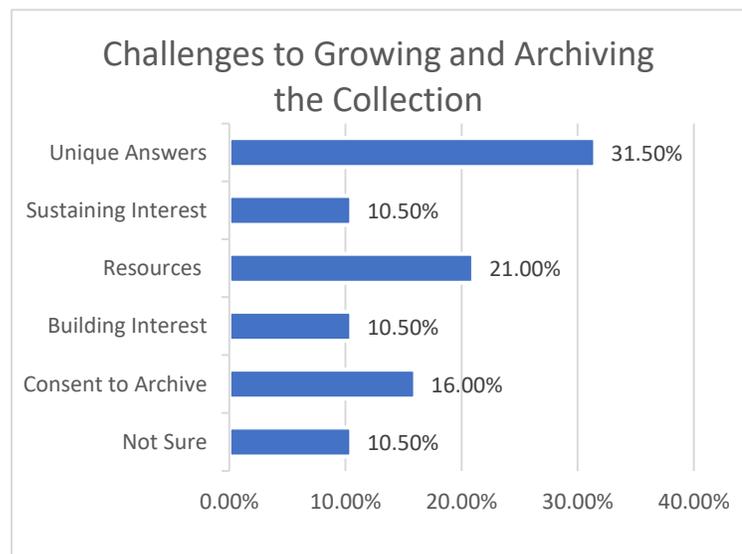


Table 2

Table 1

long term. On the other hand, 11% of those asked felt an online SJSU based archive platform, ScholarWorks, would be best as it would provide the necessary technological updates to maintain the oral history collection throughout time. Additionally, ScholarWorks would be more accessible to a broader public.

Questions 5 and 6 ask respondents to think back to question 1, how do you envision the relocatee oral history collection being used. Question 5 seeks to know which individual or groups would support the respondents' vision of how the oral history collection should be used. 21% of respondents, the highest amount, did not have an answer. The second highest response at 11% stated Vernon Medicine Cloud. The respondents in reference to question 6, what do you see as the next steps to achieving this, the highest number of respondents stated connecting with persons, groups, and other organizations. The idea is that by connecting, stakeholder support will be gained and thus a network of interested members will continue to grow.

The last two questions, 7 and 8, were questions of collaboration. I asked stakeholders how they saw my role in relation to the oral history collection and the local American Indian community. The least amount of answers was given for question 7, which asks how I could best support the local American Indian community in growing and archiving the collection. One answer from Michael Roaman, a board member of the Indian Health Center and current president of the Native American Student Organization at San Jose State University, was to stay connected to the American Indian community. He states that once I commit to working with the local American Indian community, I need to continue to be present as it takes time to gain trust from elders and community members. The last and eighth question focuses on how I can best involve the local urban Indian community and encourage multigenerational support. Two answers weighed equally at 11%. The first is to generally connect with persons, groups and

organizations while the second is more specific, to connect with the Santa Clara County Elders Group.

My set of interview questions were designed within a collaborative framework. Following Laster's perspective on the aim of applied anthropology, my purpose was to engage the local urban American Indian community to solicit their perspectives regarding the oral history collection. The interview findings became my roadmap to take supportive action in line with the community's desires. The last two questions were essential in that stakeholders representing the local American community defined my role in relation to the oral histories and their community.

In conclusion, stakeholder responses established which individuals, groups, and organizations would best support the creation of a community archive and where to archive. Additionally, the responses described how the collection could be used as well as how to grow and sustain the collection.

Participant Observation: Collecting Oral Histories

During my involvement with the SJSU San Jose Experience of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project, I had an opportunity to observe Drs. English-Lueck and A.J. Faas interview project participants. SJSU San Jose Experience of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project participation was solicited at planned potlucks held at two frequently used meeting spaces within the local urban American Indian community: ConXion and Holy Family Episcopal Church (St. Philips). It was primarily at these two locations that the SJSU faculty led project was introduced to the local urban American Indian community as well as Amy Long's plan to create an exhibit about Santa Clara County residents' experiences in the Urban Relocation Program. Community members interested in sharing their stories of relocation were

asked to provide their name and contact number. Participants were contacted by SJSU students to schedule an interview. Renita Brien, Jackie Tulee, Arvine Pilcher, Ron Pinkham, Adrian Kendrick, Julie Ann Quintana, and Mildred Doris Rodriguez were some that volunteered to share their story of relocation.

I was able to observe the interviews of Renita, Jackie, Arvine, Adrian, and Julie Ann. The interviews were scheduled to take place at the SJSU Instructional Resource Center. A professional video recording studio was booked to hold the interview. Once on campus, participants were greeted by an anthropology department faculty member or student and guided to the recording studio location. Renita's interview was my first observation. Before the interview could take place, Renita was asked to sign a consent document. The document gives SJSU anthropology department permission to conduct the interview and use the information contained for educational purposes and for public dissemination. At times during the interview, follow-up questions were asked for clarification and additional open-ended questions posed when then narrative stalled. The final processing of the interview involved transcription. Arvine, Jackie, Adrian and Julie Ann's interviews followed a similar pattern.

Several months later Ron Pinkham was scheduled for an interview at his sister Renita's house. Again, Dr. English-Lueck primarily conducted the interview. The initial open-ended question is asked, and Ron easily shares his relocation experience starting with his childhood in California through his move back to the Nez Perce reservation in Idaho as an adult. Only a few follow-up questions are asked. Finding the appropriate and courteous time to ask a follow up question is a challenge. Ron's oral history is made up of long segments of continuous narration. Not wanting to move the narration from the current topic back to a previous one, I chose not to ask. I did not want to interrupt his process of telling his story.

My next interview is one that I managed and conducted on my own. During a call with Mildred's daughter, Julie Ann, she mentioned she would like her mother to share her relocation experience. Mildred is in her 80s and requires some assistance with mobility and additional care. Julie Ann dutifully provides this care. Therefore, scheduling the interview required both Julie Ann and Mildred's availability. I offered to visit either of their residences to interview, but Julie Ann wanted her mother to have the same experience she had during her own interview. The experience of being interviewed by an anthropologist for a university project in a professional video recording studio on the SJSU campus added to Julie Ann's feeling her story was important and meaningful. We scheduled the interview. Mildred's interview followed in the same manner as the other oral history interviews.

In addition to my involvement in the collection of oral histories, my participant observation extended to attending local American Indian community events and volunteering through the American Indian Alliance. Primarily during the end of March through May 2017, I attended open community events, meetings, and activities. I chose events and sites in Santa Clara County from a weekly post of AI community events sent by email from the Indian Health Center. From this posting, I attended open board meetings for both the Indian Health Center and the American Indian Alliance. Both are local long lasting American Indian organizations that provide events, programs, and service to the local American Indian community. Through the American Indian Alliance, I volunteered at the Elder's Luncheon at the Stanford Powwow. Another long-standing group is Hank LeBeau's Talking Circle at St. Philips Episcopal Church in San Jose. Other events included community wellness events, large community meals, and town hall meetings hosted by the IHC and AIA. I also attended New Museum Los Gatos events in relation to the Cement Prairie exhibit. Engaging in participant observation allowed me to develop

a more emic perspective about some of the issue facing different facets of the community. Moreover, participant observation provided me a greater opportunity to build rapport and gain credibility with stakeholders and local American Indian community members.

4. ESTABLISHING A COMMUNITY REPOSITORY

The local urban American Indian community was built through a system of social networks that connected local urban American Indians to each other and to the reservation. Since the 60 years from the arrival of the first Urban Relocation Program participants into San Jose, many of the hubs that once existed are gone. Hubs such as the Indian Community Center were eventually unsustainable due to lack of financial resources and issues with staffing. Therefore, in creating a new hub, the oral history archive, my goal is to identify through stakeholder feedback a local urban American Indian community organization that has the resources and capacity to become a repository. To support the new repository and increase the organization's resources and capacity to sustain and grow the oral history collection, my intention is to link the repository to other local hubs and individuals. I used a collaborative project model in which I offer my training as an anthropologist in service to the local American Indian community. The purpose is to facilitate the creation of a community archive to house the lived experiences of the community's elder participants in the Urban Relocation Program. Additionally, my project deliverable is a set of processes to grow and archive the oral history collection adapted to the resources and capacity of the new repository.

Locating a Local American Indian Community Repository

Most of the stakeholders agreed the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley is the likeliest place to archive the oral history collection. Many of the local American Indian elders I talked with recalled American Indian serving organizations in the county that no longer exists.

For example, the annual De Anza College Powwow and the American Indian Center and Library were once vital hubs that are now defunct due to lack of funding, staffing problems, and in some cases lack of institutional support.

Several stakeholder perspectives capture the general opinion of where the oral history collection should be archived. Both Gerri and LaVerne are longtime members of the local urban American Indian community. I contacted Gerri, a retired faculty member from De Anza College. Her name was listed as the faculty advisor for the American Indian student organization on campus. I found this information from the community resources page on the Indian Health Center website. The student organization no longer exists at De Anza College. Gerri began teaching at De Anza College in 1983, several years after the start of the annual De Anza College Powwow. The De Anza College student newspaper La Voz News reported in May 1999, that the 19th annual powwow may be the last as she was stepping down as chairwoman for the annual event due to decreased funding and support from the college (La Voz, 1999). De Anza College held its last and 24th powwow in May 2005. When asked which organization she views as a potential archival site, she states:

“Indian Health is the only organization/institution that has remained vibrant and stable in Santa Clara County. There is a community elected board. Many other programs and services have come and gone over the last 60+ years. So many good programs and organizations have come and gone, but the Indian Health Center remains.”

She suggested I connect with Vernon Medicine Cloud at the IHC.

Another stakeholder, LaVerne, came to San Jose as a participant of the Urban Indian Relocation Program in 1971. She is a founding member of the American Indian Alliance which began in 1993. An organization that continues today and which I am now a member. Now living

on her reservation in Arizona, LaVerne is still well known and respected within the local urban American Indian community in San Jose. She says the IHC makes sense instead of the American Indian Alliance as it no longer has the membership it once did.

Gerri and LaVerne's responses highlight several important points about selecting the Indian Health Center as an archival site. First, the IHC has remained a vital organization within the local urban American Indian community while other organizations have faded away such as the American Indian Center and Library. Second, the IHC leadership is governed by a community elected board which aids in ensuring a community focus. Third, the IHC is likely to continue to receive local, state, and federal funding. This allows the IHC to continue to be one of the most stable multi-tribal American Indian community driven organizations in the county.

The Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley: Programming, Resources and Capacity

I met Vernon Medicine Cloud the Inter-Tribal Resource Director at Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley shortly after the NUMU relocation elders panel discussion. It was Al Cross who moved my card into Vernon's hand. We met soon to discuss the oral history collection and the possibility of the IHC becoming a community repository.

The IHC is extensively involved in the local American Indian community. Moreover, the health agency is interested in creating a community center. The IHC plans to survey local American Indian community to understand what "home" mean to various American Indian community members. The intent is to have the community center be a focal point in the urban American Indian population in Santa Clara County and be a "home away from home".

Several points of concern surfaced during my discussion with Vernon regarding resources and capacity. Though Vernon is in agreement with archiving the oral history collection at the IHC, pending approval of the CEO, there is concern about the organization's available

resources to grow and archive the collection. Specifically, the concern is with the agency's technological capacity to store the collection. Notwithstanding concerns about the IHC's capacity to store and grow the collection, he values archiving and making available the oral histories within and for the local urban American Indian community.

In talking about the oral history collection and the possibility of establishing the IHC as a community repository, Vernon suggests the oral history collection could be an exhibit at the community center. He asks if the IHC would be responsible for adding to the oral history collection as that could be difficult with staffing. He suggests collecting one oral history a month may be possible with the available IHC resources. I mention that college level American Indian student groups can be approached to participate in the collection of local Indian oral histories. This would add resources to growing the collection, to the IHC, and build stronger community relationships. Additionally, by encouraging college student participation, this adds to reinforcing American Identity and cultural affiliation. Moreover, student involvement bridges the connection between elders and youth in the local urban American Indian community.

In an effort to connect with additional IHC staff to locate organizational resources and build support for archiving and growing the oral history collection at the IHC, I attended an open IHC board meeting. At the meeting, I introduced myself and described my project to the board. Soon after, I requested a meeting with Anecita Hernandez, the Circles of Care Community Education Coordinator and Family Resource Center Program Manager at the IHC Counseling Department. My purpose for the meeting was to discuss ways in which using and growing the oral history collection can support and add value to the agency's programming, particularly, the San Jose Native Youth Empowerment Program. Additionally, through our discussion I wanted to

identify opportunities to incorporate oral history collection practices into the programming to grow and sustain the oral history collection for the community.

Our conversation focused on how growing the oral history collection could potentially fit into their long-term programming particularly with the San Jose Native Youth Empowerment Program. The San Jose Native Youth Empowerment Program has 38 participants on the roster with 15-18 regularly attending weekly activities. My master's project highlights some of the concerns within the urban American Indian community as does the San Jose Native Youth Empowerment Program. These concerns include historical trauma and community empowerment.

Reading the San Jose Native Youth Empowerment Program information flyer, several causal links are made between native youth involvement in high risk behaviors, low academic performance, and poor health outcomes. The two main factors cited are historical trauma and a history of hegemonic U.S. sociopolitical policies. Specifically discussed are compulsory boarding school attendance and the Urban Indian Relocation Program. Both policies have far reaching multigenerational effects. The program's printed outreach material states in italics:

Beginning over a century ago and up until 1950, many Great-Grandparents and Grandparents of Native American children suffered severe traumatic experiences related to forced separation from their families by the U.S. government. The harsh removals were implemented by U.S. government law and required Native children to attend boarding schools. The schools were designed to destroy any vestige of indigenous culture, forbade any spiritual healing practices; any reference to Native customs, philosophy, or beliefs; and any speaking of Native languages. Boarding schools were often cruel in forbidding the practices of all former cultural beliefs, and children

experienced physical, emotional, and sexual abuse and neglect (Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley, n.d.)

Removal of Indian children from reservation and family into Indian boarding schools is an example of sociopolitical policies contributing to historical trauma.

In talking with Anecita, I describe experiences recalled by elder oral history participants that highlight the abuses listed in the IHC's program written material. For example, I share parts of Mildred's oral history in which Mildred recalls her long-term grief at being separated from her mother when she was sent to an Indian boarding school. Moreover, she still bares scars on her shoulder from a forced walk through steaming hot showers naked as a child as punishment for an institutional infraction. Mildred's eyes teared as she recounted this boarding school event. I describe Mildred's perspectives about the impact the Urban Relocation Program has on her, her children and grandchildren. She wishes her children and great grandchildren were connected to their Indian heritage and identity: "They do not have a sense of self that is based on their cultural roots" (Mildred Doris Rodriguez, 2017). To emphasize the multigenerational effects of compulsory Indian boarding school attendance and the Urban Relocation Program, Mildred's daughter Julie Ann states in her oral history that her mother could not pass along to them what was taken from her mother. Mildred's account and the experiences of other relocatees support Kidron, Brave Heart, and DeBruyn's assertion that the effects of unresolved grief can affect subsequent generations and may be root of psychosocial problems facing American Indians today.

The effects of historical trauma continue to be experienced by the youngest generations of Native Americans according to the IHC's San Jose Native Youth Empowerment Program. The program states their intervention activities are designed to "enhance a sense of belonging and to

strengthen Native American cultural identity” (Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley, n.d.). To recover from the effects of historical trauma, Kidron states therapeutic intervention requires group or community involvement. I offer that youth engagement in viewing and growing the oral history collection can potentially be another means of cultural transmission aiding program youth in “find[ing] their way back to their Indian heritage” (Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley, n.d.).

In summary, most stakeholders favored the IHC as the archival site for the relocatee oral history collection that was created through the SJSU San Jose Experience of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project. The IHC was viewed as having the most resources and capacity in comparison to other American Indian organizations in the county to archive the collection. Consequently, I connected with specific IHC gatekeepers to access professional networks within the IHC and legitimize my project within the organization. Moreover, I attended an open IHC board meeting to introduce my project to the board to garner support and actively engage in a transparent collaborative process. A collaboration between myself as a representative of the SJSU anthropology department, community stakeholders, and the IHC. My role in the collaborative process was that of facilitator. In addition, I thoroughly reviewed the IHC’s website and public programming material and consulted with Vernon and Anecita to locate ways the oral history collection could add value to the organization’s mission and programming goals and support the growth of the oral history collection. One potential program is the IHC’s San Jose Native Youth Empowerment Program. This youth program is designed as an intervention to help Native youth heal and cope with the effects of historical trauma. The process of collection and curation of oral histories has the potential to support programming goals of treating historical trauma not only for the youth but the larger community as well. Kidron asserts, “It is the

communal context of group memory work that allows the descendants to make the link between present problems and the Holocaust related traumatic past” (Kidron 2003, 519). Incorporating oral history collection and curation into structure of the program also supports the collection’s growth and sustainability.

Establishing a Repository: Multiple Archival Sites

During the stakeholder analysis two possible repository sites were mentioned by stakeholders. The IHC and SJSU ScholarWorks. Archiving both on SJSU ScholarWorks, an open source institutional repository, and at the IHC assists in disseminating the lived experiences of American Indians to the widest public as well as ensuring this collection of experiences remains held locally within the local American Indian community. Archiving the oral histories at two locations ensures a broader access to the collection. My project structure is based on adhering to an indigenous research practice. Therefore, sharing the oral history collection with the source community is paramount.

I met with both Sonya and Vernon to discuss establishing the IHC as a repository for the oral history collection. I aligned the process of collecting oral histories and the potential uses of the collection with the IHC mission, “to help ensure the survival and healing of American Indians/Alaskan Natives and our community by providing high quality, comprehensive health care and wellness services” (About US: Mission Statement, n.d.). The oral history interviews uncover the effects of historical trauma in the lives of most relocatees. Both Kidron and Lonetree assert the need to engage in decolonizing practices to uncover colonial practices and systems that continue to harm indigenous communities. The oral histories are a one way to share lived experiences of historical trauma and participate in decolonization. The processes involved in collecting oral histories has several community benefits. It can be a process by which elders are

connected to the local AI community and the effects of historical trauma within the community are uncovered. Growing the collection also provides an opportunity to involve youth in the interviewing process. Finally, the IHC would be the steward of their community's cultural legacy with authority to curate community knowledge in ways meaningful to the local American Indian community.

Concerns arose during the discussion to establish the IHC as a community repository for the oral history collection. First, concerns about youth involvement in collecting oral histories from community members were mentioned. Previous IHC youth projects were cautiously navigated due to legal requirements surrounding guardian permission. Second, there were concerns about agency resources to archive the collection. A few questions followed: what type of format are the files, what technical skills or hardware requirements would be needed, and who on staff might need to be involved to assist in the transition of files. These concerns and questions came from experience. A situation was cited in which the IHC was given a collection of books and artifacts. These items came from the defunct American Indian Library that were held in storage after the library closed. The IHC was not prepared and unsure how to handle and archive the items. Third, there were questions about the scope of the consent form used by SJSU San Jose Experience of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project to archive the oral histories someplace other than SJSU. Ever mindful to be respectful of the interviewees' rights and desires, the IHC wanted to ensure the agency had permission and the capacity to archive the oral history collection.

Steps were taken to resolve the agency's concerns about consent, archiving, and collection. I created a consent form detailing the rights of the interviewee and the ways in which the IHC can use the oral history. The form was based primarily on the consent form contained in

the *Community Oral History Toolkit*, vol. 2, *Planning a Community Oral History Project* by Barbara Sommer et al. The form was sent to both Vernon and Sonya for approval. After a few modifications the form was approved by both the IHC and my SJSU graduate committee chair. All but one oral history participant agreed to sign the IHC consent to archive form. Also, to make collection and archiving an easier more streamlined process, I created an oral history collection guide detailing the processes for collecting and archiving the collection, a step-by-step guide. The guide was tailored to the resources and capacity of the IHC as a repository. This helped lessen concerns about the IHC receiving the oral history collection. For technical requirements beyond what I offered in the guide, I connected Vernon to Terri Graziani, Media Specialist and videographer for the SJSU San Jose Experience of American Indians in Urban Relocation Project with her permission.

The last agency concern surrounds IHC youth involvement in oral history collection and legal issues regarding youth being video recorded. I was at a loss to resolve this issue, so I consulted with Jerry Falek. Jerry is part of the New Museum Los Gatos Museum Explorer program. He leads school groups through the museum engaging them with exhibits and museum activities since 2006. He also led school groups through the Cement Prairie exhibit. The Santa Cruz County Art Council website states:

his work has taken him to such diverse places as rural Alaska, Soledad Prison, the Children's Discovery Museum, and Stanford Children's Hospital. A central focus of his work is the social and emotional needs of children, especially those who are seen as marginalized, special needs, or high-risk (Teaching Artist: Jerry Falek, 2017).

Jerry has a Master of Education Degree in Special Education. His background in teaching and connecting with marginalized groups through his storytelling and performances is extensive.

Moreover, Jerry has his own experience of historical trauma as a descendent of Holocaust survivors. Jerry and I met with Vernon to discuss how to help the IHC start growing the elder oral history collection. From his experience in working in an educational capacity with children, Jerry had many ways to approach youth involvement that do not require they be video recorded. Though the agency was not ready to begin collecting oral histories, Jerry volunteered his experience and skillset as an educator and storyteller when needed.

Once the IHC received the consent to archive from all willing oral history participants, the agency signed an agreement with SJSU Department of Anthropology to establish the IHC as a community repository for the oral history collection. The agreement listed what materials would be shared with the IHC. I transferred all oral history digital files of consenting oral history participants to the IHC as well as providing DVD copies of the interviews, a catalog and summary of the materials, and full transcripts of each oral history.

It was through a chain of stakeholder referrals that I was introduced to Emily Chen, the Scholarly Communication Librarian, who directly manages SJSU's ScholarWorks. ScholarWorks is an open source institutional repository. The material on ScholarWorks is accessible to anyone with an internet connection around the world. Importantly, the collection can be digitally archived essentially for perpetuity and files formatted in accordance with technological advancements. Emily readily agrees archiving the collection of oral histories on ScholarWorks is beneficial to ScholarWorks, the local American Indian community, and the anthropology department. Emily states digitally archiving the oral history collection on the open source ScholarWorks platform broadens the scope of academic works on the site. It also highlights the university's involvement and collaboration with local community groups and the preservation of local knowledge. For the local American Indian community, a benefit of

archiving the collection on ScholarWorks includes world wide access to the collection. For instance, indigenous groups and educators around the world can access the collection. In addition, archiving on ScholarWorks can be a safeguard against lost files. Should the DVDs and digital files housed at the IHC be damaged or lost, community access remains in the broadest sense with ScholarWorks.

There are compliance and consent issues that need to be resolved to archive the collection on ScholarWorks. The first issue is compliance. Just as with the IHC, oral history participants must also give their permission to archive on ScholarWorks. The SJSU San Jose Experience of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project participation document provides for use of the oral histories in an educational capacity and for public dissemination. However, ensuring the interviewees understand the breadth of dissemination and access that comes with archiving on ScholarWorks is paramount. Therefore, a second consent form is needed to ensure interviewees give their consent to archive on ScholarWorks as well. In addition, California state has strong American with Disabilities Act compliance laws. Therefore, a full transcript must accompany each oral history video and audio recording. All but one oral history participant signed the consent to archive on ScholarWorks. Digital files and full transcripts of the oral histories were provided to the ScholarWorks coordinator.

In this chapter, I discussed steps involved in establishing a local American Indian community repository as well as the steps to add the oral history collection to SJSU ScholarWorks, an existing university repository. Archiving in both locations offers increased benefits to the local American Indian community. One, lived experiences of local American Indian members are held within the community and can be curated in ways meaningful to this community. For instance, Sonya suggested clips from the oral history collection could be used in

the IHC's new employee orientation video. This would provide new staff members with a deeper insight into the population they are serving. Additionally, adding the oral history collection to SJSU ScholarWorks makes the oral histories accessible to American Indians and other indigenous groups worldwide with an internet access. I view archiving in both locations as practices of decolonization by sharing indigenous knowledge with the community of origin and using SJSU institutional resources to give world wide access to indigenous lived experiences in their own words unaltered.

5. INFORMATIVE KEY FINDINGS AND PROJECT DELIVERABLE

Through participant observation and semi-formal interviews, significant key ideas emerge from my analysis of project data. First, I discuss historical trauma as a thread that runs through the local American Indian community. In addition, the causes and the effects of historical trauma on the community are highlighted. Second, the function of deference and trust within the local AI community is examined, and I provide examples how these values are demonstrated. Third, the reasons why local AI members emphasize building and supporting their community are explored. Additionally, I describe how both the Indian Health Center and the American Indian Alliance incorporate building and supporting community into their operational goals. Fourth, within the local American Indian community both elders and youth are considered at-risk; the reasons are investigated. Also, I illustrate how local AI organizations respond to the at-risk status of elder and youth through their programming. Lastly, sustainability and resources are framed around growing the oral history collection and the collection's longevity. Challenges for small repositories are identified as well as possible resources within the group of project stakeholders.

Navigating Historical Trauma

Historical trauma and the effects are evident in the oral history narratives. Furthermore, local American Indian serving organizations identify historical trauma as the root of many problems affecting the local AI community. The federally agency Substance Abuse and Mental Health Administration defines it:

Historical trauma is a form of trauma that impacts entire communities. It refers to the cumulative emotional and psychological wounding, as a result of group traumatic experiences, that is transmitted across generations within a community. Unresolved grief and anger often accompany this trauma and contribute to physical and behavioral health disorders. This type of trauma is often associated with racial and ethnic population groups in the United States who have suffered major intergenerational losses and assaults on their culture and well-being (Trauma and Violence: Types of Trauma and Violence, 2016)

Some of the psychosocial problems faced by American Indians are higher instances of alcohol use, depression, PTSD, and suicide. Most of the oral history interviewees such as Al, Hank, Mildred, Adrian, LaVerne and Ron talk about these psychosocial problems both in urban and reservation environments. Arvine states in her narrative:

I just couldn't fit back in, back at the reservation. I didn't have any good friends anymore. The ones I had were drinking. I mean, they were alcoholics. They would borrow money from me so they could drink, and I could tell they were killing themselves. But there's nothing to do on the reservation. There's nothing, you can't even go to a movie. There's nothing there. So, they all become depressed and they drink and now they're doing drugs. Everyone's into drugs. But I just didn't feel good there.

In support, Ron mentions, “Couple kids died at the high school from drug overdoses and I’m the counselor. It was difficult for me when I worked there. I attended funerals, a lot of Indian teenagers”. In response to the psychosocial problems facing urban American Indians, both the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley and Hank LeBeau’s long standing Talking Circle recovery group address historical trauma and the effects on the wellbeing of individuals, families, and the community. The IHC’s San Jose Youth Empowerment Program directly connects two historical policies, compulsory attendance of boarding schools and the Urban Relocation Program, as leading to psychosocial problems for youth. Other related problems facing youth include loss of American Indian cultural ways and disconnection from family and community support systems. In his narrative, Hank shares his grandmother’s experience at the Wounded Knee Massacre. He also talks about his own story as an adolescent student coming into to contact with visual information about American Indian genocide:

I went to see that picture in Deadwood South Dakota about Wild Bill Hickok and Calamity Jane. And all of a sudden coming to this picture were they... they're burying these Indians. And, and seeing... so, going back and tell my mother and my mother tells me those are our people. And I'm thinking, why they burying them all together like that, you know. I never realized that...that's the Holocaust here in America. I mean think of the thousands of other Indians that, that were killed like that town. And my dad's mother was a survivor of the Wounded Knee Massacre and she was so traumatized she never did want to go back there. ...and, I think, you know, when you look at it, you talk about PTSD. She probably...she really had that...”

Making visible historical traumatic events in Native American history according to social scientists Brave Heart and DeBruyn involves the use of audiovisual aids. Audiovisual aids such

as the oral history collection, for example, to increase community awareness and start the healing process. The storytelling, the recounting of tribal history becomes a tool of intervention.

Demonstrating Deference and Trust

Within the local American Indian community, a high value is placed on behaving in a deferential manner. For instance, deference is given based on community status such as being an elder. Trust, the belief in a person's veracity and reliability appears to be earned or given depending on sociocultural networks such as familial, tribal, professional and social. As an outsider gaining access to individuals, groups, and organizations within the local American Indian community, trust can be gained by being of service to the community. For example, I chose to volunteer with the American Indian Alliance whose mission statement is described in part as, "The American Indian Alliance of Santa Clara County is a strong circle of American Indians, united in pride, to support our community through respect, trust, commitment, education, and cultural awareness" (American Indian Alliance, n.d.). Again, trust can also be leveraged through professional and social networks. For example, before Anecita with the IHC accepted my request to meet, she inquired about my motives with other individuals within the IHC and community. Fortunately, my connection to Vernon, my attendance at IHC board meetings, and addressing the board openly about my project and motives supported my credibility. Early attempts to connect with oral history participants were difficult. Few people knew me within the community. My inquiries were under suspect. Once I leveraged Amy Long and Al Cross's name in relation to the Cement Prairie exhibit, oral history interviewees began to respond to me. For one oral history interviewee, Arvine, it took some time to gain her trust. Once Jackie, another oral history interviewee, sent an email to Arvine vouching for me, Arvine signed the consent forms. As one American Indian stakeholder stated, it takes time for elders to trust an

outsider, especially an outsider requesting something from them or the community. He added that once trust is established, a relationship is established. Trust is maintained by continuing to be involved with the community and community members. During the spring of 2017, I was very active in the local American Indian community. During the summer my schedule changed, and I was unable to attend many AIA meetings and community events. An IHC board member attending SJSU made note of my absence. I noticed a change in demeanor towards me from some community members. In September, I became involved in the community once again and attitudes towards me became more positive. Trust requires maintenance. Along with trust, deference is also valued. Deference is consistently practiced in community settings such as the American Indian Alliance's annual elder's luncheon and the IHC's quarterly town hall meetings. For example, IHC staff and community members make sure all elders are given their meals first. At these events it is considered disrespectful to eat before an elder has been served. This culturally value based behavior is also seen at the annual Mexica New Year where attending elders are provided free meals and typically fed first. Additionally, when elders are speaking, it is considered disrespectful to interrupt or argue. LaVerne shares a personal experience that emphasizes the high valued placed on deference even to the potential detriment to oneself.

LaVerne recalls:

And I told the [BIA] guy, "I don't want to go on relocation at this time. Maybe later. But right now, my mom's really seriously hurt and she needs my care." And he was at this point in his life where he was just up to here with people saying "I'm going" and then "No I'm not." And he looked at me and he said, "You're going whether you like it or not. I'm tired of you 'blank' Indians saying you're gonna go and then you don't go." You know, he was just at that boiling point where I pushed his trigger. And at that time, you were

respectful. You know. You don't talk back, and you listen to your elders. And to me he was an elder. I didn't say anything, and I walked out the door...

In another example, at an IHC town hall meeting where there was a time limit on community feedback, elders who talked beyond the time limit were not interrupted. In summary, deference and trust are values held by the local American Indian community. Considering the damaging historical experiences American Indians communities had with outsiders, gaining and maintaining trust is central to effectively working with the local American Indian community. Additionally, behaving deferentially is commonly practiced within the community and at community events. Deference is highly valued even when faced with potential negative outcomes for the person behaving deferentially. Trust can function to protect oneself and the community. Deference supports the tribal status of elders within the community and helps to ensure their needs are met.

Building and Supporting Community

Building and supporting community is another theme that emerged from the stakeholder analysis and my involvement with both the American Indian Alliance and the Indian Health Center. Though many stakeholders do not have an opinion how the collection can be used, they feel the oral history collection should be used in a way that builds and supports the local American Indian community. Moreover, organizations serving local American Indians express the importance of community. One agency, The Indian Health Center designs programs and events to support community needs, encourage local American Indian residents to become part of the AI community as well as maintain community relationships. The IHC's mission statement states, "The mission of the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley is to help ensure the survival and healing of American Indians/Alaskan Natives and our community by providing high

quality, comprehensive health care and wellness services” (About Us: Mission Statement, n.d.)

Additionally, some grants received by the IHC Support the emphasis on community. For example, the Circle of Care Program granted by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration provides resources to the IHC to “design a holistic, community-based, coordinated system of care” (2014). Moreover, the IHC is planning on adding an American Indian community center. Vernon suggested the oral history collection could be displayed at the community center. Another local organization serving and supporting the AI community is the American Indian Alliance. The AIA is a community-based group which “has provided programs and services to both adults and youth with a mission to develop and enrich the local American Indian Community” (Who We Are, n.d.). For example, the AIA hosts annual events throughout the year designed to bring community members together to support community cohesion. Besides community powwows, the AIA also puts on an annual Christmas event. The event is designed for the local AI community though not exclusive to the AI community. Dinner is provided for approximately 400 attendees and gifts given to children. The preparation of the facility and meal, along with serving and cleanup is an all-day activity that relies on AIA members and community volunteers. Local American Indian organization such as the IHC and AIA develop programming and create events primarily to support and build community.

Connecting Elders and Youth

There is a particular focus on connecting youth and elders to each other and to community. The stakeholder analysis along with IHC programming and the type of events put on by the AIA show an emphasis on both youth and elders. Within the local American Indian community and serving organizations, both youth and elders are seen at risk for poor life outcomes. The focus on native youth is grounded in statistical data that reveal social, economic,

and health obstacles facing American Indian youth. For example, in a report written by SAMHSA Administrator Pamela S. Hyde, J.D., she points out that “Adolescent AI/AN have death rates two to five times the rate of Whites in the same age group”. She also adds, “Suicide is the second leading cause of death for AI/AN youth in the 15-24 age group, 2.5x the national rate for this age group” (2011, 5) In support, oral history interviewee Ron Pinkham recalls his experience as a college counselor involved with suicidal students:

I dealt with suicides in the colleges... I dealt with the Indian kids that came in, migrant workers. I mean it's really something to see all that and everything dealing with suicides. Knock on a kid's door and there he is. Has a noose around his neck and he's starting to kick the chair. I've been there. I've seen that. Or a kid standing on a ledge in a dorm room 8 stories up ready to jump. I had to be there. Not talk 'em out of it, just to understand what they're doing. And, and I went to the training but these were Indian students. I had to culturally look at that. What's doing that? I remembered what my elders told me, my grandparents. They're losing their spirituality. They're not connected. They're not connected to God-Creator, the Mother Earth, the Sun, or the Water. And that's the connection. How do you get a person out of depression? You hug the sucker. Make them feel your energy. Our people have different ways of doing things from a cultural perspective and a spiritual one. And I try to teach people. Uh, the [other] counselors, “That's not going to work. You can tell them everything is going to be fine”. Sure. “Try to teach them to believe that”. And I said, “believe”? They need to know and be connected. I've been a counselor for too long and the elders taught me a lot.

One of many reasons given by the IHC for the difficulties facing American Indian youth is “Native youth are not surrounded by or get guidance from a tribe consisting of trusted leaders

and elders” (Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley, n.d.). Not only local American Indian youth but elders as well experience marginalization. According to the National Research Council, “American Indian elders may be particularly vulnerable to a number of conditions experienced by elderly populations generally, including social isolation, economic hardship, and health problems” (John, 1996). Stakeholder Jerry Falek views elders as being wounded through the processes of marginalization and the disruption of cultural transmission from one generation to the next. He states cultural repair is made through linking generations.

In response to the challenges facing urban AI youth and elders, the IHC, a formal support system, designed several programs to connect youth and elders to the community. One program, The San Jose Native Youth Empowerment Program provides activities designed “to enhance a sense of belonging and to strengthen Native American cultural identity” (Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley, n.d.). Another program, the Elder Care Program provides services such as in-home visits, scheduled events for elders such as luncheons, and transportation to and from the IHC. Informal support systems for elders in the community include the AIA and the Santa Clara County Elders Group. In these two organizations, events are planned for elders. Additionally, members of both the AIA and SCC Elders Group share information about elders that have not been in attendance for some time. At a SCC Elders Group luncheon, a longtime and regularly attending member was absent for several months. Luncheon attendees expressed concern and shared information. One person volunteered to call the absent member. These formal and informal support systems play a vital role in keeping youth and elders holistically healthy and connected. To connect AI youth and elders, Jerry suggests growing the oral history collection. American Indian high school and college students in the Santa Clara County could interview elders. The process of be interviewed and sharing their history would connect Elders to

community, a connection between generations. A relationship is created between interviewer and interviewee. The result of this connection is cultural repair. As stated by Ron, Jerry and the IHC, difficulties facing AI youth stem in part from being disconnected from American Indian cultural practices and elders. Elders are seen as a repository of cultural wisdom securing younger generations to an American Indian identity and practices.

Allocating Resources

Resources and Sustainability are themes that continued to surface throughout the project. For my project, resources are defined as continued funding, available personnel, access to technology, and professional and social networks. Sustainability in my project refers to an individual's or organization's ability to mobilize resources to grow and archive the oral history collection for the long-term. Stakeholders quickly pointed out that the IHC was the only option available to archive the oral history collection. All other local AI serving organizations such as the American Indian Center and Library were no longer in existence primarily due to lack of funding. The Indian Health Center has become the central organization supporting the local American Indian community since 1977. When compared to other AI serving organizations such as the American Indian Alliance it is clear that the IHC had the best likelihood of continued funding through local, state, and federal agencies. The IHC also has additional resources in personnel to aid in collecting, processing, and managing the collection. Even so, agreeing to become an AI community repository is outside the normal range of operation for the IHC. Furthermore, though funded, the IHC is spread thin in terms of allocating funds and available personnel to manage current services and programs let alone an oral history collection. The IHC faces similar challenges as other small repositories such as potentially limited dissemination and keeping archive material technologically up to date.

Building Sustainability

Ways to increase the collection's sustainability include connecting the IHC with local persons and organizations to fill gaps in resources. For example, stakeholder Jerry Falek offered to help the IHC with the collection and curation of the oral histories. Jerry is connected to the New Museum Los Gatos. He brings his experience in education programs, developing programs for AI groups to connect with indigenous practices, and is a storyteller. Jerry also brings his professional network of educators in the county. To add resources to growing the collection, Jerry suggests high school students can be motivated to participate through an independent studies project. American Indian college organizations were approached as stakeholders and as a potential resource to grow the collection. I also looked for ways their participation could be sustained. I met with Joe the co-chair of the Stanford American Indian Organization. The student organization has approximately 60 members. It also falls under the guidance of the Native American Cultural Center at Stanford. When asked how SAIO student participation can be sustained, Joe suggested that the collection of oral histories for the IHC become part of the yearly NACC programming. I also talked with Mike the president of the Native American Student Organization at SJSU. Unlike the Stanford American Indian Organization, NASO has no campus space dedicated to American Indian Students nor is there any focused recruitment of AI students. There is also significantly less student involvement compared to SAIO. Considering these differences, it seemed unlikely NASO participation in growing the collection could be sustained. In summary, sustaining the oral history collection relies on mobilizing resources. Resources can be gained through connecting with persons and organizations such as Jerry Falek and student groups to grow and sustain the oral history collection.

In summary, I discuss key ideas that emerge from my analysis of project data. The six key ideas are historical trauma, deference and trust, building and supporting community, elders and youth, sustainability, and resources. Some of the key ideas are influenced by historical policies and systems that continue to affect local American Indian community. Others are values held and practiced within the AI community. The last two key ideas, sustainability and resources, focus on capacity to grow and insure the longevity of the oral history collection for the local American Indian community.

Project Deliverable: A Brief Guide to Collecting Oral Histories.

My project deliverable is a set of processes or guide (see appendix E) for the collection and archival of community oral histories. The processes involved in the SJSU San Jose Experience of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project and my first-hand experiences through participant observation are the basis for the guide. In addition, the stakeholder analysis provides information about the Indian Health Center's capacity and resources to archive, grow, and manage the oral history collection. This information was used to measure the necessity or the extent to which certain steps are applicable to small community repository without compromising legal and ethical requirements. The oral history processes contained in the guide are supported and fine-tuned by referencing works by oral history academics, oral history associations, and other community oral history projects. The oral history guide is designed to be used by the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley to conduct a community oral history project.

6. PROJECT OUTCOMES

The outcome of my project is the establishment of a local American Indian community repository for a collection of oral histories. Additionally, my project involved identifying

stakeholder and community resources to aid in the sustainability of the collection. The project deliverable is a set of processes or guide to conduct an oral history project for the repository.

The Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley was chosen by stakeholders as the American Indian serving organization with the most capacity and resources to archive the collection. With support from Vernon Medicine Cloud the Inter-Tribal Resource director at the IHC, the agency agreed to become a community repository. In response, I created 2 documents. One document was created to formally establish the IHC as a repository. The second document was created for oral history interviewees to formally give their consent for their interview to be achieved at the IHC. All but one interviewee signed the document. Once all willing interviewees signed the consent document, the IHC was officially established as a community repository. Organized archive materials were delivered to Vernon Medicine Cloud. Archive materials included a DVD copy for each video recorded interview and a CD-R copy of each audio recorded interview. Additionally, the digital copies of all interviews were shared with the IHC through their IT department for archival. Other items provided for archive included hard copy transcripts of all interviews, interview summaries, and a catalog detailing all items in the collection. Also included with the collection material were American Indian Alliance booklets and a DVD about an AIA event. The AIA items were mailed to be my LaVerne Roberts for the purpose of archiving the items at the IHC. The oral history guide was emailed to Vernon Medicine Cloud after the archived materials were delivered. The main outcome of my project is the establishment of the IHC as a local American Indian community repository for the oral history collection. The project deliverable is the oral history guide written for the IHC.

The IHC has plans to grow the collection and identify ways the collection can be used to benefit community members and for public dissemination. Vernon will manage the further

collection of elder oral histories. Sonya suggested several uses for the oral history collection. First, segments of the interviews could be used during new employee orientation to educate employees about community members they are serving. Second, the IHC could showcase an oral history each month on the agency's website. Other uses may develop over time.

Identifying resources to assist the IHC in growing and sustaining the collection, is another project outcome. Resources were primarily individuals and organizations within my pool of stakeholders and individuals who were involved in the collection. Four potential resources were identified. First, Jerry Falek offered both his professional experience and network to assist in the collection and dissemination of a growing oral history collection. Second, I connected Vernon to Teri Graziani, Media Specialist with the SJSU Instructional Resource Center, to discuss equipment options for oral history collection. Third, the project deliverable, the oral history guide, is an additional resource. The guide describes processes involved for a small community oral history project suited to a small community repository. Fourth, a potential resource is the Stanford American Indian Organization, a student group under guidance from the university's Native American Cultural Center. Vernon has professional relationship with an administrator with the Native American Cultural Center. Adding resources increased the likelihood of the IHC continuing to grow and sustain the oral history collection.

An unanticipated project outcome is the digital archival of the oral history collection. Emily Chen, the Interim Associate Dean for Research and Scholarship at the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Library at San José State University agreed to archive the collection. Digital files copies were provided of all interviews and transcripts to Emily and involved staff. Additionally, written content was provided for the collection's ScholarWork's web page. ScholarWorks offers

additional safeguards for collection and an online world-wide access for greater public dissemination. The development of the collection webpage is underway.

Lastly, an intangible project outcome is the strengthening of the relationship between SJSU anthropology department and the local American Indian community, particularly the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley. The IHC lists SJSU as a collaborative partner among other community groups. Additionally, sharing cultural knowledge obtained through research supports a respectful and transparent relationship between the department and the local AI community.

The project resulted in both tangible and intangible outcomes. Tangible outcomes are the establishment of two oral history archives, the identification of resources for the IHC, and the oral history guide created for the IHC. The intangible project outcome is the strengthened relationship between SJSU anthropology department and the local American Indian community and serving organizations.

Conclusion

The goal of my project to facilitate the establishment of a repository within the local American Indian community for the SJSU San Jose Experience of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project collection of oral histories. This goal was accomplished through the formal agreement between the IHC and SJSU anthropology department to share the oral history collection and copied materials. My adherence to a collaborative and service driven relationship with the local American Indian community and the IHC, supported my project's aim to follow in indigenous research paradigm. The data collected through stakeholder analysis along with participant observation, revealed six significant key ideas within the community: historical trauma, deference and trust, building and supporting community, elders and youth and, lastly,

sustainability and resources. These 6 key ideas provided direction to the growth and sustainability of the oral history collection as well as suggests how the oral history collection can be used to benefit the local AI community. Stakeholders agreed the oral history collection should be used to benefit the local American Indian community and to repair the effects of historical trauma. This view supports Lonetree, Brave Heart, and DeBruyn's perspective that healing from the effects of historical trauma starts with a community experience of uncovering the sources of trauma through audiovisual aids such as the oral history collection, for example. Besides the establishment of a community repository, other project outcomes were successfully accomplished as well. As a result of stakeholder involvement, a second repository site SJSU ScholarWorks, was located to digitally archive the collection. The second archive also allows for the preservation of the collection through future technological updates and provides a broader public access. Resources were located among the stakeholders to support the IHC's goal to grow, sustain, and disseminate the oral history collection. These resources included access to professional networks and possible involvement of high school and college students in the collection process, for example. My project deliverable, a guide to collecting oral histories, was given to the IHC as an additional resource. The guide was created and tailored to the capacity and available resources within the IHC. Lastly, a significant outcome of my project is the strengthened relationship between SJSU anthropology department, the IHC and the local American Indian community.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Questions

1. How do you envision the relocatee oral history collection being used?
2. Who should be involved? Why?
3. Do you foresee any challenges to achieving this?
4. Where should the collection be located? Physical and/or online access? Why?
5. Which individuals or groups would support your vision of the oral history collection?
6. What do you see as the next steps in achieving this?
7. How can I best support the local urban Indian community in creating a set of process to grow and care for your oral history collection?
8. How can I best involve the local urban Indian community and encourage multigenerational participation?

Appendix B: Indian Health Center Consent Form

Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley Repository Consent Form

Thank you for participating in the San Jose Experiences of American Indians in Urban Relocation Project. Please read this agreement carefully and ask any questions you have regarding terms and conditions. Your signature indicates acceptance of the terms and conditions for making your interview available for future use.

Non-Exclusive License to Archive and Distribute

I, _____, consent on this date, _____, to have my oral history archived at the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley. I also grant the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley the right to use my name and likeness in promotional materials for outreach and educational materials. Additionally, my interview will be made available for research and educational purposes according to the policies of the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley. Future uses may include quotation in printed materials or audio/visual excerpts in any media, and availability on the Internet. In return, the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley grants me a non-exclusive license to use my interview throughout my lifetime.

Interviewee

Name (print) _____

Signature _____

Date _____

Oral History Project Representative

Name (print) _____

Signature _____

Date _____

Appendix C: SJSU ScholarWorks Consent Form

Thank you for participating in the San Jose Experiences of American Indians in Urban Relocation Project. Please read this agreement carefully and ask any questions you have regarding terms and conditions. Your signature indicates acceptance of the terms and conditions for making your interview available for future use.

Non-Exclusive License to Archive and Distribute in SJSU ScholarWorks

I, _____, consent on this date, _____, to have my oral history archived at SJSU ScholarWorks. San Jose State University ScholarWorks is an online digital repository. I grant San Jose State University ScholarWorks the right to use my name and likeness in promotional materials for outreach and educational materials. In return, SJSU ScholarWorks grants me a non-exclusive license to use my interview throughout my lifetime.

I understand that my interview will be recorded, transcribed, and made publicly available through SJSU ScholarWorks for research and educational purposes. I grant SJSU ScholarWorks the right to publish, duplicate, or otherwise use for non-profit purposes the recorded oral history.

Interviewee

Name (print) _____

Signature _____

Date _____

Oral History Project Representative

Name (print) _____

Title _____

Signature _____

Date _____

Appendix D: Letter of Agreement for Repository

This letter recognizes the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley as a repository site for the San Jose Experiences of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project oral histories. The San Jose State University anthropology department and the New Museum of Los Gatos will continue to use the oral histories for educational purposes, research, and public use.

This letter further summarizes the responsibilities of the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley and the San Jose Experiences of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project. In addition to this document, both a Project Participation Consent form and a Repository Consent Addendum signed by each interviewee will accompany each oral history.

The San Jose Experiences of American Indians in the Urban Relocation oral history project is responsible for the following tasks and for the cost incurred:

- Prepare audio or video recorded interviews in formats and quality determined by repository
- Catalog oral histories for use by Indian Health Care of Santa Clara Valley
- Format, copy, and bind oral history materials
- Create content summary for each oral history interview
- Deliver signed Project Participation Consent form and a Repository Consent Addendum for each interview
- Deliver interview content summaries, available transcripts, and video/audio recordings in format agreed upon

The Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley repository is responsible for the following tasks and for the costs incurred:

- Make copies available for use according to repository’s access policy.

Number of interviews _____

Timeframe for delivery _____

Number of copies for each interview _____

Repository

Name (print) _____

Signature _____

Title _____

Date _____

Oral History Project Representative

Name (print) _____

Signature _____

Title _____

Date _____

A Brief Guide to Collecting Oral Histories

Table of Contents

□	
Introduction	2
Project Purpose and Background	2
Defining the Project	2
Basic Background Information	2
Online Interview Examples	2
Release Agreement	2
Release Agreement Example	3
Prepare for the Interview	3
Prospective Interviewees	3
Interview Questions	3
Schedule the Interview	3
Video Recording or Audio Recording the Interview	4
Video Recording	4
Audio Recording	4
Backup Plan	5
Conducting the Interview	5
After the Interview: Prepare Materials for Archive	5
Video/Audio File	6
Transcripts	6
Oral History Interview Description	6
Oral History Catalog	6
Summary	6
Additional Resources	7
Bibliography	8
Appendices	
Appendix A Release Agreement Example	9
Appendix B Transcript Example	10
Appendix C Interview Description Example	11
Appendix D Catalog Example	12□

Introduction

The reason for writing this guide is to offer concise steps to conduct a community oral history project. It is well suited for small scale community projects with limited resources. The guide highlights the most important information to make collecting oral histories a simpler process.

Project Purpose and Background

Defining the Project

The first step in starting an oral history project is to define the project's topic, group to be interviewed, proposed outcome, and significance to the community. This information is necessary to include in the participant release agreement form. Also, having a clear understanding of why the oral history project is being conducted creates a consistent message for all project participants. Lastly, being clear about the purpose of the oral history project helps to formulate questions and choose actions best suited to meet the goal(s) of the project.

Basic Background Information

Once the purpose of the project and group to be interviewed has been clearly defined, it is recommended some basic research be done particularly for those involved with interviewing. Some sites for research include the library, talking with knowledgeable community members, and trusted websites. For example, a purpose of an oral history project might be to collect narratives from Urban Relocation Program participants to preserve their lived experiences for future generations and for educational purposes. Some sites for research on this topic include YouTube which has several documentaries on the subject. Other research sites might be trusted websites from organizations that serve the group to be interviewed such as community health centers and community centers. Even light research will help the interviewer feel more comfortable with the topic and ask more topic related questions.

Online Interview Examples

To help calm any worries and get a better understanding about the interview process, viewing or listening to a few oral history interviews is helpful. Two websites with accessible oral history interviews include the New York Public Library Community Oral History Project and the Oral History Center of The Bancroft Library channel on YouTube.

- New York Public Library: <https://www.nypl.org/help/community-outreach/oral-history>
- Bancroft Library YouTube channel:
<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCGAinTxdFjHfasgAsa5NGsw>

Release Agreement

The release agreement is a legal document that grants the repository conducting the interview specific rights to archive and use the oral history. An important part of the release agreement is stating why the oral history is being collected and for what purpose. This transparency increases trust between the interviewer and narrator.

Understanding the release agreement is important for both narrator and interviewer. It is recommended that the release agreement be provided in advance to the interviewee. This gives the prospective narrator an opportunity to thoroughly read the document and prepare any questions before the scheduled interview.

Release Agreement Example

(See appendix A)

Prepare for the Interview

Since background research has been completed, there are 3 basic steps involved in preparing to interview. The first is locating and connecting with prospective interviewees. Second, create a list of open-ended questions related to the project topic. Third, schedule the interview. These three steps will make preparing for the interview an easier process.

Prospective Interviewees

Where do you find prospective interview participants? There are a few good places to start. One can begin by connecting with persons within one's social network. Another way is to research organizations that service the individuals/group to be interviewed. For instance, if the project involves interviewing senior citizens from a specific neighborhood then perhaps a senior center in or near the area is a good place to connect. Also, attending events and programs designed for the group to be interviewed provides an opportunity to connect with a greater number of prospective interviewees. One can connect with prospective interviewees through chain-referrals and word of mouth as well. One's social network, community organizations, and referrals are a few ways to connect with prospective interviewees.

Interview Questions

Preparing a list of open-ended questions prior to the interview is recommended. The most effective questions to ask are ones that are open-ended. Open-ended questions typically require a more thoughtful response than a one word reply such as yes or no. Also, open-ended questions are useful to begin the narration on a topic and help spark memories when the interview stalls as it sometimes will. It is likely that not all questions will be asked nor is the narrator obligated to answer any question. It is helpful to remember that the interviewer should do most of the listening while the narrator does most of the talking during the interview. The goal is to ask questions that trigger the narrator's recall of lived experiences. Examples of open-ended questions and less effective questions such as closed-ended and leading questions are written below.

Closed ended: Did you participate in the Urban Relocation Program?

Open-ended: Can you tell me about your experience of relocating from the reservation to San Jose?

Leading: I heard that participating in Urban Relocation Program caused a lot of problems for some relocatees. What do you think?

Open-ended: How did participating in the Urban Relocation Program affect you?

Schedule the Interview

There is important information to convey when scheduling the interview with prospective interviewees. The prospective interviewee should be informed about the project and interview process. It

is recommended to schedule 2 to 3 hours for the interview appointment. Some of the time will be used for equipment set-up and testing before the interview as well as discussion prior to and after the recorded interview. Consider keeping the call or in-person communication brief to save their story for the interview. The bulleted items listed below are useful reference points during the conversation.

- Introduce oneself and explain why making contact
- Briefly describe the project
- Describe the interview process including the release agreement
- Share general types of questions that will be asked during interview
- Set the appointment preferably at a date, time, and at a quiet location convenient for the narrator especially if the narrator is elderly.
- Be prepared to discuss and answer questions about the project and how their oral history will be used
- Ask what the best way is to send the release agreement in advance of interview
- Ask the prospective narrator if there are any additional questions
- Provide your contact information
- End the conversation by thanking the prospective interviewee for their participation and generosity

Video Recording or Audio Recording the Interview

There are equipment options for different types of interview situations. In some cases, the narrator may not be comfortable having the interview video recorded and prefer an audio recording instead. Also, equipment malfunction may require the use of back-up equipment such as one's smartphone. It is a good idea to be prepared with a back-up plan. Lastly, one needs to consider how the digital files will be stored by the repository and in what format. Varying interview situations and repository requirements will influence the type of equipment used.

Video Recording

For a small-scale community oral history project with limited resources a professional video recorder is not needed. Though the video and sound quality may not be the same as professional equipment, some less expensive video recorders come close. For example, some video recorders offer good quality video and audio, a powerful microphone, digital file format in mp4 and 2 hours of recording time while being lower priced in comparison to professional equipment.

Once the video recorder has been selected it is useful to become familiar with how the equipment will be used prior to the interview. Knowing where to place the camera and microphone are important. Before setting up the equipment, one should take time to build rapport with the narrator. Once permission has been given to set up the equipment, do a few video and audio tests for placement and sound prior to starting the interview. A few simple tips about video recording the narrator: (1) the video quality will be better if the narrator is not directly in front of a light source such as a window during the day, (2) try to position the image of the narrator off center (3) have the microphone as close to the narrator as possible, and (4) avoid sitting directly behind the camera during the interview as well as sitting too close to the narrator that your image appears in the video. Becoming comfortable with how the equipment functions and where it can be placed for better quality recording will help the interview progress more smoothly.

Audio Recording

As mentioned before, some interviewees may prefer the interview be audio recorded only. Fortunately, some video recorders offer an audio only function as well saving the expense of purchasing additional equipment. A handheld digital recorder with basic functions can be used as well. Some features to consider when selecting a handheld digital audio recorder are storage size, digital file format (most support mp3), and the ability to transfer files to a computer. Another piece of equipment to consider using with the handheld digital recorder is an attachable microphone. A lavalier microphone is small and can be clipped on the narrator's clothing for improved sound quality. This microphone is typically compatible with smartphones and may need an adapter to connect with a digital recorder. This microphone is typically inexpensive.

Backup Plan

Even with the best planning unforeseen problems may occur. Consider having a backup plan in case equipment malfunctions or batteries run low. Testing the equipment prior to the interview will help troubleshoot problems beforehand. Also, remember to bring power adapters and extra batteries (if used). Bringing a handheld digital recorder to each interview will work as a safeguard against a video recorder malfunction. The handheld digital recorder can be used in junction with other recording equipment during an interview. If all equipment fails at the interview, a smartphone can be used as both a video and audio recorder. Having a lavalier microphone in this case will improve audio quality. Though a smartphone will work in a pinch, the amount of video and audio recording time may be determined by remaining storage capacity. Also, the video recording quality chosen will have effect recording length. In summary, checking equipment prior to the interview, bringing the appropriate power source, and using a handheld digital recorder during each interview are a few ways to prevent and handle equipment problems.

Conducting the Interview

By the time one is ready to interview, all the previous work will help the interview process flow more smoothly. One point to remember is sharing a personal story can be both rewarding and emotionally difficult for the narrator. With that in mind, make sure to offer respect, empathy, and patience to the interviewee. A list of chronological steps to follow during an interview appointment are written below.

- Arrive on time
- Build rapport with narrator
- Setup equipment and test for video/audio quality and lighting
- Discuss release agreement
- Begin recording
- Ask first question
- Remain quiet and do not interrupt; the focus is on the narrator
- Respect pauses
- Ask additional open-ended, follow-up, and clarifying questions
- Avoid an abrupt end
- Stop recording
- Check-in with narrator
- Release agreement signature
- Discuss follow-up items such as narrator review of video/audio prior to archival
- Thank the narrator for participating

After the Interview: Prepare Materials for Archive

Preparing materials to archive include storing the digital files and creating supplemental documentation. Once the interview is complete, the digital file of the interview can be transferred to the repository and transcription started. Ensure the interviewee has an opportunity to review the interview video/audio or transcript. Once the video/audio or transcript has been approved by the narrator additional documentation such as the interview description can be done. Information about the digital file, transcript, interview description, and release agreement (which should be stored in a secure location) can be entered in the oral history collection catalog. The collection catalog is a document that contains important information about each interviewee, the interview, associated materials and documentation. The catalog is a primary resource to understand the breadth of the collection and to locate items in the collection. Ultimately, the storage capacity of the repository and available resources will dictate how the interviews are archived and the amount of archival documentation created.

Video/Audio File

Once the video or audio has been recorded, the digital file is then transferred to a location determined by the repository. For example, a designated location to store the digital files may be a specific computer hard drive, external hard drive, file hosting or cloud storage service. There may be additional costs to add storage capacity. Also, consider archiving the digital file in more than one location, file format, or on a digital optical disc storage as well. Where the files are stored also depend on the repository's data security policy. Over time some storage devices and file formats may become obsolete. Therefore, consider as part of the repository's processes to periodically assess current file formats and update files into newer formats as needed.

Transcripts

Transcripts are usually part of the archival documents created to accompany the video or audio interview. A transcript captures the interview verbatim. It is also another copy of the interview in a written format. Transcripts provide another way to experience the interview and are a useful format for research. Though beneficial, creating one requires significant work hours to complete. There are a few ways to make the process easier. Some voice recognition software can be used to speed up the process though the transcript will still need to be compared to the digital version of the interview for accuracy. Transcription can be outsourced as well. It is preferable to have a transcript. However, if transcription is not an option for the repository, then an oral history interview summary can be used to capture important information about the interview as well. See appendix B for an example of the pertinent information to include on a transcript.

Oral History Interview Description

This preferably one or two-page document succinctly describes the content of the interview in relation to segments of time in a video or audio and by page number for a transcript (see appendix C for an example). The interview description provides a quick way to gather important information about an interview and includes major themes. Preferably both a transcript and interview description are included in the community repository along with the oral history interview. However, creating an interview description takes significantly less work hours to create than a transcript. When work hours or resources are limited, a one-page interview description is sufficient to provide information about an interview.

Oral History Catalog

The oral history catalog is a concise and complete list of all items in the oral history collection related to each oral history interview. Cataloging archived material does not need to be a complex process particularly if the collection is small. See appendix D for an example of pertinent information to include in an oral history catalog.

Summary

The guide highlights the most important processes involved in creating or growing a community oral history collection so resources can be focused where most effective. Doing a community oral history project requires people, funding, and time. These factors will direct elements of an oral history project such as what equipment is used, how many persons are involved, and how much time can be spent on the project. Even with limited resources, the processes involved in an oral history project can be rewarding for project participants. Knowledge held by community members are not lost but held within the community for the community. A community oral history project can become an opportunity to build trust and strengthen community relationships between the collecting organization, project participants and the involved community.

Additional Resources

For more information on the topics listed in the guide and to view additional community oral history guides several websites and URLs are listed below. In addition, the resources used to create this guide can be found in the bibliography.

- A one-page 8 step guide written by Dr. Paul Ortiz from the University of Florida Samuel Proctor Oral History Program is located at <https://oral.history.ufl.edu/files/march-2014-8-steps.pdf>
- DoHistory.org offers a more detailed step-by-step guide. The guide can be accessed at http://dohistory.org/on_your_own/toolkit/oralHistory.html#SEQUENCE
- How to Record an Oral History Interview video from the University of Leicester covers the basics in recording and conducting an oral history interview. The video is just under 10 minutes long and located at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jTCzxWt1RQk>
- The Oral History Association at [oralhistory.org](http://www.oralhistory.org) has a list of “Web Guides for Doing Oral History” under the resource tab. The list is accessible at <http://www.oralhistory.org/web-guides-to-doing-oral-history/>.
- To get a basic understanding of the types of video and audio equipment used to capture oral histories, Vermont Folklife Center is a good resource at <https://www.vermontfolklifecenter.org/field-recording-equipment-guide>.

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Appendix A

Release Agreement Example

The purpose of the (name of oral history project) is to (reason(s) for conducting oral history project).

Thank you for participating in the (name of oral history project). Please read this agreement carefully and ask any questions you have regarding terms and conditions. Your signature indicates acceptance of the terms and conditions for making your interview available for future use.

Non-Exclusive License to Archive and Distribute

I, _____, interviewee, donate and convey my oral history interview dated _____ to the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley. In making this gift I understand that I am conveying all right, title, and interest in copyright to the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley. I also grant the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley the right to use my name and likeness in promotional materials for outreach and educational materials. Additionally, my interview will be made available for research and educational purposes according to the policies of the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley. Future uses may include quotation in printed materials or audio/visual excerpts in any media, and availability on the Internet. In return, the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley grants me a non-exclusive license to use my interview throughout my lifetime.

I further understand that I will have the opportunity to review and approve my interview before it is placed in the repository and made available to the public. Once I have approved it, the Indian Health Center of Santa Clara Valley will make my interview available for research without restriction. Future uses may include quotation in printed materials or audio/visual excerpts in any media, and availability on the internet.

Interviewee
Name (print) _____
Signature _____
Date _____

Interviewer
Name (print) _____
Signature _____
Date _____

Appendix B

Transcript Example

(Catalog name or number of transcript)

(Name of organization) San Jose State University Department of Anthropology

(Name of oral history Project) San Jose Experiences of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project

Date of Interview: 5/4/16

Interviewers: Prof. Jan English-Lueck, Alumna Auda Velazquez-Rivera, and Graduate Student Veronica Saldivar

Interviewee: (name of narrator)

Interviewer: We are hoping to catch the stories of people that went through relocation and put them in the exhibit at the new museum in Los Gatos. But also, Veronica is also very deeply involved in this. Just creating a long-term archive for the community. And so, we're there are kinda two pieces to the project. So, I'm going to ask you some general questions about your experience, before you relocated, I remember from our discussions at the dinner that you also lived in Anaheim and moved to San Jose. You have moved around quite a bit and including back and forth to your home land. So, I will ask you questions about your life and it's really up to you to decide what parts of your life you want to share. We'll ask you other questions from time to time. But, mostly we will just start out with, well [name of narrator], tell us about your life.

[name of narrator]: I don't know what to say

Interviewer: Where did you come from?

[name of narrator]: I was born Luis Con Idaho, Saint Joseph's Hospital. I was a twin. My twin pass away 16 months after I was born...identical twin. Then I live with my mother and father sort of in a mountain area along a river and live with my maternal grandparents. My family separated me and my sister when we were young. I had another brother that I had not met until he was 18. So, they separated all of us. He was with my, with our paternal family and then after. So, I went to school Kamiah Idaho while my sister and parents lived in Lenore. We were about 50 some miles apart. For the reservation that's a long way. I went to first, second and third in Kamiah and then when my sister got old enough to go to school, we went to school together.

Minute 3:25 in video

Then after that then our parents decided to go on relocation. So, I was 7 and I think I might have been 8 and she was old enough to be in second grade I think, and we ended up in Garden Grove, ca. That would be 1956. Actually, we lived in LA first and I would guess the BIA helped us out about a month or two. then my father got a job at Disneyland and it was just opening up. So, we ended up moving to garden grove, went to school there. I remember the house and everything. We lived in two places in Garden Grove. One in a field one not too far from the school. Walk to school every day. My father worked as what do you call it, a canoe boy. And then during the summertime my sister and I ended up going to Disneyland every day. We watched it grow. I think our picture is even in the book they used to sell, the souvenir book. I think my sister and I are in the picture. The Matterhorn ride is, used to be just a little hill. My sister and I would slide down the hill. So, our picture is in that Disneyland book. I think I might still have it? We went to school in many places because we moved around and then we moved around moved again. We moved to Anaheim and Fullerton. And so, we went from school to school. It seemed we had everything okay.

Appendix C

Interview Description Example

San Jose Experiences of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project Oral Histories

(name of narrator) Interview Description by Video Minute

Interviewers: Dr. Jan English-Lueck and Graduate Student Alisha Ragland

Date of Interview: March 24, 2016

Description:(name of narrator) a member of the Confederate Tribes of the Cause (Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla) relocated from Haskell and Toppenish, Washington.

Name of Video File: (name of narrator).mp4

Duration: 1 hour 28 minutes

Name of Transcript: (name of narrator)

No. of Transcript Pages: 14

Content

Video Minute

Relocation to "make marriage work"; site of orange orchards; first experience with destination BIA-including no job and unsatisfactory housing; searching for a place to live and work; "we made up our own tribe"; Powwows and Haskell connection.

0:01-11:00

No one stared at them in San Jose; what it means to be Indian from [husband's] golf buddies; children learning about other tribes.

11:01-20:00

Going back home; visiting deceased relatives first; preserving family connections & raising children; [narrator] shares [husband's] experience in Indian schools; food and daily practices on reservation-"It was a good life"; variety of food practices from hunting rules to farm work on reservation.

20:01-35:00

Waiting for sun with grandpa; happy here because of lack of racism; skin color prejudice on and off reservation; food practices & child rearing on reservation.

35:01- 48:15

Fishing rights Columbia and [name of father-in-law]; Santa Clara Valley from orchards to dense urban environment; food and food sharing; learning to interact with other ethnicities.

48:20 to 1:00:00

Enrolling children into tribe; enrollment card is "like gold to us"; "I was home"-tribal belonging; skilled at blending cultural practices.

1:22:00 to 1:28:00

Themes: children's Indian identity, connections with the reservation, cross-tribal relations, family connections, food practices, interactions with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, interethnic relations, maintaining culture, making community, marriage, political movements, reservation connection, role of Indian school, tribal politics

Appendix D
Catalog Example

Archive Catalog of Oral Histories
SJSU San Jose Experiences of American Indians in the Urban Relocation Project*

Oral History Interviewee: **(name of narrator)**

Interviewer: Assistant Dr. A.J. Faas

Date of Interview: January 19, 2016

Description: (name of narrator) a Hidatsa/Mandan relocated from Fort Berthold, North Dakota.

Name of Video File: AI1.mp4, AI2.mp4, and AI3.mp4

Duration: Total 1 hour 40 minutes

Legal Release: Yes

Name of Transcript: (name of narrator)

No. of Transcript Pages: 14

Oral History Interviewee: **(name of narrator)**

Interviewers: Dr. Jan English-Lueck and Graduate Student Alisha Ragland

Date of Interview: 2016

Description: (name of narrator) a Cheyenne River Sioux relocated from Eagle Butte, South Dakota.

Name of Video File: (name of narrator).mp4

Duration: 1 hour 56 minutes

Legal Release: Yes

Name of Transcript: (name of narrator)

No. of Transcript Pages: 16

*The oral histories were collected by San Jose State University Department of Anthropology for a collaborative project between the New Museum Los Gatos and SJSU Department of Anthropology.