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Leadership Roles of Native American Women in Education in the 1990s

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LEADERSHIP ROLES OF NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN IN EDUCATION IN THE 1990s

by

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This study of Native American women leaders in education had a twofold purpose. The first was the primary objective of the study: to develop a greater understanding of leadership as experienced by contemporary Native American women. The second was to add to the literature on experiences of Native American women leaders. The method selected for this study was a qualitative approach involving ethnographic studies of 12 selected Native American women in the field of education. Data were collected through interviews and journal recordings. Native American women interviewed were representative of various tribes across the United States. The study explored questions regarding the lives of these women leaders.

Findings of this study included factors these Native American women perceived as contributing to their success and factors they perceived as barriers. The following categories emerged as contributing to the success of these women: leadership characteristics, support systems, education, and beliefs. The research found that the distortion of Native American women's roles, as a result of European beliefs about the role of women and Native Americans, led to racial and sexual discrimination. These were identified as barriers to success. Data also supported the finding that these women refused to allow barriers to impede their success.

The study concludes that there has been misunderstanding about the traditional roles of Native American women, and this misunderstanding continues

into the 1990s. Misperceptions have been introduced by non-Indian ethnographic and historical writers. Women governed in some tribes. In other tribes, current leadership positions are new roles for women. Little has been written about Native American women as leaders, past or present. This study adds to the understanding of these women's lived experiences. Barriers still exist, but many are overcoming those barriers. Continuing to ascribe to traditional ways, Native American women are obtaining leadership positions in areas such as education, which may or may not have been the norm in their tribal societies.

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To my family and special people in my life, I dedicate this research. To my parents, Anita Beall and Phil Keway, for their emotional support and for instilling in me pride for my Indian heritage; to my beloved friend, David Prong, for his patience, devotion, emotional support, and technical assistance; and to my friends, especially Mary Olivarez, for encouragement.

This work is also dedicated to my Keway ancestors. My grandfather, Charles Keway, had devoted years of his life to writing his interpretation of the legends and religion of the Odawa people, but was unable to see his work published. Although this research does not reflect the exact nature of my grandfather's writing, I hope that it can increase the understanding of Native American women, including Odawa women. Megwetch (thank you).

Linda S. Keway

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Native American (American Indian) women have been in leadership roles, holding important positions within their respective societies, for generations (Allen, 1992; Bataille & Sands, 1984; Brayboy, 1990/1991; Cameron, 1981; Green, 1980; Witt, 1974, 1976). This included the area of education. There is also overwhelming agreement among Native Americans themselves that the roles of men and women were traditionally complimentary and mutual rather than skewed. The term "tradition(ally)" was used in this research to refer to a cultural custom and time honored practice—the passing down of elements of a culture from generation to generation. "Sharing" was the philosophy that underscored the relationship between men and women (Green, 1983; Powers, 1988). Thus, teaching and the decision making roles of this educational process were a responsibility of both men and women.

However, two situations have existed to obscure this fact. The first is that the role of Native American women has been inaccurately portrayed since the earliest accounts of Euro-American literature. The second is that the concept of leadership itself has caused some confusion as perceived by non-Indians, having different implications for Native Americans than for non-Indian organizations.

Who Are Native Americans (American Indians)?

The Bureau of Indian Affairs defines "Indian" by PL 93–638 (1975), The

Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. It defines "Indian" as "a person who is a member of an Indian tribe." It further defines "Indian tribe" as

> any Indian tribe, band, nation or other organized group or community, including any Alaska Native village or regional or village corporation as defined in or established pursuant to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (85 Stat. 688), which is recognized as eligible for the special programs and services provided by the United States to Indians because of their status as Indians. (*United States Statutes at Large*, p. 2204)

Some of these indigenous people prefer the term American Indian, whereas some prefer Native American. In this research, the two terms are used interchangeably.

The United States government recognizes 298 federal reservations, four federal trust land areas, 217 Alaskan Native Village Statistical Areas, and 17 Tribal Jurisdiction Statistical Areas (in Oklahoma). In addition, there are 12 state reservations. These Native Americans share a unique political status as members of sovereign nations (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995).

Statement of Purpose

Images of Native American women have been distorted by the male-bias of non-Indian ethnographic and historical writers (Medicine, 1988). According to Native Americans, the women "often played key roles in all of the major political, religious and economic institutions of the tribe" (Tsosie, 1988, p. 6) and held positions of power. Some tribes were governed by tribal women, though the United States government, which recognized only male political leaders, eventually altered the traditional system to some extent. However, "few have written about modern female leadership in tribes which have been female-governed for a long time . . . (Green, 1983, p. 15). Even more scarce is research on Native American women who have been leaders in education. The research community needs scholarly research to

dispel the myths found in the literature about these women and, specifically, their leadership roles in education.

Consequently, the purpose of this research was twofold: the first was to develop a greater understanding of leadership as experienced by contemporary Native American women. The second was to add to the literature on experiences of Native American women leaders.

The study combined with a review of literature was designed to explore the following questions regarding the lives of these women leaders:

1. What are leadership roles Native American women hold in their societies in the 1990s?

2. How do these contemporary Native American women leaders perceive their roles as compared to traditional times?

3. What influences has the distortion of Native American women's roles had on this group of Native American women?

4. What issues face these Native American women leaders today?

5. What do these Native American women leaders perceive as barriers in their positions/careers?

The following additional question or theme emerged from the study:

6. What do these Native American women leaders perceive as success factors in their positions/careers?

Overview of Chapters

This chapter presents background material necessary to understand Native American women (educational) leaders in the 1990s. The chapter discusses the concept of leadership in white America as opposed to the concept of leadership

traditionally among Native American societies. Secondly, it reviews the "glass ceiling" phenomenon, as it relates to women and Native Americans. A review of relevant research will be presented in Chapter II, including information regarding Native American women's traditional roles from the Native American perspective and their distorted image by Euro-Americans. The methodology used in the study will be presented in Chapter III. Chapter IV presents thematic findings of the experiences of leadership among these Native American women. A contextual background of these women is presented in Chapter V and conclusions are presented in Chapter VI.

The Concept of Leadership in White America

The concept of leadership in Euro-American organizations, including educational, has evolved over the course of the 1900s. Beginning with the classical organizational period of the early 1900s (1910–1935), it has evolved through the human relations movement (1935–1950), the organizational behavior movement (1950–1975), and the human resources management period (1975–present) (Owens, 1987). Through these periods, there has been a paradigm shift in the role of leadership. The researcher selected the 1900s merely to illustrative the patterns and forms of leadership that Euro-Americans imposed upon Native Americans.

In the classical organizational period, leadership was viewed as largely a matter of hierarchical power over subordinates and was almost wholly concerned with getting the task accomplished. In the human relations period, leadership was seen as an interaction between the leader and others in the group. Attention was directed to psychological and social aspects of the organization. The organizational behavior era sought to produce a synthesis of these two views. Then, contingency

views of leadership, in which leadership roles were seen as dependent on situations, was introduced in the present day human resource management era (Owens, 1987). Also, James MacGregor Burns' theory of transformational leadership became popular in Euro-American organizations addressing the idea of cooperation and shared decision making as opposed to the authoritarian and hierarchical power over subordinates view of the earlier period.

According to Burns, there is a symbiotic relationship between leadership and followership. Although leaders do exercise various kinds of power, they engage with followers in seeking to achieve not only their own goals but also significant goals of the followers (Owens, 1987). He further states: "Leadership occurs when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality" (Burns, 1978, p. 20).

Yukl (1989) further describes transformational leadership as increasing "follower motivation by activating higher needs of followers, appealing to moral ideals, and empowering followers" (p. 230). Thus, the role of the transformational leader is multifaceted, whereby the leader establishes a shared vision, empowers followers, listens to, influences, inspires, and involves others in the decision making process. This culminates in a shared commitment to ideas, issues, values and goals, and teamwork. Through all of this, the transformational leader is willing to take risks and make changes (Bass, 1994; Covey, 1992; Senge, 1990).

Leadership styles in white America have, therefore, undergone a metamorphosis. The transformational leader of today in white American organizations is a far cry from the bureaucratic leader of the early 1900s. In fact, the concept of transformational leadership of this era more closely resembles traditional Native beliefs and values than did leadership practices of the first part of this century.

The basis for this contention is supported later in the dissertation. The concept of leadership among Native Americans will be discussed next to lend support to this conviction.

The Concept of Leadership in Native American Societies

Traditionally, leadership among Indian people was antithetical to principles of leadership among white America. Native American culture has been largely collegial or circular as contrasted with non-Indian organizational structures of the past which tended to be hierarchical. The traditional values of Indians did not support or sustain this former white image of leadership. Native American leaders were not in "charge of" nor did they "speak for" or "lead" others. Rather respected persons were sought out for their counsel or sacred powers. Both men and women were sought depending on the breadth of their wisdom or the degree of their sanctity (Miller, 1978).

Thus, the assignment by non-Indians of a leadership role to Indian people, labeling them as a "spokesperson" or a "leader" has tended to destroy a Native American's image as a selfless or sacred one, projecting instead an egotistical or authoritarian image antithetical to Native American values. Therefore, one can see that although Native American women have been a force in the political and spiritual life of the people as well as in the white world, these women have not viewed themselves as leaders, nor have they been viewed by their tribes in this way.

> They may be respected and honored by their people, but they do not "lead" their people. They care for the people; they give to the people. But all sit together in the sacred circle and no one is greater than another. This is the Indian way. (Miller, 1978)

In summary, the concept of leadership has different implications for Native Americans than for non-Native societies. One other piece deserves attention prior to

discussing contemporary roles of Native American women, which, again is the purpose of this study; that is the "glass ceiling" phenomenon of Corporate America as it relates to women and American Indians.

The Glass Ceiling Phenomenon as It Relates to Women in the United States

Women have more resources than ever before to help them break though the "glass ceiling." This term was first coined less than a decade ago to describe "an invisible—but impenetrable—barrier between women and the executive suite, preventing them from reaching the highest levels of the business world regardless of their accomplishments and merits" (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995). This term was quickly extended to refer to obstacles for minority men, as well as women. The government's Glass Ceiling Initiative and the 1991 Civil Rights Act, which increased protection for white women and people of color against bias in hiring, promotion and general workplace relations, were enacted to address this problem. Yet, far too many remain trapped beneath this glass ceiling. "Despite the passage of time, the increasing number of women in management and professional positions, and the replacement of over-fifty male executives with younger men, the 'glass ceiling' continues to exist" (Morrison, White, Velsor, and the Center for Creative Leadership, 1992, xii.). Findings released in the 1991 Department of Labor report revealed that not only is a glass ceiling still present, but that it exists at a much lower level than first thought. The fact-finding report confirmed that at the highest levels of business, there is indeed a barrier only rarely penetrated by women or persons of color. It found that 97% of the senior managers of Fortune 1000 industrial and Fortune 500 companies are white; 95 to 97% are male. In the Fortune 2000 industrial and service companies, 5% of senior managers are women—and of those 5%, virtually all are

white. The data show that white women and minorities are increasingly earning the credentials. However, women hold only 3 to 5% of the senior-level jobs in major corporations. Moreover, only 5% of these women are minority women (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995).

It is also reported that, although there are women and minorities in high places, their compensation is lower. And, the relatively few women and minorities found at the highest levels tend to be in supporting, staff function areas including personnel/human resources, communications, public relations, affirmative action, and customer relations, rather than line positions, such as marketing, sales, or production. In short, two thirds of our population and 57% of the working population is female, minority, or both. But, the executive suite does not even remotely resemble the workforce (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995).

Several barriers for women and minorities were identified in the Department of Labor study including "recruitment by networking, lack of opportunities for people of color and women to take advanced education programs and career-enhancing assignments, and the lack of accountability for equal opportunity within the leadership ranks" (Morrison et al., 1992, xiii). Heim and Golant (1993) report that "Despite the enormous strides women have made, the fact remains that the corporate culture is still a man's world" (p. 13).

Now the question is, how do contemporary Native American women fit into this scenario? For them, as for Native American men, it may be "more than glass."

"More Than Glass" for Native American Women and Men

An American Indian woman's educational attainment, although a necessity for a career, can sometimes threaten her credibility in her native environment. The United

Nations Decade of Women: 1976–1985 (U.S. Department of Labor, 1985) reports that only 54% of Indian women were high school graduates. Of all minority women, this is the lowest proportion of women with high school diplomas (Brayboy, 1990/1991). Other educational facts reported by the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995) and U. S. Department of Education (1995) include the following:

> American Indians (women and men) have the highest high school dropout rate of any ethnic or racial group—36%. Culture conflict is often cited as the cause. (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995, p. 97)
>
> The educational attainment level of American Indians—including Eskimos and Aleuts—improved between 1980 and 1990 but remains considerably below the level of the total population. (p. 97)
>
> Only 9% of American Indians in the workforce hold college degrees. College dropout rates are high, especially among American Indian students who have come from reservations. Again, culture conflict is often cited as a leading cause. The 1990 Census reports that 5,899 American Indians 18 years and older have bachelor's degrees, although 34,721 have some college experience. The 1990 U.S. Census also reports that only 3,277 American Indians 18 years or older hold post graduate degrees. (p. 97)
>
> In 1992–93, 5,671 bachelor's degrees were conferred to American Indians (3,222 to American Indian women). These figures represented 0.5% of the population of students that received bachelor's degrees. (U.S. Department of Education, 1995, p. 284)
>
> In 1992–93, 1,407 master's degrees were conferred to American Indians (821 to women). These represented 0.4% of the total Master's degrees conferred to all students that year. (p. 287)
>
> In 1992–93, 106 doctorate degrees were conferred to American Indians (55 to women), both representing 0.3% of the students that received doctorate degrees. (p. 290)
>
> First-professional degrees were awarded to 368 American Indians or 0.5% of those degrees awarded. Of those, 178 were awarded to American Indian women, or 0.6%. (p. 292)

To better understand these figures in relation to the population, it should be noted that of 255,082,000 in the U.S. population, 2,134,000 are American Indians,

representing 0.84% of the total population (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1994, p. 17).

Regarding employment, American Indian women, in relation to other minority groups, remain at the bottom of occupational groups and experience the highest incidence of poverty of any group in this country (U.S. Department of Labor, 1985). Some facts reported by the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995) that includes data for both American Indian men and women are as follows:

> The Bureau of the Census 1990 publication, *Social and Economic Characteristics: American Indians and Alaska Native Areas*, indicated that annual per capita income on the ten largest reservations ranged from $3,113 to $4,718; that 56% of American Indian households earned less than $15,000 per year. (p. 96)
>
> There are wide variations in the American Indian unemployment rate data. It is substantially higher in reservation areas than anywhere else—25%. (p. 96)
>
> In 1990, the overall unemployment rate for Indian workers nationally was 14.4%. (p. 100)

Regarding employment in corporate America, the previous data on educational attainment show that few American Indians are educationally prepared to participate. Secondly, many Indian people have no interest in entering corporate America, as they are still struggling to overcome attempts at forced assimilation. It is estimated that half of the American Indians who earn MBAs or equivalent degrees are employed with the tribes or tribal ventures. Almost three quarters of American Indian women managers work in government employments, though it is unclear as to whether these positions are tribal, federal, state, or local governments. It is also stated that these women fill lower-level management jobs in tribal offices, but again the data are unclear. Finally, CEOs of private corporations do not generally think about American Indians as candidates for management jobs due to stereotypes and

prejudicial thinking. A paper commissioned by the Glass Ceiling (prepared by a consortium of scholars—Keith James, Chris Lovato, Willie Wolf, and Steve Byers, entitled *Barriers to Workplace Advancement Experienced by Native Americans*) explains that non-Indians consider American Indians to be "most deficient in the appearance and assertiveness deemed necessary for management" (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995, p. 93).

> Few white Americans have any accurate knowledge about the history of American Indian/white relations and even fewer have had the opportunity to appreciate the strength and perseverance it has taken the Indian nations to survive. Few non-Indians are familiar with the formal and informal American Indian leaders—men and women—who have struggled to preserve the culture and dignity of their people over generations of deprivation. (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995, p. 94)

Although there have been some senior managers in the private sector, American Indians are, for all practical purposes, invisible at the top management level in that sector. According to the 1990 Bureau of the Census, only 7,862 American Indians held executive, managerial, or administrative positions.

The following summarizes the major barriers to the representation and advancement of American Indians in private sector senior management:

- Lack of educational opportunity which drastically reduces the pool
- Lack of attention to the upward mobility of American Indian employees
- Belief, based on bias and acceptance of stereotypes, that American Indians are not able to perform managerial positions in mainstream business
- Preference on the part of some American Indians to devote their talents to reservation economic development or to Indian-owned and managed businesses that are consistent with their religious and cultural values. (Federal Glass Ceiling Report, 1995, p. 99)

The glass ceiling is lower for American Indians than for other groups. This stems from lack of knowledge on the part of non-Indians, many of whom rely on stereotypes. The stereotypes of American Indians are reflections of the ways most non-Indian Americans are exposed to American Indians.

> First, many non-Indians see or read in the media about American Indians who have suffered sustained poverty, lack of adequate education, lack of jobs, attacks on their culture, and lack of hope. These individuals perceive all or most American Indians as dysfunctional people. Second, most non-Indians are affected—consciously or unconsciously—by Hollywood "Indians" [the ones who attacked the white settlers] (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995, pp. 93–94)

These stereotypes are barriers to opportunity and advancement for American Indians in Corporate America. American Indian focus-group participants of the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission Report identified four issues that are relevant to their status in American and their participation in corporate America: (1) the unique legal status of American Indians as members of sovereign nations, (2) their holy days and religious obligations, (3) the cultural conflict between traditional values and perceived corporate values, and (4) their ties to their communal land base (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995). The following comments from these focus-group informants sum up the "glass ceiling" phenomenon in relation to American Indians and to American Indian women:

> It's more than glass. It comes from lack of knowledge, as you've been hearing here, and it comes from the entrenched group of people that are in positions at certain levels and they pick and choose . . . about how decisions are made . . . so you can get to a certain level and that's it! (p. 86)

> As far as the glass ceiling, here again, I've never had a problem as a woman, it's always because people didn't like my brown skin, because I was American Indian. (p. 88)

> The glass ceiling is at a lower lever. It confronts you (you) butt up against it sooner in business and in government . . . you encounter it faster than other groups of people, if you're a Native woman versus an Anglo woman, you will probably hit it faster and get stuck at a lower level . . . (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995, p. 88)

For American Indians, women and men, the glass ceiling is "more than glass" (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995). It is this researcher's suggestion that the ceiling is even lower for American Indian women than American Indian men as they

face barriers not only due to cultural and color-based differences but also to gender differences.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

An extensive literature search on the traditional and contemporary roles of Native American women educational leaders was conducted through both traditional data searches and nontraditional means. The University data systems were used, information was secured from the Arizona State University Center for Indian Education's *Index to the Journal of American Indian Education* and *Selected Dissertations in Indian Education,* and material was gathered from tribal councils written from the Native perspective and endorsed by Native people in the Great Lakes area. Material from the tribal councils includes *People of the Three Fires: The Ottawa, Potawatomi and Ojibway of Michigan,* published by the Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council (Clifton, Cornell, & McClurken, 1986) and *Gah-Baeh-Jhagwah-Buk, The Way It Happened: A Visual Culture History of the Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa* by James McClurken (1991), produced by the Michigan State University. This later publication is a history of the Odawa bands in which I am a member. Both of these publications were among the first historical accounts of Michigan Native Americans told from the perspective of Native people. Other historical accounts of Michigan tribes, as well as other tribes in the United States, have been written from the European perspective and have contained gross inaccuracies.

The literature has partially addressed the questions raised in this study. This review of literature has been organized into the following three sections: (1) roles Native American women traditionally held in their societies, referencing both

distorted images by non-Indian ethnographic and historical writers, and portrayal from the Native American perspective, including information regarding the kinship system and effects of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934; (2) contemporary leadership roles; and (3) issues and barriers perceived by Native American women leaders.

Roles Native American Women Traditionally Held in Their Societies

According to Lyle Koehler (1982), more than "1000 books, articles, and manuscripts have been written, in whole or part, about Native American women from the mid-sixteenth century to the present, yet the 'mujer indigea' [Indian Woman] remains a rather shadowy figure" (p. 73). Rayna Green examined more than 700 bibliographic items on Native American women dating from the late 17th century. She notes that Native American women have been neither neglected nor forgotten. But most of the literature regarding them, according to Green, has been selective, stereotyped, and damaging. Koehler reports that "white anthropologists, health workers, and even biographers have focused on aspects of her life . . . often without addressing the coherence and complexity of that life within its total cultural context" (p. 73). Green (1983) adds that "non-Indians generally ignored work by Native men and women, virtually entirely in favor of the mythologizing found in diaries, missionary accounts, travel tales and popular folklore" (p. 2). She further explains that "Indian women have to be exotic, wild, collaborationist, crazy, or white to qualify for white attention" (p. 8). "Most Native women of power and of note either to their own people or to whites, such as Sarah Winnemucca, the LaFlesches, Molly Brant, Nancy Ward, Mary Musgrove, or Madame Montour, received little attention until the twentieth century" (p. 3). Attention and debate focused on Pocahontas,

Sacajawea and Tekakwithas while a vast procession of significant tribal leaders passed by unnoticed or with little reference (Green, 1983). "Though occasional pieces have appeared on medicine women, herbalists and shamans, they generally ignored the spiritual and medical leadership of these women in favor of 'personal' narrative" (Green, 1983, p. 15). As stated previously,

> few have written about modern female leadership in tribes which have been female-governed for a long time—Puyallup, Colville, Yavapai, Menominee—or about those women who served as national and tribal political leaders in the last three decades [Lucy Covington, Ramona Bennett, Ada Deer, Annie Wauneka, and Pat McGee]. If we know little about the ways in which the matriarchy functioned in Iroquois daily life, we must suspect that only theory, rather than the actual practice of female decision making, is of interest to scholars. (Green, 1983, p. 17; 1980, p. 265)

Between 1900 and 1930 material focused on a few "custom studies" and recognition of the importance of Iroquoian matriarchies. Then, trends developed in the thirties that later became important areas of study (Green, 1983). The first major work on Native women, Ruth Landes' *The Ojibwa Woman*, published in 1971, even though it was flawed and male-centered, introduced to anthropologists the possibility of writing important works on tribal women (Green, 1983).

The literature of the forties began challenging old stereotypes, but regrettably those were rarely followed up on in succeeding years. According to Marla Powers (1988), "Native American women remain stereotyped today because they are never portrayed from the perspective of Indians—male or female" (p. 354). Finally, John Collier, an anthropologist and head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in the 1930s, confirmed what Native people suspected of government attitudes toward Indian women. According to Green (1983), he wrote slanderous and inaccurate information in his files about Indian women leaders like Alice Lee Jemison, the Seneca nationalist.

The fifties focused on topics of sexuality, maternal behavior, child-rearing and puberty. It avoided unresolved arguments on matriarchy (social system in which descent is traced through the mother's side of the family), matriliny (tracing ancestral descent through the maternal line), and matrifocality (system in which mother's role is culturally elaborated, valued and central). Finally, significant changes in the literature on Native American women began to appear in the sixties. Increased sensitivity to Native thinking and alteration in content was beginning to emerge (Green, 1983).

More autobiographies were produced in the seventies and eighties. However, more "life histories and ethnohistoric reevaluations of tribal leaders and women who used their power as agents of change in their besieged communities" (Green, 1983, p. 10) were needed. Over the past decade research on Native American women has increased. "In spite of this research interest much remains to be discovered" (Koehler, 1982, p. 73).

> Tribes once quite amenable to being research objects are joining tribes never especially hospitable to scholars at all, not even Indian scholars trained in Western forms. Unless that scholarly agenda and approach changes, we will learn less and less about Native women, and there are many things that need to be known in order to make the best of future lives. (Green, 1983, p.16)

First of all,

> little has been written about the women who most mattered to Native people; Medicine women, herbalists and shamans, and spiritual leaders. . . . Though occasional pieces have appeared on medicine women, herbalists, and shamans, they generally ignored the spiritual and medical leadership of these women in favor or personal narrative. If we know little about the ways in which the matriarchy functioned in Iroquois daily life, we must suspect that only theory, rather than the actual practice of female decision making, is of interest to scholars. (Green, 1983, p. 15)

Again, "debate over Pocahontas, Sacajawea, and Tekakwithas historicity remained the historian's preoccupation" (Green, 1983, p. 3). Most of the studies on

Pocahontas and her sisters focused on the ways in which they helped non-Indians defeat and subdue their own people. Green asks the question, "Where is the serious study of such women as culture brokers, working to create, manage, and minimize the negative effects of change on their people, working for Native people and with non-Indian women and men?" (p. 16). Since Green's challenge, Margaret Szasz provides a new understanding of the role of cultural brokers between native peoples and others in America from 1690 to 1994 in her publication, *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker* (1994). She writes that cultural brokers have a thorough understanding of two or more cultures and act as intermediaries. The brokers discussed in Szasz's publication have been "interpreters, traders, and spiritual intermediaries; healers; government or education mediators; and brokers who have mediated through the humanities and arts and in performances" (p. 299). Living on the edge of change and conflict, they have responded to evolving and unstable circumstances or alliances with a flexibility born of their determination to bring understanding to disparate peoples.

Secondly, the references to the lived experiences of contemporary Native American women are less abundant. In fact, as previously mentioned,

> few have written about modern Native female leadership in tribes which have been female governed for a long time—Payallup, Colville, Yavapai, Menominee—or about those women who served as national and tribal political leaders in the last three decades. Little wonder that a fixation with the traditional evolved into studies of the old women who tell male members of the American Indian movement what to do in the next militant action. Our picture of how Native women really live and function from the cradle to the grave especially in a modern context, lacks clarity and realism. (Green, 1983, p. 15)

Two data searches revealed only a few dissertations that focused on American Indian women. Helena Ferguson's *A Study of the Characteristics of American Indian Professional Women in Oklahoma* (1985), Deborah Welch's *Zitkala-Sa: An*

American Indian Leader, 1876–1938 (1985), and Judith Antell's *American Indian Women Activists* (1990) provide insight on American Indian women in the political realm. The searches revealed no dissertations that dealt explicitly with contemporary American Indian women leaders, although two were relevant—one by Mary Elizabeth Jones Brayboy, *Voices of Indianness: The Lived World of Native American Women* (1990/1991), and another by Twila Jeanne Soures, *Circles of Power: Life Histories of Native American Indian Women Elders in Education* (1992). A need for more collaborative work is also called for by Soures in her doctoral dissertation. Soures notes that it is important to acknowledge that research methodology must be culturally congruent if it is to be effective in Native contexts. Issues of gender relationships, power, the political process and sexism emerged in Soures' narratives. Due to her need for culturally congruent research, Soures used a qualitative life history and guided interview process grounded in participatory action research theory. A qualitative research process informed by the Relational Model for Human and Cultural Survival, action/participatory research enabling collaborative participation and empowerment of informants, and guided interviews were used to provide impetus for the personal narrative and oral history process. Soures combined the qualitative methodology of European-American academia and culturally congruent ways of giving and sharing information within a Native American tradition in order to document the oral history narratives of Native American women elders.

Thus, the literature search for information on traditional leadership roles of Native American women revealed both material that has been distorted by Euro-American writers, which will be reviewed next, and material written from the Native perspective. Little has been written about contemporary leadership roles of Native American women. And, research on contemporary leadership roles of Native

American women in education is virtually non-existent. Souers (1992) study of Indian women elders in education relates to the topic but does not directly address it. This study intends to focus not only on contemporary Native American women in leadership roles but also, in particular, on Native American women in education.

Distorted Images of Native American Women

Images of Native American women have been distorted by the male-bias of early ethnographic and historical writers (Medicine, 1988). Tsosie (1988) speaks of the origin of these distortions:

> These images of the Indian woman originated with the bifurcated, ethnocentric observations of early European explorers and traders. Their observations stemmed from the European ideology that Alice Kehoe terms "oppositional dualism" or the stratified, hierarchical Western world view which perceived the universe as polarized and alienated in a set of opposing categories: "civilized" versus "primitive," "male" versus "female," "Christian" versus "Pagan." This world view was manifested in European society through social castes, gender inequality and the rigid dichotomy between the "public" or "market" sphere, versus the "private" or "domestic" sphere. Predictably, the entire system was transposed onto Indian societies by the early European observers, creating gender splits and inequalities which were previously unknown, and tainting Indian women with a version of the "pure" versus the "fallen" woman categorization which had already been applied to European women. When applied to women of a more "savage" race, as Indian people were considered, this moral categorization assumed significantly more harmful proportions. (pp. 3–4).

The Native American woman "is either omitted entirely or considered in terms of dichotomous stereotypes—the 'noble' Princess [Pocahontas] or the 'savage' Squaw" (Tsosie, 1988, p. 3). The word squaw is an "Algonquin word for a married or mature woman that later became a demeaning term for all Indian women, Algonquin or not" (Green, 1992, p. 14). Tsosie explains that squaw refers to a loathsome, unintelligent "drone." An appraisal of this perception is offered by Buffalohead (1983) who reports, "American Indian women appeared exploited to

many 19th century writers if only because their ideal of woman, fostered by the privileged classes of Europe and America, was a frail, dependent person in need of protection" (p. 238). "The 19th century Euro-American ideal of the passive, self effacing, delicate, useless woman (personified by Lily Bart in Edith Wharton's novel *The House of Mirth*) was never observed by American Indians" (Tsosie, 1988, p. 8). The Euro-American bias clouded the realities of American Indian women as dynamic and interactive individuals in favor of the polarized powerful "Princess" or powerless "Squaw." Both portrayals were inaccurate. As the squaw , she was depersonalized and scorned and, as a result, has suffered. Rayna Green, Cherokee, Director of the American Indian Program, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., maintains that portraying Native American women in a dehumanizing manner allowed justification for the U. S. government to regard them as if no consequence existed. She thus associates these dehumanizing stereotypes with tragic massacres. Unfortunately, history supports her conclusion with accounts such as the Baker Massacre of 1870, in which approximately 300 unarmed Blackfeet women, children and old people were slain by the U.S. Cavalry, the massacre at Sand Creek, and the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee (Deloria, 1971; Tsosie, 1988).

The "Princess/Squaw" dichotomy (or as Rayna Green parallels the term, the "Virgin-Whore paradox") is an inaccurate historical portrayal of Native American women. The Princess (Pocahontas) image was defined by her noble and selfless "love" for a brave white man. The Squaw was defiled by references to sexual liaisons with white men (Tsosie, 1988). The "Princess/Squaw" or "Prostitute/ Princess syndrome" of much anthropological, historical, and missionary accounts has been reinforced in the media by the stereotyped and bizarre portrayal of native women (Medicine, 1988). Eventually, the ethnocentric stereotypes of Euro-Americans were

employed by U.S. policy-makers and military men to sanction policies of removal and genocide. These stereotypes persist to the present day.

The inaccuracies of Native American women by Euro-American writers has caused a great deal of damage. Their portrayal from the Native American perspective will hopefully serve to alter their image. This will be discussed next.

Portrayal of Native American Women From the Native Perspective

In the traditional Indian view, the image of unified balance predominated in the form of the "Sacred Hoop" (Allen, 1992). This ethic of balance and mutual respect provided the roles of men and women. This is quite different from the Western world view which revolved around polarity, i.e., "Christian/pagan," "male/female" (Albers & Medicine, 1983, p. 61; Tsosie, 1988, p. 3). Unlike the distorted image from Euro-American stereotypes, "There is an overwhelming agreement that the roles of men and women in traditional society were complimentary, rather than skewed" (Powers, 1988, p. 355). The philosophy was one of "sharing" or *okicicupi* in Lakota. Women were neither inferior nor superior to men, merely different, and each sex was valued. Native American societies were cooperative rather than competitive, and this was depicted in the relationships between the men and women (Powers, 1988). Men and women worked in partnership. "There were men's tasks and there were women's tasks, and both were valued and necessary for survival" (Niethammer, 1977, p. xii). Women played a vital role in all phases of the agricultural process (Spector, 1983). This role complemented the men's hunting efforts with equal importance (Tsosie, 1988). Compared to white women of that time, Indian women enjoyed a good deal more independence and security (Niethammer, 1977). According to Paula Gunn Allen (1992),

> Indian women valued their role as vitalizers because they understood that bearing, like bleeding, was a transformative ritual act. Through their own bodies they could bring vital beings into the world. They were mothers and that implied the highest degree of status in ritual cultures. The status of mother was so high, in fact, that in some cultures, Mother or its analogue, Matron, was the highest office to which a man or woman could aspire. (p. 28)

Europeans tended to rank duties ascribing Native women's roles as being inferior to Native men's roles. These value judgments Europeans made stem from assumptions of the universal attributes of male/female relationship. Albeit, there were tribes according to Niethammer where the status of Native American women was not high. The Chipewyans, who lived in the northern subarctic areas of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and the Yurok, of northern California, oppressed their women (Niethammer, 1977). However, these tribes were in the minority. "Although clearly many Indian societies did ascribe to a degree of task differentiation according to gender, the variable of 'importance' attached to these tasks may be a purely European invention" (Tsosie, 1988, p. 5).

It should also be noted that Native American women were not all alike and neither were their roles. Roles varied from tribe to tribe and were often flexible. In addition, not every Native American woman conformed to her role. Interestingly, many of those rare women who did step out of their role earned respect. And though conditions varied greatly from tribe to tribe, Native American women as individuals and groups often had a great deal of power and authority over their lives (Niethammer, 1977). Allen (1992) notes that the roles of contemporary Native American women are:

> as diverse as tribal culture in the Americas. In some she is devalued, in others she wields considerable power. In some she is a familial/clan adjunct, in some she is as close to autonomous as her economic circumstances and psychological traits permit. But in no tribal definitions is she perceived in the same way as are women in western industrial and post industrial cultures.

> In the west, few images of women form part of the cultural mythos, and these are largely sexually charged. Among Christians, the madonna is the female prototype, and she is portrayed as essentially passive; her contribution is simply that of birthing. Little else is attributed to her and she certainly possesses few of the characteristics that are attributed to mythic figures among Indian tribes. (pp. 43–44)

Again, it is emphasized that "Indian women often played key roles in all of the major political, religious and economic institutions of the tribe" (Tsosie, 1988, p. 6). In traditional times, the most respected persons were elderly women who had great influence. "Indian men did not hold office without the approval of the mature women of a tribe, and if they did not fulfill their responsibilities adequately, they were not likely to be given roles of power again" (Bataille & Sands, 1984, p. 18). According to Farley (1993), women have held various roles within their tribes, and in some cases either determined leadership criteria or appointed leaders, in addition to serving as leaders themselves. This fact was ignored by Europeans who failed to realize the Indian emphasis on individuality. This emphasis perceived both "women and men as individuals with specific talents, abilities and clan-sanctioned roles" (Tsosie, 1988, p. 6). The Ojibway society exemplified the value placed on individuality not gender. There is evidence of Ojibway women as recognized and respected leaders, medicine women, and as warriors. But, these accounts have been ignored in historical Anglo documents (Buffalohead, 1983).

Not only did Indian women play key roles in their societies, they also held positions of power. According to Bataille and Sands (1984), Indian women have been repositories of tradition and concern for spiritual ideals, upholding the stability of the tribe through both spiritual and generative power. "The social and political power of Indian women was sanctioned by tribal religious traditions which often emphasized the vital role of female deities" (Tsosie, 1988, p. 7). Most Indian

religions, unlike the European Christian religion which is guided by an omnipotent male God, revolved around co-equal deities who protected the earth, sky, animals, crops and human beings. The "female" aspects of creation were particularly important because the Earth's natural system depends on cyclical regeneration. Therefore, "many of the primary deities were perceived as female" (Tsosie, 1988, p. 7). Two examples of these deities are Changing Woman in Navajo belief and White Buffalo Woman in Lakota belief. Changing Woman is a powerful creator figure who is responsible for the growth of the crops and the birth of all new life. She is perceived as a powerful protectress. White Buffalo Woman is a female deity who presides over the Four Winds. The Lakota believe that their Sacred Pipe Religion was given to them by White Buffalo Woman. To this day, Lakota women are perceived as sacred and powerful. Grace Black Elk, an Oglala Lakota elder and spiritual leader, scoffs at the white feminists who see Indian women as "slaves to their men." In fact, the Lakota believed their nation to be only as strong as their women (Bonvillain, 1989; Lamb, 1993).

> The Lakota have no word for "sexist"
> The White man does.
> The Lakota does not put his name to his child.
> White men do.
> For the Lakota, property is the possession of the woman. The generations are the responsibility of the woman. Power is thus in the hands of women . . .
> Lakota women are the strength of the people.
> (Churchill, 1984, cited in Tsosie, 1988, pp. 7–8)

Parallels to the traditional female deities were seen in selected tribal women. Abilities and achievements in agriculture, hunting, and hide and meat preparation were felt to be divinely sanctioned and, therefore, given utmost respect. This was a far cry from how these roles were perceived by Europeans who saw the Indian women exploited as "work drones" (Albers & Medicine, 1983; Tsosie, 1988).

However, Niethammer (1977) cautions that even in those Native American tribes in which women held positions of power and prestige, and held sacred ceremonial offices, the line was always drawn at some point. For example, if a woman was menstruating, she could not handle the sacred bundle. Also, certain offerings to very special supernaturals could only be made by men, and some offices could only be filled by men. Still, women's roles and positions, were held in high regard.

Revelation of the kinship system, in which these Native groups traced their clan relationship and descent through the mother (matrilineal) or through the father (patrilineal) provides further insight into the roles and position of Native American women. According to Farley (1993), "depending on whether or not a group was matrilineal or patrilineal, or practiced elements of both, women were very much informed and involved in the process of deliberation and selection of leaders, at different levels, in most tribes" (p. 13). A review of the Great Lakes kinship system depicts how the roles and kinship system varied.

Kinship System of the Great Lakes Area

Native American tribes traced their clan relationship and descent in two ways—through the mother (matrilineal) or through the father (patrilineal). The subjects of matriarchy, matriliny and matrifocality, as previously stated, have been arguable. In the fifties, it was suggested that

> matriarchy might have functioned in ways different from the unilateral and simplistic forms understood by earlier scholars . . . No resolution to the argument has appeared since the outbursts of the fifties, and vast cultural and political change has rendered most matriarchal systems now amenable only to speculative historical reconstruction" (Green, 1983, p. 6).

However, it is known that the kinship system varied amongst tribes.

The Great Lakes tribes (the Ottawa/Odawa, Chippewa/Ojibway, Potawatomi,

and Hurons) are examples of the varied way in which the kinship system operated and how the roles reflect those differences. Matrilineal kinship systems usually operated in agricultural societies like that of the Hurons. In this tribe, women were the main food producers, the men spending much of the year away from the village trading. The women owned the houses, as property was handed down through the wife's family rather than the husband's family. Newlyweds lived with the bride's family. Everyone knew their proper relationship to other people and the behavior expected of them. "This matrilineal kinship system and strong clan organization gave Huron society stability" (Clifton et al., 1986, p. 7).

> The Chippewa (Ojibway), on the other hand, were a patrilineal society.
>
> The men were the important food producers. . . .Their clans were not as strong as those of the Huron because Chippewa villages were smaller and less permanent, and Chippewa lifeways did not require strong clans as a means of binding individual families into larger groupings. (Clifton et al., 1986, p. 7)

Most Chippewa women who performed men's tasks, such as hunting, did so because of the death, illness or desertion of a male. This role deviation was often more acceptable to the men than to the women (Niethammer, 1977).

"The Ottawa, before their contact with Europeans, were probably flexible in the way they reckoned their kinship and clan identification" (Clifton et al., 1986, p. 8). They may have tended toward a stronger matrilineal system as farmers. A report by Antoine de La Mothe Cadillac, founder of Detroit in 1701, claimed that the Ottawa had a matrilineal clan organization. However, the Ottawa could easily live like the Chippewa's patrilineal society, in which villages were broken down into their constituent families, living in small groups, and emphasizing the male line in determining kinship (Clifton et al., 1986).

> In their central location between matrilineal and patrilineal peoples, and with their emphasis upon trade along lines of kinship created by intermarriage with

> their trade partners, the Ottawa probably maintained a set of rules which accommodated any situation they encountered, allowing them comfortably to marry into both of their neighboring groups. (Clifton et al., 1986, p. 8)

Just as circumstances determined the clan system, so did this determine the roles the women occupied. Women in the Ottawa villages of the 1600s and early 1700s, "were responsible for all activities which directly affected the material well being of their families" (Clifton et al., 1986). They hunted, planted and tended crops, processed the crops for storage, gathered and dried berries and nuts, and prepared the meals. They also made clothing and items for trade and gathered and prepared the material to construct their homes, canoes, and tools. The Ottawa women could gain respect and prestige for their families by producing a surplus and giving it to others (Clifton et al., 1986).

The Ottawa women also had a role in the decision making process. "Each family in the village was represented by a leader who was chosen by consent of all of his family members" (Clifton et al., 1986, p. 5).

> [The] leaders were chosen for their ability to deal with outsiders and for their generosity to family members and friends . . . Decisions were not reached by majority vote, but by the agreement of all members of the council, and most often, by the agreement of the entire family who supported the leader. (Clifton et al., 1986, p. 5)

The leaders were not rulers. But decisions were almost always carried out, since there was agreement of all the people, including the women.

In traditional Ottawa society, survival required a great deal of cooperation between men and women. McClurken (1991) states:

> Because the work that Ottawa women traditionally performed was so important, they were afforded a great deal of personal freedom. For example, before the missionaries arrived at Wawgawnawkezee (home of the Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa) in 1829, marriages were made when a groom moved into a woman's house. A woman could divorce a man simply by placing his belongings outside the door of the house (p. 47).

However, the roles of the Ottawa men and women changed radically after the priests arrived (McClurken, 1991). "The priests taught the Ottawa the ideal American work roles. They began by redefining the Ottawa women's territory" (McClurken, 1991, p. 47). They were taught to restrict their travel and their work to the needs of their immediate, not extended, families. Also, they were to accommodate their husbands. The men, too, were taught new roles. Although, the Ottawa people first resisted new roles, they gradually accepted them. "Most often, *Ogemuk* [leaders] were male, though on occasion, women also served as leaders" (McClurken, 1991, p. 73). *Ogemuk,* whether men or women, led by example that earned them respect, not by command. "The *Ogemuk* negotiated settlements to disputes and held councils in which all villagers spoke their opinion" (McClurken, 1991, p. 73). It was of utmost importance that the *Ogemuk* listened to their people.

> If an *Ogema* (leader) persisted in making agreements that his people did not approve, the people simply did not honor the agreement. If an *Ogema* persisted in making agreements that his people did not like, the *Ogema* could be killed. (McClurken, 1991, p. 73)

Although Ottawa women only on occasion served as leaders, each person had a voice in the political decisions. Indeed, government rested with the people. "This informal structure of leadership frequently frustrated Americans who sought one or two leaders with whom they could make political and economic deals" (McClurken, 1991, p. 73). Americans were accustomed to doing business with leaders who had the authority to make decisions without consulting with the people.

Like the Ottawa, the Potawatomi women held an important place in their society. The Potawatomi clan descent was patrilineal even though farming was the work of the women. Though Potawatomi women moved away to live with their husbands' people, they never lost their original clan identity. Farming increased the

importance of the women, and their roles in the economy and society reflected that status (Clifton et al., 1986). "Although important political roles were restricted to (Potawatomi) men, women had parallel institutions, and sometimes an unusual woman did in fact assume a man's role as warrior and provider" (Clifton et al., 1986, p. 44). Decisions, like in the Ottawa society, were arrived at by consensus rather than by majority vote. Important decisions were open to public debate. "The emphasis on public debate, on consensus, and on the sharing and decentralization of political power reflects the great value the Potawatomi placed on equality in both the political decision-making process and the distribution of economic resources" (Clifton et al., 1986, p. 44).

Thus, from Native American accounts, the roles and kinship system varied even among tribes in one region such as the Great Lakes. It is easier, therefore, to understand how roles in other tribes across North America also varied. The United States government policies eventually altered the traditional Native system to a certain extent, as the roles of men and women were changed outwardly. Many authors agree that "U. S. government policies which, according to patriarchal Euro-American tradition, recognized only male political leaders and only male adults as head-of-household, eventually altered the traditional system to a certain extent" (Tsosie, 1988, p. 5). This can be exemplified in the Iroquois and Cherokee tribes where the political and social structures were formerly guided by tribal women. In the advent of the federal "trust" relationship, however, Indian groups were forced to follow the Anglo model of government which specified male leadership (Tsosie, 1988). This tactic attempted to dismantle the tribal structure and ultimately change the Native American culture. Anglo men transposed an alien political system along with their own negative attitudes about women (Tsosie, 1988). However, although

the roles of Native American men and women were changed outwardly, internally women retained their importance in most tribes.

Effect of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, known popularly as the Wheeler-Howard Act, "reversed the policy of allotment and encouraged tribal organization" (Prucha, 1990, p. 222). The legislation provided Indians the right to organize for self-government but met opposition even among some Indian people. One complaint was that the act "in a sense imposed upon Indians a tribal government and a tribal economy, when traditional Indian ways often called rather for organizations on a smaller basis of bands or villages" (Prucha, 1986, p. 338). There appears to be some discrepancy in the literature regarding the effect the Indian Reorganization Act had on Native men and women. The architect of the Indian Reorganization Act was John Collier, who as previously mentioned, was head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. According to Green (1983), he had written slanderous accounts of Indian women leaders. Green maintains that this attitude was reflected in the Indian Reorganization Act as it "supported tribal men and virtually disenfranchised Indian women through dissolution of their traditional power systems" (p. 6).

According to Powers (1988), however, the establishment of the reservation under the Indian Reorganization Act had a profound effect upon Native American men who were stripped of their roles and responsibilities, though it seemed that women's roles did not change much. New positions for Native Americans were created which were open to women as well as men. These included positions on the tribal administrative council, law and order commissions, education boards, judicial

system, and all the other bureaucracies. But, "the egalitarian relationship traditionally maintained between men and women continued to manifest itself under the new administration just as it did during the old buffalo hunting days" (Powers, 1988, p. 355).

Thus, the literature has revealed material concerning the roles Native American women traditionally held in their societies. Presented was an account of the literature by early Euro-Americans writers that distorted the image of Native American women. Also, presented was a portrayal of their roles in the literature written from the Native American perspective, noting some discrepancy. Next will be a review of literature concerning contemporary Native American women leaders.

Contemporary Leadership Roles of Native American Women

As in the past, the contemporary Native American woman is valued by her people, even though there may be role differences among tribes and individuals. To exemplify this, in the Oglala (Lakota Sioux) Nation, as in many tribes (Nations), "there is a high value placed on women's roles as wife and mother" (Powers, 1988, p. 354). Traditional women are able to serve as both a high status Euro-American position, such as Tribal Court Judge, Council Executive member, etc., and as a traditional high status Native American position as wife and mother (Powers, 1988). As in other Native societies, Oglala women are not only mothers and political leaders, they are also medicine women. But, "they are always uniquely Indian—with or without their beads and buckskin" (Powers, 1988, p. 356). In the Acoma tribe, the women are tied to the past through their ritual duties and participation in the ceremonial cycle (Tsosie, 1988).

There are several important qualities of contemporary Indian women's

identity (Tsosie, 1988):

> Among the most important of these themes are the Indian women's unique relationship to the land, her place within the changing social relationships of her tribe, her perceptions of herself as a "traditional" Indian woman or as one influenced by non-traditional concepts and values, and finally, her honest appraisal of her hopes, dreams and ever-changing, often painful reality. (p.13)

> Maintaining one's ties to the traditional past, to the ritual and symbolic structures of one's culture, imparts a significant sense of "power." That power includes a sense of identity, connection and self-confidence. The power may vary, according to tribe, gender or age, but always it is there. (p. 17)

Although the contemporary Native American woman is valued, she has suffered from Euro-American stereotypes. There have been difficulties in many tribes concerning the roles of women. "The patriarchal biases of white bureaucrats together with the androcentric Christianity of the missionaries have dramatically altered traditional Indian perceptions of women" (Tsosie, 1988, p. 19). Maria Campbell, a Metis or mixed blood Cree, who was born into the Canadian Society of the 1940s, laments: "The missionaries had impressed upon us the feeling that women were a source of evil. This belief, combined with the ancient Indian recognition of the power of women, is still holding back the progress of our people today" (Campbell, 1973, p. 144). Tsosie (1988) explains that "white men have transposed an alien political system . . . along with their own negative attitudes about women" (p. 21). To exemplify this situation, under the "Indian Act" of Canada, a treaty Indian woman loses her status if she marries a white man, while a white woman gains Indian status and land if she marries an Indian man. However, in traditional times, the most respected persons in most tribes were the older women. Many women exerted great influence over decisions. However, the Euro-American philosophy allowed for the exploitation of women and "Third World" peoples in its quest for power and gain. This patriarchal oppression and victimization conflicted with the traditional Indian

ethic of balance and mutual respect. Thus, many women, Native and non-Native, have struggled with their identity. For the Native American woman, the conflict between a traditional identity and the "feminine ideal" promoted by Euro-American society has assumed an even greater complexity.

Today, as Native women encounter the negative effects of this imposed "feminine ideal," they have started to assert the older values and perceptions which have always allowed Indian women to maintain a sense of autonomy and self-worth. Contemporary Indian women restore themselves to this balance as they find an identity in their tribal traditions, emphasizing their own unique bond to the female life-forces of the universe (Tsosie, 1988). The Indian woman, according to Bataille and Sands (1984), is a "woman looking for, searching for herself, her roots—that deep source from where she emerged—for answers to the genocide and maiming of her people, for a bit of reality she can anchor herself to" (p. 140).

Unlike many of their female counterparts, "most Native women look forward to being old, an elder, when their words, actions and leadership come to be respected" (Green, 1980, p. 263).

Issues and Barriers Perceived by Native American Women Leaders

"Today, Native American women are a force in the political and spiritual life of the people, as well as in the white world" (Miller, 1978). As a Native American woman strives to manage a bicultural role when she assumes a leadership position in the white society, she faces several dilemmas. One of these is that which faces any woman, Native or non-Native, in a system that has put the role of women in an inferior position. Another of these dilemmas is to reeducate the white world about herself as an Indian woman, dispelling the myths and stereotypes (Miller, 1978).

Brayboy (1990/1991) notes that what appears to be missing is scholarly research that addresses realities of Native American women who are masterfully juggling multiple identities. The research community needs scholarly research to dispel the myths found in the literature and the consciousness of contemporary America about Native Americans. Medicine (1988) adds to this view by noting that the tribal, viable, residual and syncretic roles of indigenous women in contemporary racist and sexist American society has not been delineated and examined fully.

Green (1983) states that there is a need for studies which deal with resilient intratribal and pan-Indian networks, formed largely by women on and off reservations. These networks keep migratory and urban Indians working, educated, and in touch with their Indian identities. She adds:

> It is now time for scholars to ask Native people what their agendas are and how they might lend themselves to the task. Scholars may find that Native questions might give us all better answers. And Native women deserve better questions and better answers, if they are to survive and prosper as individuals and as parts of a collective community. Because so little about Native women has been understood or well-used, even in the massive amount of attention paid to them, they may hold the key to questions and answers about Native people and the human condition that we will honor in the asking and answering. The promise is there; it need only be kept. Thought Woman thought the world into existence. Changing Woman made it what we now know as the world. Our Beloved Women governed it justly and well. Who will seek and reveal their visions for the future? (p. 17)

Summary

There is much to be discovered in search of a greater understanding of leadership as it is experienced by contemporary Native American women. The literature as reviewed provides information of the leadership role of Native American women. Missing from the literature is information about Native American women as educational leaders. This study was proposed to address this gap in the research.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study of Native American women leaders in education had a twofold purpose. The first was the primary objective of the study, to develop a greater understanding of leadership as experienced by contemporary Native American women. The second was to add to the literature on experiences of Native American women leaders. For purposes of this study, 12 exemplary Native American women leaders in the field of education were identified and interviewed to develop the findings. Interviews were transcribed, coded, and analyzed. Themes as they related to leadership concepts were sought. Secondly, brief case studies of each woman leader were presented. This chapter will present the design of the research which was the structure for the process of inquiry. It includes the following components as described by Lincoln and Guba (1985): (a) qualitative methods, (b) purposive sampling (process and informants, (c) inductive data analysis, and (d) grounded theory. Limitations of the study are also discussed.

Qualitative Methods

The method selected for this study was a qualitative approach involving ethnographic studies of 12 selected Native American women in the the field of education in order to increase understanding of the leadership role of these women. Purposive sampling was employed in the selection of informants which will be discussed in the next section. Qualitative methods are one of the characteristics of

operational naturalistic inquiry. A "naturalistic" rather than "rationalistic" method of inquiry is one in which the investigator avoids manipulating research outcomes a priori, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985).

In qualitative research, there is more emphasis on description and discovery and less emphasis on hypothesis testing and verification. Qualitative research designs are typically not intended to prove or test a theory. It is more likely that the theory will emerge from (be grounded in) the collected data (an inductive approach rather than a deductive approach). Inductive data analysis and the development of grounded theory will be discussed later in this chapter. A conceptual framework allows different investigators who are exploring a similar phenomenon to communicate with one another and compare experiences and results (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Rudestam & Newton, 1992). Qualitative methods are especially useful in the "generation of categories for understanding human phenomena and the investigation of the interpretation and meaning that people give to events they experience" (Polkinghorne, 1991, p. 112).

In qualitative research, the researcher becomes the instrument and, therefore, the inquirer's theoretical and philosophical biases shape the lens through which data are collected and analyzed. Before engaging in this research project, the researcher spent two years reviewing the literature on Native American women. Being a Native woman and member of the Little Traverse Band of Odawa Indians, the researcher has been an integral part of the Native American community in Michigan. The researcher has been involved with issues surrounding Native American people throughout her adult life: as a board member for the urban Indian organization in Grand Rapids, and task force member for numerous Native issues and projects with the Grand Rapids Public Schools, Grand Rapids community and state of Michigan.

Interviews were used to generate discussion surrounding the major research questions. Again, those questions were:

1. What are the leadership roles Native American women hold in their societies in the 1990s?

2. How do these contemporary Native American women leaders perceive their roles compared to traditional times?

3. What influences has the distortion of Native American women's roles had on this group of Native American women?

4. What issues face these Native American women leaders today?

5. What do these Native American women leaders perceive as barriers in their positions/careers?

The following question emerged from the data:

6. What do these Native American women leaders perceive as supportive factors to their success?

In traditional empirical research, the terms "reliability," " internal validity," and "external validity" are used. Corresponding terms in qualitative research are "dependability," "credibility," and "transferability" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Applicability to qualitative methodology which utilizes a naturalistic approach includes the following:

> Reliability concerns the replication of the study under similar circumstances. The naturalistic investigator derives consistency through coding the raw data in ways so that another person could understand the themes and arrive at similar conclusions, referring to this as dependability.
>
> Internal validity refers to the validity of a causal inference. In naturalistic inquiry credibility or truth value is ascertained through structural corroboration. Such corroboration might be accomplished by spending sufficient time with subjects to check for distortions (prolonged engagement), exploring the informants experience in sufficient detail (persistent observation), and checking multiple sources of data such as other

> investigators, written records, diaries, field notes, and so on (triangulation). Peer debriefing, revising working hypotheses as more data become available, clarifying tentative findings with the informants, and videotaping interviews for comparisons with the recorded data are typical procedures for adding to the credibility of the study. In qualitative research and naturalistic inquiry, this is referred to as credibility.
>
> External validity refers to the generalizability of the findings of the study. The qualitative study emphasizes the "thick description" of a relatively small number of subjects within the context of a specific setting. Samples can change as the study proceeds, but generalizations to other subjects and situations are always modest and mindful of the context of individual lives. This is referred to as transferability in qualitative research. (Rudestam & Newton, 1992, pp. 38–39)

"Questions of reliability and validity are posed differently in this setting because these interviews serve to focus discussion between the researcher and research informant, producing data that are textual rather than numerical" (Rudestam & Newton, 1992, p. 76). Using the research questions as a framework, data were collected in a series of tape-recorded conversations. To address "internal validity" or "credibility," in which credibility or truth value is ascertained through structural corroboration, sensitive interviewing without a formal, fixed, or traditional agenda was employed to allow the women's subjective experiences to surface. Before the conversation began, an attempt was made to establish an atmosphere of trust and rapport between interviewer and informants. This was accomplished by engaging in conversation about the study and its importance to the research community, as well as mutually sharing experiences. Protection for subjects was established by assuring confidentiality. Although each informant was described in the study and her interview reported, certain items, such as specific personnel issues, were disguised so as not to identify the informant. Also, categories from the interview were submitted to informants for final approval that content was accurate. Being of Native American origin placed the researcher inside the culture and offered an advantage. But, training

and practice were still essential. This was enhanced by doing a pilot study enabling the researcher to refine techniques. Two Native American women leaders were chosen to be interviewed for this pilot study.

Initial contacts were made to the potential informants explaining the purpose of the study, what the role of the informant would be, how information would be collected, and specific information regarding consent and participation (see Appendix A). Possible interviews were then scheduled. Résumés, job descriptions, and additional biographical information were also obtained and reviewed.

The project itself included multiple phases. In the first phase, each informant was individually interviewed. Each of these interviews lasted approximately one and a half to two hours and was held in the familiar environment of each informant's office or such other place as designated by the informant. A tape recorder to record interviews, as well as a journal to record impressions, reactions, and other significant events that may have occurred during the data collection phase was used. Data were then transcribed verbatim into hard copy. The transcribed copy and field notes were reflected upon, coded, and analyzed. To address reliability, the raw data were coded in ways so that another person would be able to understand the codes and arrive at similar conclusions. The actual coding steps will be reviewed in the inductive data analysis section. The second phase involved a taped telephone conversation with informants to discuss, clarify and make alterations or additions to the previous interview. After these interviews were completed, alterations or additions were made to the text. The final phase involved preparing brief contextual background information of each informant, thematic findings from the interviews of the selected informants, and conclusions. The contextual background information was mailed to each respective informant for review. The informants then returned those sections

with any comments or corrections (see Appendix C).

Addressing the issue of external validity or transferability, no attempt is made to claim an ability to generalize to a specific population in this study. This is in keeping with the naturalistic approach which employs purposive sampling, the purpose of which is to maximize information, not facilitate generalizations (Rudestam & Newton, 1992). Purposive sampling was used in this study and will be discussed in the next section.

Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling is very different from random sampling. Lincoln and Guba use the term "purposeful" sampling. It is based on informational, not statistical considerations. "In purposeful sampling the size of the sample is determined by informational considerations" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 202). Its purpose is to maximize information, not facilitate generalization. In naturalistic investigations:

> The purpose of sampling will most often be to include as much information as possible, in all its various ramifications and constructions; hence, maximum variation sampling will usually be the sampling mode of choice . . .The object is not to focus on the similarities that can be developed into generalizations, but to detail that many specifics that give the context its unique flavor. A second purpose is to generate the information upon which the emergent design and grounded theory can be based. (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 201)

Criteria for the selection of informants included those Native American women (a) who were in top educational leadership positions, (b) who had been in a leadership position for at least three years, (c) who had obtained graduate level degrees, and (d) who indicated a willingness to be interviewed in person initially and secondarily by telephone.

Consideration was also given to representation from various tribes. The researcher was not interested in any particular tribal experience, but rather

experiences inter-tribally; the premise operating was that there is a Native American experience that is different from other groups of people. These individuals were selected to "include as much information as possible in all its various ramifications" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 201).

The method of generating the list from which to identify the informants came through references offered by Native American leaders and other professionals within and outside of the Native American community. Several names were generated from a list of potential informants in the Association of American Indian and Alaska Native Professors Conference.

Data Collection

Understanding the experiences of leadership for Native American women in education required data depicting their lived experiences. The data collection strategies employed included individual interviews and recordings in a personal journal. The primary interviews took place over a period of three months from February to April of 1996. The first set of interviews took place at a conference of the Association of American Indian and Alaska Native Professors, February, 1996, in Tempe, Arizona. A list of registered informants was obtained in advance of the conference and Native American women were contacted who met the criteria for the study. The purpose of the study was explained and an interview was requested during the week of the conference. Six women from various parts of the United States were interviewed during the conference week. Approximately two hours were spent with each informant. Following the conference, the interviewer flew to California to meet with another informant, who was also contacted in advance. Next, potential informants in Ohio and Washington D.C. were contacted. Interviews were arranged

with a woman in the Great Lakes area in March and then four women in Washington D.C. in April. The interviewer was fortunate to stay at the home of two of the informants during her stay in Washington D.C. allowing her to visit the women in their home setting in addition to their work settings.

The interviews followed the format for ethnographic interviews as suggested by Spradley (1979). Ethnographic interviewing "begins with the assumption that the question-answer sequence is a single element in human thinking. Questions always imply answers. . . . Both questions and answers must be discovered from informants" (Spradley, 1979, pp. 83–84). This is unlike most other forms of interviewing where questions are distinct from answers.

The interviewer shared with the informants the purpose of the study then elicited information by asking informants to describe their jobs and other aspects of their lives. This was in keeping with the naturalistic method of inquiry in which the investigator avoids manipulating research outcomes a priori (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The interviews were audio taped and the tapes were transcribed for analysis. Exact transcription yielded embedded meaning as well as explicit meaning. The accumulated raw data totaled approximately 138 single-spaced pages.

The next section will describe the process for making sense out of the data.

Inductive Data Analysis and Grounded Theory

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), as mentioned previously,

> within the naturalistic paradigm, the investigator typically does not work with either a priori theory or variables; these are expected to emerge from the inquiry. Data accumulated in the field thus must be analyzed inductively (that is, from specific, raw units of information to subsuming categories of information) in order to define local working hypotheses or questions that can be followed up" (203).

Inductive data analysis is a process for making sense of data. It is the inverse of the usual mode of deductive data analysis used in conventional investigations.

Two essential subprocesses are involved in inductive data analysis. They are termed "unitizing" and "categorizing." According to Holsti (1969), unitizing is a process of coding, whereby, "raw data are systematically transformed and aggregated into units which permit precise description of relevant content characteristics" (p. 94). After editing each informant's interview transcript, each one was read again to begin to search for those segments, or units of data that would support intensive coding and analysis. Each chunk of data that could stand alone as representative of a phenomenon or concept was pulled out of the data and given a tentative label or code. Each subsequent unit, or chunk of data, was then compared to previously identified chunks. If it was similar to one already pulled from the data, it was given the same label. If there were properties that set it apart from previously identified chunks, then that sentence or paragraph was set aside and given a new label. As each set of units of analysis began to develop, the properties that defined that unit became more distinct. The development of these first coding schemes, or classifications, were the initial searches for regularities in the data (see Appendix D) (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993).

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), units of information will, sooner or later, serve as the basis for defining categories. "Categorizing is a process whereby previously unitized data are organized into categories that provide descriptive or inferential information about the context or setting from which the units were derived" (p. 203). Glaser and Strauss (1967) describe the process of categorizing under the heading of the constant comparative method, the method chosen by this study. This method involves sorting units into provisional categories on the basis of

"look-alike" characteristics. "As these provisional categories begin to accumulate substantial numbers of unit cards, the analyst endeavors to write a propositional statement (a "rule") that can serve as the basis for inclusion/exclusion decisions" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 203). Goetz and LeCompte (1981) comment:

> This strategy combines inductive category coding with a simultaneous comparison of all social incidents observed. As social phenomena are recorded and classified, they also are compared across categories. Thus, the discovery of relationships, that is, hypothesis generation, begins with the analysis of initial observations, undergoes continuous refinement throughout the data collection and analysis process, and continuously feeds back into the process of category coding. As events are constantly compared with previous events, new typological dimensions, as well as new relationships, may be discovered. (p. 58)

The major categories extracted from the data included information evolving around descriptive data and findings/themes. The descriptive data included categories or groups of units surrounding private life or background, job/career, and community involvement. The findings/themes included categories surrounding the themes factors for success and barriers to success. An outline of this data and the findings is presented in Figure 1.

The descriptive data involving the personal background, career, and community involvement of these women helped answer research question 1, "What are leadership roles Native American women hold in their societies in the 1990s?" and question 2, "How do these contemporary Native American women leaders perceive their roles compared to traditional times?"

The factors (those elements that contribute to the production of the category) for success and the barriers to success helped answer research question 3, "What influences has the distortion of Native American women's roles had on this group of Native American women?"; question 4, "What issues face these Native American women leaders today?"; question 5, "What do these Native American

I. Descriptive data (answering research questions 1 and 2)
   A. Private Life (Background)
   B. Job (Career)
   C. Community Involvement
II. Findings/Themes (answering research questions 3 through 6)
   A. Factors for success
      1. Category I—Leadership characteristics
         a. practicing empowerment
         b. readiness for change/high expectations
         c. quality/integrity
         d. strength/firmness of conviction
         e. communication/risk taking
         f. development/maintenance of a "thick skin"
         g. keeping a balance in life, sense of humor, and harmony/ knowing when to say "no"
         h. supporting/promoting/advocating/mentoring
      2. Category 2—Support systems
         a. family/friends support
         b. mentoring for themselves
         c. networking
      3. Category 3–Education
         a. education of non-Natives to Native culture, history and the issue of tribal sovereignty
         b. Native schools and curriculum
      4. Category 4—Belief systems
         a. core beliefs
         b. belief in a divine plan
   B. Barriers to success
      1. Racial discrimination
      2. Sexual discrimination
   C. Refusal to allow barriers to impede success

Figure 1. Outline of Descriptive Data and Findings/Themes.

women leaders perceive as barriers in their positions/careers?"; and question 6, "What do these Native American women leaders perceive as factors to their success?" Some of this information will be covered in this section and some will be

covered in the brief contextual background sketches in Chapter V.

Thus, data were analyzed and systematically coded by category and underlying concept to look for commonalities and themes as they related to leadership concepts. Concepts were grouped together by category for ease in comparing concepts. The researcher then reviewed the text and marked the women's codes (A–L) (see Appendix D) by each concept that related to each woman. As the concepts emerged and were refined, the researcher began to consider how they related to one another and the theoretical implications. Gradually the theoretical properties of the meaning categories crystallized to form a pattern sometimes called "grounded theory" (Rudestam & Newton, 1992). Grounded theory is that which follows from data rather than preceding them as in conventional inquiry. "It is a necessary consequence of the naturalistic paradigm" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 204).

Chapter IV will present the thematic findings from the experience of leadership among these Native American women, the supportive factors for success and those factors that are barriers to success. Descriptive information will also be summarized. Chapter V will provide the contextual background of these Native American women educational leaders. Chapter VI will present the conclusions of the study.

Limitation

One limitation of this study applies to the generalizability (external validity) of the findings. This is a natural phenomena of qualitative studies for reasons described previously; it is in keeping with the naturalistic approach to sampling. Again, no attempt to claim an ability to generalize to a specific population was made (Rudestam & Newton, 1992). Generalizability was not a desired outcome. Rather, according to McRobbie and Tobin (1995), "generalizability is constrained by the perspective of the

reader and the potential applications the reader might consider. We cannot know in an a priori way about the contexts to which the knowledge from this study might be applicable" (p. 377). Such decisions are left to those who read this dissertation and find potential applications. "Accordingly, generalizability is viewed as an interaction of a reader with a text, and the extent to which that interaction holds relevance to the problems the reader frames from personal experience" (McRobbie & Tobin, 1995, p. 377).

CHAPTER IV

THEMATIC FINDINGS: EXPERIENCES OF LEADERSHIP AMONG THESE NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN

As stated previously, the primary objective of this study was to understand leadership as experienced by Native American women in education. The researcher thus analyzed the experiences of these Native American women by constructing categories from their interview data, then establishing relationships between those categories. This chapter will present the thematic findings from the experience of leadership among these Native American women. First will be a presentation of the themes: factors for success, barriers to success, refusal to allow barriers to impede success, and a summary of the findings. These findings answer the final four research questions:

3. What influences has the distortion of Native American women's roles had on this group of Native American women?

4. What issues face these Native American women leaders today?

5. What do these Native American women leaders perceive as barriers in their positions/careers?

6. What do these Native American women leaders perceive as factors to their success?

Descriptive information from the data answers question 1, "What are the leadership roles Native American women hold in their societies in the 1990s?"; and question 2, "How do these contemporary Native American women leaders perceive

their roles compared to traditional times?" This information is summarized at the end of the chapter.

Factors for Success

From the experiences of leadership among these Native American women, the following categories emerged under the theme "factors for success": leadership characteristics, support systems, education, and belief systems. In each of these categories, factors were identified that these Native American women believed supported their success. Under leadership characteristics, the following emerged as successful factors: (a) practicing empowerment, (b) readiness for change/ expectations, (c) quality/integrity, (d) strength/firmness of conviction, (e) communication/risk taking, (f) development/maintenance of a "thick skin," (g) keeping a balance in life, sense of humor, and harmony/knowing when to say "no," and (h) supporting/promoting/advocating/mentoring. Excerpts taken verbatim from the data support these factors. They follow each factor description. The names of the women have been changed to protect their identity.

Category 1—Leadership Characteristics

Factor a: Practicing empowerment—is one of eight factors in the category of leadership characteristics that contributed to the success of these Native American women. Many of these women indicated that they believe that their role is to share information and power with their constituents, collaborate with them in decision making, thereby empowering them.

> Rose: I like to look at leadership as being a person that is part of the working group, whatever the group is, and guiding that group; not taking the power from them, but being part of the power; not minimizing what they have to

offer, but maximizing it; trying to be the hub of that whole wheel. That is what I see leadership as. You do not take from a group. You are a part of it.

Sarah: Women administrators tend, I find anyway, to be more collaborative. They try and include more people in the decision making process. One of my jobs as an educator is to share information to empower people so that they have more knowledge, more information, more ideas, more little seeds of wisdom so that they can take control of their lives, so that they can change things.

Julie: So I try to use that model here at ____ of letting people know what needs to be done and letting their strengths emerge.

Kate: Leadership . . . is working with and through people to achieve the goal, and I think I do it often . . . I am very much a participative type person. That is probably one of my goals to do what I can to enable leadership from others to develop, where I can be in the background. . . . The best kind of leadership is when people can say look what we did ourselves. I guess that has always been my philosophy, I think, because of the way I was raised and because of cultural issues; the participation where it is not one person in a hierarchy that makes all the decisions, and so on.

Marie: What I try to do is foster leadership in other people.

Factor b: Readiness for change/high expectations—is the second leadership factor that contributed to the success of these women. Information from the data revealed that these women constantly seek ways to improve upon, and most often change Indian education because they feel that there is so much to be done in this area.

Sarah: But I have a real high level of readiness for change and for doing things.

Eleanor: It is constantly knowing that you have to reinvent yourself in an organization to what's really needed at the moment. If you let down on really understanding who you're serving, you become lost and eventually disappear.

Factor c: Quality/integrity—is the third leadership factor. Information from the data revealed that these women believe that quality is of utmost importance and contributed to their success as leaders. The women indicated that women in general tend to have more integrity than men, that they try to do things "right," in a quality

manner, as that best serves people in the long run.

> Sarah: I think we [women] have more integrity in what we say and try to do because it is like we put our signature out there. That is us. It is part of us. When we're going to do something, we want it to be what is good for all. The challenge that we have as educators, whether you are a man or a woman, is to really work hard on having integrity in what you do and then to strive for quality. Do not settle for second rate . . . Indian people want the best for their children and they do not want watered down versions of anything . . . And they want them to maintain their cultures . . .

> Paula: People were very honest [in our staff meeting] and I appreciate that. Honesty is real important. People just have to be real direct and up front with one another . . . If you are going to create relationships with people, it has to be based on something more substantive and real. I do not care if you and I do not have anything to say for the first six months. Once we talk, it will be a real conversation. There will be a real connection that will be made. Then that lasts. If you are going to create working relationships, then they need to be solid. I do not believe in playing games or trying to be superficial just to attempt to impress people or win them over.

> Factor d: Strength/firmness of conviction—is the fourth leadership factor.

Information from the data revealed these women believe it is important to know well the issues of education, Native American concerns, traditional way(s) of doing things, and to take a firm stand on these issues.

> Paula: People have thought that I am not aggressive enough or that I am too quiet and not strong. Though, that is okay. I do not care what you think because I know where I stand on something. And I can get real firm on what I believe in and argue real well for whatever it is that I believe in . . . My style is not like a pushy white woman's style, though, there are some other Indian women [where] that is their style. They are very much like a white man, and I do not want to be that way. I feel that I am [just] as effective maintaining my own style, that feels like a woman's style and it feels like an Indian's style, [rather] than trying [to be] like an aggressive white woman or man. One does not need to do that to succeed . . .

> Factor e: Communication/risk taking—is the fifth leadership factor.

Information from the data revealed that these women believe that it is important to know issues of education and Indian concerns well and be willing to take a risk in communicating those to the necessary audiences. Along with that willingness, they believe there is also a need to communicate well. For Indian women operating within

a system or community, this communication is essential.

> Sarah: I am a real risk taker. Like Barbara Jordan [former Texas Congresswoman], if there is an issue, I have to be able to address it. If I do not agree with it, if I see that I think it's going in the wrong direction and that it is going to hurt Indian people, or hurt kids, or just hurt us as a Nation, then I think we have an obligation to say something. But what I've learned in this process, it's how you say it; not just to get up and scream and holler and make demands and call people names. But to say it in a way, too, that people will listen. So, I am really into communication. . . . If you can't communicate the information and take it out of your head and your heart and put it out there, then it does not mean anything. You can't change people. You can't change situations. You have to be able to connect your head and your heart and get it out.

> Phyllis: I think you [women] have to be angry enough to say what you have to say and be articulate in what you are saying. You have to know the arguments for why doing a certain thing is appropriate and should be recognized. And, you have to be a real risk taker in that because you know there will be resistance. And, you need to know how to handle that. You need to know how to handle conflict; how to resolve it.

Factor f: Development/maintenance of a "thick skin"—is the sixth factor in the category of leadership characteristics. Information from the data revealed that leaders have to develop a "thick skin" at times. In other words, they have to be able to separate personal feelings from their leadership responsibilities. At times this means having to make unpopular decisions.

> Sarah: You have to learn to have this "thick skin" where people are not going to like you sometimes. What I say to them is, "You do not have to like me to work with me, but you have to like your job." So sometimes people have a hard time with that. I am very good at separating personal from professional, and women have a really hard time with that—professional women, too.

Factor g: Keeping a balance in life, sense of humor and harmony/knowing when to say "no"—is the seventh factor in the category of leadership characteristics. Information from the data revealed that these women are requested to serve as board and task force members for many community organizations. They indicated that even though it is difficult, they have had to learn how to say "no" to the many demands upon their time in order to maintain a sense of balance and harmony. This also means

keeping a sense of humor.

> Phyllis: In the process leaders cannot forget their own health and keeping their sense of humor which is so important. For a woman who has a family, you have to be very careful about how you manage your national life versus your home life and keep a balance.
>
> Sarah: I am really very highly motivated in a lot of ways. He [my husband] keeps reminding me, "You have got to have balance in your life." As adult children of alcoholics, you do not know how to relax. You do not know how to have fun. You feel guilty when you are relaxing having fun. So, I have tried to find more balance, and it has been really hard for me to kind of back off . . . because I just think there is not enough time. Here I am half way through my career and all the things I wanted to see happen in Indian education, it is not happening. It is just slower than I would like to see things happen . . . I just have learned to say, "No," because otherwise you get asked to be on everything. And you just can not do it. I just need some time for me.
>
> Eleanor: It is easy to get so involved in all the various boards and being a part of an Indian community . . . And that was the pressure—the request for me to be on these various boards in the community and statewide. There was just so much work to do in establishing the baccalaureate program that you just did not have time. Yet, you needed the contacts and those connections to really create a successful program. So, that was really hard to balance all the meetings I went to.
>
> Kate: That is the only advice I would give to young Indian professional now is to see how you can integrate it. Choose carefully. Be involved. I do not think any of us are saying you should not be involved. But, think about it. Think about what it's going to mean because you do in the end have to think about yourself . . . There has to be more people like us in positions so that our perspectives are heard, our points are considered.

Factor h: Supporting/Promoting/Advocating/Mentoring—is the eighth leadership factor that has contributed to the success of these women as leaders. Information from the data revealed that these women see their leadership roles in terms of supporting, encouraging, and nurturing others. This includes mentoring Indian people, which involves taking a personal interest in them and promoting them for positions of employment, speaking engagements, and consulting/training opportunities. It also includes advocating, defending, and "speaking on behalf of" Indian people.

Julie: I see my leadership as one of supporting the person that came upon [an idea] and providing the personal resources that do not always come from me but might come from someone else on the staff or one of my two business partners to provide the opportunity to persons to bounce off ideas, and then also to help connections between staff members. Someone else in the organization might come up with an idea or might read something in the literature that is a new technique . . . If I myself do not know much about it, I see then that my leadership is one of supporting the person that came upon it, then providing the personal resources that don't always come from me but might come from someone else on the staff.

Mentoring to me is something that I feel Indian students need more so than others. Now there may be students from other cultures that need it more so than students from the rural American background. But, it seems to me, and I know from myself, I can point in all phases of my life to individuals who were mentors for me. They were not just people I admired. They were people who took a personal interest in me and helped me. And to this day, I think there is something about that. I don't know if that is traditionally a traditional form of leadership development, but I know now it is a big deal. But, it just even seemed to me, for instance, in the classes I was in at Stanford, that the Indian students really needed more of a one to one relationship with someone who could be that sustaining factor. There had to be some sustaining factor to help keep that potential in the forefront. And that person is not necessarily another Native person, but just somebody who did take that personal interest. I really believe that the mentoring aspect is critical.

Sarah: I encourage more Indian women. I always like to mentor and promote any Indian woman that I see coming up that has potential, or any woman really. I like to support them and move them along.

Beverly: The advising and mentoring and helping [Native] faculty, staff, and students is a big part of my life . . . I feel a great sense of obligation to work with Indian youth, especially the urban people who can just feel so lost.

Sarah: Every chance I get I tell [Indian] people that we need to have confidence in our own people. We need to believe in them and we need to promote them.

Marie: I advocate for students. I go for them if they need me to. I do not consider myself a leader; I consider myself an advocate.

Ruth: I have been working with other American Indian and Alaska Native staff and faculty in a leadership role in the things we do for students. We try to do various types of activities to support and encourage them [students], develop networks and establish a community within the university itself.

Paula: I really grew in that position to be a good strong supporter, a strong advocate. So that was a wonderful growth experience. What spurred me on was that I had to let my own fear go . . . because if I let that get in the way,

> then who is going to speak for this kid? Who is going to speak for this teacher? Who is wrongly done in some way? Nobody will. And, so if I'm scarred or nervous, tough. You know, set it aside and deal with the issue. . . We had a lot of success.
>
> I will give until I die. I mean, that is what my role is suppose to be in this lifetime.

In summary, several factors emerged as leadership characteristics that contributed to the success of these Native American women. They were (a) practicing empowerment, (b) readiness for change/expectations, (c) quality/integrity, (d) strength/firmness of conviction, (e) communication/risk taking, (f) development/ maintenance of a "thick skin," (g) keeping a balance in life, sense of humor, and harmony/knowing when to say "no," and (h) supporting/promoting/advocating/ mentoring.

Category 2—Support Systems

A second category evolving from "factors for success" was support systems. The women discussed the importance of their own support systems to their success. The following support systems factors were identified: (a) family/friends support, (b) mentoring for themselves, and (c) networking.

Factor a: Family/friends support—is the first support factor. Information from the data revealed these women believe that obtaining support from family and Native and non-Native friends was important to their success.

> Ruth: I think support systems are real important, and that is what I have been fortunate to have—friends, not just Indian women, but men and women of various ethnic minority groups that over the years have been real helpful and supportive.
>
> Sometimes it gets real tough because there's always this real conflict between your own values and the white values and the mixture that you've grown up with in trying to balance that, and then going back to visit my family and friends and that validation of who you are and where you come from. That's

> real important, to have those lifelong friends. I think a lot of white friends just marvel at that because they don't have that, to be able to have that connection, not only to your family and your friends, but to the tribe as a whole. There are friends of my parents and relatives. I have a large extended family on both my mother and my father's side. So that's real validation when you go back [home] and you're sitting somewhere. It's may be a tribal celebration. You look around and see this whole section of people who are your relatives.
>
> Julie: There were four or five of us who were Indian and a couple who weren't. We were all about the same age. So we were relatively new to the system. We had each other for support in terms of things that people would say. We'd be in faculty meetings and say something about some idea. It wouldn't necessarily be innovative or unusual but some teacher would say, "Oh, no, these children would never do that, these high school students." And another one of us would say, "Well, gee, we just did that the other day in class." So it was a whole new force that was taking over at that point.
>
> I feel lucky to be from the family that I'm from. I've had lots of opportunities, lots of people (who have supported me).

Factor b: Mentoring—is the second support factor. Information from the data revealed that these women attributed much of their success to individuals who have mentored them, taking a personal interest and helping them in their careers.

> Eleanor: _____was kind of like my mentor and guide and really offered me that support. It just wasn't there after she left . . . The people I've met and been able to work with throughout my lifetime I think have had a major influence in me finally reaching an age where I can take a stand (on issues), like . . . the tribal sovereignty issue. Twenty years ago I wouldn't have known what that even meant.
>
> Paula: I feel very strong support from two professionals who also happen to be strong Indian women.
>
> Julie: I was lucky to have people as mentors in many ways. . . . So there are times that I think I shouldn't have a care in the world (laughter) considering all the opportunities that I've had.

Factor c: Networking—is the third support factor. Information from the data revealed these women believe that networking or developing/maintaining professional relationships with other Native and non-Native educators was important to their success.

> Ruth: I've met some really wonderful people who have been so supportive and have developed other relationships. So, it's real interesting. . . . The one thing that I have really enjoyed is developing stronger relationships with education people and the tribes . . . because I see that also coming back to what I do.

In summary, the following support systems emerged as factors contributing to the success of these Native American women: (a) family/friends support, (b) mentoring for themselves, and (c) networking.

Category 3—Education

A third category evolving from the theme "factors for success" was education. The following were identified as educational factors for success: (a) education of non-Natives to Native culture, history, and the issue of tribal sovereignty; and (b) Native schools and curriculum.

Factor a: Education of non-Natives to Native culture and history and the issue of tribal sovereignty—Information from the data revealed these women believe that there is still ignorance about Native Americans in the 1990s, which they believe contributes to racism. They stated that there is a high level of ignorance even among well-educated non-Natives in positions of power. They believe that these non-Native individuals need to be educated to the history of Native Americans, the beauty of their culture and value system, and the issue of tribal sovereignty (see Appendix F).

> Eleanor: I feel like it is a very serious responsibility to maintain and promote tribal sovereignty. . . . When I was with the Indians-at-risk task force, it was amazing the level of ignorance of these high powered, well educated non-Native people that were running education programs across the country. And they were working at the Department of Education, just incredible ignorance. They had based their whole opinion on television and movies about Indian people. We took this one advisor of an assistant secretary in the Department of Education to a [veteran's pow wow] ceremony. We were explaining to him and said that they [the dancers] were veterans of foreign wars. It didn't sink in. He thought these people were veterans of Indian wars. But, they would be like a 100 years old out there dancing. And he said, "My.

They look in great shape to be veterans of Indian wars." And we started laughing and said, "Well, no, they served the U.S. as well as your family members did. They fought for this country, too. And, they're very proud of being a soldier in the war." I just found it incredible that you could be that well educated and not know anything more about Indian people than he knew. And then not understanding at all a metaphor we use . . . of today's modern day battles taking place in Congress and in agencies in fighting for the dollars to support those programs. Those are our modern day battles. And, he just said that just isn't true, that we exaggerate. So, I'm a real advocate for teaching all kids about tribal sovereignty. Because when you see non-Indians in these important roles, and they know nothing about those issues and then are very resentful about Indian issues, if it's taught at a young age and incorporated into the history and political science courses that everyone has to take, then they'll have a better understanding of what it means and why Indian people are totally different from any of the minority groups in the United States. Without tribal sovereignty we are a minority just like other minorities. And, it's a real critical time for us. Tribal sovereignty is in jeopardy for Indian people. [The definition of tribal sovereignty is included in the Appendix F].

Ruth: There are some gender issues, too. . . . Attitudes not only from white males but Indian men, too, and, not only gender issues, but as a color issue, too, from white women because they are not quite sure. I've talked to friends about this and professional women. . . . I think sometimes not only white females but white males or some other people in general who don't know Indian people that well, or haven't interacted a lot with other kinds of people, have their own ideas of stereotypes, whatever. I think probably Indian people have, I'd say, the hardest way to go because we have a lot of education continually that we have to do. But, I think the idea that sometimes they think we should fit a certain kind of role, and we don't quite fit into that role for them. So, they are not quite sure how to interact with us because we're not what they think we should be. So, they come off as condescending and patronizing. I think it's because there is this discomfort and not knowing.

Paula: So, I guess that's been one of my missions, too. You end up doing a lot of speeches in your lifetime explaining Indians to white people. So, I try and do that with patience and kindness, not with anger, because there's a lot of ignorance, and they need to learn. We need to help them understand who we are and the validity of our culture, the beauty of our value system, and so on. . . . Sometimes I've said, and I've heard another speaker say . . . "Anything you did up until today I can forgive you for. But, once I talk to you about my culture and my people and the validity of our own way of life, if you persist in racism, your ignorance, then I do have the right to be angry with you, to blame you, or whatever. Up until today, you didn't know. I'll pass it off as ignorance. But, from here on in, it isn't, and it's intentional." Yes. The intentional hate is real, and it's here.

Factor b: Native schools and curriculum—Information from the data revealed

that these women believed in the importance of maintaining and developing curriculum from the Native perspective, and advocating for holistic education (focusing on the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual needs of Native students).

> Pat: My passion in life [which I will do when I retire] is to write a curriculum for Indian schools.

> Paula: [Next I went to work] as the Research and Development Director for a holistic school, one of the best known tribally controlled schools across Canada. That was such a wonderful opportunity. . . . Everything that we did we kept in mind that there are four aspects to us: physical, mental, emotional and spiritual. Most schools deal only with the mental, a little with the physical, a little bit of physical education, but not seeing how that really fits in. They don't deal with the emotional and definitely don't deal with the spiritual. So in that setting, everything we did, the curriculum that we developed, maintained a focus on those four aspects, the staff development, everything. It was a wonderful experience to see the kind of change that can happen to kids in that type of a setting.

In summary, these educational factors emerged that contributed to the success of these Native American women: (a) education of non-Natives to Native culture, history and the issue of tribal sovereignty; and (b) Native schools and curriculum.

Category 4—Belief Systems

The fourth category under "factors for success" was belief systems. Identified factors were: (a) core beliefs, and (b) belief in a divine plan.

Factor a: Core beliefs—is the first belief factor. Information from the data revealed that the core beliefs of these women are maintaining traditional Native values and culture, a sense of pride in being Indian, and cultural differences. These core beliefs define for these women their existence. There are two aspects of this core belief. One aspect is the value Native Americans place on individual members who are deeply connected to the traditional ways of their people, women and the elderly.

Paula Gunn Allen (1992) explained that this is true "even after centuries of concerted and brutal effort on the part of the American government, the churches, and the corporate system to break the connections between individuals and their tribal world" (p. 210). She adds that

> if American society judiciously modeled the traditions of the various Native nations, the place of women in society would become central, the distribution of goods and power would be egalitarian, the elderly would be respected, honored, and protected as a primary social and cultural resources, the ideals of physical beauty would be considerably enlarged (to include fat, strong-featured women, gray-haired, and wrinkled individuals, and others who in contemporary American culture are viewed as "ugly"). (Allen, 1992, pp. 210–211)

Information from the data revealed that these core beliefs contributed to the self-esteem and ultimately the success of these women.

> Marie:I started realizing that this [physical appearance] was never a topic. They [Indian people] never comment that someone is fat or ugly or beautiful. And, I didn't realize that for a long time. There's not a lot of emphasis placed on physical beauty, and it's not discussed. I've never felt fat in the Indian community. I feel ugly in non-Indian communities.

> Rose: I think another thing that I'm very proud of is that I still believe in my traditional ways. . . . My mother, was a very strong woman, high morals and standards. She was always telling us girls that Navajo women were suppose to be strong. She said that a home is not a home without a mother keeping the fires burning and that you [women] are the warmth of that family and the heartbeat. Even today, as what we call an educated woman, I still believe that. That is my role in society . . . And Dad would say, "Never say a bad thing to your brothers and sisters. You always respect them. You always take their children as yours. Friends will come and go, but you only have one true family."

> Julie: We at _____ were introduced in a very personal way to the Sacred Medicine Wheel. So we adapted that and we tried in the various ways to follow it. Now we have definitely put that forward as our philosophy in looking at the human potential aspect of using the medicine wheel, not just at looking at that daily lifelong path, but also using it as a symbolism for a person and, in particular, the work that we're trying to impact, the lives of children. So, we look at it in that way. Now we open many of our training activities with a short explanation of that and try to use what we can in terms of always bringing it back to the medicine wheel. In our particular kind of work, (we look) at starting in the east where we greet the day. When you take that to the student perspective that's the protective place where we start

> to learn something. Then, we do it internally for ourselves after the traditional way, of course, after much observation. Then we hope that our work helps the folks that we're training, helps guide them on the path they are taking, thinking in terms of that journey on the wheel of going into the south which is the area of nurturing. Again, tying that to the students' learning, helping them nurture that learning. Then, we travel to the west of the circle, which is the area of growth because we've gone from the east which represents the spiritual aspect of a person. So, that is the interior beginning of learning. Then, the south which represents the emotional aspect of a person, nurturing the learning, and then going to the west which represents the physical aspect of a person. And, in that area for learning, growth takes place, so beyond having been nurtured. Then, moving on to the north and the mental aspect of a person, whereby the learning comes to completeness. Then, taking that again as just an individual. We take that path everyday. We try to follow that. And, in addition to our individual staff person's personal relationship with the world, we try to use that as a group. So, I try to enhance and nurture that belief for those of us who live in this kind of a city, that that's central to our being, that we stay on a good path for the work that we're suppose to be doing. So that kind of leadership I see is important to us. Most of what we read about, I think, is what the men of our tribal communities have done in terms of leadership. So, I think it's important that we try to think of some ways that we better exhibit the leadership that is existing, that is being inducted, being performed by women as well. So, then to take that on into the practical world of our work, since 1980, we have been involved in conducting or providing training and technical assistance to Indian Education Act grantees of the United States Education Department, and that is one of our major contracts. I try in that way to be an educational leader similar to what one would find in an educational institution.

A second aspect of these Native American women's core tribal beliefs is their adherence to cultural governing principles. For the most part, Native American societies act in a collaborative and cooperative manner, whereas, non-Native societies tend to act in a more aggressive and competitive manner. According to Allen (1992), Native American societies conduct meetings in a collective way, making decisions by consensus, and are often times leaderless, whereas non-Native societies generally elect chairpersons to direct meetings.

> The Native American view, which highly values maintenance of traditional customs, values, and perspectives, might result in slower societal change and in quite a bit less social upheaval, but it has the advantage of providing a solid sense of identity and lowered levels of psychological and interpersonal conflict. (p. 210)

Information from the data indicated that these women follow this aspect of Native American culture and that it has contributed to their success as leaders.

> Ruth: We look at things in a different way I think as Indian people. It was their aggressiveness and their competitiveness at anyone's expense even within the group. . . . We [Indian people] do it as a collective kind of thing rather than somebody being out front and outdoing the other or putting someone down. And, there's no basis for their behavior really. I think that . . . self-centered thing is one of the real conflicts [between Indian people and non-Indian] that I've seen. We had a meeting last week of a group of faculty, staff and students on campus [whose purpose is] to develop a recruitment/ retention policy university-wide. We have a few non-Indian people who are working with us. One [non-Indian person] said that we have to elect a chair. We [Indian people] said that we don't really need a chair. But, it was that difference in how we do things together. We said that we were just going to work on this together, and we will develop a document. We will all have input into it and come to an agreement of some sort. You know, we may disagree, but we'll work through those and maintain the professionalism but also the respect for each other. I think that's one of the big differences I see sometimes is that they don't look at each other sometimes in the way that we do . . . though there's some [non- Indian] faculty who are very sensitive, very perceptive about things, and very thoughtful and respectful. But, a lot of them also come from cultures outside the United States. . . . But, those are some of the things that I just observed and have been a part of that have created some conflicts. . . . I think that's one of the overall differences with Indian people and non-Indian people is that sometimes aggressiveness ends up being disrespectful of other people.
>
> I think the educational system and the experience with the other group made me reflect on why I was at the university. A lot of what the university does which gets criticism about, too, is their collective way of doing things, more by consensus [more like the Native way]. . . . They are critical about themselves, too, because it takes longer. You have to have a meeting to talk about something. And, it is different from the corporate word in that respect.
>
> Paula: I went from working where there were mostly all Indian people in the Indian school to suddenly working at an educational research lab [that was very white and academic] . . . But, even though that act [the Indian Education Act] had been around for twenty years or so they had done next to nothing for Indians. So that was what I was suppose to do. I started a greater focus on Indian education issues and needs, but, also making the training available to Indian schools that they have for other schools, and to go train on the reservations. That started happening. Showing them a different way . . . I know how Indian meetings are suppose to start. They are suppose to start with a prayer, a blessing. Everybody's head is in the same place, the right place. When you train people, when you work with human beings, and Indian people know this, personal relationships are very important to Indian people. So you just don't go into a group of strangers and start talking. White people

do this, though. [For example, they start by saying] "Here are our goals for today. Here's what we have to accomplish. OK. Let's get started. Start talking." They do. They do not even care who's there, if they do not know each other, or anything. Indian people don't act like that. We don't work that way. We can get into that mode because we're getting use to it from the white education system. But, if you really want real content from Indian people, real information, and you're an outsider to their community, which a white education lab would be, then you'd better do some personal networking first. So, for the Indian Education program that I started . . . anything that I organized, we started with prayer. We started with smudging and talking circle. We would spend the morning doing that and then get into our agenda. They just couldn't understand that at first because it seemed like it was wasting time. But, then they saw[that] there was commitment. The Indian people sitting at the table knew where we were coming from as the lab, that we really did care . . . And everybody had shared something from the heart. So there was a human connection, a bonding of sort had occurred . . . So some of my colleagues at the lab said, "Holy cow, we heard about your meeting. Your opening was wonderful." And, that's what we're suppose to do. We are suppose to share. And we do have a different way. It is as valid as their way, but more so, completely more valid for our own communities. But, you'd better be strong enough in what you believe in and have the conviction that you're not going to back down on what you know needs to happen . . . You have to do what you're suppose to do.

Julie: At _____we follow inter-tribal, traditional philosophies, and I try to model that in the way that we work. For instance, although I'm enrolled Potawatomi from the Prairie Band in Kansas, I'm also from the Pawnee and Otoe families. A traditional way of going about a task among the pawnees has been one of consensus, whereby, . . . and I'm sure this follows some other tribal traditions as well, if it's time for something to happen traditionally there wouldn't be one person who says, "Okay, it's time for this to happen." . . . Someone may indicate that it's time for something to happen, but nobody's appointed as such to do follow up. Rather, the traditional view is that people who are capable would simple volunteer to the need or carry out the activity.

Phyllis: Just getting the universities and colleges together to think a little bit differently about teacher education is a real joy to see develop.

Factor b: Belief in a divine plan—is the second belief factor. Information from the data revealed a belief that the "Creator" has a plan for our lives and provides us direction. This belief has been a factor to the success of these women.

Paula: I went from working where there were mostly all Indian people in the Indian school to suddenly working at an educational research lab. I thought, "Why am I here? Why did I make this decision?" But, I said, "No. I felt directed to do this. I don't know why. But, I'm suppose to do this." But, again, it was an opportunity to stay current in the latest educational

> movements. "I am supposed to do that. I am suppose to read the research . . . and stay on top of everything."
>
> That is what the Creator had in mind. But, there was a stall because I also had to learn to deal with this, which was to learn this other system. Each time you learn, you learn, you learn, you build.

In summary, these belief factors emerged as contributing to the success of these Native American women: (a) core beliefs, and (b) belief in a divine plan.

Barriers to Success

Two barriers for success were identified by these Native American women. They were: (1) racial discrimination, and (2) sexual discrimination. Excerpts taken verbatim from the interview data exemplify these barriers to success. They follow the description of each factor:

1. Racial discrimination—is the first barrier identified. Information from the data revealed these Native American women believed there has been, and still remains, ignorance and racism toward Native Americans. They indicated that Native American women have suffered not only from individual short-term effects of discrimination but also from long-term effects of a lifetime of discrimination. Many of these women indicated that darker skinned Native Americans face more discrimination that their lighter skinned counterparts. In the 1990s, many non-Native people are still surprised to find that Native Americans hold responsible positions in the dominant society. Due to negative experiences regarding her being Indian, one informant explained that at one point in her life, she felt as though she had to prove that she was as good as any white person. It took some personal development to realize that she was a good person and that she did not have to prove that just because she was Indian.

Marie: They didn't like our family. We were the only Indian family. What happened was that one of my sisters, who also does not look Indian, much like me, was homecoming queen and I was her princess. I noticed . . . going to school and riding on the school bus that the other Indian kids would go to the back of the bus, and my older sisters would go to the back of the bus. But, she and I would sit at the front with the white kids. We were popular. She was a songleader, and I was a cheerleader throughout high school. Then I started noticing it. At school we wouldd see the other Indian kids, and they wouldn't say anything to us. But, at home, we'd mix with their family and have a good time and ride bikes and horses. It almost felt like school was a different status situation. We ran with the white kids and they never bothered us or said anything or interfered. It wasn't like there were any jealousies. They were all very proud, and I'm still friends with a lot of them. It just wasn't talked about. But, my older brothers and sisters who looked Indian never graduated from high school, never got elected to other offices, never did anything. They didn't hang out with the popular kids because they looked Indian.

Even to this day, I'll drive up to a nice restaurant and I'll say, "Come on mother. Let's go in and get something to eat." And she'll say, "No, no, I'll just sit in the car." She won't go in because she feels like she doesn't belong.

Paula: In counseling, what came to me was that most of my life I was trying to prove that I was as good as anybody else and that I, as an Indian person was as good as any white person. And, I remembered even though my Dad would say what he would say to spur us on and keep us going to school, or whatever, that you have to stay in school and do good because you don't want them to think we're dumb Indians, it gave a negative message, too. There was a double message there. Stay in school, do good, but everybody thinks you're a dumb Indian. You have to prove them wrong, prove them differently. . . .I went through a lot of personal growth and development and I don't need to prove myself to anybody anymore.

We would go to _____from time to time and whenever we would go places where there were more Indians, a pow wow or whatever, people looked disdainfully at you like you were dirt . . . going through a Dairy Queen one time, they almost shunned us like we had no right to even come into the place. And, when I was small, six or seven years old, I learned to dance traditional Indian dancing. . . . Kids of several families would perform at the boy scouts and girl scouts, and so on. And, as a kid, it's fun. You enjoy being a part of your own culture, and you can make some money as a kid. We got ten dollars, maybe twenty. Whatever it was, it was more than we ever had. So it was great. But, we also went through all this stupid ignorant stuff, the 'woo woo woo woo' type of stuff that kids do. In particular, there was one incident that I really blocked for a long time in my brain and then in a personal growth training kind of session, it surfaced and I had to release a lot of pain from that. We were in dressing, and this woman brought her little boy into the bathroom. I was nine or ten, and he must have been six or seven, old enough to watch television. She went in the wrong door. Instead of going into the

> bathroom, she came into where just the women were dressing . . . So, not even [where] the men [were] who have all the feathers and bells. She said, "Oh, I'm sorry." But when her kid saw us . . . he started screaming. . . . He was so terrified of us. I felt like a monster. I felt like something was really terribly wrong with me that I was so scary as an Indian person that this kid was just terrified and screaming at the top of his lung. As a kid, all I wanted to do was slug him. But, of course, I didn't. I sat there dumbfounded. I didn't realize how painful that was for me until years later, how ugly that made me feel, like a freak and something really bad, and it wasn't me as a human being, as an individual at all. It was what that child learned about Indians. It was just Indian women, for Pete's sake. . . . But, that was certainly a first-hand glimpse of the level of ignorance and fear and misunderstanding between the cultures. . . . Now [racism] sometimes makes me angry.

2. Sexual discrimination—is the second barrier to success identified.

Information from the data revealed that many of the Native American women interviewed have faced sexual discrimination both in the dominant population and within their own tribal societies. The review of literature revealed that although roles varied, Native American women traditionally held positions of power in most tribes and were often in leadership positions. In those tribes, Native women are merely reassuming those roles. But data from the information also revealed that, in those tribes in which women did not traditionally hold leadership positions, and this includes education in particular, their societies are undergoing a transition even greater than in those societies in which the women are merely reassuming these positions. These women are going against the norm of their culture entering these educational leadership positions. In both instances, the women have faced degrees of sexual discrimination from their own tribal members.

> Rose: Maybe an important consideration should be the fact that Native American societies are in transition. A lot of Native American women have a certain role and expectation of them. When we pursue, in most cultures, advanced degrees, we're going against the norm of our culture. I think that makes it a bit more difficult because you're dealing with a culture that already has ingrained in it what an Indian or Navajo woman should be. And we don't fit that role. So we're fighting sexism in our own cultural group. We have to earn that (respect).

Sarah: I ended up having to transfer out of there because of the political problems. And, as I look back at it, some of it had to do with my leadership style. But, as I look at it, if people want to be real honest about it, a lot of it had to do with the fact that I was a woman in dealing with the members of the tribal council who were all men. There were times when I thought the treatment was very disrespectful of women and very rude.

I do know that it's hard being a woman in administration. I have had through the years, many men who have worked for me tell me point blank, "I really have a hard time working for you because you are a woman." So I think they have problems with that if you just really want to deal with it, and, of course, because I am an assertive person and will raise questions, or challenge positions or concepts. It's the same old thing. When a man does it, they're powerful, and, boy, they really know what they're doing. They're really in control here. But, when a woman does it, they're bitchy.

Kate: I think Indian women have different issues than non-Indian women. I think that Indian women quite often have a double wammy on them being female and Indian. But, here again, I also see it as an advantage because you're not like other women sometimes, too, in the backlash and perceptions that people have about women administrators. We're such a small part of the population. All of the women I'm associated with who are in leadership positions are good leaders. They are different from each other in many ways in styles, but I think they are good leaders.

Ruth: I think probably Indian people have I'd say the hardest way to go because we have a lot of education continually that we have to do. I think sometimes they [non-Indian people] think we should fit a certain kind of role, and we don't quite fit into that role for them. So, they are not quite sure how to interact with us because we're not what they think we should be. So they come off as condescending and patronizing. I think it's because there is this discomfort and not knowing.

In summary, these Native American women identified racial and sexual discrimination as barriers to success.

Refusal to Allow Barriers to Impede Success

Information from the data revealed that these Native American women refused to allow barriers to impede their success.

Maria: [Mother said] "You don't belong in those places. And somehow I feel that she taught my brothers and sisters that, even those who were not darker-complected. They didn't go to school, didn't have these expectations that they were pretty, or that they get new things. There was not an

expectation in their life, and there were certain things that you accepted. I just refused to believe that. I was horrified.

Ruth: I think as Indian people, and also as Indian women, we need to rethink how we do things or how we thought about things from the past. That's not to disregard the realities of racism or sexism or whatever else—barriers that really do exist—but maybe not focus so much on those as on a different way of approaching them than maybe we have in the past.

Paula: I do feel that there were barriers that I have had to deal with as an Indian woman and actually being a short Indian woman, too [laughter]. People don't believe that I have the experience that I have. And, they don't necessarily take you as seriously as you want or need to be taken. And, men in general, and that certainly includes our Indian men, don't accept that we do have as valid skills as they do. And, I have sensed that. I've felt that resistance. Again, one just has to say that I'm not accepting that as my problem. That's their problem.

The above data addressed questions 3, 4, 5, and 6. A summary of these findings follows.

Summary of Findings

Addressing research question 3, "What influences has the distortion of Native American women's roles had on this group of Native American women leaders?" the researcher found that the distortion of Native American women's roles led to racial and sexual discrimination. The informants indicated from their experiences that darker skinned Native Americans experience more racial discrimination than do lighter skinned Native Americans. This prompted the need for at least one of the Native American women informants to feel like she had to prove that she was as good as any white person.

Addressing research question 4, "What issues face these Native American women leaders today?" the researcher found that all of the women were strong advocates for Indian education, many expressing a sense of urgency in this matter. Again, the following comment reflects this urgency.

> Sarah: I just think there's not enough time. Here I am half way through my career and all the things I wanted to see happen in Indian education, it's not happening. It's just slower than I'd like to see things happen. So I have a group of [Native] friends that often talk about when we're done with our careers, we need to get together and have our own school because we're all sort of like that - hurry up, let's hurry up, do these things.

Secondly, the researcher found that these Native American women leaders feel that one of the most important issues facing Native American people today is the issue of tribal sovereignty. They stressed the importance of educating non-Natives to the issue of tribal sovereignty as well as other aspects of Native history and culture.

Thirdly, all of the women suggested that a Native American women leader has many demands on her concerning community involvement. Reflective of this are the following statements, which are repeated from previous sections:

> Eleanor: It's easy to get so involved in all the various boards and being a part of an Indian community . . . that was the pressure; the request for me to be on these various boards in the community and statewide. There was just so much work to do . . . you just don't have time. Yet, you needed the contacts and those connections . . . So that was really hard to balance . . .

> Kate: You've got to back off the service issue. . . . We ought to see service as an integral part of our research and other things that we do. So I've tried to make it pay off. That's the only advice I would give to young Indian professionals now is to see how you can integrate it. Choose carefully. Be involved. I don't think any of us are saying you shouldn't be involved. But, think about it. Think about what it's going to mean because you do in the end have to think about yourself. . . . There has to be more people like us in positions so that our perspectives are heard, our points are considered.

The major findings of this study revolved around research question 5, "What are the major barriers experienced by Native American women educational leaders in the 1990s?" and question 6, "What are the factors contributing to the successes of Native American women educational leaders in the 1990s?" The two major barriers for success were identified by these Native American women as being: (1) racial discrimination, and (2) sexual discrimination. Information from the data revealed that these women refused to allow these barriers to impede their success. From the

experiences of leadership among these Native American women, the following four categories emerged as being significant to success: (1) leadership characteristics, (2) support systems, (3) education, and (4) beliefs.

Looking at each of the categories significant to success, the following leadership characteristics were identified: (a) practicing empowerment; (b) readiness for change/high expectations; (c) quality/integrity; (d) strength/firmness of conviction; (e) communication/risk taking; (f) development/maintenance of a "thick skin"; (g) keeping a balance in life, sense of humor, and harmony/knowing when to say "no"; and (h) supporting/promoting, advocating/mentoring. The following support systems were identified: (a) support of family/friends, (b) mentoring, and (c) networking. The following educational factors for success emerged: (a) education of non-Natives to Native culture, history, and the issue of tribal sovereignty; and (b) Native schools and curriculum. The following belief factors for success emerged: (a) core beliefs, and (b) belief in a divine plan. Finally, data were presented that supported the finding that these women refused to allow barriers to impede their success.

Descriptive Data

The descriptive data of these 12 Native American women answered research question 1, "What are the educational leadership roles these Native American women hold in their societies in the 1990s?" and question 2, "How do these contemporary Native American women leaders perceive their roles compared to traditional times?"

The Native American women interviewed were from all over the United States and included representation from the Navajo, Oglala Lakota, Comanche, Potawatomi, Pawnee/Oto, Mandan Hidatsa, Cree, Creek, Seminole, Wailaki, and

Chippewa tribes. The group included women who were full blooded Native American and of mixed blood. All considered themselves Native American, however.

Regarding the personal background of these 12 Native American women leaders such descriptors as their marital status, children, tribal status, blood quantum, whether they were raised on a reservation or off reservation, schooling, religious upbringing, cultural background, family background and future plans evolved from the interviews. These descriptors may or may not have been mentioned by the informants. Again, "set" questions were not imposed upon them. Therefore, the information given by them was information they deemed relevant. Clarification and elaboration was requested of them as needed. All but one of the women interviewed were raised within the Native American culture either on the reservation or off; the one individual that was not raised in the Native culture has become acculturated to the culture as an adult. Regarding marital status, four of the women were married, seven were divorced, and one had never been married at the time of the interview. Of family background, three of the women indicated that they were adult children of alcoholics. Those same three were among the seven who had obtained their doctorate degrees. Another woman was enrolled in the doctoral program. Regarding children, six of the women indicated that they had children. Regarding blood quantum, three of the women mentioned that they were full blood, three described themselves as being of mixed blood, and the other did not mention any percentages. Regarding other categories, four of the women indicated they were raised on a reservation, two indicated they had attended BIA schools, two discussed being raised in both traditional and Christian religion, three described their family background as being dysfunctional in which alcoholism was involved, and three indicated that they would like to return to "Indian country" in the future.

Specifically addressing research question 1 was information regarding the careers of the 12 Native American women leaders participating in this study. The data indicated that all the women are involved with Native American educational issues in some capacity. With the exception of one women who is a curriculum director of a public school, all are involved with Native American educational issues within their job setting and also within the community. The curriculum director, although not involved exclusively with Native American educational issues, remains involved at the national level. In addition to their administrative roles, seven of the women have had teaching experience, three have served as trainers, six as researchers, and four as consultants. Concerning community involvement, ten of the women indicated that they are involved on Native boards and organizations and three indicated that they are also involved on boards outside Native organizations.

Addressing research question 2, the researcher compared the interview data with the review of literature. She found that Native American women have traditionally held important positions within their societies and were often leaders in their tribes. In tribes where they were not, such as in the case of Rose and Sarah, the tribes are going through a transition period. Those women have a certain role and expectation of them. When they pursue advanced degrees, they are going against the norm of their Native culture.

CHAPTER V

CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND OF THESE NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN LEADERS IN EDUCATION

Information in Chapter IV helped to answer the research questions posed in this study. A brief contextual background of each of these Native American women educational leaders in this chapter also helps to address these questions. Again, the purposes of the study were: (a) to develop a greater understanding of leadership as experienced by Native American women in education, and (b) to add to the literature of the experiences of Native American women leaders. The following contain data obtained from the researcher's interviews with these Native American women. Again, the names of the women have been changed to protect their identity.

Rose

Rose was raised and educated on the reservation and is a full blood Navajo. She enjoys being a Native woman and is proud that she still believes in traditional ways. Although her father was an alcoholic, she claims he was a good teacher. He taught her the value of working hard physically and mentally, and at a young age, she had a lot of responsibilities. Though she is now divorced, Rose married at an early age and had a son. She is an attractive woman 40 years of age and her son is now grown. Rose provides training and technical assistance to Native tribes across the country, helping tribes build their infrastructure to serve their people with disabilities and helping families and parents to access services. She also conducts educational

research and teaches special education on different reservations. Rose said that she is viewed as a leader by those Native communities in which she provides training. But, she believes in group leadership, leadership in which empowerment is viewed as being important. She emphasized that "leadership is being part of the hub, part of the working group, whatever the group is . . ." Regarding community service, Rose has a strong reputation of being a person involved in community activities. At this writing, she was a board member for an organization that impacts children and families across the Navajo Nation.

Rose addressed the category "sexual discrimination." She suggested that Native American societies are now in transition. She explained that Native American women have certain roles and expectations, and, in most tribes, when they pursue advanced degrees, they go against the norm of their culture. She indicated that Native American women in general are fighting sexism among their own people. Specifically, she centered on Navajo women, emphasizing that they did not traditionally hold public leadership positions. Rose claims, however, that in Navajo belief, women were the main powerful figures. Rose commented:

> It is kind of conflicting. Navajo women are supposed to be strong, and, although a matrilineal society, the women are respected for what they contribute to a man. Men rely heavily on women and the women are the ones who have the responsibility to advise; yet, at face value, the men are considered the leaders. With Native American women obtaining advanced degrees, Native societies are now changing.

Still in all, Rose said that still believes what her mother taught her, namely that "a mother keeps the fire burning. A mother is the warmth of the family and the heartbeat. And even today, as what we call an educated woman, I still believe that. That's my role in society."

Sarah

Sarah is a workaholic and super achiever, which in part she attributes to being an adult child of an alcoholic. She said that she is demanding of her subordinates and has high expectations and adds, "It is one of the criticisms I have in my job. People will say that I expect too much of them. But I say, 'No, you need to expect more of yourself.'" She tempered that, however, by saying that you cannot just push people without giving them support, but she thinks people need to have incentives and maybe role models and confidence that they can do things. Raised on the reservation and educated in a BIA boarding school, she got pregnant in high school. But, she rose above adversity, pushing herself to work, be a mother, and continue her education until she obtained her doctorate. She explained that once she was accepted into the doctoral program, she obtained her degree in two years, which she again attributes to her super achieving nature. And she still pushes herself, now in her job. She adds, "I have a lot of energy and sometimes that's hard for people to deal with. Some people get overwhelmed. But I just think that is my personal power." Married to a husband she claims is very supportive, she said that he reminds her that everybody does not get as excited about things as she does and is not as committed as she is about things. She said that he reminds her, too, to have "balance in her life," which was identified as a factor for success. "Adult children of alcoholics," Sarah explained, "have to learn to relax and have fun. So I have tried to find more balance and it has been really hard for me to kind of back off in a lot of ways and not be as demanding." Addressing the factor for success identified as "Native schools and curriculum," she said:

> I just think there is not enough time. There is so much work to be done. Here I am half way through my career and all the things I wanted to see happen in

> Indian education are not happening. It is just slower than I would like to see things happen."

To find that balance in her life, Sarah confessed she had to learn to say "no" [to community involvement], to say "I'm sorry. I can maybe help in some other way. But, I just cannot do this. I just need some time for me." She states that her kids now are 27 and 16 and adds:

> It just seems as I look back on it that I was always working so hard all the time that I think I've missed some things. As it is, I spend a lot of time at school board meetings because I have four school boards plus an agency board which is a combination of all the school boards. Then I have tribal education committee meetings. And most of those meetings are in the evenings. You just have to draw the line someplace.

Sarah is an agency superintendent for education with the Office of Indian Education within the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Formerly, she served as a dean of instruction at an Indian university and also as a vice president for student services at a community college. She supervises two principals, one educational specialist, a business manager and a clerk. She claims that she has to know a lot about everything—curriculum, facilities, personnel, finance, counseling, special education, Chapter 1, Goals 2000, alcohol and substance abuse, and law. As Sarah spoke about her job, the demands upon her time seemed monumental. The researcher was introduced to members of her family, busily coming and going out of their beautiful southwestern condominium on a gorgeous Sunday afternoon. She could not help but feel guilty for usurping some of Sarah's precious private life time for an interview; but she also felt extremely privileged. Leadership demands on Sarah do not end with her job. Sarah maintained that she is exercising leadership all the time—when she is reviewing a document and making a decision and commenting on it, when she is talking with parents and giving them advice, when she is making a presentation to the tribal education committee or to tribal governments or to principals, and when she is

having a staff meeting. She states:

> That's part of why when you're in a leadership position. You have to be very careful of what you're saying, of how you're saying it, and just very aware of your body language and your responses to things, because you're always in a leadership position. Anytime I'm away from Indian people in the public eye dealing with anyone that's outside of ____[her agency], I always represent Indian people. And they're always judging me because I'm Indian. It doesn't make any difference what kind of Indian I am. I'm always being evaluated or assessed in some way. And, to me, that's leadership— being a model, talking to kids, and dealing with your neighbors in a primarily white community. And, it's real interesting to me because the stereotypes that people have about women.

Sarah indicated that women have traditionally had a real strong leadership role in her tribe which is a matriarchal society. Men look to women for direction and guidance. She said, "I think for Indian women that's just traditionally like that in a lot of tribes, even if it's . . . [patriarchal]." Addressing the category "sexual discrimination," Sarah commented, "I think that men are really confused today, especially Indian men," adding that it seems a lot of strong Indian men marry non-Indian women. She believes that this is because Indian women will not tolerate what some Indian men want to perpetrate upon them. "But, . . . a lot of my strong Indian women friends aren't married today, either. So I just think there are issues that deal just with gender. I have a good husband. He's very supportive." However, Sarah continued, "it's hard being a woman in administration." She faced sexism early in her career with her own tribe and had difficulty working with them as a woman. A tribal member once told her following her presentation to the council, "I'm concerned that you come in here and you tell us that you've been flying all over the country and going all over the place. You should be home taking care of your kids." Although she partially attributes that difficulty to her assertive leadership style, saying that she can be very blunt at times, she said that a lot of it had to do with the fact that she was a woman dealing with the members of the tribal council who were all men. Now, later in her

career, her tribe wants her to come home and work for them. But, she said, "No. I'm going to wait until I'm done with my career so that when I come home, it's not going to be on the condition that I do this, and I say 'yes' to everything."

And though Sarah laments that it is difficult to be a woman in administration, she said that she feels women have more integrity, which was identified as a leadership factor for success. She believes that they have a tendency to be more thorough, detailed, collaborative and inclusive. Sarah commented that she personally strives for integrity and quality and that she prays and tries to lead a good life.

Pat

Pat's interview was initially delayed because of a crisis meeting called in her department. There had been a lot of changes and reorganization within her department resulting in internal conflicts; thus, a last minute meeting had been called by the staff. The researcher waited for her meeting to get over, but, upon seeing that Pat seemed distraught, asked if she would like to postpone the interview to another day. At first Pat thought we should postpone it. But, after we exchanged a few words, she indicated that it might be somewhat therapeutic to talk about her life experiences. And, later, she indicated that it had indeed helped to talk about herself and remember the positive incidences in her life and career. She said that it helped to put the stressful present in perspective and feel good about some of her work again. She said, "I want to thank you for coming here and interviewing me. It gave me a chance to feel good about what we're doing. Just talking about what we have done makes me feel excited again."

Indeed, Pat works in an agency that is involved in a major effort to implement school reform under Goals 2000. Her job description has drastically changed in the

past year aligning to educational reform efforts. She said that she has had to become a generalist and know a great deal more about various programs, rather than be a specialist in one program. She indicated that some staff consider this negative, and conflicts therefore arise, but she sees the value in it. To her, the reorganization allows for "one stop shopping," so customers do not get so much of a run around. She said that it also forces staff to collaborate more closely. Thus, she supported the factor identified by these Native women as "readiness for change."

Pat is an Oglala Lakota and also part Cheyenne River Sioux. Raised on the reservation, she went to a Bureau school all the way through 12th grade. She said that she felt she received a good education. Her mother was a teacher and one of the very first Oglala Indian women to receive a four-year degree. Pat offered:

> I did not really even think of being anything else but a teacher. When I sat in classes, both in elementary and secondary school, much of the time I was figuring out how I could better be presenting this lesson [laughter]. So I was a good student. Learning came easy for me. But, part of it, I think, had to do with the fact that my mother was a teacher. I did not know my father, because after WWII, he never did return. He came to see me one time, but that is the only memory I have of him.

Pat said that she married her high school sweetheart, also a Native American, who is from the same reservation. They both went on to receive their doctorate degrees in education and both had this yearning to work with Indian students which they did before going into administration. Indian curriculum is very important to Pat supporting the factor Native schools and curriculum. She emphasized that she firmly believes in holistic education for Indian students. In fact, she said,

> I think you'll find that a lot of the women you are talking with are very right-brained. We're very much into holistic ideals and looking at kids and learning styles, and we're not too much into tracking the dollars and being accountable. That's for somebody else to figure out.

She then added, "My passion in life, which I will do when I retire, is to write a

curriculum for Indian schools." She said that she just does not have the time now. There are just too many other pressing demands in her current position. But she said that she worries about Indian kids not going into education and teaching, and raises the question, "Who will follow in our footsteps in education?"

Marie

Marie administers a program for American Indian research and education affiliated with a university. She is also a professor for the university. She indicated that the agency was really developed because she was unable to rapidly bring grants to the university, and it was much easier to start an agency outside of it. She also works quite a bit as a consultant for Indian Health Boards and the National Cancer Institute. She admits "I'm wearing too many hats." Exemplifying that a factor for success is "keeping a balance in life/knowing when to say 'no,'" she said she asks herself, "When am I going to slow down? I can't get off this roller coaster. I can't say 'no.'" She said that she has done things, however, to make life easier, such as requiring students to come to her agency rather than her university office. But, she also encourages people to call her at home, constantly making herself available to students and whomever. She said that she does a lot of listening and advising to students and former students. Divorced and the mother of two teenage sons, she lamented, though, that what she does not have is a sounding board for herself. She also noted that her ex-husband was a Cree and Cherokee, and one son looks Indian and the other one does not, which has created some identity crises with them. She admitted that if she had to do things over again, she probably would not have moved back to the city, because she does not think her sons were, in her words, "well grounded" in living among relatives and Indian people.

Marie grew up on a land grant in California near a reservation. Her father (a Norwegian) passed away when she was 18, but she had not even met him until that year. Her mother, a full blooded Wailaki Indian, raised her and her eight siblings. Marie talked about the issue of racial discrimination and said that she was the only one with blond hair in the family. She said that they lived in a real redneck town and there were places that Indian families did not go. Her other siblings were discriminated against because of their dark complexions something Marie did not feel until later in life. Because of her light complexion, she was often called upon as a youngster to advocate on behalf of her family, and, she still serves as an advocate for Native Americans, although now it is for students. She emphasized that Native American students need a lot of praise and need to know that their opinion counts and their stuff is good. Believing in the support factor identified as advocating, she serves as an advocate and adviser for students even after they graduate. One thing she recommends to Native students is that they do not work for their own tribe, at least at first. She said that students can be shattered with that first job; the expectations are great. She advises former students not to get involved in the politics and to get a "thick skin."

Marie also serves on doctoral dissertation committees of Native Americans and non-Natives. She indicated that one non-Native woman was going to do a study of five tribes in North America. Marie told her, "That's impossible. Choose one tribe. There's all sorts of politics, and so on, that make them each unique." She commented:

> That's something the rest of her committee did not pick up on . . . if they are going to do a research project in an Indian community, we want something that is going to be good, useful, and truthful. Nothing is worse than seeing some of these papers and books come out that aren't exactly truthful or slant the findings.

The thing that struck this researcher was the degree of racial discrimination experienced by her family, the memories of which are so very painful for Marie. Even to this day, Marie said that her mother feels like she does not belong certain places and will not enter nice restaurants. And even though some townspeople where Marie's mother still lives are more interested in Native culture today, Marie said that you cannot convince her mother to talk about the history of her people. "There are aspects of it that she thinks are shameful and you do not talk about that," reported Marie of her mother's responses. Marie's brothers and sisters, too, suffered discrimination and ridicule because, in her words, "they looked Indian." They were the only Indian family in town according to Marie. She blamed racism for the despair of her darker siblings. This, she said, also resulted in them not graduating from high school, and even for three of their eventual deaths from alcoholism. Marie, however, did not look Indian growing up and was even homecoming princess at the white high school. Later in life, however, she was hospitalized and diagnosed with cancer and she experienced discrimination first hand. She said that she was shocked at the way she was treated. She said that once you become a high risk patient with no insurance, you're in trouble. And, a nurse put down on her chart that she was a 28-year-old American Indian woman with two kids and divorced. Marie explained, "I was on this cancer ward forever. . . . When they [the doctors] started coming around to see me, they didn't say much. They just sat on the bed and held my hand and asked what I needed and did I want to have a new biopsy done." But, after a biopsy was done, Marie explained that a nurse wanted to examine her. Marie said that she knew enough not to let the nurse touch her because this woman seemed to have a cold and kept wiping her own nose. This refusal drew hostility from the nurse. However, Marie said that she persisted and the nurse left her alone and went on to another

patient who died a week later of a staph infection. Exasperated, Marie commented:

> After surgery, I decided to start looking at my medical records. . . . I felt they [the doctors] lied to me. They said losing my ___wouldn't hurt, but it hurt so badly I could hardly stand it. So I started reading my medical chart . . . And I noticed right away that it was emphasized that I was an American Indian woman/divorced/two kids . . . It kind of put me in this other category. And I thought, "I've never been treated so badly in my whole life. . . .So I asked one of the nicer doctors to change some [of the information on my chart] to read that I had a masters degree and that I was in the doctoral program at ____ and that I was white and that I testify before Congress every year. Do you know that within the week I got my own room, TV [that was donated by some woman's group, but the hospital chooses who gets the goodies]? I was treated so good, you would not believe it.

Marie said that we label people—minority, women, handicapped, and so on—and then we discriminate against them. But, after that experience, Marie started "Talking Circles" for Native American women who were facing adverse situations such as cancer. A strong supporter in the support group factor, she commented:

> What I'm intrigued with is how you bring educational programs to individuals such as American Indian women, and how you work with them in their milieu so that they can learn and understand. . . . We don't know why, but American Indian women have a lower incidence of cervical cancer but the highest death rate of any other ethnic group . . . [one thing we think is] because they don't follow up with treatment . . . So, in the "talking circles" we try and get women in to get their pap smears and follow it so that they know they're ok . . . And we try to teach women what doctors are doing and what to ask.

Marie wears a lot of hats from teacher to administrator to a kind of social worker, always advocating on behalf of Native American students and Native American women.

Eleanor

The researcher thoroughly enjoyed Eleanor's gracious hospitality. Not only did she allow the researcher to stay at her home, she accompanied her on sightseeing between interviews of other informants. Eleanor is divorced and a mother of a teenage daughter. Her mother is Danish and her father is Creek and Seminole Indian.

She has a grown brother who receives special education and lives at home with her folks. Eleanor admits that she did not have a strong Indian cultural identity growing up and did not understand the importance of it, but, as an adult, she has had Indian mentors who have guided and supported her. "Mentoring" was identified by the Native women in this study as one of the support factors for success. In fact, mentors have had a major influence, according to Eleanor, in helping her take major stands on critical issues such as tribal sovereignty, which was also identified as a factor for success. She said that she feels it is her role and a very serious responsibility to maintain and promote tribal sovereignty. So strong in her belief in the importance of promoting the issue of tribal sovereignty, she advocates teaching all kids about it. She said that the dominant population knows little about it, reporting that while involved in a major study with the Department of Education:

> It was amazing the level of ignorance of high powered well educated non-Native people running education programs across the United States. [It is disturbing] when you see non-Indian people in these important roles and they know nothing about those issues and then are very resentful about Indian issues. If it is taught at a young age and incorporated into the history and political science courses that everyone has to take, then they [will] have a better understanding of what it means, and why Indian people are totally different from any of the minority groups in the United States. . . . Without tribal sovereignty we are a minority just like other minorities. . . . And, it is a real critical time for us. Tribal sovereignty is in jeopardy for Native people.

Eleanor supports the factors identified by the Native women interviewed as "readiness to change" and "educational reform." She believes that we have to constantly reinvent ourselves, stating that "things change, so systems of education have to change." Eleanor is a leader in an Indian education program that is going through change and educational reform, trying to meet the requirements of Goals 2000, the legislation for Improving America's Schools Act. The program in which she works went from being departmentalized to a collaborative/team approach.

Eleanor also supported the leadership factor identified as "supportive of others," indicating that she sees her role as supporting that team approach, a silent leadership type role. This entails supporting and encouraging people to move into the direction that is needed. She serves in a supportive role with tribal schools and also facilitates and plans workshops. Being knowledgeable of resources and the latest research are necessary components of Eleanor's job. Although supporting the collaborative efforts mandated by Goals 2000, she explained that there is a major fear that Indian education will be consumed within some of these other supplemental projects, and that eventually Indian education will go away in the public schools. Eleanor informed the interviewer:

> We're watching it right now within the Department of Education. They're going into regional teams as well. So they've put somebody with knowledge of Indian education on a team. But, when you have language that stresses all children, some people just take that to mean that *all* means *equal,* that you treat them the same. But, treating them the same is not necessarily [treating them]equal[ly].

Formerly, Eleanor served as an instructor and department chairperson for teacher education at a university that served a majority of Native American students. In this position, she worked to create a program preparing Indian people to teach Indian children. In another position, she served as an education evaluation specialist setting up school monitoring and evaluation teams.

Regarding community involvement, Eleanor supported the factor identified by the Native women interviewed as "keeping a balance in life, sense of humor, and harmony/knowing when to say 'no,'" and suggested that it is easy to get so involved in various boards in the Indian community. Eventually she found herself on about four boards and had to back away once she had her daughter. At that point, she promoted Indian community activities versus being on a board. Eleanor maintains

that community responsibilities include educating non-Indians about Native Americans and their issues.

Eleanor stated her views on research and education claiming that what we are missing so much in our research is the Indian perspective. Interested in educational reform and Native education and curriculum, she commented:

> I think it is really going to help us move from the deficit model of education to promotion of people's strengths. And that is where we will be a lot better off in education, it being "how do we promote strengths while addressing deficits?" But, those become the secondary part, and we can all feel successful somehow in what we do rather than this whole model of education for punitive reasons.

Ruth

Ruth is an assistant to the dean for academic programs for the graduate college at a major research university. The main function of the academic programs area is quality peer reviews or assessment of all the masters and doctoral programs throughout campus, according to Ruth. Another function is performing reviews of faculty proposed new graduate programs. She explained that an assessment is made of each program. They look at their curriculum, the make up of their faculty and students, the representation of people of color, schools students come from, placement upon graduation, the kinds of financial support they give students, and research and funding of teaching and research assistants. She noted that she works closely with deans of schools/colleges, departmental chairs/directors, the vice provosts, and the state's higher education coordinating board, which sets policy for some higher education areas. Ruth staffs the graduate school faculty council. She has been elected chair of the professional staff organization on campus. Overall, she said that she works quite extensively with faculty more than students, though she has also

gained a new responsibility in American Indian and Alaska Native graduate student recruitment and retention. She said that she was asked to take this on because of her work with the state's tribes and with the Indian scholarship program at the state level. Thus, her responsibilities are broad. Ruth explained that she was real fortunate to have been allowed to develop her position. She said that it is totally different from what it was previously and is continually changing because of the nature of what they do and changes within the university.

Divorced with no children, Ruth claimed that she enjoys her independent lifestyle. A full blood Comanche, she said that she grew up with a dual influence of traditionalism and Christianity. She went to a day mission school run by Mennonites for seven years and said that she did not value it for a long time because of her rejection of the church. But, in retrospect, she admitted that she has learned to value some of the things that came out of that, especially the first seven years of experience of school which involved a family focus because parents and extended family were involved. She commented:

> Even though it was a white influenced school and there was definitely conflict between the white ways and the Comanche ways, there still were some basic good things about the experience that she appreciated, particularly the fact that they included the family in everything. . . . So I think that was a positive thing that came out despite what I consider negative in terms of the church not really appreciating our Comanche ways.

In addition to her job responsibilities, Ruth is very active on Indian community boards. Even though she does not have children, she chaired her local Indian parent committee. She served on an Indian health board for a number of years, and for the last couple of years has served as a board member for a cultural and education center. As a representative of that center, she serves on a commission, a public authority development, which is an urban Indian organization. It oversees funding for new

building facilities and the central budget of four Indian organizations. In 1990, she helped establish a state scholarship program for the state's Indian students, a program in which she still remains active and chairs the board of directors. She said that she stays involved with national Indian issues and has done a lot of networking. In this way, she has met people who are very supportive and has developed other relationships with education people and the tribes, state and nationally. She professed that "networking" and "support systems" are real important and she's been fortunate to have that. These were identified as factors for success. She feels it is even more important for Indian people to have that support of other Indian people because they help validate one another. She explained that there is a real conflict between Indian values and white values, that Indian people look at things differently. She noted, "Whites are more aggressive and competitive many times at anyone's expense, whereas Indian people work collectively. Indian people respect each other and Indian groups do not need a chairperson." Ruth discussed how easy it is to get caught up in the white world and start acting aggressively herself when she is entrenched in a white group. She commented:

> Sometimes it gets real tough because there's always this real conflict between your own values and the white values and the mixture that you've grown up with in trying to balance that. Going back to visit my family and friends [most of whom are educated and some hold significant leadership position in their communities] gives that validation of who you are and where you come from. That's real important to have those lifelong friends. A lot of non-Indian friends just marvel at that because they don't have that connection, not only to your family and your friends, but the tribe as a whole.

Paula

A diminutive and soft spoken lady, Paula, nevertheless, holds a powerful position in Indian education, and as she spoke, the interviewer felt the strength of her

convictions. This is a characteristic that has been identified from the data as one of the factors for success. Raised in Michigan, she was glad to get away partly because of the cold, but also because of the racism she experienced growing up. Racism has been described as a barrier to success. She attributed this racism to ignorance. Paula believes that we need to educate non-Indian people to help them understand the history of Indian people, the validity of their culture and the beauty of their value system. "Educating non-Indian people" was also identified as one of the factors for success. Racism was experienced by her father, who would say to her, "You have to stay in school and do good because you don't want them to think we're dumb Indians. You have to prove them differently." Thus, she finished a bachelor and masters program and entered the doctoral program. However, after working for a year on her Ph.D., she went through a divorce, which resulted in her having difficulty with concentration. She commented:

> After going through a lot of personal growth and development, what [I realized] was that most of my life I was trying to prove that I was as good as everybody else, and that I, as an Indian person, was as good as any white person . . . but, I don't need to prove myself to anybody anymore. I really am okay exactly the way that I am.

Paula has sensed resistance as a leader at times, especially from some Indian men who do not accept women as having skills as valid as their skills. This sexual discrimination was identified from the data as one of the barriers to success. But, Paula feels support from strong Indian women, "support from others" being identified from the data as a factor contributing to the success of these Native women. Paula indicated that she knows she is not alone and professed that "through all the challenges that I must have asked for and keep getting, I just have to ask for help and it is there. That is so real for me that some of these other struggles with other people's thoughts can be more easily overcome. But, those same old barriers are

there."

Paula said that she also believes the Creator has a plan for her, which brought her to her present position. She believes that one of the contributions that she brought to her present position was her ability to collaborate with other departments. Because of many of her former roles, she feels that she is able to bring a natural connection to these other entities.

Paula's former roles include teaching, an advocacy role in a large urban area school district, consulting, directing a holistic Native American school, educational research and training, an administrative position at the National Congress for American Indians, and various positions within the Department of _____. One position entailed omnibus type responsibilities and meeting with tribal people and disgruntled clients. Now, as a director of a program, she has to make some key decisions. She believes all of these roles were part of the Creator's plan and helped her to be where she is today explaining that each time you learn and build upon that learning. In her present position for only a few months, she explained that she is trying to help her staff build team work and regain a sense of stability, at a time when they have recently been faced with downsizing. She added, "When there is any kind of a change or directorship, change of leadership in any organization, it is unsettling for people."

One difference between Native Americans and non-Natives has been in the area of beliefs. One aspect of beliefs for Native Americans is adherence to cultural governing principles. For the most part, this entails acting in a collaborative and cooperative manner. Paula reported that she has a nonaggressive leadership style, that her style is "not like a pushy white woman or man's style, though there are some Indian women who are pushy." And though quiet, she emphasized that she is a strong

person, firm in what she believes, and capable of arguing well. "Strength/firmness of conviction" was also identified as a contributing factor for success. To illustrate this, she related a training session that she conducted on Indian education:

> We would take the latest research and translate that into training material documents . . . [for] schools. I worked primarily with non-Indian school districts, but I was also able to work with Indian communities. Even though that act [the Indian Education Act] had been around for twenty years or so, they [educational research training] had done next to nothing for Indians. So, that was what I was suppose to do. I started a greater focus on Indian education issues and needs and started making the training available that they have for regular schools available to Indian schools . . . [and started training] on the reservations. That started happening, showing them [the other trainers] a different way. I know how Indian meetings are suppose to start. They are suppose to start with a prayer, a blessing. Everyone's head is in the same place, the right place. When you train people, when you work with human beings, and Indian people know this, personal relationships are very important. . . . So you just don't go into a group of strangers and start talking. White people do this, though . . . Indian people don't act like that. We don't work that way. We can get into that mode because we're getting use to it from the white education system. But, if you want real content from Indian people, real information, and you're an outsider to their community . . . then you had better do some personal networking first. So, for the Indian Education program that I started, anything that I organized, we started with prayer. We started with smudging and talking circle. And they [white people] just couldn't understand that at first because it seemed like it was wasting time. . . . But, then they saw that there was commitment after that. The Indian people sitting at the table knew where we were coming from and that we really did care, and everybody had shared something from the heart. So there was a human connection, a bonding of sorts . . . And that is what we are suppose to do. We are suppose to share. We do have a different way. It is as valid as their way, but more so; completely more valid for our own community. But, you had better be strong enough in what you believe in and have the conviction that you are not going to back down on what you know needs to happen. . . . You have to do what you are supposed to do.

Through all her positions, Paula said that she grew to be a strong supporter and advocate of Indian kids. "Advocating for Indian students" was identified as one of the factors for success. Sometimes that meant "letting go of her own fears." She stated:

> I had to give something back to Indian people. There was no doubt in my mind ever that I was to give something back to Indian people by my good fortune of getting an education. I could have said a whole long time ago that I

already gave; I gave at the office. But, I will give [un]til I die. That is what my role is suppose to be in this lifetime.

Beverly

A professor of American Indian Studies, administrator, researcher and curriculum developer, Beverly has worn many hats. At one point, she was asked to be a chairperson of more than one department, but said that she had enough sense to say "no" and remained chairperson of only one for 14 years. She is presently expanding the curriculum of American Indian Studies to a masters degree program in addition to teaching and research. And, she works to attract and retain Indian students to the university.

Beverly's work with Native people goes beyond her job. Beverly said that the advising,mentoring, and helping [Native] faculty, staff, and students is a big part of her life. "Mentoring" was identified as one of the factors for success. She said that she especially feels a sense of obligation to work with Indian youth, especially the urban kids that can feel so lost. She is also concerned and works with incarcerated Indian people, noting that there are more Indians on death row in California than there are in doctoral programs. Maintaining that one of the factors in incarceration is illiteracy, Beverly believes that teachers need to be inclusive of these people. She said that she is committed to bringing literacy to them. Beverly has also been a board member to numerous organizations, and suggested that it's hard to say "no" to their solicitation. "Keeping a balance/knowing when to say 'no'" was identified as a factor for success. But, then, as a divorcee with grown children, she is somewhat isolated and admitted that she doesn't want to say "no" to being involved with them. She added "and then, of course, people inevitably say that it won't be that much work. All

you have to do is . . . and then it's down hill from there (laughter)."

Beverly claimed that she operates a very personal and open leadership style, that she does not get so caught up in her role that she forgets who she is as a person. She provided, "I'm a full professor thinking about retiring. But, when the students have an Indian taco sale, I still make their beans for them. And when I'm carrying the pot of beans across the campus and I see my colleague friends, I joke that this wasn't part of my job description, but hey." (laughter).

Phyllis

Phyllis serves as an associate professor in the college of education at a large Southwestern university. She received her training in administration from the Harvard Graduate School. Her role, she said, differs depending upon the courses that need to be taught. In the past, she has taught reading and social studies, education of cross cultures for graduate students and courses for gifted and talented for special populations, and has developed bilingual materials for courses. She is also the college postsecondary liaison, which means that her work entails working with the community colleges in the state. This involves traveling to communities to visit with parents and teachers at the chapter offices, schools, and communities in which she is working with student teachers. It also includes some development of upper level courses at the community college. Part of her role now is looking at ways of changing and improving teacher education; she is involved not only trying to make policy changes at the local institution but also influencing school districts to rethink how they teach kids in the liaison work she does with the communities. Phyllis furthers her efforts by sharing information nationally and internationally to influence other people who are engaged in similar work. In 1991, she went to Norway for a

presentation to the Samai Nation, an indigenous group that has its own college. Shortly after this interview, she was preparing to go to Washington D.C. regarding quality education for minority people. Thus, she is involved with "Native schools and curriculum" was identified as one of the educational factors for success. Phyllis has also served as division director of education for the ____ [her Indian nation] and was instrumental in starting a number of programs including one on teacher education. She helped form a consortium of five colleges and universities to assist in delivering courses to the reservation so that students did not have to leave to go to a four-year institution.

"Firmness in conviction" and "risk taking/communication" were identified as leadership factors for success. Phyllis maintained that Native American women have to be angry enough to say what they have to say and be articulate in what they are saying. She claimed, "I think for many of us, we had a lot of rage about what was happening to us, and no one was paying attention. So someone has to be right out front telling what is happening and the way it is." She said that they also have to be risk takers and know how to handle conflict diplomatically. And, they have to offer solutions that are doable. But, in the process, they cannot forget their own health and keeping their sense of humor. She emphasized that a Native American woman who has a family has to be very careful about how to manage her national life versus her home life, "keeping a balance." This, too, was identified as a factor for success.

Julie

The interviewer enjoyed Julie's hospitality while she stayed at her home to interview her. Julie is the president and co-founder of an American Indian controlled and managed non-profit organization that provides training and consultation to

parents, school administrators and boards, as well as tribal education staff and boards, in education areas such as governance, teaching and learning, school and community/tribal partnerships, and curriculum and implementation. She added, "Then we go beyond that in terms of doing some amount of program development activities for organizations, school districts and tribes, and some program evaluation activities which we've done for federal agencies." She claims that she has been fortunate because she and her two partners have a very synergistic relationship, each with different strengths.

Julie indicated that she comes from a very nurturing and supportive family. She went to a Catholic school and claims that gave her continuity and stability. She claims that she is not a person who has allowed herself to suffer personally from some feelings of religious domination. She said many people tell her that she is seen as an independent person. Along with this, she has a "readiness for change," which has been identified as a factor for success. She mostly agrees, commenting:

> If I didn't agree with something, instead of feeling that I had to abide by it, I would be a part of some effort or some group that would try to make a change [laughter]. I'm not a church person, but I've been able to use the stability and continuity that I mentioned and philosophy that I've learned from that religion to compliment traditional, tribal spirituality that I follow now. On the other hand, my parents were very stable for me as well.

Thus, in her consulting organization, Julie adheres to inter-tribal, traditional philosophies and tries to model that with her staff. Believing and advocating cultural differences is identified as a factor for success. Julie uses a consensus philosophy in going about a task; this philosophy follows the traditional way in her father's tribe. She said that if it was time for something to happen, whether it be a hunt or an event that is a protectionist nature in terms of so-called enemies, traditionally there wouldn't be one person who says "Okay, do this." She commented:

> Someone may have indicated that it was time for something to happen, but nobody was appointed as such; rather, the traditional view is that people who are capable would simply volunteer to the need. I try to use that model here at _____ [her agency] of letting people know what needs to be done and letting their strengths emerge. We've had great success in doing it that way. My two partners as well are good at identifying people's strengths or nurturing them.

Julie also tries to follow the Sacred Medicine Wheel example of traditional Native belief at her organization. She explained that the Sacred Medicine Wheel helps us understand human potential. Leadership can be enhanced and nurtured by this belief. Julie indicated that visually the wheel is divided by four spokes, into sections representing four directions, four aspects of a being, and other appropriate configurations, such as places of learning. One "travels" the wheel daily and through life as a way of life from the east, the spiritual aspect, a protective place where one begins to learn; to the south, the emotional aspect, a nurturing place for the learner; to the west, the physical aspect, a growth place for the learner; and finally to the north, the mental aspect, a place of completeness. Julie said that she is working on keeping this wheel in mind as she provides leadership; it defines her leadership role as offering ideas, supporting staff, providing personal resources, and helping them make connections to productively carry out responsibilities.

Julie indicated that her organization is in a new era, having to look to larger entities to make an impact in the world of Indian education. With larger entities taking a comprehensive approach to education, her organization has now greatly expanded outside Indian education. Her role will now include more marketing because some areas are in new territory for her organization. She sees herself as an idea person pursuing opportunities. Thus, her work requires long hours and time away from home. She said that she has made a lot of friends around the country so that is part of her personal life when she is away from home—to see people, to be

with them and to be rejuvenated by them as well.

Prior to coming to the formation of her consulting organization, Julie taught in public schools and at a Bureau of Indian Affairs off-reservation boarding high school and then served as an assistant dean of students and director of the Indian Program at a major university. Then she was recruited to the Office of Indian Education at the U.S. Education Department. In this office she managed a formula grant school program in the adult and higher education programs. Julie stated that she was inspired by role models in administration who served as mentors to her. "Mentoring" was identified as one of the factors for success. She added that she was lucky to have many people who took a personal interest in her. From her own experience and from observing when Native students flourished, she believes that Indian students need this more so than other students. Julie stated, "Indian students really need more of a one to one relationship with someone who can be that sustaining factor—not necessarily another Native person, but somebody who takes that personal interest."

Julie said that now she is in a position to help students and youth; thus, she tries to always have a student worker in her organization. She carries her involvement to another level serving on boards of organizations. She is on the board of trustees for a college that serves a large percentage of Native students, and she is involved with various national Indian youth leadership programs. In addition, Julie becomes involved with other non-Native organizations, in part to help direct efforts toward the Indian community and trying to have those organizations either nominate or recruit Indian students. She also tries to help the Indian community know about opportunities.

Kate

Kate is a professor and administrator at a major university. Her faculty line is in multicultural programming within the division of curriculum and instruction. She also serves part time as an administrator of a program and editor of an Indian publication. As a program administrator, she provides research and service, the main emphasis being toward supporting the self determination efforts of tribes. To that end, she believes that her department should be engaging in partnerships to participate in research activities, so that tribes, tribal education departments and tribal education committees can begin to ask their own questions and design ways in which they can answer those questions. Kate indicated that she can easily find herself overly involved in work and community. "Keeping a balance/knowing when to say 'no'" has been identified as a factor for success. She said that she has had to back off the community service issue by saying "No, I can't be involved in everything and be effective." She commented:

> My service has been more to the community at large, a general community, a national kind of thing. So that's where my service has been focused— more on the university and my profession and discipline. I see the research I'm doing so intertwined with service because it is a service to the community. So that's the kind of service that I'm involved in now. My advice to young Indian professionals is to see how they can integrate community service. Be involved but choose carefully.

Kate also said that she believes that students are the most important aspect of her job. She said that she reminds people "if it weren't for students, we wouldn't be here. So students come first. That's the reason I'm at a university. No other reason but helping students." Kate believes that all disciplines have to work together to help Indian youth. She indicated that problems facing Indian youth are much more than schooling, and everything is so related in Indian country.

Kate is of mixed blood; her father is Indian and her mother is Norwegian. But, she indicated that she was raised on her father's reservation, so the Native culture was central in her socialization. She married a non-Native individual, and though now divorced, she claimed he was always supportive of her. And, she is the mother of two grown children.

Kate attained a doctorate degree in education after teaching in public schools and later serving as a principal of a school on her own reservation. She is an associate professor at this writing, but her goal is to be a full professor. She said, "Sometimes there is a tendency to ask oneself why go through all this tenure stuff." But, then she is reminded of the fact that people with her background are needed in tenured positions so that Native American perspectives are heard and the points of view are considered. Belonging to the Association of American Indian and Alaska Native Professors is an important network that is also needed. "Networking" has been identified as one of the support factors for success.

Kate said that she believes that women are very strong leaders. She claimed:

> Women are caring and compassionate which are good leadership qualities. I never felt like I had to be a man. . . And, I'm not real directive. I guide people. I'm very much a participative type of a person, and I do what I can to enable leadership from others to develop.

Kate added that Indian women have different issues from non-Indian women. For Indian women, ethnicity is more important, or at least equal to gender issues. There is a great deal of racial discrimination based on appearance. She personally never felt discriminated against as an Indian person, but added that she is not dark skinned. Actually, she said that being an Indian woman worked to her advantage in that professionally she was part of a field in which Indian women represented less than 1% of the membership. In addition, a civil service position at the beginning of her

career treated her equitably among men and other women.

Mary

Mary has been the director of curriculum and instruction for a public school district for 12 years. She works in the central office and is responsible for K–12 curriculum, staff development, grant writing and management, and public relations. She works with community groups, parent groups, and administration. Prior to this position, all her work, life, and experience was spent in "Indian country." She taught on her own reservation. Mary admitted that she had rather be in "Indian country," but claims she has a good time at her job.

Mary expressed that she is not involved locally with Native issues but does stay involved nationally. She said that she had been part of the Office of Indian Education Program's monitoring teams, so she has managed to stay in touch over the years. She has been to a couple of reservations where she has monitored and evaluated schools, including her home reservation. And, she said, that she has maintained close contact with Native American educators. However, she said that she has very little community involvement. This is primarily due to the fact that she still has a 15-year-old daughter who is very active in school. But, it is also due to her job, which generally takes more than eight hours a day and requires community meetings at night.

Mary and her husband, also a Native American, have two sons in addition to their daughter. One son is a physician and the other is a tribal attorney. Mary and her husband both have doctorate degrees in education. Her husband holds an superintendency position in another school district.

Mary said that she gets frustrated with demands on schools at times. She

believes that schools should be places of light and wisdom and truth but added:

> We're not allowed to get into those truths any longer because of these right wing groups who are against outcome based education. They have managed somehow to convince people that by establishing outcomes for children, we're trying to predetermine what their children are going to think and feel. Well, what the heck do they think we've been doing since schools began. This Christian right group says that we're trying to tell them what their children should know. Well, how are we going to be accountable for what they learn. After awhile you just let them go because they've found several loud voices politically. The Republican Party, may their souls be damned forever, have made it very popular, not taking into account that they want accountability. But, you can't mention certain things.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

As stated in the Introduction, images of Native American women have been distorted by the male-bias of non-Indian ethnographic and historical writers (Medicine, 1988). According to Native Americans, the women "often played key roles in all of the major political, religious and economic institutions of the tribe" (Tsosie, 1988, p. 6) and held positions of power. Some tribes were governed by tribal women, though the United States government, which recognized only male political leaders, eventually altered the traditional system to some extent. However, according to Rayna Green (1983), little has been written about Native American women as leaders, either past or present.

Consequently, the purpose of this research was twofold: the first was to develop a greater understanding of leadership as experienced by a select group of Native American women in education in the 1990s. The second was to add to the literature of the experiences of Native American women leaders.

A qualitative approach involving ethnographic studies of 12 selected Native American women in the field of education was the method selected for this study. Native American women interviewed were from all over the United States and included representation from the Navajo, Oglala Lakota, Comanche, Potawatomi, Pawnee/Oto, Mandan Hidatsa, Cree, Creek, Seminole, Wailaki, and Chippewa tribes. Themes as they related to leadership concepts were developed. Secondly, brief case studies of each woman leader were presented.

The study was designed to explore the following questions regarding the lives of these women leaders:

1. What are the leadership roles Native American women hold in their societies in the 1990s?

2. How do these contemporary Native American women leaders perceive their roles as compared to traditional times?

3. What influences has the distortion of Native American women's roles had on this group of Native American women?

4. What issues face these Native American women leaders today?

5. What do these Native American women leaders perceive as barriers in their positions/careers?

The following additional question or theme emerged from the study:

6. What do these Native American women leaders perceive as success factors in their positions/careers?

In response to question 1, "What are the leadership roles Native American women hold in their societies in the 1990s?" all the women interviewed are involved with Native American educational issues in some capacity. With the exception of one woman who is a curriculum director of a public school, all are in leadership roles with Native American educational issues within their job setting and also within the community. The curriculum director, although not involved exclusively with Native American educational issues, is in educational leadership in mainstream education and remains involved in Native American educational issues at the national level. These Native American women are in educational leadership positions in universities, federal Indian Education programs, private consulting positions and public schools. Upon further investigation, in 1997, according to the staff within the Bureau of

Indian Affairs (BIA), 73 of the 240 educational administrative positions (principals, superintendents, directors, and one college president) within the Bureau were held by American Indian women. The researcher also found that the 1995 American Indian and Alaskan Native Professors Directory compiled by the Center for Indian Education listed two American Indian women as deans of colleges or universities, one of those being in education. There were two associate deans listed, both in education. There were not figures available, however, representing the number of American Indian women in educational administrative positions in other public or nonpublic institutions.

In addressing research question 2, "How do these contemporary Native American women leaders perceive their roles compared to traditional times?" the researcher compared the interview data with the review of literature. From both, she found that Native American women have traditionally held important positions within their societies and were often leaders in their tribes (Allen, 1992; Bataille & Sands, 1984; Brayboy, 1990/1991; Cameron, 1981; Green, 1980, 1983; McClurken, 1991; Witt, 1974, 1976). They perceive their role to be important in the 1990s as they did traditionally. This finding is supported in the literature (Green, 1976, 1983; Medicine, 1988; Powers, 1988; Tsosie, 1988).

In addressing research question 3, "What influences has the distortion of Native American women's roles had on this group of Native American women leaders?" the researcher found that the distortion of Native American women's roles has led to racial and sexual discrimination. Witt (1976) and a report by the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995) supported these conclusions.

Addressing research question 4, "What issues face these Native American women leaders today?" the researcher found several issues. First, all of the women

were strong advocates for Indian education, many expressing a sense of urgency in this matter. Again, the following comment reflects this urgency:

> Sarah: I just think there's not enough time. Here I am half way through my career and all the things I wanted to see happen in Indian education, it's not happening. It's just slower than I'd like to see things happen. So I have a group of [Native] friends that often talk about when we're done with our careers, we need to get together and have our own school because we're all sort of like that—hurry up, let's hurry up, do these things.

Secondly, the researcher found that these Native American women leaders feel that one of the most important issues facing Native American people today is the issue of tribal sovereignty, and they stressed the importance of educating non-Natives to that issue as well as other aspects of Native history and culture. The literature supported this finding (Green, 1983, Miller, 1978).

Finally, all of the women suggested that a Native American woman leader has many demands on her concerning community involvement. Reflective of this are the following statements, which are repeated from previous sections:

> Eleanor: It's easy to get so involved in all the various boards and being a part of an Indian community . . . that was the pressure, the request for me to be on these various boards in the community and statewide. There was just so much work to do . . . you just don't have time. Yet, you needed the contacts and those connections . . . So that was really hard to balance . . .

> Kate: You've got to back off the service issue . . . We ought to see service as an integral part of our research and other things that we do. So I've tried to make it pay off. That's the only advice I would give to young Indian professionals now is to see how you can integrate it. Choose carefully. Be involved. I don't think any of us are saying you shouldn't be involved. But, think about it. Think about what it's going to mean because you do in the end have to think about yourself . . . There has to be more people like us in positions so that our perspectives are heard, our points are considered, and so on. And tenure gives you that.

The major findings of this study evolved around research question 5, "What are the major barriers experienced by Native American women educational leaders in the 1990s?" and question 6, "What are the factors contributing to the successes of

Native American women educational leaders in the 1990s?" Racial and sexual discrimination emerged as major barriers from the experiences of leadership among these Native American women. The following success categories also emerged: leadership characteristics, support systems, education, and beliefs.

Categories of success were further identified. Factors emerged under each category. First, under the leadership characteristic category, the following factors emerged: (a) practicing empowerment; (b) readiness for change/high expectations; (c) quality/integrity; (d) strength/firmness of conviction; (e) communication/risk taking; (f) development/maintenance of a "thick skin;" (g) keeping a balance in life, sense of humor, and harmony/knowing when to say "no"; and (h) supporting/ promoting/advocating/mentoring.

Under the second category, support systems, the following factors emerged: (a) family/friends support, (b) mentoring for themselves, and (c) networking. Under the third category, education, the following factors emerged: (a) education of non-Natives to Native culture, history, and the issue of tribal sovereignty; and (b) Native schools and curriculum. The following belief factors for success emerged: (a) core beliefs, and (b) belief in a divine plan. Finally, information was presented that supported the findings that these women refused to allow barriers to impede their success.

Recommendations

As stated in the Introduction, the research community needs scholarly research to dispel the myths found in the literature about Native American women and, specifically, their leadership roles. As Eleanor stated, "What we're missing is the Indian perspective" in research. This study focused on Native American women

leaders in education. Further research is recommended not only to further substantiate this data but also to understand leadership as experienced by Native American women in other disciplines. The significance and enthusiasm for this research are reflected in the following comments by the informants:

> Julie: We seem to know the factors that don't work well [for Native American women and men] . . . could we identify the factors that have enabled people to be successful in what they want to do? This will be interesting.
>
> It'll be interesting to see if a lot of the Native American women who are in administrative roles take that opportunity to not just get stuck with the administration, but actually get to do whatever it is [they do]—teaching, training, research, or facilitation of groups. I'd be interested in seeing if there's some kind of common strand you might see there of all the folks that you've been interviewing. I think that's what keeps me in touch.
>
> Ruth: I'm interested in finding out, and I guess that's why I agreed to your interview and to being part of your project, what other sorts of issues Native American women in similar kinds of positions see as professional people. I guess sometimes I tend not to want to say what kinds of obstacles, although they are, but I guess if we look sometimes at what may be the negative side, then we sort of concentrate on it as being a problem rather than working from a different angle. It's like being a victim and staying a victim and moving from a different sort of game plan because I think people like to see you as a victim, too, sometimes. I think as Indian people, and also as Indian women, we need to rethink how we do things or how we thought about things from the past. That's not to disregard the realities of racism or sexism or whatever else—barriers that really do exist. But, maybe not do so much focusing on those and focus on a different way of approaching them than maybe we have. I don't have any clear answers [laughter], but I'm always trying to go at it in a different way of thinking or approach.
>
> Pat: If you look for commonalities in a lot of the women you are talking with, I think they are very right brained. We're very much into holistic ideals and looking at kids and learning styles, and we're not too much into tracking the dollars and being accountable. That's for somebody else to figure out [laughter].

Summary

There has been misunderstanding about the traditional roles of Native American women, and this misunderstanding continues into the 1990s. This study

attempted to provide a better understanding of the lived experiences of 12 Native American women educational leaders in the 1990s. Traditionally, tribal women governed in some tribes, including in areas related to education. In other tribes, leadership positions are new roles for women. But, in all tribes, Native American women had important roles in their respective societies.

In the words of Wilma Mankiller, former Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation:

> Native women of today are breaking their silence to lobby for improved social conditions, to protest the injustice of white man's law, to practice and teach native arts, and even to run for public office. They are not breaking from tradition as some have suggested. . . . Contemporary Native women have simply accepted the reality that achieving these goals in modern society requires that they put aside their reticence and work out their destiny in public as well as in private endeavor. (Green, 1992, pp. 99, 103)

In the 1990s, Native American women leaders in education are defining their own existence. Continuing to ascribe to traditional ways, they are also obtaining leadership positions in areas such as education, which may or may not have been the norm in their tribal societies. There is a struggle that Native American women share and barriers still exist. But, many are overcoming those barriers. Native American women are becoming leaders in their local, state, and national education associations; directors of education programs at the state and federal level; deans and associate deans at colleges and universities; directors and superintendents of public and non-public educational institutions; directors of Indian Education programs within the BIA; and superintendents, college presidents, and principals within the BIA schools. Indeed, Native American women are paving their own "Indian Way" for the future.

Appendix A

Human Subjects Consent Form

Western Michigan University
Department of Educational Leadership
Principal Investigator: Dr. Zoe Barley
Research Associate: Linda Keway

I have been invited to participate in a research project entitled "Leadership Roles of Native American Women in Education in the 1990s." I understand that this research is intended to develop a greater understanding of the leadership role as experienced by a select group of 8–12 Native American women in the United States in the 1990s, and to identify commonalities within the lived experiences of these women. I further understand that this project is Linda Keway's doctoral dissertation project.

My consent to participate in this project indicates that I will be asked to provide two to three possible tape recorded interviews with Ms. Keway. I will be asked to meet Ms. Keway for one of these sessions in my environment or at an educational conference. Follow up interviews may occur via a telephone conversation.

As in all research, there may be unforeseen risks to the informant. If an accidental injury occurs, appropriate emergency measures will be taken; however, no compensation or treatment will be made available to me except as otherwise stated in this consent form.

One way in which I may benefit from this activity is having the chance to talk about my experiences. Another way is to perhaps see commonalities among the select group of informants. I also understand that others may benefit from the knowledge that is gained from this research.

I understand that I will maintain anonymity in this study. That means that my name will not appear with my individual interviews. Information collected from me will be confidential. That means that my name will not appear on any papers on which this information is recorded. The forms will all be coded, and Ms. Keway will keep a separate master list with the names of informants and the corresponding code numbers. Once the data are collected and analyzed, the master list will be destroyed. All other forms will be retained for three years in a locked file in the principal investigator's files.

I understand that I may refuse to participate or quit at any time during the study without prejudice or penalty. If I have any questions or concerns about this study, I may contact either Ms. Linda Keway at (616) 676–1429 or Dr. Zoe Barley at (616) 387–3791. I may also contact the Chair of Human Subjects Institutional Review Board at (616) 387–8293 or the Vice President for Research (616) 387–8298 with any concerns that I have. My signature below indicates that I understand the purpose and requirements of the study and that I agree to participate.

_____ _____

Signature Date

Benefits of Research

Benefits of research for the informants include having the chance to discuss their individual experiences and perhaps see commonalities among the select group of informants. Others may benefit from the understanding that is gained from this research.

Risks to Subjects

One potential risk is in discussing sensitive information and the potential for disclosure. This will be discussed with the informants who will be assured that anonymity will be maintained and that they may discontinue the project at any time.

Appendix B

Human Subjects Institutional Review Board Approval

Human Subjects Institutional Review Board

Kalamazoo, Michigan 49008-3899
616 387-8293

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Date: January 10, 1996

To: Linda Keway

From: Richard Wright, Chair Richard A. Wright

Re: HSIRB Project Number 96-01-08

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project entitled "The leadership role of native American women in education in the 1990's" has been **approved** under the **exempt** category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board with one minor change. Please add the telephone number for the Vice President for Research (387-8298) to your consent form. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note that you must seek specific approval for any changes in this design. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date. In addition if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: January 10, 1997

xc: Zoe Barley, EDLD

Appendix C

Letter to Informants

Linda S. Keway
7233 Redbud Lane S.E.
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49546

December 9, 1996

Dear ,

I hope that it has been a good year for you. It has truly been a wonderful year for me. I now have a draft of my study ready for my committee. One section incorporates brief background information of each of you which I have enclosed for your review. You do not need to edit this information as my committee will be reviewing it. I do need you to review the information for accuracy, however. Please note that I have changed your name to protect your identity. After my dissertation committee meets and corrections are made, I'll be sending you an abstract and the thematic findings.

I have thoroughly enjoyed meeting with you this year, reviewing the interviews, and compiling the data. It has truly been a wonderful experience. Thank you for sharing these experiences with me. I have also enclosed a self-addressed envelope and a business card. If you would prefer to phone or e-mail me, please feel free to do so. I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Megwetch,

Linda S. Keway

cc: Dr. Zoe Barley, Dissertation Chairperson and Advisor, Western Michigan University
enclosures

Appendix D

Coding Notes/Scheme

Open Coding Scheme
Code Labels and Coding Notes

EXAMPLES OF TEXT— line numbers / participants (A–L)	CONCEPT	CATEGORY
#11–18 A: I provide training and technical assistance to native tribes throughout the U.S. in the area of health related disabilities with my specialties being in special education and working with children, youth and facilities. I provide a lot of training and conduct the research that is needed.	training research	JOB
#18–20 A: I do a lot of advocacy work. Most of my work has been in the area of helping tribes build their infrastructure to serve their people with disabilities and helping families and parents to access services and empowerment. I help people ask and receive services with me being in the background and being the coach.	support systems advocacy empowering families	SUCFAC
#30–32 A: I taught one course in special education on location out on Navajo where all my students were Navajo.	teacher involved with Native students	JOB
#38 A: I do a lot of traveling.	traveling	JOB
#67–71 A: I was raised all my life on the reservation and was schooled there on the reservation. I lived your typical Navajo family life.	raised on reservation educated on reservation (K–12)	PRVTLIFE

#71–77 A: To conduct community services per se, I do not in my home-town. But I worked many years in Window Rock, which is the capital of the Navajo Nation and there I have a real strong reputation of being a person who was involved I community activities. . . . For example, (I'm on) the Navajo ?? Board of Directors that impacts children and families across the Navajo Nation.	involved on Native boards	COMMUNITY
#79–90 A: When I studied leadership I didn't agree many times with the concepts that they were teaching. But I took what I thought would work best for me in working with Native people. And I like to took at leadership as being a person that is part of the working group, whatever the group is, and guiding that group—not taking the power from them, but being part of the power. Not minimizing what they have to offer, but maximizing it. Trying to be the hub of that whole wheel. That's what I see leadership as. You don't take from a group. You're a part of it. And you do it subtly. That's my approach to leadership. It's a group leadership. That's what I like to do. And yet a strong leader knows when to take charge if they have to.	leadership characteristics	SUCFAC
#95–96 A: I'm viewed as being a leader. I go in and conduct and provide trainings.	leadership characteristics	SUCFAC
#108–124 A: I'm 40 and Navajo—full blood. I come from a fairly large family. I have 7 brothers and sisters. My father passed away in 1985. He was an alcoholic. In looking back, my family was dysfunction. . . . But on the other hand, he was a good teacher. He taught me the values of working physically and mentally. And giving me work ethics to work hard and do a good job. At a very young age, we had a lot of responsibilities.	full blood father -alcoholic, but good teacher large family lot of responsibilities	PRVTLIFE

#127–133 A: My mother, on the other hand, was a very strong woman; high morals and standards. She was always telling us girls (there's 5 of us) that Navajo women were suppose to be strong. She said that a home is not a home without a mother and that a mother keeps the fire burning. "You are the warmth of that family and the heartbeat." And even today, as what we call an educated woman, I still believe that. That's my role in society.	culture mother - strong	PRVTLIFE SUCFAC
#138–142 A: Even though Dad used drink, he'd say not to drink this stuff. "It's bad for you. Take a look at me." "Never say a bad thing to your brothers and sisters. You always respect them. You always take their children as yours. Friends will come and go, but you only have one true family."	family - helping father's teaching culture	PRVTLIFE SUCFAC
#162–174 A: If you take a look at our Navajo society as a whole, it's kind of conflicting. We're matrilineal, yet, and my interpretation is that women are respected for what they contribute to a man. Traditionally, we didn't hold public leadership positions, but when you look at the history of Navajo people, "Changing Woman" and these other figures in Navajo myths, the main powerful figures were women. Men rely heavily on women but yet at face value the men were considered the leaders. But the women were the ones who had the responsibility to advise. . . . My mother made most of the decisions for the family. But, as we got older, she never took control of our lives. She use to put that responsibility on each of us.	family background culture	PRVTLIFE

#184–192 A: Maybe an important consideration should be the fact that Native American societies are in transition. And a lot of Native American women have a certain role and expectation of them. And when we pursue, in most cultures, advanced degrees, we're going against the norm of our culture. And I think that makes it a bit more difficult. Because you're dealing with a culture that already has ingrained in them what an Indian or Navajo woman should be. And you don't fit that role. So you're fighting sexism in your own cultural group. And you have to earn that.	culture sex discrimination discrimination from own people	BARRIERS
#201–203 A: I love being a Native American woman. I wouldn't be anything else. I feel very privileged that I am a Native American. I feel very privileged that I am Navajo. I think that there is a lot of pride that was instilled in me since I was a little girl, that you have a purpose in life. And I think the biggest responsibility that you can have is to raise your family and to keep that fire burning in your own home. You have a lot of effect on a lot of elements around you. I think another thing that I'm very proud of is that I still believe in my traditional ways. And that's something that a lot of non-Native people do not have. That makes me real proud.	culture - pride promoting culture	PRVTLIFE SUCFAC

Appendix E

Code Lists

Code Lists

PRVTLIFE	Private Life
JOB	Job
COMMUNITY	Community Involvement
SUCFAC	Factors for Success
BARRIERS	Barriers for Success

Appendix F

Terms and Definitions

Terms and Definitions

In this paper, the following terminology is used interchangeably:

1. "Native American"/"American Indian"/"Indian" or simply "Native"
2. "Ottawa"/"Odawa"
3. "Chippewa"/"Ojibway"

Definitions

1. Cultural brokers—have a thorough understanding of two or more cultures and act as intermediaries.
2. Glass Ceiling phenomenon—invisible, but impenetrable, barrier between women, as well as minority men, and the executive suite, preventing them from reaching the highest levels of the business world regardless of their accomplishments and merits. Symbol of inequality for women and,more recently, for people of color. Practices that have traditionally excluded women from the executive ranks.
3. Matriarch—a woman who rules a family, clan or tribe.
4. Matriarchy—a social system in which descent is traced through the mother's side of the family.
5. Matrifocality—where the mother's role is culturally elaborated, valued and structurally central (Niethammer, 1977, p. xii).
6. matrilineal—based upon, or tracing ancestral descent through the maternal line rather than through the paternal line.
7. matrilocal—pertaining to the home territory of a wife's kin group or clan. Daughter takes husband to live at her mother's home (Niethammer, 1977,

1977, p. xii).

8. Ogema—Ottawa word for "leader."
9. Ogemuk—Ottawa word for "leaders."
10. patrilineal - based upon, or tracing ancestral descent through the paternal line.
11. squaw—an "Algonquin word for a married or mature woman that later became a demeaning term for all Indian women, Algonquin or not" (Green, 1992, p. 14).
12. tradition—the passing down of elements of a culture from generation to generation; a cultural custom and time honored practice.
13. tribal sovereignty—refers to the unique relationship that Native Americans have with the federal government. Native Americans have retained racial and political identity; they are sovereign people. Sovereign people or governments have powers of self government. They retain original and independent authority and jurisdiction over themselves and enjoy the right to non-interference from comparable governments. Tribal sovereignty distinguishes Native people from other minorities, without which Native Americans are a minority just like any minority. Article I, Section 8 of the United States Constitution, defining the powers of Congress, states, "To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes." This sovereignty was reconfirmed in a 1987 Concurrent Resolution of Congress (100th Congress, lst session) thanking the Iroquois Confederacy for their contribution to the form of government enjoyed in the United States. The Resolution also reaffirms the government-to-government relationship of

the United States and Indian Tribes. It states, in part, ". . . acknowledges the need to exercise the utmost good faith in upholding its treaties with the various tribes, as the tribes understood them to be, and the duty of a Great Nation to uphold its legal and moral obligations for the benefit of all its citizens." Indian tribes governed themselves before the coming of European immigrants/settlers. The federal government did not grant them rights. Their rights of self-government predate the existence of the federal governments by thousands of years, and form the basic tenet of their inherent sovereignty in all rights not expressly and unambiguously limited by Congress. The rights of Indian tribes are not based on ethnicity, but on this unique political status (1992–1993, Native American Fellows).

14. Wawgawnawkezee—"it is bent"—home of Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa (Ottawa) in Michigan.

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