

2008

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The University of San Francisco

WARRIOR WOMEN: A QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE
PERCEPTIONS OF THE EXPERIENCES OF NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN
PROFESSORS IN THE ACADEMY

A Dissertation
Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Education
International and Multicultural Education Department

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

by
Onllwyn Cavan Dixon
San Francisco
December 2008

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of the School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

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Abstract

Studies examining the experiences of Native American women professors have been limited. This study explored the perceptions of Native American women professors through the following themes: manifestations of interlocking race, class, and gender bias; challenges from academic "old boy" networks; feelings of being isolated and underrepresented; connections to one or more tribal nation(s); influence of cultural traditions and values; concerns about tribal, national, and transnational identities; salience of race over gender; being underemployed and overused by departments and/or institutions; being torn between family, community and career obligations; and being challenged by students. Through the use of postcolonial feminist theory and qualitative content analysis methodology of ten articles from the Winter/Spring 2003 Special Issue: Native Experiences in the Ivory Tower of the *American Indian Quarterly*, this study examined the experiences of Native American women professors within the academy, as it represents the legacy of Western colonialism. The findings revealed the Native American women professors: (1) were consciously aware of how their identities as Native American women shaped their encounters with non-Native administrators, colleagues and students; (2) openly expressed positive views of their tribal affiliations; (3) viewed the academy as an extension of the continuing legacy of colonization; (4) saw their identities as Indigenous women as a source of empowerment; and (5) had deeply held concerns for broader issues that impacted Indigenous communities. As members of colonized groups, the stories of Native American women professors serve as a form of resistance to cultural hegemony. Within the aforementioned contexts, Native American women professors addressed issues

of social justice such as self-determination and decolonization as components of their survival/sustainability within higher education.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is hard to believe that my journey has come full circle. This dissertation represents many, many years of hard work, which began long before I entered the doctoral program in the Department of International and Multicultural Education at the University of San Francisco. I acknowledge all of my ancestors who came before and paved the way for me whose dream was for me to have opportunities they never did.

I would like to thank my first and greatest teachers of all - my parents, Barbara Dixon and Roosevelt Dixon. As a child I learned from each of you that my dreams were only limited by my ability to imagine. Through your unwavering and unconditional love and support you have helped me to become a man of conscience and principle. While it somehow seems inadequate after all that you have done for me, I thank you from the depths of my very being. I love you very much! You are my greatest heroes in so many ways.

To my sister Marshonda Dixon: for as long as I can remember you have stood by me, encouraging me, protecting me and challenging me to take chances and to trust in myself. I thank you for all of the phone calls and hugs that you have shared with me. You inspire me to do my best. I am so proud of you and love you more than words can say. To my sister Tina Dixon: you are such a remarkable woman. I am often in awe at all that you do. I hope you realize that I could not have done this without you. Thank you for being such a wonderful sister. I love you with all my heart. To my sister Toni Major: you continue to be such a wonderful example of a woman and mother of great courage and strength. I hope that you know how much I love and adore you. To my niece and nephew Josephine Major and Alexander Major: the two of you are the loves of my life. I cannot believe what wonderful young people you are growing into. Always know that Uncle Neal loves you. To

my best friend John-Michael Warner: I don't think there is anything I could write to do justice to how I feel about you. You are my brother and my partner in crime! You're next! I would also like to thank Steve Jensen. Your patience, encouragement, and love have sustained me throughout this process. I can only hope that I have given you half of what you have given to me. With all of my heart, I love you.

I want to thank my fellow members of the "Black Panthers," Aaron Horn and Mi'Jan Wilder. There were many days, hours, and minutes I didn't think I would be able to finish. Your words of encouragement spurred me on. Dr. Susan Katz, you have provided me with a prime example of a scholar with the heart of an activist. Dr. Betty Taylor, thank you for being my mentor and confidante. You have inspired me to continue to seek excellence and never settle anything less. I would also like to thank the rest of my committee members, Dr. Shabnam Koirala-Azad, Dr. Deborah P. Bloch, and Dr. Robin Hayes for their unwavering support. Also, I wholeheartedly thank you Dr. Charlene P. Lobo Soriano, Dr. Lois M. Moore, and Dr. Jackie Reza for your invaluable mentoring, support, and for the opportunities you have given me to become a scholar.

Lastly, I would like to thank all of the Native American women, the warrior women, whose stories form the basis of my dissertation. To all of the women who have shaped my life: I am deeply indebted to you for showing me the beauty of what it means to be a woman. It can truly be said, "A people are not defeated until the hearts of its women are on the ground."

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CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Introduction

“Where should I begin? Too many details, too many memories, hard ones, joyful ones, tests of courage under fire, being hit hard, almost knocked out, again and again, still...still”

-Inés Hernández-Ávila, Nez Perce/Tejana professor and poet

In the introduction to *Feminism is for Everyone*, bell hooks (2000a) invites the reader to

Imagine a world where there is no domination, where females and males are not alike or even always equal, but where a vision of mutuality is the ethos shaping our interaction. Imagine living in a world where we can all be who we are, a world of peace and possibility. (p. x)

The words of hooks touch on the realization that we live within a society in which acts of domination and marginalization are commonplace. Banks (1996) states tensions between racial, ethnic, and religious groups have been a salient feature of U.S. society since its formation. It is difficult to imagine the world hooks writes of because the realities are many times in stark contrast to her words. This is evidenced by the realization that no one escapes the effects of a system in which what often matters most are the perceptions of others. Hooks (2003) observes, “No one, no matter how intelligent and skillful at critical thinking, is protected against the subliminal suggestions that...perpetuate and maintain the ideology of imperialist white supremacist patriarchy” (p. 11). All members of society, regardless of how they identify themselves, are socialized to internalize, according to Gramsci, the prevailing cultural hegemony, and still others are collectively silenced (Forgacs, 2000). The socially accepted mantra becomes: We are all the same. We are all just Americans.

Morrison (1993) associates the hegemonic state of American society to a fishbowl that reveals

the glide and flick of the golden scales, the green tip, the bolt of white careening back from the gills; the castles at the bottom, surrounded by pebbles and tiny, intricate fronds of green; the barely disturbed water, the flecks of waste and food, the tranquil bubbles traveling to the surface-and suddenly...the bowl, the structure that transparently (and invisibly) permits the ordered life it contains to exist in the larger world. (p. 17)

Morrison's use of the fishbowl metaphor to symbolize the nature of U.S. society illustrates how it is necessary, on occasion; to cast a discerning gaze upon social realities. Otherness, as opposed to Whiteness, becomes a marker for disdain and a means for the elevation of a privileged class. Andersen and Collins (2001) offer an observation: "Although some people believe that race, gender, and class divisions are relics of the past, we see them as deeply embedded in the structure of social institutions. ..." (p. 70). Johnson (2005) writes, "Reducing people to a single dimension of who they are separates and excludes them, marks them as 'other,' as different from 'normal' (white, heterosexual, male, nondisabled) people and therefore as inferior" (Johnson, 2005, p. 19). Consequently, markers of difference take on more than pathologically, subjective dimensions that are confined to the individual, but they come to have very real every day consequences (Johnson, 2005; Wise, 2005).

Decolonization becomes vital for identifying the damaging forces within society. Decolonization is not "an end itself, but always it is joined by meaningful praxis" (hooks, 1994, p. 47). It involves an epistemological shift that challenges the concealed ideological foundations that blind a person to objective reality and it is the process of unlearning the effects of White male heterosexual supremacy (hooks, 1994). Decolonization becomes necessary because the nature of the prevailing cultural

ideology rewards individuals and institutions for their role in reproducing repressive structures and values, while causing others to live in a continued state of deprivation (Johnson, 2005; Wise, 2005). The process of decolonization involves developing a critical consciousness about the causes of oppression, how history has been distorted, and the ways colonized people have internalized colonialist values and norms (Wilson, 2004).

Therefore, the status quo comes to be viewed as a naturally occurring phenomenon, static, never changing. In order to conjure up and make reality a vision of a society in which citizens are thoughtful and believe in true democratic ideals requires piercing the veil of society to reveal the complexities of oppression, discrimination, and privilege. Challenging cultural domination is both a political act and an act of bringing meaning to the experiences of historically marginalized groups (Freire, 1992; Mohanty, 1994). In the process the ability of individuals to become “beings of insertion in the world and not of pure adaptation to the world...” is made possible (Freire, 1992, p. 91). American cultural identity has often been informed in relation to what is considered different, out of the norm (Andersen & Collins, 2001). The discernment of prevailing cultural patterns permits individuals to engage in oppositional strategies. In the words of Anzaldúa (2002), lives can be reimagined, self can be rewritten, and new guiding myths can be created, extending beyond the confines of present conditions.

The formation of a critical consciousness can become the impetus for imagining ways to change the status quo (Freire, 1992). Institutions of higher education can be crucial in this re-imagining process by validating research that leads to development of more effective policies and practices that create more sustainable

opportunities for members of underrepresented groups. As the United States continues to grapple with its place as a multicultural society looking at the experiences of women of color professors is appropriate because faculty is at the heart of these institutions (Turner & Myers, 2000). The successful recruitment and retention of women of color professors at predominantly White institutions is only part of the picture. How women of color professors meet the challenges and find rewards in their work also merit consideration (Vargas, 2002).

Statement of the Problem

The apparent slow progress of women of color professors in the academy is influenced by the interlocking effects of gender inequality and racial/ethnic minority status (Rains, 1999; Turner, 2002; Turner & Myers, 2000; Vargas, 1999; Vargas, 2002). Gender and race become interconnected in a manner that results in women of color faculty experiencing multiple forms of marginalization (Turner, 2002; Turner & Myers, 2000). The interlocking effects of gender inequality and racial/ethnic minority status produce cumulative disadvantages such as feelings of isolation, lower rates of tenure, lack of mentorship, lack of support of nontraditional pedagogies and research, and encountering a chilly climate (Vargas, 2002). Rains (1999) identifies the phenomena as “multiple oppression,” referring to a state in which several variables (i.e. race, gender, and socioeconomic background) interact “not as separate variables but as intertwined, dynamic components that bear upon the lives of women of color” (p. 152). The collective effects of these variables render women of color invisible within the academy (Rains, 1999; Turner & Myers, 2000).

Women of color are frequently consigned, on account of their race and gender into monolithic categories that perpetuate oppression, subdue and suppress conflict, and silence voices. The imposed identities of women of color tend to be static (Berry, 2006; Mohanty, 2003). They also tend to ignore or overlook the gendered, racialized, and historical constructions of these identities. Berry (2006) states, “For women of color, these experiences construct differences that we negotiate within the dominant culture that usually places us on the periphery of society” (p. xv). While women of color professors may share similar experiences with one another, focusing solely on them as a monolithic group recreates the conditions that have resulted in their historical and social marginalization. When the experiences of groups of women of color professors are not examined independently from one another they are lost within a sort of research limbo, made invisible. In addition, how they individually give voice to their lived realities is not made explicit. Creating solidarity among women of color is a key means to encourage opposition to stereotypes and the master narrative about women of color (Berry, 2006). However, focusing on creating solidarity is not enough.

How various groups of women of color professors express their concerns can then be subsumed within studies that examine the experiences of either women or people of color (Rains, 1999; Carter, Pearson, & Shavlik, 1988, as cited in Collins, 2001). For instance, the experiences of women of color can be tailored to fit within studies focused on women faculty or faculty of color. Therefore, their experiences, depending on the study, can be tailored to fit multiple research studies. Native American women are women of color, but they also have experiences that are distinctive to their positioning as Indigenous women (Miheuah, 2003a).

Glossing over or ignoring the experiences of, specifically, Native American women professors creates a research void and gives the false impression that all is well within the academy. Lee (2006) writes, “the identity I learned in the academy as a researcher and the identity constructed for me by my mother as a Navajo person are unwavering. My Navajo identity is demonstrated in the work I do, the way I live, and the values I hold” (p. 49). The ways Native American women professors encounter the intersections between their roles as academics, community members, and as Native American women are unique (Black-Connor Cleary, 2002; Jaime, 2005; Lee, 2006). Failure to fully integrate the perspectives of Native American women professors within the discourse that takes place in the academy means opportunities to highlight how they assert themselves and thus present ways to create culturally relevant and transformative dialogue is lost.

Background and Need for the Study

In the United States differences in race, class, gender and a host of other factors converge to create social, cultural, economic, and political barriers (Andersen & Collins, 2001; Johnson, 2005). On a daily basis social institutions become sites where oppression and discrimination are perpetuated. These inequalities are founded on what hooks (1981) identifies as White supremacist patriarchal values. It is by virtue of the collective adoption and perpetuation of White supremacist patriarchal values that privilege and oppression are manifested. Mohanty (2003) writes, “The interwoven processes of sexism, racism, misogyny, and heterosexism are an integral part of our social fabric, wherever in the world we happen to be” (p. 3). Overlapping forms of oppression create the core of a dichotomous system which distributes society’s

resources on an unequal basis (Collins, 2000; hooks, 1990; Johnson, 2005; Yamato, 1990). To a large extent the unequal distribution of society's resources is tied to which groups have participated in forming the dominant culture (Banks, 1996; Tatum, 2000).

For instance, democracy and egalitarianism are core American cultural beliefs. Yet, how can these beliefs be reconciled with a history that includes enslavement of African Americans, internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, forced removal and genocide of Native Americans, or discrimination against Muslims following September 11, 2001? Andersen and Collins (2001) theorize the failure to be fully inclusive of diverse histories and perspectives has meant knowledge of history and society is limited or distorted. Thus, individuals' interactions with other groups are often based on stereotypes and misleading information.

Yamato (1990) likens the simultaneous occurrence of oppression and privilege to a parasitic relationship, each one is sustained by feeding off of the other. Accordingly, Yamato (1990) writes, "Racism is supported and reinforced by classism, which is given a foothold and a boost by adultism, which also feeds sexism, which is validated by heterosexism, and so it goes on" (p. 22). Systems of power and control are simultaneously maintained on cultural, institutional, and individual levels. In each case of oppression there is both a dominant group (those who are privileged because of group membership) and a group that is targeted (those who are systematically disadvantaged) (Delpit, 1995; Tatum, 2000).

Privilege is manifested in the form of interlocking hierarchies that affect the day to day lives of individuals. Privilege is like an "invisible package of unearned assets" that some "can count on cashing in each day" (McIntosh, 2001, p. 95).

Dominant groups possess the power to determine how society will be structured.

Tatum (2000) writes, by definition dominant groups set the societal parameters within which marginalized groups are forced to interact. Dominant groups decide how power and authority are utilized, including “who gets the best jobs, whose history will be taught in school, or whose relationships will be validated in society...” (p. 12).

Conversely, subordinate groups are relegated to the fringes of society, “labeled as defective or substandard in significant ways” (p. 12). With the emergence of global mass media it has become possible to disseminate the deeply embedded Eurocentric values and norms of the West worldwide. Cultural power is significant because it becomes about who deserves to be represented and how they should be represented.

For Bourdieu (1993) cultural power is the ability to impose a dominant definition of reality. Once a view of dominant reality is imposed it becomes increasingly difficult, without the use of models of critical analysis, to discern the separation between imposed reality and self-determined reality. The dominant reality is legitimized through the varied efforts of individuals, groups, and institutions. The processes that maintain the status quo are ultimately designed to represent and protect the interests of White heterosexual upper and middle class men. However, Collins (2000) cautions against rushing to generalize about all White men noting, “White women, African-American men and women, and other people of color may be enlisted to enforce these connections between power relations and what counts as truth” (p. 253). Furthermore, not all White men have colluded in promoting Eurocentric values and power relations and some have consistently challenged and subverted them (Collins, 2000).

The experiences of many groups that have participated in the formation of American society and culture have been silenced (Banks, 1996). For example, many social science studies that have made generalizations about the U.S. population based on research conducted on and by White men or the content of countless art, history, music, and literature courses that have excluded any meaningful works by people of color or women (Andersen & Collins, 2001; Banks, 1996). Because elite White men have largely controlled the mechanisms for knowledge production, people of color and women often do not see their interests represented (Collins, 2000). The exclusion of the voices of people of color and women, to a large extent, has distorted the true nature of how power has been misused to continue social, political, and economic inequality.

Social institutions are the largest and most powerful entities where cultural power is exercised. Institutions are able to dispense societal privileges, as well as penalties. Institutions are powerful enough to shape the type of job, education, or structure of family an individual obtains. Andersen and Collins (2001) observe, “The concept of institutions is abstract, since there is no thing or object that one can point to as an institution. *Social institutions* are the established societal patterns of behavior organized around particular purposes” (p. 213). The major institutions in the U.S., as identified by Andersen and Collins (2001), are family, education, media, the economy, and the state. Within the dominant culture race, class, and gender are viewed as personal attributes that have little influence on institutional structures. However, by focusing on race, class, and gender identities as being mutually exclusive from institutions the deeply embedded nature of identities is easily overlooked (Andersen & Collins, 2001).

The educational system is a far reaching societal institution. From primary through postsecondary schools, educators are entrusted with the duty to help students to develop the necessary attitudes, skills, and knowledge to participate fully in a democratic society (Banks, 2007). Mickelson and Smith (2001) state educational reforms have done much to create educational equality, but all educational experiences are not the same. The quality of education received in Beverly Hills is not the same as that received in inner city New York. A closer look reveals the quality of education may not even be comparable in the same state. For example, Kozol (1991), in his book *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools*, notes schools in the Bronx and Harlem received an average of \$5,590 per student and schools in nearby Manhasset, Jericho, and Great Neck received nearly double the funding at an average of \$11,000 per student.

According to Kozol (1991) differences in the quality of education can even be observed on a more local level, as illustrated by the example of Riverdale and the South Bronx in the New York City. Riverdale (a residential neighborhood in the West Bronx) is home to many White, well educated, middle and upper middle class families and the South Bronx is home to mostly low-income, nonwhite families. Public School 24 in Riverdale was found to have fewer students, smaller classrooms, better facilities, and more qualified teachers. In contrast Public School 79 in the South Bronx had more students, larger classrooms, fewer books and supplies, and less qualified teachers. The inequalities were made even more striking because both schools reside within the same New York City school district (District 10).

Yet, education is intrinsically worthwhile and crucially important to the survival of any democratic society (Banks, 2007). Instead of being dissuaded by the structural realities of the U.S. educational system, schools can be arenas of struggle against race, gender, and social class inequality (Banks, 2007). The rhetoric of the academy suggests individuals in institutions of higher education have historically led the way in challenging prevailing social norms and values (Rains, 1999).

For example, during the 1960s and 1970s university campuses all over the U.S. became sites where students stood and raised their voices in opposition to institutionalized racism, U.S. government sanctioned militarism in favor of expanding economic resources, Native American rights, gay and lesbian rights, and women's rights. However, people of color have reluctantly been granted access to the mostly White male academy (Rains, 1999). In order to come to a better understanding of the interconnectedness of oppression and privilege institutions of higher education can be envisioned as locations where challenges to existing power relations are made. This is a monumental undertaking because the first institutions of higher education in the U.S. were established to reflect a "society, labor force, and culture legally segregated with pervasive economic inequality" (Balderrama, Texeira, and Valdez, 2006, p. 214). The traditional academy was designed to reflect values consistent with those of the dominant culture (Balderrama, Texeira, and Valdez, 2006).

It was by force of executive orders signed by John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson that the way was opened for women and men of color and White women to gain access to predominantly White male universities, as students and then as faculty (Turner & Myers, 2000). Women of color faculty are members of groups that have

previously been invisible in the academy. The imposed invisibility of women of color professors paints them as passive victims and not as women who have actively resisted oppression (Rains, 1999; DuBois & Ruiz, 2000; Grande, 2004). They are relative newcomers whose presence is often met with resistance (Balderrama, Texeira, and Valdez, 2006; Vargas, 2002). Oddly enough even though their numbers remain relatively small in proportion to the communities they come from their presence is perceived as a threat (Balderrama, Texeira, and Valdez, 2006).

Native American Women Professors in the Academy

Delores Black-Connor Cleary, Okanogan-Colville¹, (2002), notes, “there is value in collecting various accounts in order to establish commonalities and differences regarding how a teacher from one culture/ethnic group responds to a problem as opposed to how a teacher from a different group responds to similar problems” (p. 183). According to statistics from *The Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac 2004-2005*, as illustrated in *Figure 1*, as of Fall 2001 women who were U.S. citizens held 237,383 (34%) of the total 617,868 fulltime faculty positions at two and four year postsecondary institutions. As shown in *Figure 2*, White women held 191,694 (80%) of faculty positions, while women of color held 45,689 (19.25%) of the faculty positions. *Figure 3* provides a further breakdown by race, Asian American women held 11,989 (26%) of the positions, African American women 15,830 (34%), and Latinas 7,871 (17%). According to Vargas (2001) research studies that have tended to examine women of color as a monolithic group created the impression that “institutions appear

¹ When possible the researcher will refer to the tribal affiliations of individual Native American women. Otherwise, the term Native American will be used to illustrate prevailing cultural, social, and historical patterns. However, the researcher may reference writers who utilize the terms Indigenous, First Nations, Native American, American Indian, or Native.

to comply with the demands of native-born minorities for more representation” (p. 23).

Native American women accounted for an even smaller number of the professorate, accounting for 1,217 (2.66%) of women of color professors. The disparity is further indicated in *Figure 4*, which shows the various ranks of the professoriate they occupy. 126 (10.35%) of Native American women were full professors, 202 (16.59%) were associate professors, 313 (25.71%) were assistant professors, 351 (28.84%) were instructors, and 38 (3.12%) were lecturers. These numbers contrast with those of other women of color professors, the majority of whom occupy the assistant professor rank.

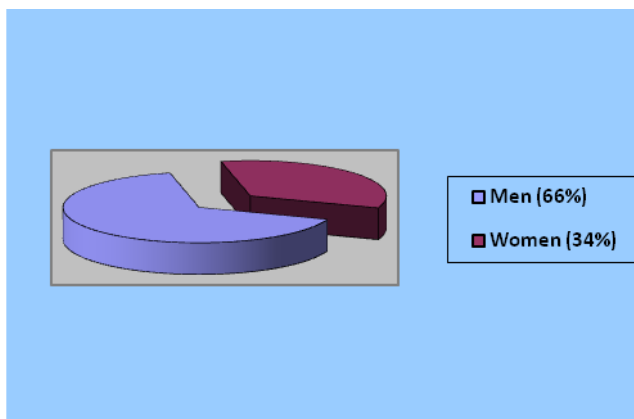


Figure 1. Percentage of women and men holding fulltime positions as professors.

Original chart created by O. C. Dixon, 2008.

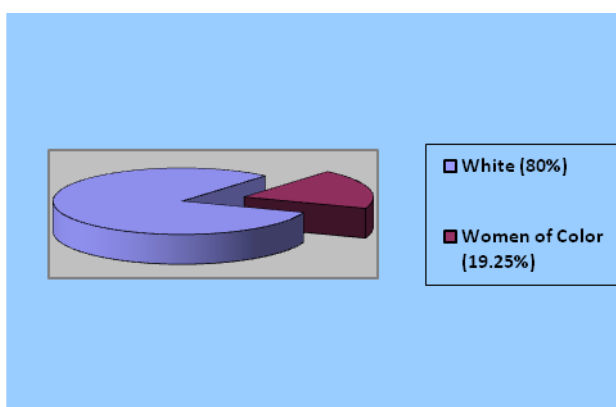


Figure 2. Percentage of women of color and white women holding fulltime positions

as professors. Original chart created by O. C. Dixon, 2008.

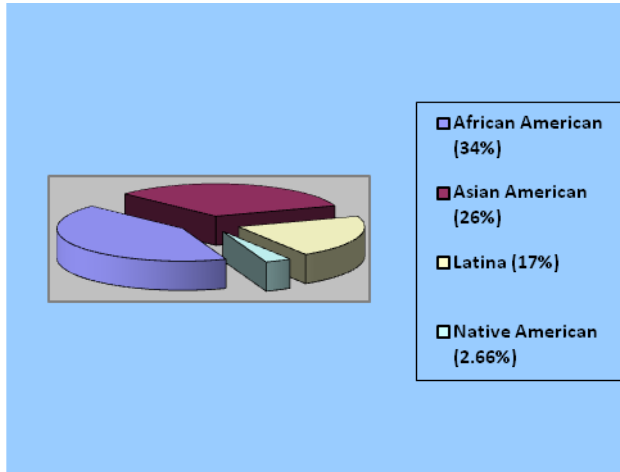


Figure 3. Racial breakdown of women of color professors holding fulltime positions.

Original chart created by O.C. Dixon, 2008.

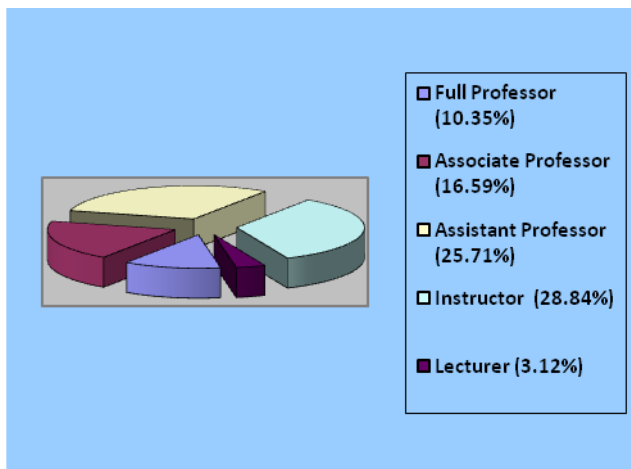


Figure 4. Rank in professoriate occupied by Native American women. Original chart created by O. C. Dixon, 2008.

Angela M. Jaime, Pit River and Valley Maidu, (2005) reveals, “Native women in post-secondary education are significant and unique because there have been, and continue to be, a relatively small number of Native women attaining doctorate degrees and continuing on to be professors” (p.14). Jaime (2005) further shares her deeply personal reasons for pursuing a doctorate degree, “I was tired of reading history books

and literature that constantly portrayed Native people as being frozen in history, alcoholics, poor, uneducated, and shiftless” (p. 7). Studies examining the collective experiences of women of color professors reveal prevailing patterns, but they remain problematic. Women of color professors are not chess pieces that can be maneuvered around to suit the needs of a particular study and then placed in the background when they are no longer needed (Rains, 1999).

Collectively and individually Native American women professors provide unique observations about how they contend with and successfully navigate through the academy. A tradition of women storytelling exists among many Native American tribal nations (Allen, 1989; Goeman, 2003; Mihesuah 2003a). The long tradition of Native American women storytellers attests to the significance of their voices in community building and political mobilization. The strength and sturdiness of this tradition reflects the strength and sturdiness of Native American people (Almeida, 1997). Despite a history that includes hundreds of years of forced removal, loss of land from warfare, psychological and physical abuse, cultural appropriation, and economic deprivation Native American women in the academy speak out about how they are represented in the media and works of history and anthropology (Mihesuah, 2003a). Their “talking back” (hooks, 1990) is a form of resistance to hegemonic forces.

The number of Native American women who occupy the rank of professor (including assistant, associate, and full professor) has historically been relatively small in comparison to the total number of the professoriate (Jaime, 2005). Given the small number of women of color professors there has been relatively limited research conducted on their experiences and even less has been conducted on Native American

women professors (Jaime, 2005). By examining the perceptions of the experiences of Native American women professors, this study adds to the research literature about Native American women professors. In turn the potential exists to envision new ways to proactively create policies and practices that extend beyond rhetoric and are inherently more inclusive of a diversity of cultural and gender identities. Ultimately, the potential exists for other Native American women to believe in the possibility that they too can achieve their goals (Jaime, 2005).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to examine the perceptions of the experiences of Native American women professors within the academy, as it represents the legacy of Western colonialism. More specifically, this study, using themes adapted from Turner (2002) and themes developed by the researcher, explored the perceptions of Native American women professors through the following themes: manifestations of interlocking race, class, and gender bias; challenges from academic "old boy" networks; salience of race over gender; feeling isolated and underrepresented; connections to one or more tribal nation(s); influence of cultural traditions and values; concerns about tribal, national, and transnational identities; being underemployed and overused by departments and/or institutions; being torn between family, community and career obligations; and being challenged by students. Through the use of a postcolonial feminist theory framework and qualitative content analysis methodology this study examined ten articles from the *American Indian Quarterly* journal in which Native American women professors articulated their experiences in the academy.

Research Questions

This study was guided by three research questions:

1. To what extent do Native American women professors have similar or different experiences as other women of color professors within the context of the academy such as manifestations of interlocking race, class, and gender bias; challenges from academic "old boy" networks; salience of race over gender; and feeling isolated and underrepresented?
2. To what extent do Native American women professors demonstrate empowerment within the academy as demonstrated through connections to one or more tribal nation(s); influence of cultural traditions and values; and concerns about tribal, national, and transnational identities?
3. To what extent do institutional policies and practices influence the work experiences of Native American women professors within the academy when confronted with being underemployed and overused by departments and/or institutions; being torn between family, community and career obligations; and being challenged by students?

Theoretical Framework

For the purposes of this study postcolonial feminist theory was utilized because it provided an appropriate model for considering how multiple oppressions, relating to the colonial experience, marginalize women of color around the world. It was also useful in recognizing the importance of identifying how discursive spaces for women of color facilitate decolonization from Western values, beliefs, and cultural practices (Mohanty, 2003). Min-ha (1989) reveals, "Closure and openness, again, are one

ongoing process: we do not *have* bodies, we *are* our bodies, and we are ourselves while being the world” (p. 36).

Postcolonial Feminist Theory

Beginning in the 1940s and 1950s Western countries, through the United Nations, closely monitored former colonies for what was deemed adequate progress. Adequate progress included the sufficient advancement of women as well as the development of sustainable infrastructures, economic stability, and effective educational systems. The field of postcolonial feminism arose from the gendered history of colonialism. Because colonial powers often imposed Westernized norms on colonized societies, following the period of large scale European colonialism there was an insistence of many women of color of maintaining or reclaiming their traditional practices and roles.

The traditional roles of women of color were interpreted as a source of empowerment in view of the widely held Western belief that such roles and traditions were primitive or distasteful (Mohanty, 1991; Mohanty, 2003). By attempting to reclaim their cultural heritage women of color in Africa, Asia, South America, Central America, Europe, North America, and the islands of the Caribbean and Pacific began to engage in resistance against former colonial oppression. Postcolonial feminists have questioned both universalizing tendencies in Western feminist discourse and a lack of attention to gender issues in mainstream postcolonial literature (Mohanty, 2003).

Postcolonial feminist theory revolves around central issues such as cultural identity, language, representation, and critical interrogations of Western feminism. In addition, it attempts to challenge dichotomous Western thinking, with its emphasis on

binary relationships such as woman/man, Black/White, and object/subject.

Postcolonial feminist theory necessitates explorations of the impact of specific historical experiences on the creation of women of color as the objectified Other.

Postcolonial feminist theory contests the oppression of women of color that resulted from the imposed cultural models and gender hierarchies of Western colonizers. It is in these discursive spaces that women of color explore issues of identity and representation. As hooks (1990) theorizes in “talking back” the oppressed, the exploited, the colonized resist and challenge multiple forms of domination that would render them nameless and voiceless.

Women of color speak from a historically marginalized position (Grande, 2004; Spivak, 1995), systematically deconstructing monolithic social constructions of race, class, and gender. This makes it possible to construct new epistemological paradigms to challenge and resist cultural hegemony. Attention is focused on emphasizing the tradition of women of color resisting the oppressive nature of colonialism. It is within these particular sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts that women of color highlight stories that emphasize how their local and global communities are sites for embracing their cultures, languages and social practices.

For Spivak (1995) and Grande (2004) the testimony of the subaltern is not devoid of ideology nor is it transcendent, but instead it emphasizes the voice consciousness of women of color. The marginalized location women of color have historically occupied is transformed into a location from which they give voice to their material, social, and political realities. Women of color empower themselves to

articulate alternative discourses (Min-ha, 1989; Mohanty, 1991; Suleri, 1995; Wing, 1997).

Lorde (1984), hooks (1994), and Ortega (2006) state, that in recognizing the need for building community among women to combat the negative effects of a patriarchal society White Western feminists laid a claim to the experiences of women of color. However, White feminists largely failed to offer an alternative paradigm for examining the different material realities of women's lives (hooks, 1981; Lorde, 1984; Mohanty, 1991; Ortega, 2006; Wing, 1997). To do so would have threatened to undermine the illusion of homogeneity among women. On the other hand, women of color explored the myriad ways their positioning resulted in their representation as "ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family oriented, victimized, etc" (Mohanty, 1997, p. 80). This was in opposition to White Western women who self-represented as being "educated, modern, as having control over their own bodies and sexualities, and the freedom to make their own decisions" (Mohanty, 1997, p. 80). The manner in which women of color were represented stripped them of their humanity and placed them in a marginalized location.

Representations of women of color as powerlessness objects ignored the multiple, fluid structures of domination which often intersect and locate women differently at particular historical conjectures (Mohanty, 1991). The ideology of a "universal sisterhood" masked the ways women of color were homogenized, disrespected, and misunderstood while "'knowledge' about them [was] being encouraged and disseminated" (Ortega, 2006, p. 62). Those who insisted on expanding feminist epistemologies to include the voices of women of color were not content for

Western feminists to simply be more inclusive of women of color. They pushed to illustrate how a lack of mainstream knowledge generated by women of color has made it easier for dominant groups to exploit this as an absence of dissent (Collins, 2000). It was a call to contextualize the experiences of women of color and to examine how Western feminism dominated in much the same way Western cultures, through colonialism, dominated much of the world (hooks, 1981; Mohanty, 1991, Spivak, 1995).

Through postcolonial feminist theory women of color engage in simultaneous acts of subversion and empowerment, whereby they reveal how the oppressed can critically speak about and know the conditions of their lives (Anzaldúa, 1987; hooks, 1990; Mohanty, 1991). Furthermore, postcolonial feminist theories explore “women’s racialised and sexualised otherness by locating their marginality and oppression within a three-tiered structure of discrimination maintained by colonial and neo-colonial indigenous patriarchies and the academic and cultural hegemony of western feminism” (Mehta, 2003, p. 395). Postcolonial feminist theory emphasizes the need for women of color to become historical subjects able to “shift out of habitual formations; from convergent thinking, analytical reasoning that tends to use rationality to move toward a single goal (a Western mode), to divergent thinking, characterized by movement away from set patterns and goals toward a more whole perspective, one that includes rather than excludes” (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 101). The marginalized position women of color have been forced to occupy is re-envisioned as an opportunity to reclaim a sense of the authentic self (hooks, 2000b).

According to Anzaldúa (1987) the process of reclamation is engaged in to form a “new *mestiza* consciousness” (p. 99). The new *mestiza* consciousness defies classification because she is not completely inside or outside a culture, but rather she crosses borders between cultures. The new *mestiza* consciousness is a state of mind where dualistic thinking is replaced by a critical consciousness that disrupts the subject-object binary. The development of a critical consciousness makes it possible for women of color to transform themselves and their communities. This transformation is not a momentary one, but rather a continual process. Anzaldúa (1987) writes, “The answer between the white race and the colored, between males and females, lies in healing the split that originates in the very foundation of our lives, our culture, our languages, our thoughts” (p. 102). The formation of a critical consciousness emerges from the development of oppositional knowledge that challenges historical representations of women of color (Collins, 2000).

Despite the common context of struggle postcolonial feminist theory illuminates, it does not fully capture the multitude of struggles women of color are engaged in. In the case of Native American women, Miheuah (2003a) writes, “Because Native women vary in their cultural ideologies, appearance, and social and moral values, no one feminist theory totalizes Native women’s thought, and their differences of opinion... (p.159). Ultimately, postcolonial feminist theory provides a beginning point to explore how Native American women deconstruct imposed cultural identities, reconstruct oppositional discourses, critique Western feminism, and establish new ways to envision feminism.

Scope and Delimitation of the Study

Initially, this study was delimited to an examination of the experiences of Native American women professors on predominantly White campuses in the United States. Second, only journal articles from *American Indian Quarterly* were considered. Third, only journal articles that were published in the between the years 1974 to 2004 were analyzed. Hence, the results of this study may be generalizable only to the sample of journal articles analyzed, although the instrument may be used to analyze other articles located in other databases.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to journal articles that are accessible through the Project Muse database. The journal articles may not be representative of the experiences of all Native American women professors. Thus, the results of this study may not be generalizable to all Native American women professors. In addition, since in content analysis the researcher is the instrument, biases may arise. Some biases may arise as a result of the coding instrument and others may arise during validation of the data. Despite the limitations this study will add much needed data to the literature on the experiences of Native American women professors.

Significance of the Study

First, this study will help to emphasize the need for institutions to make more concerted efforts to make faculty diversity a priority. In particular, this study will help to focus attention on when and how Native American women professors are hired and what their experiences are like once they are hired. Thus, administrators can be aided to interrupt usual institutional approaches to hiring and retaining Native American

professors. Also, this study can aid colleges and universities to more effectively identify institutional norms and policies which prevent the full integration and retention of women of color faculty. Second, this study has the potential to aid more institutions to understand the imperative to create and institutionalize opportunities for women of color faculty to dialogue about their experiences and engage in collective action, making available mechanisms for them to bring their concerns to administrators and fellow faculty members. Third, this study will focus attention on how Native American women professors contend with the interlocking effects of race, class, and gender. Finally, this study will illuminate how the teaching and lives of Native American women professors are inextricably linked to their roles as creators of knowledge and culture.

Definition of Terms

The terms listed below are intended to clarify the meaning within the context of this study.

colonialism: “a total existence, a way of thinking about oneself and others always in terms of domination and submission that has come to form the very foundation of our individual and collective lives. It is a vast unnatural and exploiting reality that has been imposed on the world over the past five hundred years” (Alfred, 2004, p. 89).

cultural hierarchy: “a hierarchy in which Euro-Americans and whiteness dominate non-Euro-Americans and darkness” (Trask, 2004, p. 10).

decolonization: the process by which formerly colonized people come to “understand how structures of domination work in one’s own life, as one develops critical thinking

and critical consciousness, as one invents new, alternative habits of being of being, and resists from that marginal space of difference inwardly defined” (hooks, 1990, p. 15).

dominant culture: system of attitudes, values, and norms that support mainstream social structures (Tatum, 2000).

feminism: “may be understood as *theory* – systems of concepts, propositions and analysis that describe and explain women’s situations and experiences and support recommendations about how to improve them.... Feminism may also be understood as a kind of social movement, one that may generate and be aided by theory” (Frye, 2000, p. 195).

femininity: the range of attitudes, behaviors and physical attributes that are associated with women across various historical and cultural contexts (Mohanty, 1991).

hegemonic: “ignoring the inherent class/status, race/ethnic (even nationalistic) and sex/gender differences among women” (Wong, 2000, p. 241).

Indigenist feminism: a political theory and praxis that focuses on eliminating global oppression of women “by situating traditional Indigenist women’s values in the nucleus of diverse women’s liberation theories” (Waters, 2000, p. 266).

Indigenous: “a term that has enabled the collective voices of colonized people to be expressed strategically in the international arena. It has also been an umbrella enabling communities and people to come together, transcending their own colonized contexts and experiences, in order to learn, share, plan, organize and struggle collectively for self-determination on the global and local stages” (Smith, 1999, p. 7).

intercoder reliability: concerns the extent to which different coders classify the same text (Weber, 1990).

multiple oppression: oppression based on a multitude of identity factors intersecting in a manner that it is difficult to discern whether oppression is based on race, class, or gender (Vargas, 2002).

multiple marginality: a state women of color experience in the academy that is characterized by lived contradiction and ambiguous empowerment (Turner, 2002).

new mestiza consciousness: “It is a consciousness of the Borderland” (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 99).

postcolonial feminism: broadly characterizes and addresses feminist preoccupations with race and gender that focus on the formerly colonised societies of Africa, Asia and the Caribbean” (Mehta, 2000, p. 395).

social institutions: “The concept of institutions is abstract, since there is no thing or object that one can point to as an institution. *Social institutions* are the established societal patterns of behavior organized around particular purposes” (Andersen & Collins, 2001, p. 213).

subaltern: “The subaltern is structurally excluded and can only enter existing structures by an identification on her part with those already positioned with the means to represent themselves” (Gray, 2003, p. 460).

women of color: “This term designates a political constituency, not a biological or even sociological one. It is a sociopolitical designation for people of African, Caribbean, Asian, and Latin American descent, native peoples of the United States” (Mohanty, 2003, p. 48).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Introduction

Many of the values and norms of the dominant culture reveal the pervasiveness of sexism. Hackman (2000) states sexism goes beyond its obvious manifestations. For example, women earn lower wages than men, experience limitations in career advancement, are objectified in media representations, experience the double shift phenomenon, and continue to be the primary targets of sexual harassment and battery. The detrimental effects of sexism are magnified because sex and gender divisions are so deeply rooted in society so as to appear almost invisible (Hackman, 2000). Femininity comes to be seen as an essentialized social category that is deemed inferior to masculinity.

The occurrence of sexism is not by chance. Simone de Beauvoir observes

Woman? Very simple, say the fanciers of simple formulas: she is a womb, an ovary she is female—this word is sufficient to define her. In the mouth of a man the epithet *female* has the sound of an insult.... One is not born a woman, but rather becomes, a woman...it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature.... (1989, pp. 3 & 267)

The biological designation of female becomes a vehicle to perpetuate specific social discourses and gender roles that often subordinate and oppress women. Consequently, women have and continue to occupy tenuous positions in societies all over the world (Mohanty, 1991; Mohanty, 2003).

Feminism is concerned with the social, institutional, and systematic oppression of women. Feminism attempts to offer a critical analysis of how women are harmed by prescribed gender roles and expectations. The literature reviewed for this study will

focus on three areas: (1) an historical overview of the U.S. feminist movement, (2) an overview of Indigenist feminism, (3) women of color as agents of social transformation, and (5) an overview of Native American women and education.

Historical Overview of the Feminist Movement in the United States

Western feminism can be divided into three distinct historical eras: first wave, second wave, and third wave. During the time of first wave feminism (1840s-early1920s) the work of feminists centered on addressing perceived social injustices toward women. The ideology of this era was embodied in Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), Sarah Grimke's *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women* (1837), the letters of Abigail Adams, and the work of well known suffragettes like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Susan B. Anthony. Initially, the strategies employed by first wave feminists involved efforts to change the social position and roles of women, gaining greater access to resources such as education, and reforming laws relating to voting rights, inheritance rights, property ownership, and labor (Schneir, 1992; Hackman, 2000).

However, by the early 20th century the movement had become largely focused on gaining voting rights. In 1920 first wave feminism culminated with the ratification of the 19th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution which granted women the right to vote, albeit only White women. To the exclusion of poor women and women of color the focus of activism was almost exclusively on White middle and upper middle class women (Collins, 2000; Davis, 1981; Grande, 2004; hooks, 1981; hooks, 1994). The organized movement, which had remained stagnant for much of the first half of the 20th century, was revitalized by the 1960s.

The unprecedented social unrest of the decade became the backdrop for the rise of second wave feminism (1960s-1980s). The movement encouraged women to understand aspects of their own personal lives as deeply politicized, and reflective of a sexist structure of power. First wave feminism focused upon absolute rights such as the right to vote, second wave feminism was largely concerned with other issues of equality, such as the end to discrimination and oppression. Much of the efforts of second wave feminists shifted to the ways in which sexism influenced gender roles, language, insuring equal access to education, workplace politics, and equal wages. Among the major events that marked the period were the passage of *Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964*, which made discrimination in employment based on sex as well as race, religion, and national origin illegal; passage of the *Patsy T. Mink Equal Opportunity in Education Act (Title IX of the Education Amendments)* in 1972, which forbade gender discrimination by federally funded institutions, and the landmark 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision *Roe v. Wade*, which solidified the reproductive rights of women to be consistent with the right to privacy as guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment of the U. S. Constitution.

The works of writer-activists like Carol Gilligan (1982), Betty Freidan (1963), Gloria Steinem (1983) and Germaine Greer (1970) reflects the sentiments of second wave feminists. However, despite the monumental strides made during the period there was a failure of the essentialist movement to fully realize the impact differences in race, class, national origin, and sexual orientation had on interpretations of women's experiences. The perceived inadequacies of the initiatives of second wave feminism gave rise to third wave feminism (1990s-present).

In the introduction to *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology* noted African American feminist writer Barbara Smith observes that a truly progressive movement is

committed to fighting sexual, racial, economic, and heterosexist oppression, not to mention one which opposes imperialism, anti-Semitism, the oppressions visited upon the physically disabled, and the old and young, at the same time that it challenges militarism and imminent nuclear destruction.... (1983, p. xxxi)

Accordingly, third wave feminists sought to challenge or at least avoid what they deemed to be the second wave's essentialist definitions of womanhood. The second wave feminist framework was incompatible with the lived realities of many women of color. Even prior to the 1990s women of color published groundbreaking works such as *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (1984) and *The Black Woman: An Anthology* (1970), which were aimed at expanding feminist discourse to include the voices of women of color. Women of color who were rooted in the second wave sounded a call for reinterpretations of feminism.

hooks (1994) theorizes some women of color (Mohanty, 2003) perceived the contemporary call for female solidarity as insincere. Some women of color interpreted the foci of second wave feminism as a denial of the complicity of White women in the continual cultural and racial domination and oppression of women of color. A post-structuralist interpretation of gender and sexuality was central to third wave feminism and there was a heightened emphasis on the discursive power and fundamental ambiguity inherent in all gender terms and categories. Third wave feminist theories encompassed such theoretical frameworks as queer theory, womanism, post colonial theory, critical theory, transnationalism, and ecofeminism.

Coming from numerous cultures, nations, races, socioeconomic classes, and sexual orientations third wave feminists brought needed attention to the fluidity of identities.

McCann and Kim (2003) state, “Universal claims of gender oppression that define the characteristics of the gender group women in terms of their differences from the gender group men...glossed over differences among women” (p. 15). For example, Collins (2000) writes

Even though Black women intellectuals have long expressed a distinctive African-influenced and feminist sensibility about how race and class intersect...we have not been full participants in White feminist organizations. As a result, African-American, Latino, Native American, and Asian-American women have criticized Western feminisms for being racist and overly concerned with White, middle-class women’s issues.
(p. 5)

In so narrowly defining the collective experiences of women, many of the leaders of women’s movement failed to interrogate the social position and cultural context from which their efforts stemmed (Butler & Raynor, 2007; Collins, 2000; Davis, 1981; hooks, 1981; hooks, 1990, hooks, 2000b; Mohanty, 1991). Third wave feminism was not an antagonistic response to second wave feminism. It emphasized the bonding of women should occur, not simply on the basis of being victims of male domination and exploitation, but on the basis of shared strengths and resources (hooks, 2000a; Mohanty, 1991).

Third wave feminism was not an attempt to gloss over differences or use differences to separate, but it was philosophical and political call to build community by stripping away reliance on identities imposed by Western ideologies. In addition, third wave feminists sought to build strong feminist coalitions which did not gloss over or ignore differences among women, but recognized the strong impact of identity,

political allegiances, and the perceptions of others (Miheuah, 2003a). Similarly, Sandy Grande, Quechua, (2004), writes

While, like other indigenous women, I recognize the invaluable contributions that feminists have made to both critical theory and praxis in education, I also believe the well-documented failure of whitemain feminists to engage race and acknowledge the complicity of white women in the history of domination positions it alongside other colonialist discourse. (p. 124)

Women of color have challenged the assumption that the development of theory and its resultant applications were the exclusive domain of White, women academics.

Consequently, the focus could be shifted from an emphasis solely on social equality with men to the interlocking systems of sex, race, gender, and class oppression (Collins, 2000; hooks, 2000b).

Hewitt (2000) writes, “To recognize and illuminate the realities of all women’s historical experience, we must instead acknowledge that for most nineteenth and early twentieth century women, and their modern counterparts, community was more a product of material conditions and constraints than of ideological dictates...” (p. 14).

Women of color writer-activists like Gloria Anzaldúa (1987), Paula Gunn Allen (1989), bell hooks (1981), Chandra Mohanty (1991), Audre Lorde (1984), and Fatima Mernissi (1975) challenged Western discourses which relied on dichotomies such as man/woman, public sphere/private sphere, and White/Other, Western/Foreign and brought to the foreground the voices of women who had been historically marginalized.

The scholarship of women of color has led to a focus on the deconstructing of dominant paradigms and the “development of new methodologies, and the possibility of alternative ways of knowing or epistemologies” (Smith, 1999, p. 166). Women of

color have articulated the need for a paradigmatic shift in feminist discourse. The shift is one in which there is potential to “examine the degree to which white women (and all women) who assume powerful positions rely on conventional paradigms of domination to reinforce that power” (hooks, 1994, p. 105). Women of color extended an invitation to “‘listen in’ to women-of-color talking to each other and, in some instances, to and against’ white people” (Anzaldúa, 1990, p. xviii). For women of color self-revelation became a process that allows them to locate themselves within society and explore the ways they are positioned by their race, gender, and class (Grande, 2004; hooks, 1981; hooks, 2000b; Lorde, 1984). Thereby, they used their lived experiences as a way to challenge the normative feminist subject who is upper or middle class, White, educated, heterosexual, and of the dominant culture.

Women of color recapitulate identity as being inherently fluid, and therefore incapable of being fully defined. Min-ha (1989), drawing on the work of Audre Lorde, theorizes women of color write from the realization that obedience to accepted norms only leads to “satisfaction of a ‘made-woman,’ capable of achieving as high a mastery of discourse as that of the male establishment” (p. 79). A ‘made-woman’ is incapable of understanding the “dehumanization of forced removal-relocation-reeducation-redefinition, the humiliation of having to falsify their reality” (p. 80). Many women of color were committed to countering representations of their inherent inferiority. Instead they challenged the presuppositions of an analytical framework, which resulted in a hegemonic feminist discourse.

The hegemonic nature of U.S. feminist discourse was problematic, because it focused attention on simplistic binary categories of analysis. Thus, rendering efforts to

combat gender oppression ineffectual (Mohanty, 2003). The overwhelming focus of the U.S. women's movement on the issues of White, upper and middle class women obstructed the ways women of color engaged feminism. The failure to construct fully comprehensive feminist histories contributed to the forced invisibility of women of color did not mean women of color were silent or passive. Women of color consistently engaged in oppositional political action that challenged the racist, sexist, and imperialist structures of U.S. feminism and society. Third wave feminism also gave rise to indigenist feminism. While this study does not use indigenist feminism as a theoretical framework the researcher deemed it necessary to highlight the role Native American women as active participants in formulating and interpreting feminist scholarship and thought. Any examination of Native American women, according to Waters (2000), should be situated in an acknowledgement of the 'red roots' of U.S. feminism. Namely, acknowledging how European colonization disrupted, but did not destroy the traditional values of Native American women as autonomous and self-determining agents.

Indigenist Feminism

Indigenist feminism shifts the axis of feminism to recognizing and retaining a history of the powerful community and family roles of Native American women in the Americas. Moreover, indigenist feminism calls for a focus on tribal sovereignty, maintaining traditional gender equality, and self-determination (Allen, 2001; Grande, 2004; Mihesuah, 2003a; Waters, 2000). Mihesuah (2003a) offers further insights stating, the primary focus is on how Native American women have a history of,

contrary to leading Eurocentric male perspectives, being proactive interpreters of their own lives, cultures, and tribal histories (Almeida, 1997).

Deirdre A. Almeida, Lenni Lenape/Shawnee Nations, (1997), explains, “As long as Native American women assert their traditional rights and assume their traditional responsibility of being the central voices of their communities, Native American nations will survive and their women’s voices will remain loud and strong” (p. 769). Smith (1999) further frames the significance of Indigenist feminism by stating it has created spaces for reinterpretations of the resistance of Indigenous women during colonialism and argues for a reexamination of the nature of their resilience in the face of the sociological and psychological effects of colonial oppression.

Smith’s observations touch on the necessity to locate examinations of Native American women’s lives within their proper sociocultural and sociohistorical contexts. Indigenist feminism resituates Native American women’s lives and knowledge to a central location where they can be valued as a significant part of the “historical continuum of the indigenous cultures of the Americas” (Waters, 2000, p. 268). The Eurocentric historical record has largely erased Native American women’s lives and when Native American women have been present they have appeared as fleeting images, without substance, or one dimensional (Almeida, 1997; Klein & Ackerman, 1995; Mihesuah, 2003a; Perdue, 2001). The seeming invisibility of Native American women has led many to “write into this quiet their own cultural expectations of the ‘natural’ role of [Native] women” (Klein & Ackerman, 1995, p. 3). The tendency is to interpret historical silence as powerlessness or passiveness. However, Native American women, representing many tribal nations, did possess religious, economic,

and political power. Their power was not defined in terms of the ability to subdue others, but as autonomous and respected members of their communities (Klein & Ackerman, 1995).

Respect for the feminine was a sustainable value for many Native American tribal nations before first contact with Europeans in the fifteenth century (Klein & Ackerman, 1995; Mihesuah, 2003a; Perdue, 2001). For example, Paula Gunn Allen, Laguna Pueblo/Sioux, (1998) writes, “At Laguna Pueblo, gods really are female. I should say that the major deities are female, because the traditional Laguna people aren’t monotheistic or exclusivist in any way” (pp. 79-80). Allen (1998) continues stating, “In such a system women receive validation for their gender, rather than in spite of it; their difference is perceived to be of great value at every level of the polity” (p. 80). While Allen’s observations concerning traditional Laguna interpretations of gender should not be haphazardly applied to the unique interactions and histories of other tribal nations, they do hint at prevailing cultural patterns which existed in Native North America. Native American women may have had different roles than men, but they were not viewed as inferior to men, only different (Mihesuah, 2003a). Indigenous women have a long history as healer, warriors, and spiritual leaders.

Indigenist feminism allows for, not a perfunctory, but a full examination of how the traditional roles of Native American women in various tribes meant full participation in various community activities. In addition, Native American women are able to fill in the historical silences by recreating themselves as modern women who seek to reclaim the “historically, traditionally powerful social, political, economic, and religious roles they held in their tribes” (Mihesuah, 2003a, p. 163). Native American

women reveal the complex ways they traverse various cultures and identities, as well the myriad backgrounds, worldviews, and values they represent. Simultaneously, Native American women engage in activism and express their tribal cultures.

Through their various actions Native American women illustrate the necessity to entertain various definitions of feminism (Mihesuah, 2001). A reconstruction of the ways Native American women are viewed is paramount to a further understanding of how interpretations of their histories have been incorrect and underdeveloped. Recognition of the historical-material differences in the experiences of Native American women links their voices to other women of color (Grande, 2004). Furthermore, as in the tradition of many Native American tribal nations, the past and present are connected by an unbroken thread. Waters (2000) writes, “American Indian feminists live the reality that the heart of a nation is not gone until its women lie on the ground” (p. 267). Placing Native American women at the center of scholarly discourse means they are seen as powerful interpreters of their cultures (Goeman, 2003; Grande, 2004; Mihesuah, 2003a; Waters, 2000).

The feminist movement, in all its past and present incarnations, has profoundly changed the social landscape of the United States. For instance, it changed the way women and men were educated in many institutions of higher education (Solomon, 1986). Feminism has served as a mirror to reflect back the need for women to gain greater access to the resources of society including higher education. Women of color have made significant contributions by utilizing multidimensional approaches to examine the social, political, economic, and the educational implications of race, class, and gender. The discursive underpinning of their work has shown how the status of

White middle class women has never been the same as that of Native American women. As such feminist discourse should be questioned, as it is reshaped and transformed through a Western epistemic (Grande, 2004).

Native American Women and Education

Native American women have experienced first-hand the devastating impact colonialism has had on their ways of life. According to Haunani-Kay Trask (2004), Native Hawai'ian, colonization was the historical process and genocide was the official policy. The intent was not to simply disrupt the ways of life of Native American peoples, but the intent was to destroy their cultures and religions (Almeida, 1997). Trask (2004) highlights how colonization was visited upon the Hawaiian people stating, "white sugar planters overthrew our Native government in 1893 with the willing aid of the American troops...our islands were annexed in 1898 against the expressed wishes of our Native people...our political status as Hawaiian citizens was made impossible by forced annexation to the United States" (p. 9). Native women have born witness to intruders invading their lands, forced removal from ancestral lands, sexual violence and abuse at the hands of European settlers, dramatic population decreases from numerous diseases, warfare, and fertility declines (Allen, 2001; Mihesuah, 2003a; Trask, 2004). The legacy of colonization has been alarming rates of poverty, alcoholism, racism, psychological conditions, forced sterilization, and cultural confusion (Allen, 2001; Mihesuah, 2003a; Smith, 2004; Trask, 2004).

Colonialism continues to be manifested in a variety of ways. The violence of colonization, Smith and Ross (2004) observe, "is evidenced not merely in the most obvious forms of the history of massacres against indigenous people in the Americas,

but in the continuing institutionalized forms of racism, discrimination, and housing that manifest themselves on a daily basis of Native people” (p. 2). Colonialism began with physical conquest and continues today with a doctrine of cultural hierarchy. Thus, as Trask (2004) theorizes, in order to maintain cultural hierarchy based on White hegemony, there must be a dominant group, a dominant religion, a dominant world view, a dominant language and a dominant educational system. Education has often been used as a tool against Native Americans to assert dominant superiority (Almeida, 1997; Grande, 2004; Trask, 2004; Smith, 2004).

Education of Native Americans during colonization was first embodied in the missionary and boarding school systems. Spanish, French, and British missionary schools were established and used to further the destruction of Native American societies. The United States government would later establish boarding schools that would become locations where the process of enculturation of Native Americans with Eurocentric values and norms would take place (Smith, 2004). This particular system of education of Native Americans began in the 1600s with the establishment of “praying towers” by the Puritan missionary John Eliot (Smith, 2004, p. 89). By the 17th century French Jesuits had established schools for Native American children in the St. Lawrence River region.

Andrea Smith, Cherokee, (2004) writes, “During the 19th century and into the 20th century, American Indian children were forcibly abducted from their homes to attend Christian and U.S. government-run boarding schools as a matter of state policy” (p. 89). Children were selected, according to Smith (2004), because it was believed they would be more malleable, whereas adults were more set in their ways. By 1900 the

U.S. government maintained 148 boarding schools and 225 day schools, with a total student population of approximately 20,000 (Mihesuah, 2003a). According to Mihesuah (2003a), students faced brutal conditions at these schools such as pervasive health problems, substandard living conditions, poor diets, untrained teachers, extreme punishments, and culturally irrelevant curricula. Native American youths were forced to leave their families, wear European style clothing, cut their hair, not allowed to speak their ancestral languages, and repeatedly indoctrinated with messages of inferiority.

Following the Civil War European Americans who had championed the cause of abolishment of slavery found a new cause to back: the “Americanization of Native Americans” (Almeida, 1997, p. 763). While there were segments of the White population that advocated physical extermination to contain Native Americans, these schools were largely envisioned as sites where cultural genocide could be carried out (Smith, 2004). The Indian Reform Movement was comprised of mostly White male educators, politicians, ministers, and attorneys who spearheaded efforts, in their opinions, civilize Native Americans.

For example, Captain Richard Pratt, one of the purported ““friends of the Indians”” and founder of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, (1879–1918) in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was a staunch advocate of the need to ““Kill the Indian in order to save the Man”” (Smith, 2004, pp. 89-90). The model utilized at the Carlisle school included separating children from their families, inculcating students with Christian and White cultural values, and then encouraging, or when necessary, forcing them to assimilate into the dominant society (Almeida, 1997; Smith, 2004).

A former boarding school student states, ““My language was beaten out of me”” (Mihesuah, 2003a, p. 55). The results of the harsh treatment at missionary and boarding schools were depression, loneliness, and loss of culture. There are reports of some students committing suicide or dying from loneliness (Mihesuah, 2003a). However, even after surviving the brutal conditions of the schools pervasive racism meant former students still were not completely accepted in White society. Others no longer completely fit in their tribal communities. Yet, many students clung tenaciously to their cultures and identities. Boarding schools primarily prepared Native American men for work as manual laborers and Native American women were prepared for work as domestics. Students were routinely leased out to work as farm hands and domestics for White families (Smith, 2004).

One such student wrote of the long hours of work she was made to endure, “I spent my summer in Westfield, Massachusetts...I used to wash, iron, make beds and sweep the parlor and sitting room once a week, and keep the house when they all go away.... I never went to visit any city or interesting place...” (Almeida, 1997, p. 765). Because very few Native American women would ever have been in a position to utilize the skills they learned the principal role of their education was “to inculcate patriarchal norms and desires into Native communities, so that women would lose their places of leadership in Native communities” (Smith, 2004, p. 90). The boarding school system attempted to destroy traditional roles of Native American women and curtail their options for employment. Those who returned to the reservation found the only options available were becoming a servant in the home of European American families or finding work as a hired maid. Native American women were discouraged from

maintaining traditional knowledge and socialized to look down upon those who continued to sustain traditional ways of life. With few exceptions, most female boarding school students returned to their same lifestyles.

However, readjustment was not easy. These women found they had been “disconnected from their traditional gender roles and from their communities. It was not always easy for them, as they had to prove themselves to regain the trust of their community members, many of whom were skeptical of returning students...” (Almeida, 1997, p. 765). The choice to engage in cultural genocide, as opposed to a physical, (Smith, 2004), had an economic basis. People like statesman Carl Schurz and Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller argued the cost of exterminating Native Americans through warfare would be more than educating them (Smith, 2004). Consequently, education “has been used to both justify and minimize first colonists’ and later the federal government’s involvement” in perpetuating genocidal acts (Almeida, 1997, p. 759). Corruption was rampant at boarding schools and sexual, physical, and emotional abuse of students was not uncommon. For instance, in 1987 the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) revealed an investigation had uncovered evidence that John Boone, a teacher at the Hopi school, was responsible for the sexual abuse of 142 boys (Smith, 2004). The Bureau of Indians Affairs (BIA) did not issue a policy for reporting abuse of students until 1987 and it would take another two years before these policies were strengthened with protocols for background checks of potential teachers (Smith, 2004). All of the experiences of Native Americans in boarding were not negative, but much of the dysfunction in Native American communities can be traced to the brutality that thousands of students were subjected to

during the federally mandated boarding school era, which lasted from the 1880s to the 1950s (Almeida, 1997; Smith, 2004).

In 1934 the Indian New Deal and with a reorganization of policies concerning Native Americans, new educational initiatives were mandated. The *Johnson-O'Malley Act* (1934) theoretically made it possible for Native American nations and organizations to become more independent with the power to lobby the Department of the Interior for more relevant educational services. It also reaffirmed the responsibility of federal and state governments to provide education for Native Americans (Almeida, 1997). The BIA maintained control over schools and from 1950 to 1975 enrollment increased. Of the 52,000 Native Americans students enrolled in school, over half were enrolled in boarding schools (Almeida, 1997).

Federal relocation programs were implemented, resulting in the relocation of half of the Native American population off of reservations and into cities. Life in urban dwellings meant some Native American women experienced difficulty adjusting to life off the reservation, alienation, and identity confusion. Native American women who were able to maintain contact with their communities and also take advantage of greater access to education and jobs, developed skills and a sense of economic independence that may not have been as readily available on the reservation (Almeida, 1997).

Almeida (1997) writes, instead of creating a better environment for assimilation, relocation policies “produced a new population of educated Native American women who turned their new found skills into tools for political and cultural activism” (Almeida, 1997, p. 767). Activist and scholar Ada Deer, Menominee, recalls, ““I

wanted to help my tribe in some way.....People said I was too young, too naïve...so I dropped out of law school” and “spent six months in Washington influencing legislation and mobilizing the support of our people throughout the country” (Almeida, 1997, p. 767). From this deeply politicized atmosphere organizations like the American Indian Movement (AIM) and Women of All Red Nations (WARN) sprang forth. Native American women took on leadership roles, reminiscent of their traditional roles, working to mobilize and empower their communities toward political action. Native American women again became central figures in the education of their people. Native American women steadfastly held to their histories as keepers of their cultures. In situating themselves as authentic and powerful leaders Native American women tapped into the same strength that helped to sustain female students at boarding schools (Almeida, 1997).

Despite the lack of significant research on Native American women, there is a tradition of Native American women scholars and activists writing themselves into history. Writers such as Andrea Smith (2004), Winona LaDuke (2007), Devon A. Mihesuah (2003a), Beverly Hungry Wolf (1980), Elizabeth Cook-Lynn (1996), Sandy Grande (2004), and Haunani-Kay Trask (2004) are women who have contributed to the legacy of Native American women writing and speaking from their unique cultural perspectives. These women are custodians of the tradition of Native American women as keepers of the oral traditions of their people (Almeida 1997). By contrast, Almeida (1997) writes, “Education has been a key factor in making Native women invisible and silencing our voices” (p. 759). In the U.S. institutional racism formed the basis for the education of Native American women.

During the 19th century and into the 20th century thousands of Native American children were forcibly removed from their homes and placed in Christian and U.S. government administered schools where they were systematically stripped of their cultural and religious values and indoctrinated with “‘civilizing’ instruction” (Smith, 2004, p. 89). Within the academy Native American women have been faced a similar reality. They have been made potential targets for marginalization and silencing. However, they speak out loud and clear, redefining their marginalization as a source of empowerment (Jaime, 2005). They show they are not blank slates waiting to be written upon (Goeman, 2003). Their agency is authenticated by the ways they individually and collectively articulate their histories, creating and recreating epistemological spaces.

The barriers erected to prevent Native American women and others from gaining full access to the academy have not been entirely successful. The number of Native American women professors has been limited (Fox, 2002; Jaime, 2005). Nevertheless, they are present. While statistics are available for the number of Native American women that hold positions in the professorate, the statistics do not reveal what the perceptions of their experiences in the academy. For example, Elizabeth Cook-Lynn (1996), Crow Creek Lakota Sioux, recalls, “For me it was never a matter of getting a job and becoming a part of the mainstream; instead, it was that the entire history of America, vis-à-vis the continent’s indigenous population, had to be written, and the place to do it was in the nation’s colleges and universities” (p. ix). Native American women “as mothers and grandmothers, as family members and tribal members; as professionals, workers, artists, shamans, leaders, chiefs, speakers, writers, and organizers” demonstrate they have no “intention of disappearing, of being silent, or

of quietly acquiescing...” (Allen, 2001, p. 48). In order to understand the impact of colonization and by extension the social construction of identity on Native American women professors it is important not to essentialize their experiences. Cook-Lynn (1996) posits in order to fully understand how equality and democracy can be achieved Native American peoples must be seen as possessing dual citizenship in their tribal nations and in the United States. Renya Ramirez, Winnebago, (2004) believes developing a transnational view of Native Americans makes it possible to see how Native Americans simultaneously maintain a collective identity and cross the borders of their tribal nations.

Mihesuah (2003a) writes, effective research includes acknowledgment of the “myriad lifestyles of Native women” and a willingness attempts to “understand the complexity of Native females...” (p. 8). The more attempts that are made to expand the literature on the varied experiences of Native American women, the more it becomes possible to disrupt the prevailing stereotypes, misinformation, and distortions that have been perpetuated for centuries (Mihesuah, 1998). Only then can a complete portrait, which includes all of the various voices of Native American women, be presented. The stories of Native American women professors allow for a critical examination of how White supremacist patriarchal values continue shaping the fabric of social institutions. Also, their stories show how they advocate for self-determination and how connections to their tribal languages, cultures, and values allow them to traverse the borderlands between their traditional communities and the broader American society.

Selected Studies on Women of Color Professors

This section will highlight four researchers whose studies have brought attention to how women of color professors contend with various issues on predominantly White campuses. Many women of color professors find themselves in environments that are hostile or inhospitable. Three key studies have turned a discerning eye toward uncovering the lived experiences of women of color professors in the academy. Studies conducted by Rains (1999), Vargas (1999), and Turner (2002) focus attention on the reality that there are still relatively few women of color professors. In addition, Jaime (2005) conducted a study on the experiences of Native American women professors in the academy. What follows is an overview of each of these studies.

Dancing on the Edge of a Sharp Sword: Women Faculty of Color in White Academe

Rains (1999) study illustrates the complexity and ambiguity that accompany being a woman of color professor in the White academy. Drawing on her personal experiences as a graduate student of color, a Native American woman, and as a professor, Rains explores how the inherent structure of the academy often excludes or minimizes the work of women of color professors. The study consisted of a sample of 15 women of color professors at a large research university in the Midwest. The purpose of the study was to uncover the lived realities of women of color professors within the academy. The participants identified themselves as Chicana, Hispanic, African American, and biracial. In addition, the majority of women were either assistant or associate professors. The participants agreed to four interviews each, which included topics ranging from research, teaching, backgrounds, and impressions of

collegial situations. Interviews were supplemented with observations and examination of documents and artifacts.

The key themes that emerged from the study were “imposed invisibility” and “designated visibility” (Rains, 1999, p. 153). Rains (1999) observes, “contradictory, socially constructed phenomena coexisted in the lives of many of the participants in ways that daily tested their perseverance in the academy and challenged their ability to maintain their footing on the sharp edge of the sword” (p. 153). Imposed invisibility was defined as the presence of women of color professors in the academy being compounded by the expectations of others, creating situations where women of color are not seen or heard. For example, one participant shared, “I’m the first minority person in this department in all its years [approx. 150 years] on this campus! Initially, there was some curiosity. But no one talked to me. They stared a lot.” (Rains, 1999, p. 153). The participant continues, “Do you know in all the years I have been here, I have never been invited to a colleague’s house or to any social situation outside of this office” (Rains, 1999, p. 153). The study also found several participants’ experiences with imposed invisibility were expressed in the ways their ideas were appropriated by White colleagues and how students of color were steered toward them irrespective of the students’ specific needs. Imposed invisibility was experienced both within their respective departments and across the campus.

On the other hand, designated invisibility, according to Rains (1999) a socially constructed phenomenon where women of color are viewed as tokens, provided another challenge. Many participants expressed the impression that “they would remain invisible until their White colleagues saw a need or ‘selected’ to recognize

them” (Rains, 1999, p. 156). Additionally, one participant states, “White folks don’t understand how you are *Forever on stage! Forever!*” (Rains, 1999, p. 156). Most women of color professors, by virtue of their skin color, are constantly ‘out there’ for others to see.

Some participants shared their experiences of being designated as spokespeople for their respective groups. For example, a participant shared, “I am on several campus committees and... *if they’re talking about anything other than minority issues, I’m invisible EVEN WHEN I’M VERBAL*” (Rains, 1999, p. 160). Tokenism resulted in the professors being visible, not for their teaching, research, or service, but for being a woman of color in the academy, an anomaly. The consequences for the women of color professors in the study were very real. They included the added stress of being the ‘only one’ or the ‘first,’ exhaustion stemming from a constant barrage of ignorant remarks and behaviors, and having to deal with feelings of being treated like second class citizens.

Rains (1999) study reveals how women of color professors contend with a contradictory existence in the academy. Ultimately, “If the ivory tower is to become less ivory and more inclusive in ways that do not force more upon the sword, then changes must also come those who hold power, privilege, and position within” (Rains, 1999, p. 168). Women of color are fighting to gain a foothold in an institution that despite demographic shifts still remains grounded in elite, White male power structures. Rains (1999) concludes the study by stating the need to recognize the difference between equity of access and equity of treatment.

When the “Other” is the Teacher: Implications of Teacher Diversity in Higher Education

The Vargas (1999) study also explores the experiences of women of color professors teaching at predominantly White universities. Like Rains (1999), Vargas (1999) uses her lived experiences as a Latina professor as the genesis of her study. Data was collected from in depth interviews with 15 women of color professors, questionnaires with 19 professors, and 267 of her own student evaluations. Vargas (1999) begins her study with the assumption that the classroom of a “predominantly white campus is a contested terrain when the teacher fits the image of the ‘other’ more than she resembles a stereotypical academic authority” (p. 360). According to Turner the stereotypical academic authority figure is defined as White and male.

The study focuses on women of color professors giving voice to how their presence on predominantly White campuses is met with resistance from White, middle class students. However, Vargas (1999) makes clear from the outset the study is not meant to examine the wide variety of experiences of women of color professors, because each of their experiences is shaped by group membership, social locations, and the unique characteristics of the campus and classroom. The key themes uncovered in the study were: defining the situation in the classroom, ideal classroom performance, securing students’ cooperation, and students’ responses to the Other Teacher.

Most participants shared that their race or ethnicity was problematic in their everyday interactions with students. One participant remarks, ““Students, undergrads, are often reacting to something, like resenting getting a lower evaluation than expected from me, little brown young woman. They expect undergraduate courses taught by me would be a pushover and become angry when they’re wrong...” (Vargas, 1999, p. 364). Another participant touched on how intersections of gender, race, ethnicity, class, and

other socially constructed categories come to matter stating, ““I think it’s how many layers of differences that you possess that makes a difference”” (Vargas, 1999, p. 364). Still another participant notes, many middle class, White students have never been in situations in which women of color have taken the lead. Several of the women of color professors expressed White students have had few opportunities to learn how to behave or interact in multicultural environments.

While women of color professors were also subject to multiple sources of anxiety, Vargas (1999) found the anxiety of women of color professors is compounded by an environment that is often unwelcoming, unfamiliar, and oppressive. The research literature has failed to “consider the challenges faced by Other Teachers but also addresses an intended reader who is white” (Vargas, 1999, p. 378). In conclusion Vargas surmises the presence of women of color professors on predominantly White campuses presents an opportunity to reconstruct an institution that is in need of change, but some in positions of power are content to maintain hegemonic notions and values. The institutional implications include: recognition of the unique challenges women of color professors face, creation of relevant support mechanisms, and bringing awareness to White faculty and administrators of the political, social, and cultural contexts in which teaching takes place.

Women of Color in Academe: Living with Multiple Marginality

The study by Turner (2002) analyzes the consequences of underrepresentation of women of color professors. Similar to Rains (1999) and Vargas (1999), Turner (2002) grounds the study in her lived experiences as a Latina professor in the academy. Turner (2002) writes, “I remember being struck by the many ways I could be defined as not ‘fitting’ and, therefore, not encouraged and, more than likely, not admitted. I was so

easily ‘defined out’ rather than ‘defined in’” (p. 74). The experience of multiple marginality speaks to the conditions under which women of color professors, in their unique ways, navigate through the academy.

Turner (2002) conducted interviews with 31 participants: four Asian American women, fifteen African American women, four Native American women, and eight Latinas. In addition, the researcher drew from and elaborated on 64 interviews of faculty members of color. The key themes that were uncovered during the course of the study were: manifestations of interlocking race and gender bias, challenges from academic old boy network, feeling isolated and underrepresented, salience of race and gender, being underemployed and overused by departments and/or institutions, being torn between family, community, and career, and being challenged by students.

Speaking to the reality of being a Native American woman professor, one participant states, ““This is hard to believe—for a long time I was the only woman of color on this faculty—for years... This campus is very, very white. Almost all of the Indian faculty are men”” (Turner, 2002, p. 79). Still another participant spoke of a sense of isolation noting, “Many [white] females in the college complain about the fact that up until recently...we have never had a full professor in [department name]. It’s changing, but it’s not changing fast. And then you add to that being the black female who has to be superwoman” (Turner, 2002, p. 80). Along with the sense of isolation and inordinate levels of stress, the participants of the study reveal the double load they are expected to shoulder.

One participant, who did not obtain tenure at her first university shares that as an African American woman faculty member she is expected to serve on more

committees, take on more service related duties, while shouldering her regular duties. On the other hand, women of color professors are not rewarded for extra service. Institutional reward systems deny tenure and security to professors engaged in more service than teaching and research, even when the service is assigned to meet institutional needs. A participant spoke of the feeling of being torn in several directions, “I realize how few people are available [to address these issues].... I sit on 53 doctoral committees. Doctoral students take a lot of time for the dissertation process.” (Turner, 2002, p. 83). Given the multiple ways in which the women of color professors in the study expressed how they are marginalized within the academy, Turner (2002) makes recommendations to assure their presence is valued and affirmed. The recommendations include: validate service and teaching, promote networking and mentoring, provide professional development sensitive to campus political dynamics, promote a welcoming environment, and accommodate conflicts of commitments. Turner (2002) concludes with the admonishment to other women of color professors to continue to support other women of color and to create empowering discourses that address their realities.

Narrated Portraits: The Lived Experience of Native Women in Academia

While Rains (1999), Vargas (1999), and Turner (2002) focus on commonalities of women of color professors, Jaime (2005) examines the experiences of Native American women professors in the academy. Jaime (2005) utilizes a mixed qualitative methodology to explore the experiences of two tenured Native American women professors: Dr. Phoebe Farris, Powhatan-Renape Nation, and Dr. Lisa Poupart, Lac Du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Anishinabe (Ojibwe). Jaime (2005) states,

“The lack of Native American women professors throughout the academy is troubling.... The underpinning threads to my study deal with the theoretical constructs of internalized colonization, decolonization, and the transcendence of identity for each Native American participant” (p. viii). Jaime (2005) continues, “In my research, I have examined the lives of other Native women in academia. The commitment I have to this topic reaches beyond the doctorate degree. I believe that the lessons I have learned from the women, and the information that I gather, will aid me and other Native women in understanding our common experiences” (p. 13). Specifically, Jaime (2005) uses a combination of three methodologies: portraiture, narrative inquiry, and storytelling. The combination of these methodologies, according to Jaime (2005), allowed for her to simultaneously hear the voices of her participants and her own. Jaime’s focus on the historical implications of Indigenous identities allows her to situate her study within an unabashedly Native paradigm.

Jaime (2005) reveals Native American women have historically been one of the smallest ethnic and gender groups in higher education. She also states there has been a lack of significant information and research about their experiences both as students and professors. In addition, the small numbers of Native American women professors belies the reality that there is an immense amount of diversity among Native American women.

Like the previously mentioned researchers, Jaime (2005) connects her study to her personal experiences as a Native American woman in higher education. Jaime (2005) writes, “Regardless of whether or not the reader is Native, she/he benefits from gaining a broader perspective of Native women’s experiences and lives...” (p. 17).

Jaime (2005) seeks to ascertain how Native women negotiate between their Indigenous identities, cultures, traditions, communities, relationships, and careers. Analysis of the data was based on a combination of interviews, the written words of the participants, relevant literature, and the researcher's own story.

First, the participants addressed the importance of identity as both a definition of self and as a means of decolonization. They revealed they had been confronted with situations in which they were forced to reconcile their self-identity with those others wished to impose upon them. Jaime (2005) reveals, "Phoebe and Lisa have both faced situations in their lives that have forced them to decide whether someone else has the authority to ascribe their racial group membership or whether they define their own racial identity" (p. 88). When asked how she defines herself as a Native woman Dr. Farris remarks, "I guess that's your culture and your family and how you kind of grew up... I think the culture is so important, if you're cut off from that, it's kind of hard to be Native American" (Jaime, 2005, p. 88). On the other hand, Dr. Poupart states, "I think that is something only we as individual women can answer.... Of course there are driving definitions and cultural definitions that are imposed upon us in some way, and those are the things that become really difficult" (Jaime, 2005, p. 88). Both participants answer the question of self-identity with different observations; however, they both touch on how the process is one of self-reflection. This self-reflection comes in the face of immense pressure within the academy for professors to conform to the dominant culture.

Dr. Poupart observes, "When I came six years ago, those [old White] guys were just starting to leave, and I could just feel the first year, maybe the second year, that

negativity; their sexism, their racism, their disdain for my discipline” (Jaime, 2005, p. 91). Similarly, Dr. Farris notes, “I supervise student teachers who are going to be art teachers, so I am out in the school systems. I will go and observe them [at the schools in the classrooms].... I will walk in the building and the teachers and kids are staring at me that go to the school, [even] the principal, I mean everybody...” (Jaime, 2005, p. 91). Dr. Farris also recalls the resistance she encounters from students,

You never forget who you are. They won’t let you forget it. So it’s always a part of your job just like you’re called on to do something when you encounter students who may have difficulty because of your race or administration or even clerical staff.... I mean I always have to defend myself-becoming almost the oppressor rather than the victim-that’s happened a few times right here in women’s studies. (Jaime, 2005, p. 90)

However, Dr. Poupart opens up about the many positive experiences she has had teaching predominantly White students (Jaime, 2005). Jaime (2005) writes, “Lisa, however, was in the minority or was the exception to this situation. Women faculty of color from across the country report negative interactions with disgruntled college students at the end of academic semesters” (p. 92). The two women touch on the resistance they encounter from a number of different people ranging from students, senior faculty, administrator, staff, and various public school personnel.

The other significant theme that emerged from Jaime’s study is that of seeking balance. Namely, Drs. Farris and Poupart express how creating balance in their lives aids them in negotiating and redefining their Native identities in their own terms. This balance comes in the form of support from family, community, and friends. When asked if she received support as a professor at Purdue University, Dr. Farris responded that her support network extended beyond Purdue University, “I think when you really

get down to it, your family is really the main thing because you can be academically successful but if you really have no family to go home to, and you don't have a life" (Jaime, 2005, p. 95). Likewise, "Well I know the things my elders talk about is living a life that's balanced.... It's hard. It's a hard thing to be Ojibwa and live a balanced life when I embrace the dominant culture as much as I do," states Dr. Poupart (Jaime, 2005, p. 95). Jaime (2005) concludes the two participants' experiences pay homage to the few Native American women that have successfully craved out careers as professors. Their success is defined in terms of nurturing identities that transcend beyond the colonization of the academy. The strong self-identification with their identities as Native women demonstrates how the participants are engaged in the process of decolonization, transcending and surviving in the often hostile environment of the academy.

Summary of Selected Studies

As illustrated by the aforementioned studies, several researchers have conducted studies that have illuminated the lived realities of women of color professors. The studies reveal how they encounter imposed and designated invisibility (Vargas, 1999), navigate through the contested terrain of the classroom (Vargas, 1999), and contend with a state of multiple marginality (Turner, 2002). The narratives of women of color professors are central in these studies. Studies on faculty have tended not to include the experiences of women of color and to a lesser extent the experiences of Native American women professors (Jaime, 2005).

Turner and Myers (2000) observe, "In most national education data American Indians have either been ignored or placed in the 'other' category. Much more needs to

be done to document their experiences in academia” (p. 42). Cross (1991), cited in Turner and Myers (2000), notes, Native American faculty are the least known members of the professorate and have been virtually ignored in the research literature. This study represents an opportunity to add to the literature about women of color professors, while providing much needed focus on the experiences of Native American women professors. Jaime (2005) contributes to the scant literature on Native American women professors with her study. Her narrative inquiry into the experiences of two tenured Native American women highlights the central nature of self-identity in the lives of Native American women professors.

Women of Color as Agents of Social Transformation

In calling for and providing meaningful examinations of the impact of identities on social positioning, women of color have amassed scholarship on how their “experiences construct differences” that force them to “negotiate within the dominant culture” and place them on the “periphery of society” (Berry, 2006, p. xv). The lived experiences of women of color have the potential to emphasize the need for problem posing questions and help to identify ways to engage in pluralistic, multidimensional approaches to social transformation.

For Mohanty, as cited in Butler and Raynor (2007), the criteria for social transformation include, but are not limited to, acknowledging (1) that the “goal of human interaction among human beings, action, and ideas must be seen not only as synthesis but also as the identification of opposites and differences...,” (2) it is “possible to address a multiplicity of concerns, approaches, and subjects without a dominant center...,” (3) conceptualizing “gender, race, class, and culture as mutually

interactive and related parts....,” (4) “...understanding of ethnicity that takes into account the differing cultural continua (in the United States, Western European, Anglo American, Africa, Asian, Native American) and their similarities;” and (5) “All knowledge is explicitly and implicitly related to who we are, both as individuals and as groups” (pp. 205- 206). Because of their unique position in society, by virtue of their multiple identities, women of color are ideal agents of transformation.

As such women of color possess “enormous powers to transform the American academy and even to move along the transformation of American society” (Cole, 2005, p. 1). In this unique position women of color become visionary activists, theoreticians, artists, and educators who embrace their otherness and alter the dialogue on race and gender by embracing a multitude of belief systems and perspectives (Anzaldúa, 2002). Mohanty’s criteria for social transformation are predicated on an understanding of how the experiences of human beings are connected to the inner workings of social institutions.

Andersen and Collins (2001) state, work, family, educational institutions, and government are all institutions where race, class, and gender divisions emerge. Race, class, and gender are a part of the institutional framework of U.S. society. Group and individual experiences are shaped within institutions. As such there is a historical legacy of people of color being excluded from or encountering barriers in gaining access to institutions of higher education. Turner and Myers (2000) write, “Not only were minority scholars excluded from full participation in the academy, historical accounts of their exclusion are almost entirely absent from the standard histories of the United States and American education” (p. 12). Works by preeminent African

American scholars like W. E. B. DuBois, Carter G. Woodson, and Horace Mann Bond were almost entirely excluded from academic discourse. Still countless other people of color were denied educational opportunities. Institutions of higher education become the almost exclusive domain of White male academics (Turner & Myers, 2000).

Through exclusionary hiring practices and laws, as well as socially sanctioned customs discrimination in public and private education continued well into the mid-twentieth century. At the turn of the twentieth century W.E. B. Du Bois predicted the greatest problem of the century would be the color line. Similarly, Butler (2000) writes the problem of the twentieth century will be the “persistence of the color line in the borderlands” (p. 8). Consequently, the dramatic demographic shifts that have taken place in the United States have brought greater awareness to issues of identity. The simultaneous rise of several social movements in the 1960s and 1970s allowed various groups to bring attention to a need for redefinition of social categories and a greater emphasis on egalitarianism in U.S. social institutions, including higher education. Namely, there were efforts to illuminate the coexistence of the national myth of democracy and equity for all U.S. citizens with historical records which reflect distinct divergences from these ideals (Banks, 2007).

DuBois and Ruiz (2000), in the introduction to their anthology *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, acknowledge the need to recognize the unique histories of women of color. In addition, DuBois and Ruiz (2000) warn this recognition can no longer be satiated with token acts of inclusion. While a multicultural approach to the histories of women of color can be problematic because it risks fragmenting historical records into infinite interpretations, a multicultural lens

“invites the study of cultural contact and transformation...” (DuBois & Ruiz, 2000, p. xii). The recounting of the histories of women of color becomes a series of deliberate and empowering acts of finding a shared voice, linking communities, and expanding the canvas upon which history can be painted.

Acknowledging the historically overlooked stories of women of color also means examining the experiences of women of color within the context of U.S. social institutions. A focus on greater access to higher education was significant because institutions of higher education have the opportunity to influence education at all levels, as well as public policy (Butler, 2000).

Prevailing histories attempt to distort and silence the presence of people of color. Nevertheless, institutions of higher education are also sites where collective and individual action can facilitate profound social transformation. “By its very existence, higher education is engaged in social change, and that education, which is the very essence of change, embeds that change in a living society” (Jackson, 2005, p. 12). Changes in social dynamics have caused questioning of “racial designations and identities that have driven and shaped our legal system, our folkways, our educational content and structure, our economy, and our social and cultural mores” (Butler, 2000, p. 8). Despite the persistence of restrictive racial ideologies and gender hierarchies people of color have continued to shatter the silence of imposed invisibility with their presence as professors in the academy.

Even though their relative numbers remain small (Rains, 1999; Vargas, 2002; *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 2004); many women of color professors have consistently shown a commitment to resisting hegemonic representations.

Representing a wide range of backgrounds and disciplines, they have made their presence known. Women of color professors have also engaged in pedagogy that challenges their students to undertake “border crossings.” However, as Vargas (2002) states the presence of women of color professors often means that the academy and, by extension the classroom becomes a “contested terrain” (p. 35). Vargas brings attention to the mechanisms of U.S. society that are reproduced in the academy and by extension the classroom. Similarly, hooks (1994) writes, “racism, sexism, and class elitism shape the structure of classrooms, creating a lived reality of insider versus outsider that is predetermined, often in place before any class discussion takes place” (p. 83). This leads to inevitable questions such as: what challenges do women of color professors encounter in the academy and in what ways do these challenges manifest themselves?

For Spivak (1993) when the identities of women of color professors merge with revolutionary practices the academy becomes a location where the “hierarchical power-lines of the institutional ‘dissemination of knowledge’” are challenged (p. 56). The presence of women of color professors ruptures prevailing social patterns while also questioning definitions of power. In other words, their presence in the academy serves as a call to redefine institutions as sites of decolonization rather than as agents of colonization (Miheuah, 2004). Women of color professors have made monumental strides in gaining access to higher education and positioned themselves as innovative leader and are represented at all levels of the professorate.

Nevertheless, Cole (2005) cautiously observes, “We women of color have clearly made some progress from the days when there was absolutely no place for us in the academy” (p. 1). The progress of women of color in attaining more positions in the

professorate does not mean they have been invited to fully participate as equals. Women of color have been largely excluded from academia as definers and producers of knowledge. For Native American women professors the exclusion has been even more significant (Jaime, 2005).

Summary

This review of relevant literature began with a brief examination of the historical overview of the three waves of the U.S. feminist movement, a brief overview of Indigenist feminism, a highlighting of the ways women of color are ideal agents of social transformation, and the role colonization has played in shaping the experiences of Native American women in education. Women of color have centralized feminist discourse around the intersectionality of issues of race, class, and gender, because White feminists in their attempt to universalize the experiences of women became participants in perpetuating White supremacist patriarchal values (Collins, 2000; Grande, 2004; hooks, 1981).

In so doing they failed to fully contextualize the historical and material realities of women who were not White, upper or middle-class, educated, or heterosexual. Women of color have a history of being silenced and marginalized. However, they also have a history of empowering themselves to speak from their positioning in society, shedding light of how privilege and oppression are manifested. Women of color resist universal categories and instead commit to radical critiques with the goal of collective emancipation of all peoples (Grande, 2004).

Grande (2004) notes, while the source of Native American women's struggles may be different than other historically disenfranchised women the manifestations are

remarkably similar. Critiques include the degree to which some White women participated in the colonialist project, disrupting the educational, social, political, economic, and cultural systems of Native American women. The focus is on the central issue of decolonization and self-determination (Allen, 1998; Goeman, 2003; Grande, 2004).

As such, postcolonial feminist theory does not dismiss the role of imperialism and capitalist exploitation in shaping responses to state policies for dealing with the perceived Native American problem. Native American women still remain virtually invisible within White, mainstream feminist discourse and texts (Grande, 2004, Mihesuah, 2003a). By examining the historical, cultural, and political contexts that inform the lives of Native American women professors in the academy, knowledge that is both transformative and reconstructive can take center stage.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of the study was to examine the perceptions of the experiences of Native American women professors within the academy, as it represents the legacy of Western colonialism. More specifically, this study explored the perceptions of Native American women professors through the following themes: manifestations of interlocking race, class, and gender bias; challenges from academic "old boy" networks; feelings of being isolated and underrepresented; connections to one or more tribal nation(s); influence of cultural traditions and values; concerns about tribal, national, and transnational identities; salience of race over gender; being underemployed and overused by departments and/or institutions; being torn between family, community and career obligations; and being challenged by students. Through the use of a postcolonial feminist theory framework and content analysis methodology this study examined selected articles in the *American Indian Quarterly* journal in which Native American women professors articulate their experiences in the academy.

Research Design and Methodology

In order to accomplish the purpose of this study a content analysis methodology was utilized. According to Neuendorf (2001) content analysis can be described as the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of the characteristics of a message. However, Krippendorff (2004) argues all content analysis is qualitative in nature stating, "all reading of text is qualitative even when certain characteristics are later converted into numbers" (p. 16). Content analysis involves the thorough examination of any piece

of written or visual human communication such as those that appear in magazines, newspapers, television commercials, paintings, speeches, novels, and many others. Similarly, Fraenkel and Wallen (2006) define content analysis as “a technique that enables researchers to study human behavior in an indirect way, through an analysis of their communications” (p. 483). The purpose of content analysis is to study the written communication of humans in an unobtrusive manner.

Content analysis allows the researcher to study social behavior without influencing it. Rather than present the details of a message set, the methodology allows a researcher to generate conclusions that can be generalized to other situations (Neuendorf, 2001). By extension content analysis allows for a researcher to decipher what is being communicated, why it is being communicated, and with what effects (Babbie, 2004). Content analysis can be recognized by the appearance of the codification process, which involves placing coded data into key categories. Once data is converted into key categories a random sample is selected and analyzed. The random sample formed the basis for the content analysis study. Ordinarily in content analysis studies researchers represent their findings in the format of tables or charts. Various statistical analysis tools are utilized in order to illustrate specific trends and patterns.

Qualitative approaches to content analysis have their genesis in literary theory, the social sciences, and critical theory (Creswell, 2003). In addition, qualitative approaches have several characteristics in common: (a) they require a thorough reading of small amounts of textual material, (b) they require the interpretation of texts into new narratives, and (c) analysts acknowledge they are working within particular hermeneutic contexts that parallel their socially and culturally understanding of texts

(Krippendorff, 2004). There are five distinct forms of qualitative content analysis: discourse analysis, social constructivist analysis, rhetorical analysis, ethnographic content analysis, and conversation analysis (Krippendorff, 2004).

For the purposes of this study critical discourse analysis (CDA) was also utilized to identify the presence of key themes in a sample of texts because it allowed the researcher to simultaneously engage in a process of self-reflection and an exploration of how Native American women professors actively represent the meaning of their lives through the written text (Krippendorff, 2004). According to van Dijk (2001) CDA is inherently about rejecting the notion that research is value free, but is influenced by prevailing social structures that are reproduced in social interactions. CDA allows for discourse to be located in specific historical, cultural, and political contexts, as well as the possibility of explicitly recognizing the role of social power (van Dijk, 2001).

Fraenkel and Wallen (2006) identify five advantages to using content analysis. First, content analysis is an unobtrusive research method. Second, it is useful in analyzing interview and observational data. Third, the researcher can interpret the social life of an earlier time by delving into records and documents. Fourth, content analysis can be relatively economical in terms of time spent and resources. This is particularly true if information is readily available in the form of books, periodicals, newspaper, and so forth. Finally, because data is readily available it is possible to replicate the conditions of a content analysis study.

On the other hand, Fraenkel and Wallen (2006) also identify key disadvantages to content analysis methodology. First, analysis is usually limited to recorded

information. Second, internal validity is predicated on assumptions that other researchers would categorize the available data in a similar manner. Third, because researchers only have access to records that have been deemed important enough to preserve it may not be possible to construct a full picture of past trends. Finally, there may be a tendency of researchers to attribute a casual relationship between the variables of a phenomenon as opposed to emphasizing how their interpretations merely reflect patterns. Despite the limitations of content analysis, the nature of the methodology to be used to examine human communication makes it useful for the purposes of this study.

Data Collection

The researcher conducted a search of the journal *American Indian Quarterly* (*AIQ*) through the Project Muse database to ascertain the number of journal articles that had been authored by Native American women professors about their experiences within a thirty year period (1974 to 2004). The *AIQ* is a peer-reviewed, interdisciplinary journal of the anthropology, history, literatures, religions, and arts. A thirty year period was selected because the initial publication of *AIQ* in 1974 coincided with the rise of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the early 1970s. The AIM began as a national effort to organize around activities such as protests advocating Native American interests, cultural renewal, monitoring law enforcement, coordinating social programs in cities and in rural reservation communities across the United States.

In addition, during the period between 1974 to 2004 court cases like *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978), *Hopwood v. University of Texas Law School* (1996), and *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2001) placed needed attention on the impact

of affirmative action on diversity policies in higher education. Each journal article was analyzed for the occurrence of themes. The occurrence of a particular theme was noted. Themes took the form of a single word, phrase, sentence, paragraph or entire document. Following the initial search for journal articles, ten journal articles were selected for analysis. All ten journal articles were written by women professors that self-identified as Native American or mixed-blood. The researcher realized after conducting a search of each issue from 1974 to 2004 there would be a smaller number of journal articles than the thirty initially proposed. All of the articles analyzed were from the *Winter & Spring 2003 Special Issue: Native Experiences in the Ivory Tower*. The 10 articles represented all of the relevant articles found within 28 volumes of *AIQ*.

Pilot Study and Instrumentation

A pilot study was conducted by the researcher to become familiar with the use of the methodology and provide insight into any ambiguities of the coding instrument. The pilot study also helped the researcher to establish both content validity of the instrument and to improve research questions, format, and the scales (see Appendix B for the results). In addition to the researcher, one individual, uninvolved in the research project, utilized a content analysis methodology to code the same article for data transformation and to establish intercoder reliability.

The coding process took place over a two week period. Prior to the analysis of the journal article the researcher provided the outside coder with knowledge of the purpose and background of the study, methodology, the coding scheme, and content analysis procedures. Following the coders' independent analyses of the same journal article the results were compared. The results of the analyses revealed the coders agreed on the presence of five out of seven themes. The first coder observed the

presence of the theme Concerns about Tribal, National, and Transnational Identities in the text and the second coder did not. The second coder observed the presence of the theme Connection to Tribal Nation(s) and the first coder did not observe the presence of this theme in selected text.

The second coder expressed the need for clarification of three of the themes located in the instrument. The first coder, upon consideration, determined changing the coding scheme of the instrument would not dramatically increase intercoder reliability. Therefore, despite minor inconsistencies in their observations the two coders were generally consistent in their textual analysis.

An instrument designed by the researcher was used in the final dissertation to analyze the sample journal articles. The coding scheme for the instrument was guided by themes identified in the initial research questions. The themes were:

- Manifestations of Interlocking Race, Class, and Gender Bias (MIRCGB)
- Challenges from Academic Old Boys Networks (CAOBN)
- Salience of Race over Gender (SRG)
- Feeling Isolated and Underrepresented (FIU)
- Connection to Tribal Nation(s) (CTN)
- Influence of Cultural Traditions and Values (ICTV)
- Concerns about Tribal, National, and Transnational Identities (CTNTI)
- Being Underemployed or Overused by Departments and/or Institutions (BUODI)
- Being Torn Between Family, Community, and Career Obligations (BTBFCCO)

- Being Challenged by Students (BCS)

Instead of the traditional research criteria for evaluating the quality of research of internal validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity the researcher will use the equivalent terms credibility, transferability, and dependability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The credibility and transferability of the instrument was verified by conducting a pilot study.

Qualitative Credibility and Transferability

As outlined by Lincoln and Guba (1985), the following strategies were used to insure credibility and transferability of this study. The researcher selected one journal article at random from those identified in *AIQ*. Examples of themes were noted in the instrument and later catalogued in an Excel spreadsheet, for later comparison. In an attempt to address researcher bias another coder read and coded the same journal article. Both coders' results were compared for any major inconsistencies. The interpretations of the data were reviewed by the researcher according to the extent of focus on a theme. These approaches were used to insure the findings were accurate and trustworthy (Creswell, 2003).

Data Analysis

Project Muse was utilized because it is a widely available, searchable academic index and provided access to several full-text academic journals. First, a relevance sample of journal articles from the *American Indian Quarterly* was selected. Second, the researcher engaged in a close reading of the sampled texts to ascertain the presence of ten themes identified in the three initial research questions. Third, guided by postcolonial feminist theory framework, the researcher explored the significance of

how Native American women professors articulated their experiences within the academy. The following coding scheme was employed as suggested by Krippendorff (2004):

1. The researcher performed a close reading of a small number of selected texts;
2. The researcher identified the presence of key themes;
3. The researcher combined overlapping or duplicate themes;
4. The researcher will identify any themes that are not a part of the coding scheme;
5. The researcher made inferences from the most prevalent categories in the texts to the experiences of Native American women professors.

Protection of Human Subjects

The study did not involve contact (past or present) with any human subjects. The researcher analyzed publicly available secondary source documents in which the authors willingly identified themselves. Thus the names of the authors have not been altered.

Background of the Researcher

The researcher of this study is a male of African American ethnic heritage in his thirties. He was born in the small town of Cordele, Georgia and raised in Germany, South Korea, and Colorado. While growing up outside of the United States, the researcher's parents provided many opportunities to be exposed to ideas and situations that ended up facilitating the development of a socially responsive critical consciousness.

The researcher's educational background consists of a B.S. in Business from the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs and a M.A. in International and Multicultural Education from the University of San Francisco. The researcher's interests include the exploration of the representations of historically marginalized ethnic groups, gender and globalization, the impact of race and gender in educational attainment, academic and social development of youth of color, women of color feminist theories, the role of men and allies to women of color, and the experiences of women of color in higher education.

While working on his bachelor's degree the researcher enrolled in a women's studies course and his academic interest in feminist scholarship was sparked. The researcher's interest in the experiences of Native American women came about while enrolled in a doctoral course taught by Dr. Betty Taylor entitled "Women of Color in Higher Education" at the University of San Francisco, Department of International and Multicultural Education. The researcher was disheartened to see the research literature was largely devoid of the experiences of Native American women professors in academia.

During the course of the researcher's educational career in higher education he has endeavored to balance the understanding of theory with meaningful praxis. However, praxis, with respect to research conducted on communities in which a researcher is an outsider, must be informed by a continual interrogation of the intentions of their motives. The researcher is mindful of the historical implications of decades of research that has been conducted on Native American peoples. Because research on communities of color has tended to be informed by standards set by White

male researchers, they have often been at the mercy of those with the social power to interpret the cultures of the Other as the researchers have seen fit. The researcher wishes to contribute to the possibility of men serving as allies to women color because racism and sexism, as well as all other forms of oppression, are problems that must be confronted by *all people*. The researcher remains a committed and staunch feminist, believing in the equality of all human beings.

Nevertheless, the researcher believes this study is important for shedding light on the richness of the lives of Native American academics and the ways they are constrained by institutional patterns and policies. The researcher acknowledges that in retelling the stories of Native American women professors they are reshaped and informed by his own racial and gender frame. It is the hope of the researcher that this study will serve, not as the final word on the topic, but as a testament to the bravery and resilience of Native women professors, as well as other women of color, past and present. May the stories of these courageous *warrior women* provide inspiration to those in the academy be willing to listen, learn, and can and work to and transform the academy into a more hospitable and welcoming place for Native American women.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The purpose of the study was to examine the perceptions of the experiences of Native American women professors within the academy, as it represents the legacy of Western colonialism. More specifically, this study explored the perceptions of Native American women professors through the following themes: manifestations of interlocking race, class, and gender bias; challenges from academic "old boy" networks; feelings of being isolated and underrepresented; connections to one or more tribal nation(s); influence of cultural traditions and values; concerns about tribal, national, and transnational identities; salience of race over gender; being underemployed and overused by departments and/or institutions; being torn between family, community and career obligations; and being challenged by students. Through the use of a postcolonial feminist theory framework and content analysis methodology this study examined selected articles in the *American Indian Quarterly* journal in which Native American women professors articulated their experiences in the academy.

More specifically, this study sought to address three major research questions:

1. To what extent do Native American women professors have similar or different experiences as other women of color professors within the context of the academy such as manifestations of interlocking race, class, and gender bias; challenges from academic "old boy" networks; salience of race over gender; and feelings of being isolated and underrepresented?

2. To what extent do Native American women professors demonstrate empowerment within the academy as demonstrated through connections to one or more tribal nation(s); influence of cultural traditions and values; and concerns about tribal, national, and transnational identities?
3. To what extent do institutional policies and practices influence the work experiences of Native American women professors within the academy when confronted with being underemployed and overused by departments and/or institutions; being torn between family, community and careers obligations; and being challenged by students?

This chapter is presented in two sections. First, the findings of the content analysis of the journal articles are presented. Second, the research questions are answered with appropriate quotes. These quotes are meant to support the assertion that the themes were observed in the text and, by extension, the researcher's analysis.

Overview of Content Analysis Findings

The researcher utilized the database Project Muse to obtain a relevant sample of journal articles from the *American Indian Quarterly (AIQ)* between the years of 1974 through 2004. This involved searching each issue to identify any articles that fell within the sampling frame. After a sample was obtained the researcher catalogued each article by recording specific demographic data on the Textual Analysis Form (see Appendixes A and B). The researcher then performed a close reading of the texts. The researcher then attempted to identify the presence of the initial key themes:

- Manifestations of Interlocking Race, Class, and Gender Bias (MIRCGB)
- Challenges from Academic Old Boys Networks (CAOBN)

- Feeling Isolated and Underrepresented (FIU)
- Connection to Tribal Nation(s) (CTN)
- Influence of Cultural Traditions and Values (ICTV)
- Concerns about Tribal, National, and Transnational Identities (CTNTI)
- Salience of Race over Gender (SRG)
- Being Underemployed or Overused by Departments and/or Institutions
(BUODI)
- Being Torn Between Family, Community, and Career Obligations
(BTBFCCO)
- Being Challenged by Students (BCS)

At times the themes were represented by a sentence or two and at other times they were represented in more detailed passages. Once a theme was identified the researcher recorded the paragraph and page number on which the theme was observed. The researcher combined any overlapping or duplicate themes. Next, the researcher identified any themes that were not a part of the coding scheme. Finally, the researcher made inferences from the most prevalent categories in the texts to the experiences of Native American women professors.

In this study, all articles were written by women who self-identified as Native American, First Nations, or mixed-blood individuals. The authors' tribal affiliations were varied and included Shawnee, Choctaw, Haida, Menominee, Cherokee, Pit River, Valley Maidu, Mischif Nation, and Nez Perce. The authors occupied positions ranging from instructor, adjunct faculty member, to full professor. In addition, the women represented disciplines from English, History to Native American studies and women's

studies. In addition, they were employed at institutions in various geographical regions of North America. At the time of the publication of the articles some of the women were in the midst of completing their doctoral degrees and teaching in their respective departments. Since the articles were published some of the women have moved on to other institutions and in the case of one, left the academy. A total of ten articles were analyzed in random order by the researcher.

In general the data revealed Native American women professors endure numerous challenges in their daily experiences in the academy. The challenges took the form of public censure, denial of promotions, stereotyping and tokenism, questioning of their authority by students, institutional racism and, in the case of one professor, physical attacks. These challenges had taken an emotional toll, yet most of the women shared how they found moments of empowerment and balance in the midst of an academic maelstrom. In large part their empowerment is interrelated with their connections to strong cultural values and traditions. In addition, as Native American women professors they expressed the importance of concerns for tribal, national, and transnational issues. Table 1 and Table 2 provide a visual depiction of the overall results of the qualitative content analysis. In order to preserve the narrative nature of the journal articles, the researcher elected to utilize a narrative model in presenting the findings of the study.

Table 1

Themes Observed in Textual Analysis

Themes	Authors				
	Gareau	Pelletier	Calhoun	Lacourt	G.-Hawkins
MIRCGB	X	X		X	
CAOBN	X	X	X	X	X
FIU	X	X	X	X	
CTN		X	X	X	X
ICTV			X	X	
CTNTI	X	X	X	X	X
SRG	X		X	X	X
BUODI			X		
BTBCCO					
BCS	X				X
X indicates the presence of the theme in the text.					

Table 2

Themes Observed in Textual Analysis

Themes	Authors				
	H. –Avila	Jaime	Mihesuah	Sellers	Breinig
MIRCGB					
CAOBN	X	X	X	X	X
FIU	X	X		X	X
CTN	X	X		X	X
ICTV	X	X	X		
CTNTI	X	X	X	X	X
SRG	X	X		X	
BUODI				X	X
BTBCCO		X			X
BCS	X	X	X	X	X

X indicates the presence of the theme in the text.

Research Question One

To what extent do Native American women professors have similar or different experiences as other women of color professors within the context of the academy such as manifestations of interlocking race, class, and gender bias; challenges from academic "old boy" networks; salience of race over gender; and feelings of being isolated and underrepresented?

Manifestations of Interlocking Race, Class, and Gender Bias

Three authors mentioned the occurrence of this phenomenon. For Julie Pelletier, assistant professor in anthropology at the University of Minnesota-Morris and of Mi'kmaq and Maliseet/French American-Canadian descent, noted, "While I suspected that some of my colleagues were 'passing' for middle class, the sense of isolation was intense. At the age of thirty, as a working class, mixed-blood woman, I have never been so thoroughly surrounded by nor immersed in middle-class society" (p. 371). In another instance Pelletier (2003) concluded, "I am convinced both by my social interactions and my anthropological training, that all of the facets of a person's identity, including race/ethnicity and social class, are significant factors in shaping his or her experience in academia" (p. 372). The words of Marcelle Marie Gareau, a former tenure track lecturer in anthropology and a member of the Mischif Nation, mirrored many of Pelletier's ascertains:

When I went from being a student to a lecturer I continued to be seen as a resource object and a bundle of stereotypes by many colleagues with whom I worked. Depending upon the individuals, their criteria, and the agenda of the moment, I often ended up classified in a variety of ways that conformed with the dominant ideology's stereotypes of Native women. Sometimes colleagues defined me as the Native woman with 'traditional' values, untainted by my academic experience. (p. 197)

This is an indicator of how some of Native American women professors felt they were adversely impacted by the interlocking nature of their perceived differences and these differences in some way hampered them.

Challenges from 'Old Boy' Academic Networks

As illustrated in Tables 1 and 2 Challenges from Academic Old Boys Networks was one of the most common themes observed in the texts. All ten of the women addressed this theme in some form. For example, Stephanie Sellers, a part-time instructor of Shawnee descent at a predominantly white liberal arts college in Central Pennsylvania, wrote:

Though my part-time position lacks the opportunities of a tenured professor, I am encouraged to submit upper-division course and first-year seminar proposals, which I do each year. So far I have never taught either, but I am continually promised that 'next year' there will be funds and room in the schedule for my courses (which are always approved by the department and the assistant provost). (2003, p. 414)

Sellers (2003) continued:

When I first realized that I was the only Native faculty on campus, that I am certainly qualified to teach Native courses, and that there are few to no classes in the discipline taught on campus, I naively thought that *surely* they would be glad to have me bring a stronger presence of the discipline to campus. Indeed, I am told repeatedly that college has a 'curricular crisis' in the field of Native studies, that the college very much wants, values, and needs the field brought to campus in regular course offerings each semester. But so far, nothing has materialized. (pp. 414-415)

Sellers' reflections about the challenges she faces from deeply entrenched institutional hierarchies are echoed by Angela M. Jaime, a Purdue University instructor of Pit River and Valley Maidu descent. Jaime (2003) recalled:

The issue of my teaching students the various perspectives on controversial issues in the world became such an enormous problem with my course coordinator and the department head that one week

before the winter term in 2000 began I was called at home and told I would be losing a quarter-time teaching position (one course) because they felt my teaching methods needed more practice and fine tuning. This was to be the sixth semester I taught the course, and it so happened that one of the new administrators at the university had a wife who wanted to pursue a degree and teach in the curriculum and instruction department. (2003, p. 260)

Similarly, J. Anne Calhoun, an assistant professor of Cherokee descent at an unidentified university, addresses how she experienced challenges from old boy academic networks, “I was overtly and covertly discouraged to rely on American Indian knowledge and learning in my teaching and/or writing. Nor was I able to insert much depth in courses about the needs of children from ethnic minority groups” (2003, p. 133). Other Native American women professors wrote about various experiences of encountering resistance from administrators, colleagues, and staff.

Jeanne A. Lacourt, an assistant professor of American Indian studies at a large state university and a member of the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin, recalled the response of an administrator during an annual demonstration against the use of a Native mascot by a rival university:

In my role as advisor I spoke directly to one of the top administrators to let him know that this fenced structure was degrading. His response to me was precisely these words: ‘We don’t want you here!’ Not only did he say this to me once, he looked me directly in the eye and shouted those words a second time. (2003, p. 305)

Inés Hernández-Avila, a poet and full professor in Native American studies at the University of California, Davis of Nez Perce and Tejana descent, revealed similar feelings:

(I am saying this quite personally. It is amazing how often I find myself thinking, ‘Do they take me for a fool?! Do they think I’m an idiot?!’) Again, I am not talking about allies; I’m talking about some faculty, staff, and administrators who act as if with impunity. There are

individuals who make me wonder: either they are truly thoughtless and ignorant or truly malevolent, controlling, mean spirits. Neither speaks well for them. (2003, p. 242)

In the case of all the women they recalled numerous experiences of being challenged by staff, administrators, and colleagues alike. The challenges they faced often appeared to be out context situation, but the consequences were very real. However, for the professors they believed the challenges, in large part, stemmed from their identification as Indigenous women. As in the case of Lacourt (2003) who found herself face to face with a top administrator who found it appropriate to *scream* at her during a peaceful demonstration. Regardless of the rank of the professoriate the women occupied, they found themselves being met with challenges. This is significant in the face of those who would state the academy is a neutral institution. The experiences of these Native American and First Nations women professors would suggest that it is not. Calhoun (2003) commented, “The most profoundly hurtful experience that I had at a former institution was when a tenured faculty member publicly censured me by describing me as ‘not having been properly socialized’ and then dismissing my comments” (p. 138). What toil had these public and personal slights taken on the women?

Several of the authors shared deeply personal thoughts about the emotional toil the academy has exacted on them. Lacourt (2003) commented:

I was first resistant to writing about my experiences as a graduate—describing the uncomfortable positions I found myself in and sharing tough situations I am currently experiencing as an assistant professor in a predominantly white institution. Writing about these events call to life the pain, humiliation, and feelings of inadequacy that I have endured and continue to encounter. (p. 296)

Hernández-Avila (2003) echoed these sentiments:

Suffice it to say, I have been knocked many a time by the academy, by arrogant racist faculty who literally at times cannot even speak to me, who in committee meetings turn their backs on me, who cannot even begin to try to fathom what it is I do in Native studies. (p. 240)

Calhoun (2003) equated the experience to that of being silenced:

Most institutions ask that we pay a very high price for membership; that, in becoming academics, we silence our own community voices. This is a great loss for our personal autonomy and the sovereignty of our communities as well as a piercing of the idea of academic freedom and the evolution of new knowledge. (pp. 132-133)

Perhaps the most striking words were written by Gareau (2003):

I cannot speak for others, but on a personal level these experiences had a tremendous impact upon me that went far beyond the material aspects of not obtaining a degree and leaving a job. The ongoing process destroyed a great deal of my faith in humanity and left me as a shadow of my former self. (p. 199)

The words of the women emphasize how the challenges they are confronted with on a daily basis are connected to the subsequent emotional turmoil they experience. The daily indignities they are subjected to are many and varied. As they struggle to balance the marginalization they experience in the academy with a desire to continue to teach, research, and engage in service, they are repeatedly confronted with the institutional patterns of the academy.

Overlapping themes were also observed and these took the form of tokenism, stereotyping, lack of knowledge about Native American cultures, languages, and peoples, lack of sufficient mentorship, a disconnect between institutional policies and the institutional realities Native American women professors faced, and objectification. In addition, some of the women wrote about the notion of the academy as a site of continued colonization. Gareau (2003) revealed:

Throughout my years in academia I saw many Native students and lecturers undergoing emotional hardships because of the imposition of stereotypes and the pressure to conform to the expectations of those who represented the dominant social structure. Like myself, many left when they realized that this form of education was not about attaining knowledge but about socialization into a social structure that said we were 'less than' our non-Native peers. (p. 198)

Gareau's comments hint at the academy being viewed as a colonialist structure.

Expressing a similar thought, Jaime (2003) wrote:

In looking back at my story I share with you, I want to make it clear that I do not feel my experiences in the ivory towers of academia have been unbearable. Experiences of Native people in a system created by non-Native (and even some created by Natives themselves) have an underlying intent to weed out or fail those who do not look like them or are not from their culture. I walked into this profession and area of the world fully aware of the inevitable challenges and barriers that would be erected in front of me. (p. 262)

The gatekeeping mechanisms that are meant to silence, marginalize, or slow the progress of Native American women professors in the academy are so pervasive they appear to be the academic norm. As revealed by the experiences of these women little has changed with respect to the barriers they encounter. However, this is only a part of the story. These barriers also extend to the level of representation of Native American women professors.

Salience of Race over Gender

Based on the textual analysis, Salience of Race over Gender appeared to be a noteworthy theme for seven authors. In many cases when race was addressed it was often within the context of experiences of acts of covert and overt racism. For instance, Sellers (2003) remarked:

Unfortunately, I have had some bitter experiences of blatant racism and, perhaps because I so foolishly believed racism could not exist at this fine college so lauded for its commitment to civil rights and the highest

academic endeavors. I was utterly shocked and disillusioned about the institution and human beings in general. (p. 413)

Likewise, Calhoun (2003) disclosed:

There is a widely and deeply held belief on the part of my white colleagues that racism is something done by individuals through overt or covert actions against other individuals. Sometimes this belief is tied to one specific characteristic-skin color. Some would believe that they cannot commit racist acts against anyone who looks like them regardless of the identified race of that person. As a clever trick of psychological avoidance, this worldview allows many mainstream faculty to remain comfortably aloof. (p. 132)

Jeane Breinig, associate professor in the English department at the University of Alaska-Anchorage (UAA) and a member of the Haida Nation, remembered an encounter that occurred that following a pre-employment presentation in which her appearance was called into question, “one person, who I later found out was a member of UAA’s diversity committee, most likely one who pushed for Native faculty hires, commented upon the fact that I did not look particularly Native and asked how I would ensure Native students would know that I was” (p. 105). The conjecture that Native people can be identified by their physical appearance was an inherently racist assumption.

Devon A. Mihesuah, a full professor of applied Indigenous studies and history at Northern Arizona University and a member of the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, expressed concern for an administration that perpetuates racism, “An administration that pretends to admire tribes’ cultures by incorporating many classes about Natives into the curriculum does not mix well with the reality of academic racism and ignorance...” (2003b, p. 462). Lacourt (2003) also addressed the occurrence of institutional racism when she stated, “What differs here from graduate school is not so

much those standout moments of overt racism and discrimination-they happen here, too-but rather the disparity between what the university professes to do and the reality of what is done” (p. 303). Mentions of experiences with racism were sometimes coupled with observations of a lack of institutional accountability. In other words, the women not only faced individual acts of racism from colleagues, staff, administrators, and students, but also faced a lack of institutional support or accountability that often exasperated the situations.

Calhoun (2003) offered these thoughts, “What we are discussing here as ‘differences,’ then, appear to have their basis in the structure of institutions (definitions of academic freedom, governance, power issues and are hidden from view by the institutionally professed color blindness of cultural individualism embraced in multiculturalism” (p. 146). Thus, the salience of race was directly connected to prevailing institutional patterns that were not adequately addressed within the broader institutional setting and thus contributed to the continuation of a hostile environment. Failure to address how institutional racism affected the Native American women professors allowed members of the dominant culture to, as Calhoun (2003) pointed out, remain blissfully unaware of the effects persistent racist acts had on their colleagues, even those that only appeared to be White.

Feeling Isolated and Underrepresented

The theme of Feeling Isolated and Underrepresented, it was the second most common theme observed in the texts. Eight out of ten of the authors mentioned this theme in their articles. There appeared to be a connection

between challenges from old boy academic networks and feelings of isolation and underrepresentation.

Sellers (2003) revealed, “I did not anticipate the amount of loneliness I would feel among people who I believe to be quite kind and respectful...” (p. 412). Sellers (2003) loneliness existed despite knowledge of her presence on campus, “everything Native American about me and around me is invisible to my coworkers: my personhood, my discipline, Native colleagues in the field, Native owned and produced publications (including my own)... (p. 412). Sellers (2003) further wrote that the education of individuals from the university president to faculty and students did not include a significant focus on Native cultures and histories and led to a lack of firsthand knowledge about Native Americans.

Breinig (2003) shared her experience of being hired as one of two Alaska Native professors at UAA:

Since we were directly hired in 1995, we have remained the only full-time Alaska Native faculty hired for academic tenure-track positions at UAA. Two years ago I received tenure and promotion and was relieved that the following year I would be able to serve on one of the committees that passed judgment on the tenure file of my colleagues.... (p. 103)

Eight years after being hired in a tenure track position Breinig remained one of *two* fulltime Alaska Natives at the university. Considering that the number of Native American women professors has been historically low this is not surprising. The key consideration then shifts to the ramifications a sense of isolation and underrepresentation has.

Jaime (2003) wrote, “It is difficult to survive in a world where you may, and in most instances are the only ‘one.’ I became the only Native student, Native woman,

Native teacher, Native friend, Native anything. Identity becomes the focus of your existence and survival in a non-Native society” (p. 253). Lacourt (2003) summarized her thoughts following the publication of the names of faculty members that participated in a peaceful demonstration on campus and the replacement of a politically active Indigenous woman in a key staff position, “This initiating event spoke clearly to me. Indigenous women are not valued (or wanted) here, especially if they challenge the status quo. Actually anyone who tries to work outside the colonialist structure is seen as a complainer and a problem” (p. 304). The manner in which the women expressed how they experienced isolation and underrepresentation was viewed as taking place within colonialist structures.

Lacourt (2003) expressed the idea of this interconnectivity:

As students, faculty, and staff of color, we try to work within the system. We attend meetings with those in positions of power; we write letters, reports, and recommendations. We work collaboratively on committees, and still the meetings end up being arenas where power playing is palpable. Our letters, reports, and recommendations are often ignored or rejected, and working on committees, where we are merely the ‘token’ unheard voice, produces no change. (p. 304)

Lacourt (2003) further revealed, “I have no politico-cultural voice at this institution.

Like a tree, inside the colonialist structure my branches continue to be cut” (p. 306).

Power seems to be central to the sense of isolation the authors describe. It is the power of those who belong to the dominant culture to define and isolate them. The sense of isolation extends to pressure to conform to the dominant academic social structure (Gareau, 2003). For Gareau (2003) the sense of isolation was so intense that she made the difficult decision to abandon her academic career. With painfully vivid words Gareau (2003) reminisced:

The longer I taught the more obvious it became that since I was not propagating the ideologies and beliefs of the 'ruling class,' I would rarely be supported in my attempts to achieve the academic freedom that my colleagues saw as a right. As a result of this lack of administrative support I also became a safe target for verbal, emotional, and, in a couple of cases, physical assault from faculty. (p. 198)

The sense of isolation and underrepresentation expressed by the professors was almost palpable. The feelings they described were both heartbreaking and validating. In expressing their hurt and anguish they illuminated many of the realities they faced on a daily basis. Namely, what it *felt* like for them to be the only one or one of a few Native American women professors on their campuses. It was in this setting that their resolve was tested.

Research Question Two

To what extent do Native American women professors demonstrate empowerment within the academy as demonstrated through connections to one or more tribal nation(s); influence of cultural traditions and values; and concerns about tribal, national, and transnational identities?

Connections to One or More Tribal Nation(s)

With respect to the theme Connections to One or More Tribal Nation(s), eight out of ten of the women mentioned this in some form. The mentions ranged from self-identification with particular tribal nation(s) to attempts to integrate tribal work into an academic context. Therefore, this theme represented an important one for the authors.

Pelletier (2003) wrote:

I am French and Native American, or perhaps I should say Native Canadian, since my father was born in Quebec. Of course, in Canada I am labeled 'Métis,' a term used to describe people of mixed Indigenous

and French ancestry. ...To make matters a bit more interesting, I am descended from two tribal groups, the Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet. I also have dual Canadian and U.S. citizenship. (p. 369)

For Hernández-Avila (2003) notions of identity were just as complex:

Sometimes my identity has been cast in doubt because I speak Spanish, because besides being Nez Perce (I am an enrolled on the Colville Reservation), I am also Mexican Indian, because I work in that 'messy area' between the two colonial languages and nation-states that have divided us against each other. (p. 240)

Sellers (2003) stated, "College administrators and my colleagues know that I am a tribally enrolled Native American (Shawnee). I used my tribal enrollment card for Form 1-9 identification when I became employed there four years ago, and I (used to) speak often of my academic endeavors in the Native American discipline" (p. 412). Nevertheless, formal enrollment was not the only determining factor in tribal nation connections. For most of the women it was self-identification that was at the crux of a sense of connection. Becca Gercken-Hawkins, an assistant professor in the English department at the University of Minnesota-Morris of Cherokee and Irish American descent, wrote:

I self-identify as Cherokee and Irish American, and even though I do not look especially Indian with my dark curly hair and light skin, I easily meet my tribe's blood quantum standards.... Because of my appearance and lack of enrollment status, I expect questions regarding my identity... (2003, p. 200).

In all the cases in which the women mentioned their connections to their respective tribal nation(s) they wrote about them with a strong sense of pride. Their pride in their tribal affiliations served as a source of empowerment. In large part it seemed to give them a sense of feeling grounded. For Calhoun (2003) her connection to her nation came with a sense of obligation:

Being a traditional American Indian carries commitments to one's nation and one's people, whatever one's nation. ...our commitment to our community maintains our mental health and well-being and guarantees the mental and physical strength of our future generations. There is no choice to 'just say no.' To be asked to do so is ludicrous. It asks us to deny the opportunity to practice our traditional cultural, familial, and religious relationships, forms of spirituality.... (p. 144)

The connection Calhoun (2003) wrote of extended beyond the idea of membership in a particular tribal nation. The connection provided a means of acknowledging, celebrating, and feeling a part of something that was bigger than any one individual or community. Lacourt (2003) also reflected on how a connection to her community served as a driving force in her life:

In short, I come from committed thinkers who cleverly strategize for our survival and future-from strong women who step forward fearlessly in times of crisis and from one of the most beautiful places on earth. I am a paper-carrying, recognized Menominee descendent, an activist, and a feminist, and I cannot thrive without trees, especially pine. (p. 297)

Yet, several of the women wrote of the problematic nature their identity presents for others. The problematic nature of their identities did not begin when they became professors, but often many years before. Case in point, Pelletier (2003) wrote:

As an anthropologist I was interested in how my colleagues and professors at graduate school addressed the two disparate social factors of race/ethnicity and social class in their interactions with me. My appearance is not particularly 'ethnic'; I can pass for white. Many of my colleagues and some professors asked questions about my identity as an Indian or mixed-blood person in a way that was occasionally uncomfortable-I did not attend graduate school to be studied.... (pp. 371-372)

Jaime's experiences with forming a sense of identity were complicated by a sense of growing up with a sense of isolation, "I was raised to be proud of my heritage and culture. I was the only self-identified Native student in my high school, however, and

there were no support groups or clubs for Native students. There were also no Native teachers, administrators, or community groups for Native people” (2003, p. 252).

Identity, as expressed by the Native American women professors, contributed to their ability to weather their chaotic experiences in the academy. Their ability to draw on their respective cultural traditions and values provided a tether to their tribal nation(s). This was paramount to their ability to not only survive, but thrive within the colonialist structure of the academy.

Influence of Cultural Traditions and Values

The theme Influence of Cultural Traditions and Values was present in five of the ten texts and often overlapped with Connections to Tribal Nation(s) and Concerns for Tribal, National, and Transnational Identities. Mentions of how cultural traditions and values exert influence on the lives of the authors took the form of statements ranging from definitions of community to broader considerations of Indigenous identities.

Jaime (2003) recalled the experience of moving from California to Indiana:

Moving to Indiana not only meant isolation from our family and friends but also from our cultures. I am northern California Native American and my husband is first generation Californian Mexican American. Language, cultural ties, and geography are essential aspects to the livelihood of our culture. The truth is that no matter where you are, you are still Native American...; the difference is how embracing the environment is to your ‘difference’ as a person of color, a woman.... (p. 258)

Lessons about the ability to preserve in the face of hardships, according to

Hernández-Avila (2003), were associated with tapping into the unbroken line of her ancestors:

Getting up, shaking myself off, remembering who my parents are, my grandparents all the way back, remembering to honor them, holding on, staying steadfast, keeping my sense of humor. Remembering to create, to laugh, to sing, to dance, with all my heart. Blood, it is in the blood, it is in the blood. Deep, deep red. Deep blood. Spirit deep. Spirit, heart, body, mind, will. The will is in the blood. Remember. (pp. 240-241)

For Hernández-Avila (2003) and Jaime (2003) culture served to sustain them. It gave purpose to many of the decisions they chose to make. Hernández-Avila (2003) likened the influence of culture to something that resided in her blood, something intrinsic to who she was.

Mihesuah (2003b) located the influence of cultural traditions and values in a broader context, “Indigenous communities must preserve their social, political, economic, and religious knowledge in order to pass it to the next generations. They also must protect it from misuse by others. A tribe’s knowledge defines that community’s uniqueness and explains its relation to the world” (p. 471). Similarly, Calhoun (2003) wrote, “Our communities form the basis for our becoming academics, for the scholarship that we produce, and for the ways in which we teach students. Our communities are our very lives” (p. 140). Finally, according to Lacourt (2003) the influence of culture runs deep especially in the face of a lack of institutional support:

My experience has been that institutions are happy to count us but not equally eager to welcome our voices as Indigenous people with different points of view. The result is this day-to-day struggle to keep my branches from being cut and the social schizophrenia produced because of having to work within the colonialist structure. Throughout these years the advice I received and that I feel confident to pass on comes from community elders who consistently remind me: ‘remember who you are and where you come from (p. 306)

Strong ties to cultural traditions and values formed the foundation for which the women wrote. They expressed their cultures in varying ways and to varying degrees. However,

they were all remarkably similar in how they demonstrated their cultural knowledge. The words may have been different, but their unwavering bond with their communities was apparent.

Concerns about Tribal, National, and Transnational Identities

Like Challenges from Academic ‘Old Boy’ Networks, Concerns about Tribal, National, and Transnational Identities was one of the most commonly occurring themes. The women expressed their concerns for tribal, national, and transnational identities in a multitude of ways. Nevertheless, the common thread among all the authors were references to the potential impact Indigenous identities have on the creation of sustainable and vibrant communities. Illuminating issues that are often rooted in historical, economic, political and cultural inequalities seemed to be an act of empowerment for them and one that they took very seriously.

Mihesuah (2003b) commented:

There are certain topics that I discuss in every class I teach, whether it be about politics, literature, or history. One is that all areas of Native studies-policy, Indigenous rights, identity, health, literature, history, religion, philosophy-are intertwined, and I tell students at the onset that there is no way that I can see to discuss one area without bringing in aspects of the other areas. Another focus topic includes effects of colonization, and another deals with decolonization strategies. ...using this strategy opens the eyes of non-Natives who thought they knew everything there is to know about Indians from watching *Dancing with Wolves* and reading Tony Hillerman novels. (p. 464)

Likewise, Calhoun (2003) mentioned the importance of an expansive focus on issues that impact Indigenous communities:

As American Indians, the heart of our identities lies within our alliances in a communal society. To remove ourselves from that is to destroy our identity as individuals and to attempt to destroy our communities-communities that have existed for more than 14,000 years

prior to the arrival of the Europeans and their concept of the university.
(p. 134)

While reflecting back on her early career, Breinig (2003) had these words of wisdom to other Native scholars:

More than anything, I urge beginning Native scholars whose work is intimately connected to tribal concerns to communicate that early and often to hiring committees and later to the department in general. They need to know what drives your academic work, and you need to know how your work will be valued in the department you are thinking of joining. Unfortunately, I missed this opportunity. (p. 105)

For Hernández-Avila (2003) Native scholars have the opportunity to actively transform the academy into a more welcoming space.

Hernández-Avila (2003) wrote:

The academy is a sickening place, *but* as Native scholars we can create another kind of space. We do have that option, and we do get paid to think about things that matter deeply to us and to work on projects that mean something to us. We get to teach and thereby participate in a transformative and healing endeavor that goes way beyond us as individuals and even nations. (p. 244)

For Jaime (2003), her concerns were rooted in an attempt to disrupt and dispel prevailing stereotypes about Native Americans:

I was tired of reading history books and literature that constantly portrayed Native people as frozen in history, alcoholics, poor, uneducated, and shiftless. I know the beauty possessed in Native culture and communities and I felt I would make the most difference pursuing a career in education to spread the word. (p. 256)

According to Lacourt (2003), even Indigenous scholars working in their communities must be aware of the implications their presence. She wrote, “Working in one’s home community was not without difficulties, however. Many of our communities have been ‘researched to death’ by previous researchers who have taken much, offered little, and left nothing and in some instances have damaged the tribe” (Lacourt, 2003, p. 302). As

Native American women scholars, resisting and challenging the dominant conventions of their disciplines becomes a deeply political act that is entrenched in disrupting the colonial structures of the academy.

The manner in which the women professors wrote about their strategies for the empowerment of Indigenous communities are grounded in principles of decolonization and self-sufficiency. Their dissatisfaction with the status quo of the academy is evidenced by their focus on the difficult, and necessary, focus on continuing the visibility of Native Americans scholars in the academy. Ultimately, the presence of these Native American women professors can serve to emphasize a conscious desire to bring attention to the importance of Indigenous rights. Their individual struggles to overcome oppression and marginalization are directly connected to tribal nation building and sovereignty.

Research Question Three

To what extent do institutional policies and practices influence the work experiences of Native American women professors within the academy when confronted with being underemployed and overused by departments and/or institutions; being torn between family, community and careers obligations; and being challenged by students?

Being Underemployed and Overused by Departments and/or Institutions

Being Underemployed and Overused by Departments and/or Institutions was one of the least mentioned themes. Three of the ten women mentioned this theme in their articles. The observations largely centered on feelings of being overwhelmed by the extra expectations that were placed on them as Native American women

professors. They expressed that they were not only expected to complete their assigned duties, but also to take on extraneous work, which often was not recognized by their departments.

Recalling an experience at her former institution Calhoun (2003) wrote:

In a casual conversation, I mentioned that there appeared to be a discrepancy of expectations for American Indian faculty members in the institutions. She asked me to explain my perceptions. I stated that while I was assigned to my particular school from which I am paid, the administration of the institution also appeared to expect that I would serve as a faculty member, including doing teaching, research, and service, in a second department in another college without recognition for this work... (p. 143)

Calhoun's experience with a non-Native colleague who could not understand *why* she viewed her work within a larger context of cultural and social obligations. As previously highlighted, many of the professors commented on how their work was influenced by their tribal memberships and Indigenous identities.

Breinig (2003) also mentioned the importance of a sense of obligation:

Foolishly, I rarely said no, partly because I felt an obligation to serve and partly because I was not experienced enough to distinguish between activities to which I could meaningfully contribute and activities where my presence or absence would most likely make little difference. At one point I remember feeling overwhelmed and asking my chair how much service I was supposed to be doing. He cheerfully told me, 'as much as you like!' Especially if we are one of few Native faculty at an institution, this decision about where we might usefully contribute is a difficult one-everywhere is the obvious answer. (p. 111)

Breinig (2003) addressed the conflict that arises between the view of the academy as a meritorious institution and the reality that some Native American women professors are forced to work twice as hard as their non-Native colleagues. Even after expending inordinate amounts of energy to take on extra work these activities often fail to be appropriately weighed during promotion and tenure processes.

On the other hand, Sellers (2003) shared her experiences as an adjunct professor:

Though my part-time position lacks the opportunities of a tenured professor, I am encouraged to submit upper-division course and first year seminar proposals, which I do each year. So far I have never taught either, but I am continually promised that 'next year' there will be funds and room in the schedule for my courses (which are always approved by the department chair and the assistant provost). (p. 414)

Despite the assurances that her efforts would result in greater responsibility, Sellers was continually denied the opportunity to expand her teaching. Oddly enough, this occurred in spite of the institution making it clear that there was a void in the curricular area of Native studies.

Thus, the experiences of the professors represented two ends of the spectrum: being overused and being underemployed. Regardless of their individual experiences, they seemed to be confronted by circumstances that were out of their control. Whether they were attempting to find balance within the face of overwhelming workloads or being denied the opportunity to take on additional responsibilities, specific institutional obstacles prevented them from doing so. It is apparent that these women took their responsibilities very seriously and sought to negotiate through the obstacles they were confronted with to the best of their ability.

Being Torn Between Family, Community and Career Obligations

Being Torn Between Family, Community and Career Obligations was a theme that was mentioned by two out of ten of the women. While it is not clear why this seemed to be a theme that was not explicitly mentioned by more authors, two of the professors considered it important enough to address. Interestingly, both of the women identified themselves as academics that were the mothers of young children. As a result,

the age of their children and their relative newness to their career roles may have caused them to be more cognizant of how they could balance the many demands on their time and energy.

Breinig (2003) shared her experiences of attempting to find balance between her roles:

The first year felt so chaotic that I had difficulty carving out time to write. In addition, to teaching three new courses per semester and assuming far too much service, I was raising our two young sons almost alone because my husband was still working in Juneau, where we were living before I was offered this position. I brought the boys with me, and he commuted between the two places. (p. 111)

Jaime (2003) reflected on the difficult decision she and her husband made to move from California to Indiana so that she could pursue a doctoral degree to further her career:

We were young and knew we would not stay so far away, yet we were hesitant to leave. Family is very important to my husband and me, and the connection we have to them is what keeps us strong. It was one of the hardest decisions we have had to make, and one that, even today, we are not sure was the best decision. (p. 258)

Jaime (2003) revealed the tension that existed arose:

I look back at the first year we spent at Purdue and realize it was the most trying year for me as a Native person. I was raised as a child and as a student of higher education in California to speak my mind and point out inequality. This attitude and demeanor was not welcomed by a wide majority of the students, staff, or faculty at the university. (p. 259)

The manner in which the women wrote about the challenges of balancing their multiple roles revealed the pull they experienced.

They shared how they contended with the many demands of an academic career along with raising children. At times this has involved making the difficult decision to leave their home community for the sake of their chosen career. These have been

extremely difficult decisions for them to make and unfortunately the climate in which they find themselves in the academy does not make these decisions any more reassuring.

Being Challenged by Students

Being Challenged by Students was one the themes that was most often addressed in the texts. Seven out of ten of the professors indicated various experiences of being challenged by students. Challenges to their authority were far reaching and took many different forms. The challenges ranged from resistance to being taught material that opposed the status quo, resisting the authority of Native American women professors, to racist and stereotypical speech.

Addressing student resistance to being engaged with counterhegemonic material, Breinig (2003) wrote:

I was prepared for the worst, and I was not disappointed. The first day of class a non-Native woman enrolled in the creative writing master of fine arts (MFA) program (at that time housed in the English Department) came visibly ‘unglued’ during the class, partly, I think because of the way some of the first conversations in class processed and her relationship to the issues at stake. She was visibly shaking at the break and asked me if this would be the tone of the class, because if it was she just could not take it and would have to drop the course. Soon after, she did. (p. 107)

Breinig (2003) had another similar encounter with a student, One non-Native anthropology student commented that if she had written Vine Deloria’s *Red Earth, White Lies* (1995), she would have been accused of racism. She then asked the class why Deloria was allowed to “‘get away with it-and if you weren’t Native why couldn’t you?’” (p. 108). Sellers (2003) recalled visiting another professor’s Native religion class as a guest lecturer:

When I came to her class to talk to her students about the notion of sacred reciprocity, I found so much hostility and anger that our talk was stalemated every few minutes by questions like, ‘Can you relate the religion of the Central American Indians to the ones in California? Or to Greek mythology? Or Christianity. ...The classroom methodology was entirely Western for an entirely non-Western subject. (p. 415)

Similarly, Mihesuah (2003) revealed, “Anytime I mentioned controversial topics in my lectures, such as repatriation, colonization, the disastrous colonization policies, or even racism, I was challenged and informed on end-of-semester evaluations that I was trying to be ‘politically correct’ and was ‘making things up’ (p. 459). Hernández-Avila (2003) shared her strategies for dealing with difficult students:

Regarding problem students, I have a practice of keeping copies of their papers, especially if I think they might contest my evaluation of their work. I always tell students, ‘I’m willing to stand by what I wrote on your paper, are you willing to stand by what you wrote?’.... These students can indeed drain your energy, but the paper trail is important. (p. 247)

In addition to instances of encountering student resistant to counterhegemonic pedagogical methods and being forced to develop strategies for handling disputes, some of the women also commented on experiences with students that resisted their authority.

Gareau (2003) stated how her presence as a Native woman in a position of authority was questioned, “Regardless of my credentials, the question of whether or not I was qualified as a lecturer to evaluate a student often revolved around whether the student was non-Native and whether I was challenging the worldview of the dominant social structure” (p. 198). Gercken-Hawkins (2003) anticipated encountering resistance on campus, but was still taken aback by the responses of a group of students:

I was still shocked when a month into my teaching a small, mixed-race group of students approached me in the cafeteria with the following

statement: 'We just want you to know that you're going to have someone in your Native American literature class that will have a problem with you teaching it since you're white. But we told her you only look white. (p. 201)

The experiences the women shared about challenges from students represent an extension of the same prevailing institutional patterns that maintain persistent racism and sexism.

Specifically, these experiences, according to Turner and Myers (2000), represent the privilege of ignorance and the ignorance of privilege. Colored by values from the dominant culture the students of the professors were not quite sure how to respond when faced with an authority figure that did not fit the stereotypical mold or teach in a traditional manner. As a result, they responded by lashing out in anger, shutting down, or resorting to racist remarks. The students' responses to the women they perceived as outsiders highlighted how these professors lived with daily experiences of double marginality, being a part of two worlds, but somehow being separate.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This research study, using a postcolonial feminist framework and qualitative content analysis methodology, explored how Native American women professors perceived their experiences within the academy as a legacy of colonization. The findings in Chapter 4 revealed the Native American women professors: (1) were consciously aware of how their identities as Native American women shaped their encounters with non-Native administrators, colleagues and students; (2) openly expressed positive views of their tribal affiliations; (3) viewed the academy as an extension of the continuing legacy of colonization; (4) considered their identities as Indigenous women to be a source of empowerment; and (5) had deeply held concerns for broader issues that impacted Indigenous communities. Given these findings, this study endeavors to provide creative strategies for addressing the concerns Native American women professors raise about the climate of the academy. In this chapter, the researcher presents: (a) discussion of the findings; (b) conclusion; and (b) implications of the study.

Discussion

All of the initial ten themes that were identified prior to data collection were observed, to some extent, in the texts. However, seven prominent themes did emerge. In descending order they were:

1. Challenges from Academic ‘Old Boy’ Networks (CAOBN)
2. Concerns about Tribal, National, and Transnational Identities (CTNTI)

3. Connections to Tribal Nation(s) (CTN)
4. Feeling Isolated and Underrepresented (FIU)
5. Salience of Race over Gender (SRG)
6. Being Challenged by Students (BCS)
7. Influence of Cultural Traditions and Values (ICTV)

Even though this was a qualitative study, the researcher felt he would be remiss in not accurately portraying, in some part, the quantitative nature of the themes. Therefore, the findings of this study are significant in five ways.

First, the findings support and validate previous studies conducted on the overall experiences of women of color professors (Rains, 1999; Vargas, 1999; Vargas, 2002; Turner, 2002). Previous studies overwhelmingly found that women of color professors are consciously aware of the constraints and obstacles they are confronted with in the academy. Women of color professors have often articulated how they encounter chilly climate in the academy, one in which their race and gender garner more attention than their credentials or qualifications. Also, the findings help to bolster the limited amount of research that has been conducted on Native American women professors in recent years (Jaime, 2005).

Collectively the ten Native American women professors were aware of the many challenges they faced from academic ‘old boy’ networks and students. These challenges were identified as being deeply rooted in the larger context of colonization of the North American continent. Colonization continued to spread its crushing and brutal tendrils throughout the lives of these Native American women professors. Ultimately these challenges were meant to devalue and silence their voices. Racist and

misogynistic gatekeepers acted out their disdain and frustrations with the presence of Native American women professors through various academic channels such as hiring, tenure, and curriculum committees. The damage that was inflicted was often done behind the scene. The consequences, however, were consistently felt by the Native American women professors on a daily basis.

Second, the authors openly wrote about their positive views of their tribal affiliations, how their very identities as Indigenous women were a source of empowerment. Their race and gender, however, remained problematic for others. Through their actions, and in some cases, inaction, administrators, staff, colleagues, and students participated in creating an environment that was often hostile. On the other hand, in spite of the challenges they faced the professors offered insights into the richness of their cultures. In addition, they revealed how deep their spiritual, intellectual, and philosophical connections to their communities were. In most cases their insights provided glimpses into their childhoods and families and how these experiences shaped the women they became.

Third, the Native American women professors identified the academy as sometimes being an extension of the legacy of colonialism. The Native American women professors wrote about how they were targets of, in the words of Rains (1999), imposed invisibility. They were rendered the Other within institutional structures that were designed to exclude, rather than include them. Manifestations of an interlocking nexus of race, class, and gender often resulted in a hostile work environment, a sense of isolation, marginalization of work by administrators and colleagues who were perceived as racist and consistent challenges of authority by students.

Fourth, the Native American women professors' connections to various tribal nations allowed them to speak about concerns for issues affecting Indigenous communities. Their stories served as counterhegemonic discourse, calling into question Eurocentric, stereotypical representations of Native American women. The efforts of the Native American women professors extended to connecting their work in the academy to broader issues such as sovereignty, economic sustainability, and decolonization of Indigenous communities. Many universities have made attempts to bring diversity to their faculty, but ineffective hiring practices have meant that the small number of Native American women professors remains small. Nevertheless, the Native American women professors, in the face of possible institutional reprisals, boldly shared their experiences.

Finally, the perceptions of the Native American women professors bring needed attention to the realities they have faced while pursuing academics careers. They illustrated how they strive to create a reality in which justice for Indigenous peoples is more than mere rhetoric. Their insistence on reclaiming and celebrating Indigenous knowledge, traditions, and values is a responsibility they take seriously. For it means an active resistance of the effects of colonization. This is a responsibility that infuses their lives and scholarship. The social and political discourse they generate is central to their calls to resist cultural hegemony.

Conclusion

Native American women professors engage in a simultaneous process of revealing the realities of their experiences in the predominately White academy and identifying the ways their cultural knowledge, values, and traditions help to empower

them in an often hostile environment. As such they cast doubt on traditionally Eurocentric and racist representations of Native American women, as inherently powerless (Klein & Ackerman, 1995; Allen, 1998; Mihesuah, 2003a). Their teaching, research, and service are infused with an emphasis on their multiple identities as women, women of color, Indigenous women, mothers, academics, scholars, wives, daughters, tribal nation members, artists, and activists.

Jaime's (2005) study concurs with the idea that the process of giving voice to lived experiences is a necessary and beneficial outlet for Native American women professors to explicitly state that they are not victims, but that they are continually seeking ways to empower themselves, to seek answers, and find solutions. This is made even more remarkable because they seek and find ways to be empowered in environments that are viewed as an extension of the legacy of colonization. As members of sovereign nations that have experienced hundreds of years of colonization, they remake the academy as a space where they can gain the credentials that are often necessary to have their work taken more seriously by members of the dominant culture. Most importantly their work in the academy allows them to proactively contribute to bringing much needed attention to a myriad of issues affecting their communities, to become agents of decolonization. The presence of Native American women professors in the academy provides a reminder that only they can tell their stories, because they are ones that live them.

Native American women professors recognize the challenges that inform their interactions in the academy. Nevertheless, challenges like completing dissertations, applying for tenure, engaging in research, serving on institutional committees, and

mentoring students are seen as important social obligations. They view their obligations as a useful way to promote the concerns of various tribal nations. Despite acknowledging all of the challenges they have endured, most of the Native American women professors in this study elected to remain in the academy. Their reasons for doing so were, no doubt wide ranging, but ultimately, they all wanted to teach and engage in service that was able to make a difference in the lives of others. The experiences of the Native American women professors in this study reveal the first step in changing the environment of the academy is a willingness of all members of the academy to *listen*. Next is a willingness to understand how a more equitable redistribution of cultural and social power has the potential to expand knowledge of the experiences Native American women professors face in the academy, and to disrupt the business as usual attitude that is commonplace.

Situating Indigenous women's knowledge beyond its merely physical manifestations indicates the formation of Native American women professors' identities is complex and dynamic. The colonialist structures of the academy have been damaging to their spirits, one of the authors elected to leave as a result and another chose to find a more hospitable institution. Nevertheless, the majority remains and they thrive. Jaime (2003) offers these final words of encouragement to other Native American women professors,

I walked into this profession fully aware of the inevitable challenges and barriers that would be erected in front of me. I also know I have countless others to face. In the attempt to understand my struggles, however, I do hope that the comfort that you are not the only one struggling to survive in a world build against you helps in some small way. (p.262)

These scholars offer insightful and beneficial knowledge about the paradigm shifts

that could allow the academy to become a more welcoming place for Native American women professors and women of color professors, in general.

The academy can be a stressful place for many women of color professors (Rains, 1999; Vargas, 1999; Turner, 2002). They attempt to balance multiple professional, institutional and personal obligations with the added stress of contending with the habitual challenges and obstacles that stem from their race, class, and gender. These challenges come in the form of feeling isolated and invisible, being the targets of racist, sexist, and classist acts, and contending with a lack of institutional support (Rains, 1999; Vargas, 1999, Turner, 2002).

Likewise, the first hand written accounts of Native American women professors examined in this study illustrate that they too experience these same stresses. Their experiences serve to highlight the complex sociopolitical and sociocultural issues they confront with on a daily basis. The experiential knowledge of the ten Native American women professors reveals the importance of understanding how their marginalized positioning in the academy only tells part of their stories.

The institutional realities of Native American women professors position them within the broader category of women of color professors, but failing to look beyond this basic level of analysis increases the likelihood of perpetuating monolithic representations of women of color professors. According to Mohanty (1991), women of color share similar experiences of marginalization, oppression, and misrepresentation, however, the way in which they articulate their lived realities is wide ranging. The same can be said of women of color professors in the academy (Rains, 1999; Vargas, 1999; Turner, 2002). The lived realities of women of color

professors in the academy imply that the more ways a professor differs from what is considered “normal,” the more marginalized they become (Turner, 2002).

Similarly, the Native American women professors in this study came from different cultures and backgrounds. In addition, they articulated their experiential knowledge in many different ways. They connected their lived realities of Native American women professors to issues such as identity formation, colonization, and decolonization. According to Jaime (2005) this connection is crucial for developing a deeper understanding of how these experiences influence the development of successful strategies for self-empowerment. The presence of Native American women professors in the academy calls into question traditional notions of what a professor should look or teach like (Vargas, 1999). By extension their presence challenges the efforts to maintain the status quo of the academy.

This study echoes many of the findings of previous studies that have focused on identifying the overall experiences of women of color professors (Rains, 1999; Vargas, 1999; Turner, 2002) and expands on the research literature on Native American women professors (Jaime, 2005). This study also systematically identifies the very unique concerns of Native American women professors, as they articulate them through the self-reflective and empowering process of writing. Very limited research on the experiences of Native American women professors existed before this study. Therefore, this study helps to contribute to research on the lived realities of Native American women professors in the academy (Jaime, 2005).

This study has the potential to provide knowledge for administrators, professors, staff, and students who are interested in becoming stronger proponents for more

inclusion of Native American women professors in the academy. Acknowledging their stories is validation for how these women courageously and boldly speak out against the colonialist structures of the academy. The findings of this study reveal, by sifting through memories of their experiences in the academy, Native American women professors reconstruct the very space of the academy, and without hesitation, declare their presence.

As members of colonized groups the stories of Native American women professors serve as a form of resistance to cultural hegemony. Within these spaces Native American women professors address issues of social justice such as self-determination, social justice, and decolonization. For this reason this study adds significantly to understanding how Native American women professors articulate their experiences in the academy. This study, using a post-colonial feminist theory framework, also focuses on the potential that exists for Native American women professors to use various forms of resistance to empower themselves within the academy including activism and writing and teaching about the issues effecting their communities. Acts of resistance can even extend to electing to leave the academy or to leave one university for another that offers a more nurturing environment.

Finally, this study emphasizes how the academy continues to be a contested terrain. It is a central terrain where power and politics play out on a daily basis (Mohanty, 1994). Most importantly, emphasis is placed on how individual and collective knowledge of historically marginalized peoples, the recovery of oppositional histories, and the creation of alternative ways of resisting cultural domination are made integral characteristics of the lives and work of Native American women professors.

The amount of research on the experiences of Native American women professors has been negligible. What this study illustrates is that more attention needs to be focused on the very unique and specific strategies individual groups of Native American women professors use to contend with the challenges they encounter in the academy. The limited research literature that does exist has tended to focus on institutional concerns rather than on personal stories. In academic research personal stories are often seen as inconsequential. To discount the stories of Native American women professors, because of their relatively small numbers, limits the opportunities institutions have to dissect and strategize about how to effectively tackle issues like racism, sexism, and classism in a way that results in long-term changes to policies. Change cannot happen if the present realities are not acknowledged and explored in meaningful ways.

Implications of the Study

This study emphasizes how the limited research literature has tended to focus on women of color professors as a singular group and not on how groups articulate their particular experiences and concerns (Rains, 1999; Vargas, 1999; Vargas, 2002; Turner, 2002). An unwillingness to consider that Native American women professors contend with unique challenges limits the ability of institutions to reach the level of diversity necessary to meet the needs of quickly changing student populations. How then can institutions become more mindful and engaged around the issues Native American women professors raise in an effort to make the academy a more hospitable environment? The answer lies in a three-fold strategy: becoming allies to tribal nations, increasing opportunities for empowerment and mentoring of Native American women

professors, and increasing and validating the presence of Native American women professors.

Becoming Allies to Tribal Nations

The first component of the strategy is for colleges and universities to become allies to tribal nations to bring greater awareness of the diversity of Native American cultures, languages, and traditions to their institutions. Establishing relationships with leaders or elders of tribal nations in all likelihood will require a great deal of time, patience, and fortitude. For decades Native American peoples have been the target of disingenuous and unethical academics that have co-opted their histories, traditions, and artifacts in the name of research. *All* U.S. institutions of higher education occupy lands that are the ancestral lands of the Indigenous peoples of North America. Much damage has been and continues to be done by overzealous and thoughtless researchers and much work must be done to repair the schism between the academy and tribal nations.

Once relationships have been forged, the talk can turn to how institutions can welcome tribal members to campuses as part of an educational exchange program and vice versa. The end goal would be to systematically develop ways to dispel what is currently believed to be ‘knowledge’ about Native Americans and envision ways for members of the academy to be of service to tribal nations. Much care must be taken so that it does not become about creating events, forums, and workshops where knowledge about Native Americans are created for the sake of curiosity or exploitation. Ultimately, this component of the strategy is about tribal nations revealing the issues that they see as most vital to their communities and how members of the academy can be of service to them.

Increasing Opportunities for Empowerment and Mentoring

The second component of the strategy is for institutions to closely and honestly examine what resources are available to meet the needs of Native American women professors and other women of color professors. In other words, institutions need to put their money where their symbolic mouths are. As this study indicates Native American women professors are fully aware and mindful of their experiences. It is others that disregard or overlook issues of race, class, and gender. Native American women professors do not have this luxury because they live with these issues on a daily basis.

It is not possible to change the minds and hearts of all members of the academy, but what is possible is the creation of institutionally sanctioned and sponsored workshops, writing circles, support groups, and informal groups that would allow Native American women professors to develop and exchange teaching methods, mentor one another, and collectively develop strategies for empowerment with each other and other women of color professors across a campus community and between institutions. Creating spaces for the development of critical agency and validation of intellectual contributions is vital to the retention of Native American women professors.

Increasing and Validating the Presence of Native American Women Professors

The third component of the strategy is to increase the number of Native American women professors in the academy and to validate their service and teaching. This component of the strategy would require transformation of the tenure and promotion processes institutions utilize. The manner in which teaching, service, and curriculum development are defined would need to be critically analyzed and changed

to be more inclusive of various theories, pedagogies, perspectives, and ideas.

Expanding these areas would allow for an increase in the quality of education across institutions.

Also, institutions should consider establishing endowed professorships that are targeted at Native American women professors. Endowed professorships would aid institutions by providing a faculty member who does not have to be paid entirely out of the operating budget, showing an institutional commitment to increasing faculty diversity, allowing the university to reduce its student-to-faculty ratio, and redirecting money that would otherwise have been spent on salaries toward other operating expenses.

CHAPTER VI:
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AND RESEARCHER'S
PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

Recommendations for Future Research

In this study the role of strong connections to cultural values and traditions in facilitating self-empowerment of Native American women professors was the most prevalent strategy employed by Native American women professors. When addressing the challenges they faced from old boy academic networks and students, the women often referred to their connections to their Indigenous communities as a source of empowerment. For example, as a proud Native American woman educator, Jaime (2003) wrote about her desire to bring attention to the beauty of Native American cultures rather than remaining focused on the negative depictions of Native American communities.

Recommendations for future research should include research on how the early socialization of Native American women professors contributes to their choice to become academics. Future research on early socialization of Native American women professors could contribute to better helping university administrators and policymakers to understand how the academy can be transformed into a location that welcomes and nurtures Native Americans in much the same way they were nurtured in their communities. Having culturally relevant support is crucial for the recruitment and retention of Native American women professors.

Research should be expanded to include more of a focus on Indigenous women professors in other countries such as the Maori in New Zealand, Aborigines in

Australia, the Sami of Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Russia, the Kurds of Iran, etc. The ways Indigenous women professors confront barriers often goes unarticulated in to a wider audience. Focusing more attention on the small number of Indigenous women, worldwide, who successfully navigate through the academy, would provide a way of recognizing the barriers they face, as well as celebrating their intellectual and academic achievements.

In addition, research, using various methodologies and theoretical frameworks, needs to be conducted to obtain a more layered and comparative portrait of the diverse experiences and strategies for empowerment used by Indigenous women professors. Research methodologies such as critical ethnography, case studies, biographical study, and participatory research are methodologies that would lend themselves to acknowledging issues of power, representation, and the need for critical studies. How are the strategies of empowerment similar? How are the strategies different? The more data that is collected and analyzed, the better equipped institutions of higher education can be in transforming the academy's chilly climate into one that willingly creates spaces for a multitude of backgrounds, cultures, genders, perspectives, and worldviews.

Researcher's Personal Reflections

The data collection process was one that took many hours to complete. At first I was *certain* I would be able to obtain a sample of thirty articles. As I scoured through thirty years of back issues of *AIQ*, one by one, I realized that this would not become a reality. On some level I felt a sense of defeat before I had even begun to analyze any of the data. Would ten articles be sufficient to complete my study? Would I be able to

‘hear’ what the women who were opening themselves up and writing about their sometimes painful and sometimes joyful experiences in the academy? Was it totally necessary for me to ‘get it’ in order to make this dissertation significant?

As I sat mulling over these and many other questions I came to a realization. This is the point I have been working toward. This was it! I needed to trust in my abilities as a researcher. I needed to continue to reconnect to the original purpose of my research study. I stated that relatively little research was available about Native American women professors, so it should not have surprised me that I came up against this roadblock. While this relieved some of the pressure I knew that something was still missing. I also needed to remain open to the words of the authors, to keep going back to the texts when I was unsure. In the end this dissertation represents my interpretations of the experiences of Native American women professors. I am thankful for the opportunity I have had to be engaged in the process of learning and growing in knowledge about Native American women professors.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Instrument Format for Demographics

This form is to be filled for each text.

Directions

- A) Identify key identifiers for each text.
- B) Read the text.
- C) Place a check mark in the appropriate column when a specific theme is detected in the text.
- D) Indicate the location of the theme in the text.
- E) Make note of any themes that are not in the coding scheme.

Database journal article was located in:

Publication journal article was located in:

Professor's name:

Professor's tribal nation affiliation(s):

Institutional affiliation(s):

Rank occupied in the professoriate:

Department of institution professor is appointed to:

APPENDIX B

Instrument Format for Textual Analysis and Results

<i>Themes:</i>	<i>Place check mark when observed</i>	<i>Location of theme in text (page and paragraph)</i>
MIRCGB		
CAOBN		
FIU		
CTN		
ICTV		
CTNTI		
SRG		

BUODI		
BTBFCCO		
BCS		

Place Additional Coder Observations Below:

APPENDIX C

Demographics of the Pilot Study

This form was filled for the analyzed text.

Directions

- B) Identify key identifiers for each text.
- B) Read the text.
- C) Place a check mark in the appropriate column when a specific theme is detected in the text.
- D) Indicate the location of the theme in the text.
- E) Make note of any themes that are not indicated in the coding scheme.

Database journal article was located in:

Project Muse

Publication journal article was located in:

American Indian Quarterly Winter & Spring 2003 (Special Issue: Native Experiences in the Ivory Tower)

Professor's name:

Marcelle Marie Gareau, former PhD student in anthropology

Professor's tribal nation affiliation(s):

Member of the Mischif Nation in the province of Quebec, Canada

Institutional affiliation(s):

Unknown

Rank occupied in the professoriate:

Former tenure track lecturer

Department of institution professor is appointed to:

First Nations studies and anthropology

APPENDIX D

Instrument Format for Textual Analysis and Pilot Study (Coder #1 and Coder #2)

Coding Scheme: Themes

- Manifestations of Interlocking Race, Class, and Gender Bias (MIRCGB)
- Challenges from Academic Old Boys Networks (CAOBN)
- Feeling Isolated and Underrepresented (FIU)
- Salience of Race over Gender (SRG)
- Connection to Tribal Nation(s) (CTN)
- Concerns about Tribal, National, and Transnational Identities (CTNTI)
- Influence of Cultural Traditions and Values (ICTV)
- Being Underemployed and Overused by Departments and/or Institutions
(BUODI)
- Being Torn Between Family, Community, and Career Obligations
(BTBFCCO)
- Being Challenged by Students (BCS)

Instrument Format for Textual Analysis and Results
(Coder #1)

<i>Themes:</i>	<i>Place check mark when observed</i>	<i>Location of theme in text (page and paragraph)</i>
MIRCGB	X	p. 197, par. 5
CAOBN	X	p. 197, par. 5; p. 198, par. 7
FIU	X	p. 197, par. 5
CTN		
ICTV		
CTNTI	X	p. 196, par. 3; p. 199, par. 10
SRG	X	p. 197, par; p. 198, par. 7

BUODI		
BTBFCCO		
BCS	X	p. 198, par. 5 and 6

Place Additional Coder Observations Below:

Other themes that were observed are: being viewed as an “object” or potential “informant” (p. 196, par. 1, 2, and 3; p. 197, par. 4 and 5), feelings of powerlessness (p. 198, par. 5), pressure to conform (p. 197, par. 5; p. 198, par. 8), tokenism (p. 197, par. 5), being confronted with pervasive stereotypes (p. 197, par. 5; p. 198, par. 8), and devastating emotional toil of the academy (p. 198, par. 8; p. 199, par. 8), educational system as a site of colonization, oppression, and imperialism (p. 197, par. 5)

Instrument Format for Textual Analysis and Results (Coder #2)

<i>Themes:</i>	<i>Place check mark when observed</i>	<i>Location of theme in text (page and paragraph)</i>
MIRCGB	X	p. 197
CAOBN	X	p. 197
FIU	X	p. 198
CTN	X	p. 197
ICTV		
CTNTI		
SRG	X	pp. 197 and 198

BUODI		
BTBFCCO		
BCS	X	p. 198

Place Additional Coder Observations Below:

Some points for clarification:

MIRCGB=how is “manifestations” understood and should be stated clearer

BTBFCCO=a bit vague, should be analyzed in more detail for example: un/employed at what point, officially overused how, willingly overused to what end, unknowingly overused, etc.

My concern:

As I understand it, this tool is used to evaluate perceptions, feelings, observations and other mostly intangible feelings as they point to direct outcomes such as job attainment and promotion within the academy. Since this article, “Colonization Within the University System,” is part of the discourse, particularly coming from the tier 1 academic journal “American Indian Quarterly,” in many ways it is mediated and removed from the author. It may/not reflect an accurate picture of the education and employment track this author actually experienced; therefore, it is an edited and refereed source that summarizes the author’s experience, feelings and perceptions. I would strongly recommend a critique of the academic discourse as a mediated and controlled venue for knowledge dissemination that does not allow for “history” (as Foucault termed it) to be actually recorded.

APPENDIX E

Demographics and Textual Analysis Results (Raw Data)

Demographics (Pelletier)

Database journal article was located in:

Project Muse

Publication journal article was located in:

American Indian Quarterly Winter & Spring 2003 (Special Issue: Native Experiences in the Ivory Tower)

Professor's name:

Julie Pelletier

Professor's tribal nation affiliation(s):

Mi'kmaq and Maliseet/French American-Canadian

Institutional affiliation(s):

University of Minnesota-Morris

Rank occupied in the professoriate:

Assistant professor

Department of institution professor is appointed to:

Anthropology

Textual Analysis and Results of the Study (Pelletier)

<i>Themes:</i>	<i>Place check mark when observed</i>	<i>Location of theme in text (page and paragraph)</i>
MIRCGB	X	p. 371, par. 5; p. 372, par. 10
CAOBN	X	p. 369, par. 1
FIU	X	p. 369, par. 5
CTN	X	p. 369, par. 2
ICTV		
CTNTI	X	p. 370, par. 4; p. 371, par. 5
SRG		

BUODI		
BTBFCCO		
BCS		

Place Additional Coder Observations Below:

Other themes that were observed are: emotional toil of the academy (p. 369, par. 1), identity is multifaceted and complicated (p. 369, par. 1; p. 370, par. 4; p. 371, par. 8), being viewed as an object (p. 372, par. 8), assumption graduate students and academics are all middle or upper middle class (p. 372, par. 10), American academia largely neglects discussions of the impact of social class (p. 372, par. 10), not looking 'Native' (p. 371, par. 8)

Demographics (Gercken-Hawkins)

Database journal article was located in:

Project Muse

Publication journal article was located in:

American Indian Quarterly Winter & Spring 2003 (Special Issue: Native Experiences in the Ivory Tower)

Professor's name:

Becca Gercken-Hawkins

Professor's tribal nation affiliation(s):

Cherokee and Irish American

Institutional affiliation(s):

University of Minnesota-Morris

Rank occupied in the professoriate:

Assistant professor

Department of institution professor is appointed to:

English (specializing in Native and African American literature)

Textual Analysis and Results of the Study (Gercken-Hawkins)

<i>Themes:</i>	<i>Place check mark when observed</i>	<i>Location of theme in text (page and paragraph)</i>
MIRCGB		
CAOBN	X	p. 202, par. 6
FIU		
CTN	X	p. 200, par. 2
ICTV		
CTNTI	X	p. 201, pars. 3 and 5
SRG	X	p. 200, par. 2; p. 201, par. 5

BUODI		
BTBFCCO		
BCS	X	p. 201, par.4

Place Additional Coder Observations Below:

Other themes that were observed are: conflict between self-identity and imposed identity (p. 200, par. 1; p. 201, par. 3; p. 202, par. 6)

Demographics (Mihesuah)

Database journal article was located in:

Project Muse

Publication journal article was located in:

American Indian Quarterly Winter & Spring 2003 (Special Issue: Native Experiences in the Ivory Tower)

Professor's name:

Devon A. Mihesuah, PhD in American History

Professor's tribal nation affiliation(s):

Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma

Institutional affiliation(s):

Northern Arizona University

Rank occupied in the professoriate:

Full professor

Department of institution professor is appointed to

Applied Indigenous Studies and History

Textual Analysis and Results of the Study (Mihesuah)

<i>Themes:</i>	<i>Place check mark when observed</i>	<i>Location of theme in text (page and paragraph)</i>
MIRCGB		
CAOBN	X	p. 460, par. 3
FIU		
CTN		
ICTV		
CTNTI	X	p. 460, pars. 4 and 5; p. 461, par. 9
SRG		

BUODI		
BTBFCCO		
BCS	X	p. 459, par. 2; p. 460, pars. 3 and 5; p. 461, par. 6

Place Additional Coder Observations Below:

Other themes that were observed are: educational system as a site of colonization, oppression, and imperialism (p. 461, par. 8), envisioning Native American Studies as tool for decolonization and empowerment of students (p. 462, par. 9),

Demographics (Hernández-Avila)

Database journal article was located in:

Project Muse

Publication journal article was located in:

American Indian Quarterly Winter & Spring 2003 (Special Issue: Native Experiences in the Ivory Tower)

Professor's name:

Inés Hernández-Avila, PhD in English and poet

Professor's tribal nation affiliation(s):

Nez Perce/Tejana

Institutional affiliation(s):

University of California, Davis

Rank occupied in the professoriate:

Full professor

Department of institution professor is appointed to:

Native American studies

Textual Analysis and Results of the Study (Hernández-Avila)

<i>Themes:</i>	<i>Place check mark when observed</i>	<i>Location of theme in text (page and paragraph)</i>
MIRCGB		
CAOBN	X	p. 242, par. 8, p. 243, par. 9, p. 246, par15,
FIU	X	p. 240, par. 2
CTN	X	p. 240, par. 2; p. 240, par. 3
ICTV	X	p. 240, par. 3; p. 247, par. 19
CTNTI	X	p. 240, par. 1 and 2; p. 244, par. 12;p. 245, par.; p. 246, par. 16, p. 248, par. 21
SRG	X	p. 240, par. 2

BUODI		
BTBFCCO		
BCS	X	p. 246, par. 16; p. 247, par. 17 and 18

Place Additional Coder Observations Below:

Other themes that were observed are: devastating emotional toil of the academy (p. 240, par. 2 and 3), need to create alliances with other Native American scholars and non Native American allies (p. 241, par. 4; p. 244, par. 13), surviving and thriving means gaining knowledge about how the academy functions and campus culture (p. 241, par. 6 and 10; p. 247, par. 16), asserting presence and voice by claiming rightful place as a citizen of the campus (p. 240, par. 7), developing a strong sense of self and humor (p. 240, par. 8, 11), disregard of work by Indigenous communities (p. 244, par. 11), lack of knowledge about Native American cultures and histories (p. 248, par. 19)

Demographics (Breinig)

Database journal article was located in:

Project Muse

Publication journal article was located in:

American Indian Quarterly Winter & Spring 2003 (Special Issue: Native Experiences in the Ivory Tower)

Professor's name:

Jeane Breinig, PhD in American and American Indian literatures

Professor's tribal nation affiliation(s):

Haida

Institutional affiliation(s):

University of Alaska-Anchorage

Rank occupied in the professoriate:

Associate professor

Department of institution professor is appointed to:

English

Textual Analysis and Results of the Study (Breinig)

<i>Themes:</i>	<i>Place check mark when observed</i>	<i>Location of theme in text (page and paragraph)</i>
MIRCGB		
CAOBN	X	p. 104, par. 4
FIU	X	p. 103, par. 1
CTN	X	p. 110, par. 19; p. 112, par. 23
ICTV		
CTNTI	X	p. 105, par. 5; p. 110, par. 20; p. 112, par. 24
SRG		

BUODI	X	p. 111, par. 21
BTBFCCO	X	p. 104, par. 4; p. 111, par.
BCS	X	p. 107, par. 12; p. 108, par. 13

Place Additional Coder Observations Below:

Other were observed: lack of knowledge about what it means to hold an academic position (p. 103, par. 2), being confronted with pervasive stereotypes (p. 105, par. 6), not looking 'Native' (p. 105, par. 6), tokenism (p. 106, par. 8; p. 111, par. 21), being under prepared for teaching in the academy (p. 106, par. 9, 10, 13, 18)

Demographics (Lacourt)

Database journal article was located in:

Project Muse

Publication journal article was located in:

American Indian Quarterly Winter & Spring 2003 (Special Issue: Native Experiences in the Ivory Tower)

Professor's name:

Jeanne A. Lacourt, PhD in curriculum and instruction

Professor's tribal nation affiliation(s):

Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin

Institutional affiliation(s):

Northern Arizona University

Rank occupied in the professoriate:

Assistant professor

Department of institution professor is appointed to: American Indian Studies

Textual Analysis and Results of the Study (Lacourt)

<i>Themes:</i>	<i>Place check mark when observed</i>	<i>Location of theme in text (page and paragraph)</i>
MIRCGB	X	p. 304, par. 18
CAOBN	X	p. 299, pars. 8 and 9
FIU	X	p. 298, par. 7; p. 303, par. 15; p. 304, par. 18
CTN	X	p. 296, par. 3; p. 297, par. 4;
ICTV	X	p. 296, par. 3
CTNTI	X	p. 301, par. 12; p. 302, par. 13
SRG	X	p. 303, par. 14; p. 305, par. 19

BUODI		
BTBFCCO		
BCS		

Place Additional Coder Observations Below:

Other themes observed: the academy as site of colonization (p. 296, par. 1; p. 304, par. 18), emotional toil of the academy (p. 296, par. 2), lack of social and cultural capital in the academy (p. 300, par. 11), divergence between professed values and the reality of what is done (p. 303, par. 14)

Demographics (Jaime)

Database journal article was located in:

Project Muse

Publication journal article was located in:

American Indian Quarterly Winter & Spring 2003 (Special Issue: Native Experiences in the Ivory Tower)

Professor's name:

Angela M. Jaime, PhD candidate in curriculum studies

Professor's tribal nation affiliation(s):

Pit River and Valley Maidu

Institutional affiliation(s):

Purdue University

Rank occupied in the professoriate:

Instructor

Department of institution professor is appointed to:

School of Education

Textual Analysis and Results of the Study (Jaime)

<i>Themes:</i>	<i>Place check mark when observed</i>	<i>Location of theme in text (page and paragraph)</i>
MIRCGB		
CAOBN	X	p. 260, par. 20, 21
FIU	X	p. 253, par. 6; p. 261, par. 24
CTN	X	p. 252, par. 1;
ICTV	X	p. 258, par. 16
CTNTI	X	p. 255, par. 9; p. 256, par. 11
SRG	X	p. 255, par. 8, 9, 22

BUODI		
BTBFCCO	X	p. 258, par. 16
BCS	X	p. 259, par. 18, 19, 20, 21

Place Additional Coder Observations Below:

Other themes that were observed are: mentorship, p. 256, par. 12; p. 261, par. 25, emotional toil of the academy, p. 262, par. 25; educational system as a site of colonization, p. 262, par. 26

Demographics (Sellers)

Database journal article was located in:

Project Muse

Publication journal article was located in:

American Indian Quarterly Winter & Spring 2003 (Special Issue: Native Experiences in the Ivory Tower)

Professor's name:

Stephanie Sellers, PhD candidate in Native American and women's studies

Professor's tribal nation affiliation(s):

Shawnee

Institutional affiliation(s):

Unidentified liberal arts college in Central Pennsylvania

Rank occupied in the professoriate:

Adjunct professor

Department of institution professor is appointed to:

English

Textual Analysis and Results of the Study (Sellers)

<i>Themes:</i>	<i>Place check mark when observed</i>	<i>Location of theme in text (page and paragraph)</i>
MIRCGB		
CAOBN	X	p. 414, par. 6 and 7
FIU	X	p. 412, par. 1
CTN	X	p. 412, par. 1
ICTV		
CTNTI	X	p. 413, par. 3
SRG	X	p. 412, par. 2

BUODI	X	p. 414, par. 7
BTBFCCO		
BCS	X	p. 415, par.8

Place Additional Coder Observations Below:

Other themes that were observed are: lack of significant institutional and curricular focus on Native Americans (p. 412, par. 1; p. 413, par. 5; p. 415, par. 8,; p. 415, par. 8), lack of knowledge about Native American cultures and histories (p. 412, par. 2; p. 413, par. 3; p. 415, par. 8), disconnect between institutional policies and institutional racism (p. 412, par. 2)

Demographics (Calhoun)

Database journal article was located in:

Project Muse

Publication journal article was located in:

American Indian Quarterly Winter & Spring 2003 (Special Issue: Native Experiences in the Ivory Tower)

Professor's name:

J. Anne Calhoun, PhD in educational psychology

Professor's tribal nation affiliation(s):

Cherokee

Institutional affiliation(s):

Unknown

Rank occupied in the professoriate:

Assistant professor

Department of institution professor is appointed to

Unknown

Textual Analysis and Results of the Study (Calhoun)

<i>Themes:</i>	<i>Place check mark when observed</i>	<i>Location of theme in text (page and paragraph)</i>
MIRCGB		
CAOBN	X	p. 133, par. 4; p. 138, par. 14; p. 143, par. 25
FIU	X	p. 138, par. 4
CTN	X	p. 144, pars. 27 and 28
ICTV	X	p. 140, par. 18
CTNTI	X	p. 133, par. 5, p. 134, pars. 6 and 8, p. 135, par. 9; p. 140, par. 19; p. 143, par. 26; p. 144, par. 30; p. 149, par. 41; p. 150, par. 42
SRG	X	p. 132, par. 1; p. 147, par. 36

BUODI	X	p. 143, par. 25
BTBFCCO		
BCS		

Place Additional Coder Observations Below:

Other themes that were observed: emotional toil of the academy (p. 132, par. 2), silencing of voices of American Indian communities (p. 133, par. 3), lack of social and cultural capital about the academy (p. 136, par. 11), lack of mentorship of Native women (p. 136, pars. 11, 12, and 17), chronic sense of non-acceptance (p. 137, par. 13), misunderstanding of diverse tribal affiliations (p. 140, par. 18), differing relationships between Native students and American Indian and Euroamerican professors (p. 141, pars. 22, 23, and 24), spirituality (p. 145, par. 32), the academy as a site of continued colonization (p. 146, par. 33)

Demographics (Gareau)

Database journal article was located in:

Project Muse

Publication journal article was located in:

American Indian Quarterly Winter & Spring 2003 (Special Issue: Native Experiences in the Ivory Tower)

Professor's name:

Marcelle Marie Gareau, former PhD student in anthropology

Professor's tribal nation affiliation(s):

Member of the Mischif Nation in the province of Quebec, Canada

Institutional affiliation(s):

Unknown

Rank occupied in the professoriate:

Former tenure track lecturer

Department of institution professor is appointed to:

First Nations studies and anthropology

Textual Analysis and Results of the Study (Gareau)

<i>Themes:</i>	<i>Place check mark when observed</i>	<i>Location of theme in text (page and paragraph)</i>
MIRCGB	X	p. 197, par. 5
CAOBN	X	p. 197, par. 5; p. 198, par. 7
FIU	X	p. 197, par. 5
CTN		
ICTV		
CTNTI	X	p. 196, par. 3; p. 199, par. 10
SRG	X	p. 197, par; p. 198, par. 7

BUODI		
BTBFCCO	X	p. 198, par. 5 and 6
BCS		

Place Additional Coder Observations Below:

Other themes that were observed are: being viewed as an “object” or potential “informant” (p. 196, par. 1, 2, and 3; p. 197, par. 4 and 5), feelings of powerlessness (p. 198, par. 5), pressure to conform (p. 197, par. 5; p. 198, par. 8), tokenism (p. 197, par. 5), being confronted with pervasive stereotypes (p. 197, par. 5; p. 198, par. 8), and devastating emotional toil of the academy (p. 198, par. 8; p. 199, par. 8), educational system as a site of colonization, oppression, and imperialism (p. 197, par. 5)