Matriarchs in the Making: Investigating the Transmission of Indigenous Resistance Through Indigenous Women's Leadership

by

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ABSTRACT

A disconnect exists between the perception of Indigenous women as non-leaders who lack legitimate power, and their persistent actions and beliefs that show an inherent ability to lead families, communities and cultures. Relevant literature on Indigenous women leadership has focused on displacement of women's power and authority as a consequence of patriarchy and contextualizes the issue within deficit narratives of victimology. These accounts fail to celebrate the survivance of Indigenous women as inherent leaders charged with cultural continuance. Nonetheless, Indigenous women have persisted as leaders within advocacy, indicating a continuance of their inherent tendencies to lead their nations. "Matriarchs in the Making: Investigating the Transmission of Indigenous Resistance Through Indigenous Women's Leadership in Activism" explores how Indigenous women demonstrate power and leadership via activism to transmit attitudes, actions, and beliefs about Indigenous resistance to Indigenous youth in the United States. A case study of Suzan Shown Harjo, a preeminent advocate for Indian rights will illustrate how Indigenous women engage in leadership within the realms of activism and advocacy. Key tenets of Indigenous feminist theory are used to deconstruct gender binaries that are present in modern tribal leadership and in social movements like the Red Power movement. Storytelling and testimony help to frame how Indigenous women activists like Harjo define and understand their roles as leaders, and how their beliefs about leadership have changed over time and movements. The study concludes with ways that Indigenous women use ancestral knowledge to envision healthy and sustainable futures for their nations. A process of "envisioning" provides guidance for future resistance via activism as guided by Indigenous women leaders. These visions will

ultimately give scholars insight in how to best align their research within Indigenous feminist theory, Indigenous futurity, and women's leadership and activism outside of academia.

DEDICATION

For Pops.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

There is currently a disconnect between the mainstream perception of Indigenous women as non-leaders who lack legitimate power in their communities and a more culturally based knowledge about their persistent attitudes, actions and beliefs that show an inherent ability to lead Indigenous families, communities and cultures. Relevant literature on the topic has widely focused on the displacement of Indigenous women's power and authority as a consequence of colonial patriarchy while contextualizing the issue within deficit narratives of victimology. These deficit narratives do little to acknowledge the leadership, strength, and survivance of Indigenous women who take on the responsibility of cultural continuance. Such deficit narratives are misplaced, conceptually flawed, and inadequately describe the real power dynamics at play within tribal communities. The purpose of this study is to explore the multiple ways that Indigenous women demonstrate power and leadership in non-traditional and Indigenous forms via activism and advocacy to transfer attitudes, actions, and beliefs about Indigenous resistance to younger generations of Indigenous peoples in the United States today.

Indigenous women are consistently relegated to the margins of legitimized power in Indigenous and national political systems by both mainstream society and their own sovereign nations, often due to a perception that they are unfit for leadership. Yet, this contradicts a cherished history of Indigenous women as cultural leaders who feel a responsibility to serve as the primary caregivers to their families and people. Many

Indigenous women understand their existence as a holistic responsibility rooted in family, spirituality, land and culture. Native women recognize their cultural roles as part of a sacred obligation to sustain their cultures[1] and protect them from harm. Expressing this view, Tsosie writes, "The social and political power of Native women was often sanctioned by tribal religious traditions that emphasized the powerful essence of the feminine aspects of creation."[2] As such, Indigenous women are taught by their elders an "ethic of responsibility"[3] for their culture, communities, and family at a young age. This teaching often begins in the home among immediate and extended family and friends and is often intimately connected to spirituality. This ethic often acts as a key motivator for Indigenous women who engage in leadership via activism and advocacy simply as an extension of their responsibility to care for their families and nations. Native women also mobilize around a wide range of issues outside of their communities and homelands that affect Indigenous peoples such as repatriation, protection of sacred places, religious freedom, and federal Indian policy.

Moreover, beliefs about resistance and resultant actions by Indigenous women via advocacy and activism naturally fall in line with the ethic of responsibility noted above because the settler colonial system imposes an oppressive imbalance in the daily lives of Indigenous women, and their families, communities and cultures. Indigenous resistance to systemic oppression therefore is a form of leadership that Indigenous women have engaged in since contact with European settlers, and even before then when changes occurred in the daily lives of their families. For example, in Diné culture, creation stories and journey narratives note that women were traditionally charged with recognizing

imbalance in the daily lives of their families,[4] because of their intuitive and attentive nature as mothers, grandmothers, wives and daughters. It is not surprising that many Diné women today continue to act within their cultural responsibilities to recognize and perhaps more importantly, work to correct the imbalances still disrupting the lives of their families and communities. Furthermore, many activist women have taken up residences in off-reservation settings without sacrificing their roles as leaders which shows a continuity of the ethic of responsibility outside of Indigenous communities as well.

Diné historian Jennifer Nez Denetdale affirms the necessity of Indigenous woman leadership to cultural continuity and nation-building, noting that "…the idea of nation relies on the language of family and casts women as the mothers and the culture bearers of the Nation."[5] The imposition of patriarchy has no doubt worked to effectively alter how Native women engage in leadership within their nations by discounting the quintessential role women have played in traditional Indigenous governance systems. Aside from matriarchal clan structures, women were not elevated hierarchically in Indigenous communities but rather shared complementary roles with men, if not in a different sphere of activity. The balanced and reciprocal nature of women's and men's roles (and in many tribal cultures, including the roles of two-spirited Indigenous peoples), ensured sustainable and well-functioning families and communities that allowed individual members to focus on their personal talents and strengths to benefit the whole. Without the aforementioned balance and forced into familial structures foreign to their cultural and spiritual understandings, many Indian families became dysfunctional remnants of the strong foundational structures they once were. Indigenous women were,

and continue to be, tasked with responsibilities specific to their intuitive ability to recognize imbalance and worked to correct it through prayer, action, and envisioning healthy communities for generations to come– a trait that is wholly indicative of Indigenous values of leadership.

Colonial patriarchy, which began in the early 1600s in the British colonies along the Eastern seaboard, nonetheless undermined the balanced, reciprocal relationships that effectively served Indigenous nations for generations since time immemorial. Relevant literature indicates that Native cultures were greatly affected by colonial practices that ushered in Euro and male-centric patriarchal and paternalistic attitudes, behaviors, and systems. The system of coercive assimilation in place in the late 1800s in the United States especially sought to displace women's roles as leaders. These systems enforced patriarchal hierarchies and placed men in positions of decision-making authority over women.

In fact, it was the historical policy of European nations, and subsequently the United States, to only acknowledge the political power of Indigenous men in their dealings with Indian nations in matters of diplomacy, treaties, warfare, and trading.[6] This hierarchy in gender roles impacted Indigenous families and nations by altering their domestic relations within the household and in their communities,[7] such as positioning men as the head of household and encouraging nuclear families. As a result, traditional understandings of the balance between men and women – masculine and feminine – were impacted in ways that altered cultural values, beliefs and practices for many Indigenous peoples.

There remained however, a strong resistance and persistence by Native women to embody and carry on the ethic of responsibility as outlined by their cultural values and spiritual beliefs.

Unfortunately, the assaults on Indian cultures by patriarchal colonialism have been highly detrimental to the ability of Indigenous women to engage in legitimized avenues of power and authority within their communities, further displacing their influence for generations. Yet, many women, as we shall see, stepped out of their subjugated positions to reclaim their roles within their respective cultures. Furthermore, their work occurs in a variety of settings, both on- and off-reservation. I assert here that the guidance and foresight of Indigenous women who continue to advocate the interests of their communities despite the imposition of patriarchal colonialism allows for not only the transmission of culture to continue to future generations, but also for the creation of newfound resistance beliefs, attitudes, strategies, and practices outside of historically imposed colonial constructs. It additionally makes space for a return and reimagining of Indigenous leadership that includes and embraces all Indigenous peoples, including women and LGBTQ+ individuals.

The existence of proud Indigenous peoples engaging in their cultural practices and beliefs is in itself an act of Indigenous resistance to systemic oppression, violence, and genocide meant to eradicate Native peoples from their ancestral lands. In proudly proclaiming their Indigeneity, Native peoples throw off the intentions of settler colonialism to erase their cultures and replace them with feelings of resistance that embrace traditional values and beliefs that empower present and future generations of

Native peoples and leaders to further resist colonialism. This approach enables me to challenge the flawed scholarship about Native women as leaders. Indigenous women serve not only as bearers of cultural continuance but also as a catalyst for embedding cultural empowerment within Indigenous youth to resist the impact of setter colonialism. In this respect, Indigenous women act in their inherent capacity as culture bearers, putting them in the unique position to create sites of critical pedagogy within the minds and bodies of Indigenous youth[8] through a transmission of attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors about Indigenous resistance.

This transmission of culture and resistance via advocacy and activism is made possible by the strength of Indigenous women acting in the best interests of their families and people as they have always done. Unfortunately, much about the history of Indigenous women's leadership roles paints a distorted picture that positions Native women within victim and deficit frameworks that support and justify the powerful forces of settler colonialism and patriarchal colonialism that permeates the views of non-Indian scholars. The underlying assumption of these popular deficit narratives is that because Indigenous women fell short of having the wherewithal to resist outside forces, they were unable to demonstrate agency in the choices that were made within their families, communities, and cultures. The purpose of this study will instead focus on how Indigenous women have embodied their cultural leadership capabilities to continue longstanding advocacy for the betterment of their families, communities and cultures. This research will aptly fill a much-needed area of studies relevant to Indigenous leadership, women's leadership in Indigenous communities, and women's leadership

within activism and advocacy for Indigenous rights that centers Indigenous womens voices and experiences, a perspective that is too often silenced and invisibilized within mainstream research and literature about leadership.

To address this void, I present a case study of Suzan Shown Harjo, a well-known Indigenous woman advocate who has been instrumental in fighting for Indian rights in a range of issues from the struggle to end disparaging and racist team names, mascots, images, and caricatures that stereotype Native peoples to protection of sacred places and repatriation laws. By examining her efforts, it is my hope to show the many ways Indigenous women have exhibited leadership through activism and in other ways such as direct action, personal expression through art and writing, and legal proceedings. My methodology consisted of pulling sources from printed and video recorded interviews with Harjo, news stories, articles, and her own writings for this case study. Harjo's lifelong activism will provide insight into the legacy of Indigenous women's advocacy in the movement against racist mascots, images, and team names, and contribute to the broader understanding of how Indigenous women enact their inherent roles as leaders of their communities and cultures.

Key Terms

There are several key terms used in this study and their definitions are included below.

Leadership is defined in the Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary as a "capacity to lead" or "the act or an instance of leading."[9] American Indian, Native, or Indigenous

leadership in that respect, refers to the act or an instance of leading Indigenous peoples, within their communities, and with regards to the issues they face and that affect their sovereign nations. Lumbee scholar, Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy defines Indigenous leadership as simply, "the act of doing something to serve others as part of a larger good."[10]

Settler colonialism refers to a form of colonialism that seeks to replace Indigenous peoples and their cultures within a territory with a new society of settlers. Australian writer and historian, Patrick Wolfe defines the term as, "an inclusive, land-centred (*sic*) project that coordinates a comprehensive range of agencies, from the metropolitan centre to the frontier encampment, with a view to eliminating Indigenous societies."[11] Importantly, the term signifies a structure that is both, "a complex social formation and…continuity through time."[12]

Patriarchal colonialism refers to a sort of double burden placed on Native women in the hegemonic forms of racism via settler colonialism and sexism.[13] The term accurately describes a legacy of colonialism and patriarchy imposed on Native peoples that has continued to impact their daily lives, and social, political, and economic systems to this day.

Indigenous feminism or Indigenous feminist theory refers to scholarship that uses key tenets of Native womanhood and feminist underpinnings, or, "…those theories that make substantial advances in understandings of the connections between settler colonialism and both heteropatriarchy and heteropaternalism."[14] There is no single, established body of literature that makes up a universal framework for Indigenous

feminism. Instead, Indigenous feminism is contextualized according to cultural values, belief systems, and spirituality.

Envisioning is a process that makes space for celebration of survivance and produces Indigenous visions of the future.[15] Indigenous Futurism, as a parallel framework, further explains that, "Indigenous Futurisms are not the product of a victimized people's wishful amelioration of their past, but instead a continuation of a spiritual and cultural path that remains unbroken by genocide and war."[16]

Organic sovereignty refers to how an individual person exercises sovereignty and describes the attributes of a group of people who identify themselves as a collective whole.[17] Diné scholar, Bidtah Becker, uses the term solely in the context of her cultural values and philosophies, however, I have expanded the use of the term in this study.

An "Ethic of leadership" refers to "an ethics of survival, of connection to the past generations, of responsiveness to the needs of this and future generations."[18] Yaqui legal scholar, Rebecca Tsosie uses this term to outline several characteristics of Indigenous women's leadership and provide a better understanding of the motivations behind it.

Project Significance

This study fills a vast void in our knowledge by providing an emic perspective that contributes to a deeper understanding of how Indigenous women engage in leadership in their communities and outside of them, especially within the realms of advocacy and activism. It illustrates how Indigenous Feminist Theory (IFT) can be applied as a conceptual framework to examine Indigenous lifeways and replace flawed

Western research methods and methodologies that give preference to their own ideologies about gender. To do this, I prioritize the individual agency of Indigenous women in resisting systems of oppression and highlight their lived experiences using their own stories and testimony. By amplifying the voices of Indigenous women as leaders who have advocated for their communities and cultures, we can gain valuable knowledge that will add to the larger goal of Indigenous resistance, justice, respect, and nation-building.

The knowledge contained in this study has the capability to uncover and identify strategies that can be used to transmit cultural knowledge from one generation to the next and instill an ideology that supports the leadership of women in ways that may be unrecognizable to the "western gaze." As such, it is vital that we recognize that power and authority function differently within Indigenous cultures than within mainstream understandings of governance and leadership. We must focus our attention on the forms of power that occur outside of gendered structures and colonial systems that do not provide a full picture of all dynamics at play in tribal communities if we are to fully comprehend how Indigenous women's leadership supports nation-building. However, since the 1970s and possibly earlier, women have successfully overcome colonial impositions and the negative effects of coerced assimilation by going through the electoral process to select members in hopes of gaining the influence and power to make and enforce laws pertaining to their reservations and communities.

Women nonetheless continue to be positioned within relevant literature about leadership as victims which perpetuates their subjugated roles in their own governments and nations, as well as to the world outside of their communities.

The significance of this project in highlighting Indigenous women's views and experiences in activism has the potential to reveal a frequently overlooked aspect of leadership for sovereign Indian nations. As previously noted, the majority of literature on Indigenous women has positioned them as victims of settler colonialism and its inherent heteropatriarchy and heteropaternalism, and positions Indigenous women as leaders in past tense. The framing of those flawed studies has served to further displace the personal sovereignty and autonomy of generations of Native women by erasing their accomplishments and actions as leaders of their families, communities, and cultures through many generations. By highlighting their ongoing agency in leadership and activism, I hope to reposition Indigenous women as inherent leaders within their cultures and of their communities to show the varied ways that power is engaged outside of "traditional" and "legitimate" areas of tribal communities.

Theory

Indigenous feminist theory (IFT), also known as Native feminist theory, is rooted in Indigenous epistemologies and tribal-specific ways of knowing that have continued to guide the beliefs, cultural values and behaviors of Native women. It is important to note here that there is no single body of literature that is considered Indigenous feminist theory but rather multiple voices, cultural knowledges, and life experiences that lend to a

complex and nuanced framework. As such, authors Maile Arvin (Kanaka Maoli), Eve Tuck (Unangax), and Angie Morrill (Klamath), define Native feminist theory in their landmark 2013 article, "Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy," asserting that IFT is an amalgamation of "…those theories that make substantial advances in understandings of the connections between settler colonialism and both heteropatriarchy and heteropaternalism."[19]

Through a critique of (hetero) patriarchal colonialism, IFT exposes the persistence of racism, sexism, and colonialism in the daily lives and interactions of Indigenous women, in both Native and non-Native communities. IFT's key focus is to dismantle the Euro- and male-centric structures that carry with them an overarching colonizing outlook and to demonstrate how they function in the continued oppression of Native peoples. In light of this, much of the research and writing using IFT focuses on dismantling systems of oppression for Indigenous women including settler colonialism, (cis)heteropatriarchy, and white feminism.[20] IFT has also concentrates on exposing the intersections of gender violence against Native women.[21] Lastly, IFT has effectively critiqued the policies, laws, and systemic oppressions of the settler state that attempt to displace Indigenous women from their places of leadership and power.[22] IFT ultimately acts as a decolonizing lens to critically examine how patriarchal colonialism continuously impacts the daily lives of Native women.

IFT has the potential to afford a more comprehensive and accurate understanding of how Native women maintain "non-traditional" forms of leadership through enacting the principles of kinship, interconnectedness and spirituality in their advocacy efforts

because the theory is centered around honoring the voices of women while acknowledging their intersecting oppression and marginalization. IFT is particularly significant in contextualizing how Indigenous women perceive and act upon cultural understandings of their roles as women and as leaders in their communities. It centers the voices of Indigenous women and prioritizes their lived experiences and beliefs to further comprehend how women embody leadership in their respective nations. From this central position, collectively felt experiences emerge from individual narratives that paint a picture of how the leadership of Indigenous women has continued despite the depth of colonial imposition into Indian cultures and lives. This point is a key aspect of IFT and the very reason it provides an effective theoretical framework to explore Indigenous women's beliefs about leadership and their resultant activism. Furthermore, it creates the space necessary to analyze the multiplicity of interactions and behaviors associated with how Indigenous people perceive women as leaders especially within the often-overlooked realm of Indigenous women's activism and resistance.

To support the use of IFT in my study, I will draw from the critical scholarship of Indigenous authors like Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, Angie Morrill, Jennifer Nez Denetdale (Diné), Mishuana Goeman (Tonawanda Band of Seneca), and M.A. Jaimes Guerrero (Juaneno/Acjachemen/Mestiza). A publication by Diné scholar Laura Tohe provides an alternative perspective of Indigenous communities' hesitancy to embrace Indigenous feminism. I use Tohe's scholarship to highlight two very distinct beliefs about the appropriateness of the term "feminism" regarding Indigenous women.

Developed in the American Indian Studies program at Arizona State University in 2011, the American Indian Studies (AIS) paradigm also provides a guiding theoretical framework for this study. Accordingly, AIS is grounded in "…the spatial and temporal experiences of American Indian nations, peoples, communities, and organizations from American Indian perspectives."[23] The ability to use this paradigm of Indigenous inquiry within this research allows me to fulfill the sacred responsibility that I feel as an Indigenous woman to the cultural survivance of my people. This responsibility is rooted in my own spirituality and upbringing. Moreover, the paradigm's acknowledgement of colonization as a form of hegemonic control over Indian nations[24] works to support IFT's assertion that patriarchal colonization also acts as a forceful exertion of power over Indigenous peoples. I will draw directly from the *Wicazo Sa* article, "Editor's Commentary"[25] written by Pawnee scholar James Riding In, to support my use of the AIS paradigm.

My analysis incorporates what Linda Tuhiwai Smith, a highly respected Māori scholar from New Zealand, refers to as "envisioning," a process that makes space for celebration of survivance and produces Indigenous visions of the future.[26] Envisioning (and the parallel framework of Indigenous Futurism) is a critical component of Indigeneity and cultural continuance, so it is a wholly appropriate theoretical framework to use in evaluating the transmission of Indigenous resistance beliefs and strategies to younger generations by Native women functioning within their customary cultural roles. Oftentimes, the oral histories and creation stories that are passed down generationally contain components of envisioning or vision-making and give future generations the tools

to carry on traditional beliefs, values and practices. This type of knowledge transmission is crucial to Indigenous survival, as Tuhiwai Smith suggests, affirming that the stories, songs, and sayings have "acted like resistance codes which can be passed down by word of mouth to the next person, to the next generation."[27] Envisioning will ultimately help to make meaning out of the experiences and actions of Harjo and other Indigenous women leaders in a way that is reminiscent of how Indigenous cultures have created knowledge since time immemorial. In addition to Tuhiwai Smith, I support my use of the envisioning/Indigenous Futurism framework with critical works by Grace Dillon (Anishinaabe) and Lou Cornum (Diné).

Methodology

Identifying sources for this qualitative study began with an online exploration of key terms such as leadership, Indigenous leadership, and Indigenous women's leadership. I utilized the Arizona State University Library's OneSearch as my main search engine and Google as a secondary search platform. I additionally incorporated several texts that were covered in my Master's program coursework that pertained to AIS, Indigenous women, and Indigenous leadership.

This study is based on scholarly works and printed sources that address following research questions. First, it provides information on how Indigenous women activists define or understand leadership and the ways they enact or invoke leadership, both within western/dominant society and their own nations. The sources also show how Native women's beliefs about leadership, power, and activism have changed over time if at all,

personally and for Indigenous communities. Lastly, the information highlights key factors that influence an Indigenous woman's ability to serve as a leader and addresses whether their leadership a conscious choice and to what extent anticipated or expected gendered social roles constrain or influence the ability of Indigenous women to engage in activism.

This project provides foundational information about Native activism and women of the Red Power movement to ground and contextualize my research. Chapter 4 utilizes a case study approach to provide a richer understanding of longtime Cheyenne and Muscogee woman advocate, Suzan Shown Harjo's participation in off-reservation advocacy. Interviews, academic journal articles and media reports and stories are the central sources of information for this case study. These sources are used to discover the ways that leadership is embodied by Harjo. Personal stories, interviews, and articles written by Harjo highlight her personal perspectives and views on agency, which have informed my understanding of how she has engaged in both activism and leadership as an Indigenous woman.

In *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Tuhiwai Smith asserts that, "For many indigenous writers stories are ways of passing down the beliefs and values of a culture in the hope that the new generations will treasure them and pass the story down further."[28] My study embraces this reality and asserts that Indigenous women act as culture bearers and vessels through which feelings, strategies, and practices of Indigenous resistance are passed down. Continuing, Tuhiwai Smith states that, "The story and the story teller (sic) both serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people and the people with the story."[29] Her study has guided me to not only reclaim

histories of Indigenous women's leadership, both historic and contemporary, but to also reveal a continuance of Native women acting with personal agency and resolve to lead their communities as they have always done.

Because of the nature of this study and its intended purposes, it is essential to focus on an Indigenous woman who provides an example of someone who engages in activism and who is generally considered a leader within their advocacy and activism efforts. Given the broad nature of activism, I chose to focus on Harjo to illustrate her advocacy for the elimination of team names and mascots in sports that are harmful to Indigenous peoples because of their stereotypical imagery. Most notable, she filed a lawsuit in 1991 against a powerful Washington football team, the "Redskins" (henceforth referred to as the "R-word" due to its racially-offensive meaning). Upon reviewing the history of this movement, Harjo emerged as a key figure and leader who has amassed a longstanding record of leadership with the movement. She was instrumental in bringing attention and legal proceedings at national and international levels to the issue of Indian mascots and misrepresentation of Indigenous peoples. Her inspiring story and experiences with activism illustrate Indigenous women's participation in a leadership capacity to address Indigenous causes outside of traditional and recognized spheres of power.

As such, Harjo met the following criteria. First, she is a woman who identifies as Indigenous/Native American/American Indian. In fact, she takes pride in being a Cheyenne and Muscogee woman. Second, she has engaged in activism (resistance) and/or advocacy (mobilizing). Harjo has a long, rich history of engaging in activism/advocacy pertaining to a wide range of issues facing Indian country. Finally, she

engages in activism involving mascots in sports and other misrepresentations of Indigenous people. Most of this study, however, address the importance of her work in the latter realm.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Women's Leadership in Indigenous Communities

Women's leadership within and beyond Indigenous communities is inherent in that it is embedded in their cultural and spiritual roles. Much of the literature on the topic supports this assertion. Yet, these studies manage to position Indigenous women within conceptually flawed narratives that strip them of their personal agency and autonomy. The lack of gender critique on the topic of American Indian leadership generally, and Indigenous women's leadership in their communities specifically, might be the reason why relevant literature consistently portrays Native women as victims of colonial patriarchy and settler colonialism. That is because many scholars accept the assertions of scholars when in fact the original source may contain false information. Nonetheless, Indigenous feminism importantly provides a framework that centers Indigenous women's voices and experiences. Through an IFT lens, we can see how scholarship has all too often presented Native women to be hapless victims by both Native and non-Native writers rather than strong women with the capacity to work within and outside of the intersecting oppressions and subjugation they faced.

A better understanding of women's leadership in Indigenous communities calls for an in-depth discussion of Native leadership and leadership in general. Thus, I first conducted an online search for publications using the term, "American Indian leadership" from 2014 to 2019 using One Search. This tactic yielded forty-three results, including

twenty-four dissertations, eleven articles from peer-reviewed Journals, four newspaper articles, three books, and one book chapter. The top four subject fields listed in the search were Social Sciences, Native American Studies, Education, and Leadership. Notably, over half of the sources (twenty-seven out of forty-three) were relevant to education. Even in an expanded search from 2009 to 2019, 84 of 110 articles were related to education, educational leadership, and higher education. Other keywords used in searching for sources were "Native American leadership", "Indigenous leadership", and "tribal leadership". Interestingly, tribal leadership yielded more than 1,500 results. I additionally searched on Google Scholar (https://scholar.google.com) using the same keywords that generated comparable results to One Search. The results from Google Scholar included many more sources from business subject fields than One Search.

A review of literature relevant to leadership describes the concept of leadership as complex, varied, and often highly contextualized according to cultural values and beliefs, spirituality, location, and area (professional, economic, political, etc.) in which it is situated. Western notions of leadership are often rooted in corporate, economic, and political understandings based in American values that often prioritize capitalism, settler colonialism, and exploitation of land, labor and resources. Lumbee scholar, Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy asserts that, "In corporate, economic, political, and other professional settings, leadership is too often framed as someone who holds a title. Leadership, in this case, is tantamount to where one falls in the hierarchical structure of institutions (e.g., social, economic, educational)."[30]

Unfortunately, American leadership often epitomizes individual success in the form of status and high position within the hierarchy, and in western, Eurocentric values of financial and material gain.

The perspective of American leadership mentioned above contrasts starkly with Indigenous peoples' understandings of leadership. Brayboy goes on to explain that leadership for Native peoples and communities is instead, "the act of doing something to serve others as part of a larger good."[31] It makes sense that leadership is an extension of cultural values, beliefs and spirituality for Indigenous communities, and centers the good of the people and future generations to come, instead of individualistic qualities like titles or hierarchical status. Because of the focus on collective wellbeing, leadership for Indigenous communities is therefore rooted in responsibility and accountability to the people, the land, and the continuance of culture. Cheryl L. Metoyer supports this perspective, noting that "leadership in American Indian communities then and now is rooted in culture. Leadership as a cultural activity has been and continues to be a powerful force in shaping tribal communities."[32]

Leadership as a cultural activity becomes paramount when one considers what Indigenous leaders are responsible for in their communities. They must focus on issues dealing with sovereignty, diplomacy, economic growth and stability, maintaining harmony among their people, land claims, and environmental concerns[33] as well as cultural continuance concerns. Customary Native leadership was responsible for much of the same responsibilities for their communities and more specifically dealt with issues brought about by Manifest Destiny such as trade, war and peace, and treaty making.

Spirituality was a core element of traditional Native societies[34] and as such, leaders not only had to be well versed in their spirituality and religious knowledges but also needed to possess spiritual significance within their communities. Due to the need for collective validation by community members of their spiritual significance, traditional leaders did not seek leadership. Instead, the people recognized and selected whom they considered most able to lead.[35] Furthermore, community members could withdraw their support from leaders by choosing not to follow them.[36] Even hereditary chiefs could lose their standing, if not their title, by engaging in behaviors that violated the norms, values, and wellbeing of their nation.

Traditional leaders were also expected to lead by example, keep their word, and remain humble servants to their peoples by seeking consensus on issues that affected the community as a whole.[37] Tsosie affirms that, "Leadership is earned through acts that develop a reputation for wisdom and generosity."[38] She goes on to explain that "the result is an 'ethics of culture and relationship' that embodies the core of traditional thought about cultural survival and the obligations we owe to future generations."[39] Similarly, Diné scholar Bidtah Becker describes "organic sovereignty" as the root of sovereignty and leadership in Diné philosophy. "Organic sovereignty" refers to how the individual Diné person exercises sovereignty and describes the attributes of a group of people who identify themselves as a collective whole.[40] For Diné leaders, organic sovereignty is a vital component of leadership both as a personal characteristic and as action.

Lloyd L. Lee (Diné) lends a final perspective on traditional Diné leadership stating that, "Traditional Diné leaders were a significant component of the community; they were not superior to anyone; they did not govern with ruthless coercion, but through honest oratory, mutual understanding, and humility."[41]

Diné scholar Trudie Jackson affirms that a significant aspect of traditional Native leadership is that a person's contribution to their culture and community was recognized over gender.[42] That is why it is critically important to understand how Native women engage in leadership, both in and outside of legitimized spheres of power like councils and administrations of Indian nations. I searched for sources under "American Indian women leadership" on ASU's One Search, which produced only seventeen results without a date restriction, and only six results from 2014 to 2019. Subject areas under this search included education, women's studies, and leadership as the top fields. Searches on Google Scholar using the same keywords generated even less results than One Search.

Several useful sources emerged from this search. For one, Brayboy incorporates the idea of legacy into his definition of leadership and contends that leadership is "directly rooted to the idea of legacies, including what we, as individuals and community members, inherit and leave behind."[43] Many of us whom have grown up within our Native families and communities know how a legacy of strong women's leadership embedded in our cultures through values, oral histories, and ceremonies have directly translated to strong Native women in their families. Then too, authors Margo Hill (Spokane) and Mary Ann Keogh Hoss assert that, "Historically, American Indian women exercised a significant amount of sociopolitical power within tribal nations."[44] That

power, especially when located within spiritual, familial and kinship, and community structures continued even when Indigenous communities came into contact with European settlers because it is integral to our cultural continuance, and embedded in our cultural values, stories, oral histories, and connections to place.

It is important to recognize that roles of Native women within their societies are directed by their spirituality, religious values, and cultural beliefs.[45] Denise K. Lajimodiere (Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa) explains that, "There was no universal standard regarding the status of Native American women; the role of each woman was unique to her own tribe."[46] In looking at qualities that define Native women's leadership, it is vital to consider individuals hold different understandings of leadership based on their own cultural backgrounds. By looking at this topic through the different cultural lenses of distinct Indian nations, women's leadership becomes even more nuanced, complex, and layered when contextualized within unique cultural histories, values and beliefs. Mary Jo Tippeconnic Fox (Comanche/Cherokee), Eileen Luna-Firebaugh (Choctaw/Cherokee), and Caroline Williams also contend that, "Traditional leadership roles for American Indian women took different forms, and leadership was displayed in various venues depending on the specific tribe."[47] They also make sure to note that, "When placed within the context of Indian societies, the term 'leadership' does not privilege gender but instead opens up opportunities for women and men to exercise leadership in nonexclusive ways."[48]

For the purposes of this study and in order to grasp how the legacy of women's leadership has continued through generations of Indigenous peoples, it is important to

understand what defines Native women as leaders. To find sources with this type of information, I pulled from the Native feminist "ethic of leadership" framework as described by Tsosie, who contends that Native women leaders embody "an ethics of survival, of connection to the past generations, of responsiveness to the needs of this and future generations."[49] Tsosie's study additionally provides qualities that I rely on to define effective leadership as identified by several Native women leaders. First, the women identified the capacity to be a visionary and have the ability to see things beyond tomorrow as a key leadership trait.[50] Second, they point out that leaders must be able to articulate goals and work toward them.[51] Third, they assert that leaders must have integrity and honesty as well as the ability to honor personal values in their professional life.[52] Fourth, leaders must have courage, which comes from conviction, from intuition, and from careful thought.[53] Fifth, the women emphasize that being a leader also requires a strong sense of self, including an obligation to "be yourself" and "don't take a job to be somebody; take it to do something".[54] Finally, the women assert that a leader must always have the ability to turn things over to faith when the challenges seem too great to bear.[55]

The qualities noted above, along with an in-depth understanding of how leadership, Native leadership, and Native women's leadership are defined will help readers comprehend the complexities of an intergenerational transfer of Indigenous resistance via the leadership and activism of Indigenous women. These concepts hold great importance to the assertion and engagement of sovereignty and how it is exercised by Indian nations to gain self-determination. Tippeconnic Fox and her co-authors affirm

that, “Leadership in tribal communities is essential to building Native nations that are healthy and maintain the productive well-being of its citizens.”[56] A greater understanding of Native women’s leadership in their communities and how Native women themselves define effective leadership provides a much-needed perspective on leadership of Indigenous communities. It is especially significant when new perspectives acknowledge the impact of colonial patriarchy, (cis)heteropatriarchy, and paternalism present in many contemporary tribal governing systems, and honor the activism and advocacy of Indigenous women who work to reclaim their rightful roles as leaders of their societies.

Patriarchal Colonialism and Its Impact on Indigenous Women’s Leadership

It should not come as a surprise that there are a larger number of sources about the impact of colonization and patriarchal attitudes toward Native women than their leadership in their own communities. Searching for sources to add to this section of the literature review only confirmed my assertion that much of the literature on this topic focuses on a displacement of leadership roles, respect, and authority of Native women, and positions them as victims of colonial patriarchy and settler colonialism. This view is problematic for Native women in general, and Native women leaders specifically who must continually work to reclaim their inherent agency, authority, and places of respect and power. It perpetuates a false narrative that Native women need to be rescued by white society, white men/women, even by their own Native men.

Moreover, while it is true that settler colonialism and colonial patriarchy had a profound impact on Indigenous cultures, much of the literature on this topic only serves to perpetuate a silencing and erasure of Native women's voices and their strength, resilience and survivance as leaders of their families, communities, and cultures.

I utilize many of the same sources used in the previous section on Native women's leadership because the topics go hand-in-hand and many of those studies describing the impact of colonial patriarchy on Native cultures. In order to understand the state of women's leadership in their communities today, it is important to comprehend the history of Native women's roles in their traditional societies and how those roles became displaced by settler colonialism and patriarchal colonialism. Other secondary sources came from articles I had previously read in my American Indian Studies coursework at ASU in 2017 and 2018, and also from sources that I have collected over the years regarding Indigenous feminism. I additionally conducted searches on One Search and Google Scholar using several combinations of key terms, "colonial patriarchy" and "Indigenous/Native/American Indian/Native American women." The search yielded over 1,700 sources from 2014 – 2019 and the top five subject fields included were Social Sciences, Women's Studies, Women, Language, Literature and Linguistics, and Sociology.

After surveying the literature on this topic, it became important to highlight "what", "how", "why", and "who" questions to best organize this section of the literature review. Most importantly, however, is a discussion of the impact of colonial patriarchy on Indigenous women and their communities because it gives insight into why Native

women are spurred to action. Colonial patriarchy, or "Patriarchal Colonialism" refers to a sort of double burden placed on Native women in the hegemonic forms of racism via settler colonialism and sexism.[57] A term defined by M.A. Jaimes Guerrero (Juaneno/Acjachemen/Mestiza), patriarchal colonialism adequately describes the "Systemic hegemony in the prevailing chauvinism of postcolonial times, as juxtaposed with the racism characteristic of U.S. colonialism,"[58] an ever present condition in the lives of Native peoples. This concept is essential to recognize how contemporary Native women are situated in colonial understandings of Indigenous women and womanhood, and also how their identities are manipulated to serve as racist and sexist tropes of Indigeneity.

These disparaging tropes are then used even further to dehumanize Indigenous women and their communities in order to exploit their land and resources. Scholar Lisa Zeilinger and her co-authors write that, "The stereotypical image of the submissive, subservient and subjugated American Indian female has been advanced since contact, reflecting European perspectives on gender. This has led to the disruption of societal norms, increasing violence as well as disrespect and disregard for women."[59] Lajimodiere notes that, "Native American women's roles were more powerful, important, and related to leadership than European men would have expected or understood, and their roles were as diverse as the tribes of North America."[60] Settler colonialism and Euro- and male-centric ideology transmitted by white settlers to displace Native women's authority and power and placed them within subjugated positions defined by Western heteropatriarchy and paternalism notions. The end result is that derogatory tropes about

Indigenous cultures, and Native women particularly, are assumed factual and their ability to represent themselves and their own interests are stripped away and replaced with subjugating and oppressive stereotypes.

The arrival of Christopher Columbus in the Americas in 1492 began a virtually free reign of violence against Native women, men, and children by white settlers.[61] Consequently, Native women's status in their own societies eroded as contact with Europeans and their progeny increased. Native women's bodies became inherently "useable", "rapable",[62] and exploited just as the land and resources that white settlers sought out. White settlers viewed the women in their own societies as subservient to men and lacking power or authority. As a result, they refused to even acknowledge or meet with Native women leaders which in turn forced traditionally matriarchal societies to accommodate Euro- and male-centric patriarchal structures and values, and social and political processes. Tsosie affirms that the "historical policy of the European nations, and then of the United States, was to recognize male political leaders only."[63]

Muscogee legal scholar Sarah Deer further explains how deeply embedded patriarchy is in American society, arguing that, "oppression and the abuse of women is indistinguishable from fundamental Western concepts of social order."[64] Normalized violence against Native women and their communities often parallels violence against the Earth in the form of land and resource extraction and exploitation. Native women, assumed to be *disposable* and *useable* bodies, mirror settler colonial assumptions about and intentions for the Earth. Acceptable settler discourse rife with heteropatriarchal and racist tropes illustrates the implications of this parallel within mainstream culture from

the “taking” of Turtle Island to the “raping” of Mother Earth to the “conquest” of the Western frontier. Jaimes Guerrero lends insight here, stating that the “connection between denigration and subordination of women and the corresponding degradation and subjugation of nature”[65] is undeniable. Ultimately, violence and oppression “became the means of restricting the mobility of Native women,”[66] that continues to affect Native women and their communities, cultures, and lands.

Patriarchal colonialism also contributed to a degradation in cultural knowledges and ways of being for Native peoples through violence against Native women. Colonialism had a detrimental impact on domestic relationships between Indigenous men and women, traditional norms and practices, and the values that guided those relationships.[67] Familial units that traditionally encompassed both immediate and extended relatives were looked down on as Eurocentric nuclear families were enforced by U.S. governmental and religious entities. Correspondingly, during the late 1870s, religious groups and the general American public, fully believing the racist tropes about Native peoples and their standards of living, embraced policies of removing Native children from their homes with the hope to “Kill the Indian, save the man.”[68] Genocidal efforts to assimilate Indigenous children peaked throughout the late 19th through the 20th century in the form of Indian Boarding schools that were intended to rid Indigenous youth of their cultural values and replace them with those of American society.

Unfortunately, Native women who had always been charged with caring for and educating their children were prevented from transmitting "cultural education [which] impaired the normal development of interpersonal relationships among extended family."[69]

Colonization caused a loss of culture for Indigenous peoples due to "the complex effects that federal…policies had and are having in the lives of everyday American Indian women."[70] Additionally, colonization in boarding schools completely altered women's inherent roles as leaders of their community, displacing their power and authority and replacing it with subjugation and oppression. The result was that Native peoples "adopted the attitudes of the dominant society toward women, disregarding traditional roles and customs about women's place in the society and disrupting harmony and balance."[71] The Euro- and male-centric values then started to be embedded into understandings and teachings of traditionalism and spirituality within tribal cultures. The Red Nation, a coalition of Native and non-Native activists, educators, students and community organizers based in Albuquerque, New Mexico have detailed what they term "Toxic traditionalism" as the way "tradition is distorted and weaponized by Indigenous people to engage in lateral violence against other Indigenous people."[72] Toxic traditionalism perfectly illustrates how patriarchal colonialism has infected Native cultures so deeply, that it now takes on the façade of tradition that is then weaponized against individuals and especially against Native women to enforce strict gender roles and (cis)heteropatriarchal and heteropaternal standards.

Indigenous Women's Activism and Advocacy, and Indigenous Resistance

The previous sections outlined Native women's leadership and the reasons why women's power and authority has been displaced. It is important to cover the topic of Indigenous women's activism and advocacy and how those actions, attitudes and behaviors contribute to an intergenerational transmission of Indigenous resistance. Activism and advocacy have become a modern form of Indigenous leadership. In many instances, Native women are leading movements across the nation that embody cultural values of leadership. Interestingly, activism is not mentioned all that much in the literature about Native leadership. This could be due to the connotation behind activism as actions that operate outside of what has been legitimized spheres of Indigenous, state, or federal authority. Especially in the context of Native movements, such as the Red Power movement and the American Indian Movement (AIM), activism has earned a reputation for militancy and lawlessness. They have become highly militarized and criminalized in most recent years as we witnessed with the NoDAPL movement in 2017. The underlying catalyst in Native activism is a long legacy of Native women advocating for their communities and, even though activism has negative connotations, it is still a preferred vehicle for social transformation among Native peoples. It must be noted, however, that U.S. society does not give rights to oppressed peoples. They have had to engage in such acts as civil disobedience, protests, marches, and lobbying to be brought under the umbrella of the Constitution.

A survey of the literature relevant to Native women's activism and advocacy generated significantly less sources than Native leadership and the impact of patriarchal colonialism on Native women's leadership. Plus, many of the sources I found on Native activism in general were very male-centric with scant mention of women's roles in the Red Power movement outside of cooking, cleaning, and caring for the children. My first search in this topic area using ASU's One Search under the keywords, "Native American activism", yielded 288 results under subject areas like Activism, History & Archaeology, and Native American Studies. A narrowed search restricted to sources published between 2014 to 2019 still produced ninety-eight results.

I narrowed my search further by using the keywords "Native/Native American/American Indian/Indigenous women/female," "activism," "advocacy," and "women's grassroots/mobilization" on One Search. The search for "American Indian women's activism" yielded only thirty-three sources. The inclusion of "activism" in the search also skewed my results to also incorporate "Politics", "Sovereignty", and "Political Activism" in the mix of subject fields. Also notable is that I needed to widen the search from 1999 to 2019 in order to generate a larger source list, and it still only produced fifteen results.

In reviewing literature related to Native women's activism, it became clear that much of the focus is placed on external and internal factors that spur Native women to act for their peoples and communities. Additionally, the literature mentions, although very seldomly, to the adaptive abilities of Native women as a catalyst for their advocacy. M. Annette Jaimes (aka M.A. Jaimes Guerrero) and Theresa Halsey (Hunkpapa Lakota)

contend that, “Contrary to those images of meekness, docility, and subordination to males with which we women typically have been portrayed by the dominant culture's books and movies, anthropology, and political ideologues of both rightist and leftist persuasions, it is women who have formed the very core of Indigenous resistance to genocide and colonization since the first moment of conflict between Indians and invaders.”[73] This makes sense given that Native women’s bodies were literally *used* as weapons of conquest,[74] and then *disposed* of in order to further the genocidal efforts by settlers and then the U.S. government. For Native women, historically and today, they *must* resist because it plainly means the difference between life or death for them, their peoples, and their cultures. Unfortunately, as their cultures had more contact with heteropatriarchal European settlers and governments, the more displaced Native women became from their inherent roles as leaders within legitimized spaces of authority. Jaimes and Halsey lend insight here, asserting “The reduction of the status held by women within indigenous nations was a first priority for European colonizers eager to weaken and destabilize target societies.”[75]

Unbeknownst to the white settlers, Native cultures by and large pass their cultural values, beliefs and knowledges through matrilineal lineage and this is especially true for feelings, actions, and attitudes about Indigenous resistance as handed down through maternal and familial interaction. Tohe echoes this point , describing how her maternal grandmother’s stories grounded her in Diné culture and philosophy, noting that “Shimásání and her stories created in me a sense of belonging to a greater community that values fertility and bringing forth the next generation, with female relatives

upholding and supporting new mothers."[76] Native women engage their own cultural identities through an understanding of their place within their respective cultures. If we revisit the concept of "organic sovereignty",[77] Native leaders, including women leaders, assert tribal sovereignty through their own conception of organic sovereignty. This means that Native individuals act through their place within the collective whole as Becker details, "tribal sovereignty is the individual Navajo person who is exercising organic sovereignty by continuing to self-identify as Diné and thereby continues to be part of the collective group of people known as Diné."[78] Lajimodiere adds that, "Today, many modern Native American women leaders point to their tribal spirituality and traditions as inspiration and justification for their positions as leaders."[79]

Tohe terms this important connection as a "continuum of [her] family and clan."[80] A legacy of Native women engaging in advocacy for their peoples eventually built a strong foundation for modern Native activism and resistance. This continuum allowed for cultural values and beliefs, traditions, and knowledges to be passed from generation to generation of Indigenous peoples in spite of the assimilation and genocidal efforts of colonization. To add to this, Native women are already outcasted from mainstream society as the "Other,"[81] which further perpetuates their identities as weak and inherently wrong. The "Otherness" women feel, as a result of embedded in oppression and marginality by racist and sexist tropes, have forced them to operate outside of colonial structures and institutions that were not created for them or to benefit them.

Tippeconnic Fox and her co-authors support this assertion, noting that, "as in the past, American Indian women continue in their formal and informal leadership positions in spite of attempts by Europeans, religious groups, the United States government, and even some of their own tribal members to diminish their role."[82]

It can be argued that the political consciousness of Native women is also inherited through familial and kinship cultural teachings, which are areas primarily handled by mothers, grandmothers, aunts, and sisters. Tippeconnic Fox and co-authors affirm that "Cultures are dynamic and can be transmitted to others."[83] Due to their unique political status as American Indians and what they deal with in their daily lives as such, Native women are required to have a political consciousness of the issues faced by not only their own communities and cultures but of American Indian concerns at large. The Red Power movement and AIM has had a deep influence on modern generations of Native women activists, yet the political consciousness of those women stems from a much longer legacy of Native women advocating for their peoples and the next generations to come. Their consciousness is directly tied to legacy, and their interest "in serving others by focusing on the process, the people, and the end goals. This form of leadership is guided by making sure that those for whom the leader is responsible are kept secure and provided with an opportunity for success."[84]

All Native people (and probably quite a few non-Natives too!) know that Native women are some of the strongest amongst us, simply for the multiple intersecting oppressions they face on a day-to-day basis. Yet, Native women experience the highest rate of violence in this country, with more than one out of three women being raped[85] and

four out of five experiencing violence.[86] Despite their state of vulnerability, Native women have empowered themselves by carrying on their customary cultures and cultural identities that originate from a long legacy of strong Native leadership in their communities. They have an intimate connection to the land, to their cultures, and to their peoples. They have the foresight to consider what is best for the next generations to come. Through all of this, Native women have developed strong adaptive mechanisms that allow them to operate and flourish outside of colonial norms, systems and institutions that seek to place them in subjugated positions and keep them there simply because it correspondingly keeps Indigenous cultures and resistance down as well. Bea Medicine (Sihasapa/Minneconjou Lakota) illustrates the complexity of knowledge transmission via matrilineal kinship by arguing that, “The strategies adopted for cultural survival and the means of transmitting these to daughters and nieces are valuable adaptive mechanisms which cannot be even partially reconstructed."[87]

The adaptive mechanisms of Indigenous peoples, specifically of Native women, are exactly what contributes to their survivance and resilience in spite of mass genocidal efforts by settler and patriarchal colonialism. A term employed by Gerald Vizenor to describe the survival and resilience of Native peoples, “Survivance is an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name. Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy and victimry."[88] Survivance accurately describes the persistence of Native women advocating for the wellbeing of their communities through activism and grassroots mobilization. Survivance is what allows for a transfer of adaptive skills to younger generations of Indigenous

peoples, whether they show up as empowered resistance to colonial forces or as historical trauma coping mechanisms. Author Donna H. Langston contends that, “Indian women are more likely to organize around issues that impact children as well as women,”[89] and goes on to say that, “Many female elders find that their status as elders enhances their political participation and contributions to future generations.”[90] This denotes a sense of agency in Native women, especially elder women, who feel an inherent responsibility to pass on their cultural knowledge, adaptive skills, and political consciousness to Indigenous youth. The very root of this transmission is Indigenous resistance which encourages a continuance of Indigenous ways of life that provide safety to Native youth through empowerment by their cultures and Indigenous identity.

CHAPTER 3

NATIVE ACTIVISM AND THE HISTORY OF THE NATIVE MASCOT MOVEMENT

Modern day Native activism has deep roots in the American political system, and from its inception represented Indian resistance, protection of sovereignty and cultural preservation. Just as many social movements in American history that followed the tides of the time, Native activism coincided with civic nationalism and assimilation into mainstream culture as well as opposition to termination and removal, and finally cultural preservation, treaty rights, sovereignty, and self-determination.[91] Also, similar to mainstream social justice movements, Native activism has been consistently plagued with division, leading to factions among leaders and activists alike. Many disagreements stemmed from differences in political and cultural beliefs, goals, and the means to reach those goals. This infighting proved disastrous for several early activist groups throughout the 20th century and continues to plague modern activist circles to this day. Nevertheless, the factions and their resultant activist circles, working in both a community capacity and in relations with the federal government, set the stage for contemporary Native activism's aim and strategy.

Much of the literature points to the occupation of Alcatraz Island (November 20, 1969 – June 11, 1971) as the beginning of modern-day Native activism.[92] However, Native activism in a broader sense also encompassed religious and social revitalization movements that occurred in Indian Country throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in American history. In, "American Indian Activism and Transformation,"

authors Johnson, Nagel, and Champagne explain that religious revitalization movements often used spirituality to provide solutions to the dismal social, economic and political conditions plaguing Indian nations while social revitalization movements typical sought to acculturate Native peoples into American-style agriculture, reservations, and political limitations.[93] Author Doug Kiel echoes this assertion stating that, "The achievements of Red Power era activism built upon earlier efforts, and the defense of Indigenous rights remains a continuous struggle today."[94]

In order to understand how contemporary Native activism functions and at what aim, it is important to recognize and honor the roots of the Red Power movement. Aside from the religious revitalization and social movements, the formation of the Society of American Indian (SAI) was the first distinct case of a national pan-Indian activist organization.[95] Both Laura Cornelius Kellogg (Oneida) and Gertrude Bonnin (Yankton Dakota), also known as Zitkála-Šá, were founding members of SAI and provide early examples of Native women in advocacy leadership.[96] It is interesting to note that unlike the movements before it, SAI instead believed that Native peoples should abandon their cultures and traditions and assimilate into mainstream, Christian American society. Author Bradley G. Shreve writes, "[SAI's] founding members believed that Native people needed to move away from the past, reject tradition and custom, and embrace currents of modern civilization."[97] As such, their original platform was centered around acculturation, self-sufficiency, and social justice. Almost immediately, insurgent groups popped up in opposition to SAI's assimilationist platform and formed groups that called for a retention of cultural values and beliefs, treaty rights and preservation of federally

protected tribal lands and rights granted via federal trust obligation. Additionally, Congress passed the Indian Citizenship Act (ICA) in 1924, which invalidated much of SAI's purpose and platform, and as a result, membership and interest in the group faded.

Sociologist and advocate John Collier, who would later be appointed as Commissioner for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), established the American Indian Defense Association (AIDA) shortly before the passing of the ICA in 1923.[98] AIDA quickly became the foremost defender of Indian land, advocating for a return of control over resources and land base to Indian nations, empowering them to embrace their cultural values and practices much to the dismay of religious missionaries and Christian reformers.[99] AIDA represented a progressive view of Indian rights that advocated for self-determination by Indigenous nations. This view also represented a stark departure from those of SAI and prompted infighting and division among the pan-Indian groups.

The Problem of Indian Administration, otherwise known as the Meriam Report, was published in 1928 and also served as a major catalyst for Native activism throughout the next couple decades. The report detailed the poverty, destitution, health problems, educational disparities, and social ills Native people faced on both reservations and in urban areas, declaring the federal government's assimilation and allotment policies as abject failures.[100] Originally meant to prompt the federal policy makers to address the horrendous conditions of Indian life in America, the report divided Native activists into two camps over the issue of which method would best help them to achieve their goals. SAI supported working with the federal government while AIDA felt that federal government oversight of Indian nations was exactly the issue.[101]

The founding of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) in 1944 marked an important shift for Native activism and Indigenous leadership alike. Membership in NCAI included political leaders from Indian Country and importantly linked them to advocates, ultimately creating a powerhouse association that worked to secure greater legal standing for sovereign Indian nations in federal Indian policy.[102] Emerging at the tail end of World War II, the founding members of NCAI firmly believed in Indian nationalism and understood the federal government's policy of termination to be the product of decisions by policy makers who were actively working to reduce the sovereignty of Indian nations. NCAI members subsequently advocated Indian nations to become more involved in their political and socioeconomic destinies through participation in the United States political structure. NCAI leadership also created a legal aid bureau to assist Indian nations in land claim cases and lobbied Congress on crucial issues affecting Native peoples.[103] Most notably, in 1954, NCAI drafted the "Declaration of Indian Rights" in which they rejected federal efforts to terminate its special trust relationship with Indian nations and proclaimed support of federal guardianship and the reservation system.[104] The Declaration further distanced NCAI from other Native activist groups who staunchly opposed any federal oversight of Indian nations.

Conflict developed during the 1950s and early 1960s between younger educated Indians with militant tendencies and conservative members of NCAI. The period marked another shift in Native activism as Indigenous youth, both men and women, attended colleges and universities in increasingly higher numbers. Those educational environments provided Native students an opportunity to study a wide range of issues such as the

liberation movements in Africa and Asia, colonialism, human rights, and organizing. Academia often provided them spaces to congregate, share their concerns and opinions with each other, and work together to come up with solutions to the many issues affecting their home communities. The students formed Indian clubs as a means to celebrate their respective cultures in a variety of ways from hosting powwows to bringing in speakers who provided them with information on political, social, and economic issues like racism and sexism.

The most notable Indian student organization to arise during this time was the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC). A group of twelve Indigenous young adults that included five women and seven men, established NIYC in Gallup, New Mexico, after they had attended the American Indian Chicago Conference in June 1961. The group left the conference feeling frustrated with sponsoring Native organizations who adamantly opposed their radical views. Kiel notes that NIYC "ushered in a new wave of young Native militancy and embraced a strategy of direct action".[105] NIYC members played an especially significant role in the "fish-in" direct actions in Washington state in the latter part of the 60s and early 1970s. This also prompted many of them to become involved in environmental issues facing their nations.

NIYC's strategy of direct action coupled with empowerment of Indigenous youth and greater education in Indian issues proved to be long-lasting and its influence can be seen throughout the next generations of Native activist groups. In fact, the founding group included several well-known Native activists who rose to become landmark activists within the Red Power movement. The cadre of notable council members

included Clyde Warrior, Mel Thom, Shirley Hill Witt, and Karen Richard among many others.[106] The group of Indigenous youth activists wholly embraced the tumultuous energy of the 1960s, focusing their strategy on direct action and a proud reclamation of Indigeneity. The energy incited Indigenous youth to further embrace resistance tactics of the day that mirrored the Black Power movement and incorporate the use of civil disobedience, protesting and occupation into their activism. The energy of the times gave rise to the American Indian Movement (AIM), which quickly became one of the most memorable associations of the Red Power movement due to their use of mass media, militancy, and shock value.

AIM, established in 1968, epitomized the sentiment of 1960s era Native activists who moved further away from the assimilationist agenda that was promoted by the generations before them. The newly minted "Red Power movement" came to represent Indigenous struggle for political justice, fair treatment, and the honoring of treaty rights.[107] Fixico notes that the young men and women of AIM were "skilled in oratory like many of their ancestors, they possessed an intrepid desire to speak out for Indian rights no matter what the consequence."[108] Native communities both on and off reservation began to look to these young activists for leadership and inspiration for changes in Indian policy. The militant strategies of AIM, specifically their occupation of the BIA Building in 1972 during the Trail of Broken Treaties March[109] and their later occupation of Wounded Knee in South Dakota in 1973,[110] helped to create a distinct persona for the organization and catapulted them into infamy as radical, violent outlaws who held little regard for the law.

Interestingly, Fixico notes that, "The more militant that AIM became, the more rejection that it received from Native people who were not involved,"[111] which may have attributed to a decline in membership and interest in later years.

In its heyday however, AIM effectively unified a pan-Indian and urban Native base that had before then, gone through a myriad of issues ranging from relocation to alcohol and substance abuse to police brutality. Many AIM members assert that the organization's primary purpose "focused on spiritual uplift of revitalizing pride among Indian Americans."[112] AIM leaders encouraged pride in Indian identity and helped many Native peoples living in urban areas to embrace their cultural heritage. The organization created two survival schools in Minnesota that provided Native children with alternative curricula to "meet their cultural and academic needs.[113] They began an Elders program and assisted the unemployed and new arrivals from the reservations with shelter and food.[114] Most notably, AIM paved the way for future Native activists to incorporate tactics like protesting, occupation, and staged demonstrations into their own efforts to advocate for Indigenous issues. The real gift of AIM was a "proactive identity" of Indian leadership[115] that was to be inherited by the next generation of Indigenous resistance.

Women of the Red Power Movement

Literature on Native activism and the Red Power movement seldomly discuss the contributions of Native women and their leadership roles within the movements. More so, the very few mentions often typify Native women as weaker than men, meek, and in need of protection. Author Donna Langston instead argues that Native women were

instrumental in the movement and in much of the organizing of Indian activist groups.[116] Native women did the majority of planning and behind-the-scenes work at both occupations yet remained hidden in public narratives about AIM and the Red Power movement. Ultimately, the women of the Red Power movement and antecedent organizations like NIYC moved from supportive roles in mainstream, male-centric movements to mobilizing and forming organizations that focused on their own needs and issues affecting Indigenous women.

One of the most prominent women's groups to arise out of the Red Power movement was Women of All Red Nations (WARN). Founded in 1974, WARN was comprised of notable women of the Red Power movement who for many years throughout the 1960s and 1970s worked tirelessly in the background while Native men took center stage. Co-founders Janet McCloud (Tulalip), Lorelei DeCora Means (Winnebago/Minnecojou Lakota), Madonna Thunderhawk (Cheyenne River Sioux), Phillis Young (Standing Rock Sioux), and others[117] mobilized as Indian women working to affect change for other Indian women on the most urgent issues facing them like forced sterilization, adoption, high infant mortality rates, high school dropout as well as land and resource struggles.[118] They built survival schools that focused on instruction of both cultural and academic knowledges. WARN also held conferences for Native women on issues that affected them, and most notably had 300 women from 30 different nations attend their founding conference.[119]

The women were met with hesitation and open hostility from male-centric Indigenous activists within AIM and also from white feminist groups. Many Indigenous

women felt that the 1960s and 1970s feminist movement's rebellion against patriarchy did not fully align with their concerns as Native women. Unfortunately, men of the Red Power movement also ignored Native women's concerns to instead focus on general pan-Indian issues and offered backing that was mostly rhetorical.[120] Langston notes, "The issue of sexism was raised at Wounded Knee amid criticism of male dominance and opportunism."[121] White women on the other hand, expected Native women to prioritize larger feminist movement goals such as reproductive and sexual rights, and had little to no interest in providing any reciprocal support to Native women's issues.[122] Unfortunately, the rhetoric of white feminists held very little applicability to Native women, especially when it came to motherhood and reproductive rights. White women often viewed motherhood and its counterpart of nuclear family-life as a direct reinforcement of rigid gender roles and the site of women's oppression, whereas Native women saw it as empowering and a reinforcement of their roles as leaders of their families and kinship systems.[123] These key differences resulted in Native women seeking out their own solutions via grassroots organizing and advocating within Native women's groups to be heard and seen.

The roles that Native women played throughout the rise of Indian activism and the Red Power movement fostered a return to the generational legacy of Indigenous women's resistance, persistence and leadership in their cultures and in their communities. Empowered by the rhetoric of Red Power and inspired to fully embrace their Indigeneity, cultural values, and traditional beliefs and practices, Native women effectively worked to restore the agency and influence they once possessed. They took their empowerment of

Indigenous identity and voice and embedded it into new generations of empowered Native men and women who are fearless in their demand for self-determination, sovereignty, and a return of ancestral lands. The women of the Red Power movement acting in their inherent capacity as culture bearers, took it upon themselves to create sites of critical pedagogy within the bodies and minds of Indigenous youth.[124] As such, they intentionally cultivated the state of Indian activism today that encourages Native women to advocate for their communities just as they have always done.

The Movement Against Native Mascots

The movement against Native mascots arose during the tumultuous times of Red Power activism when Indigenous peoples sought to reclaim their identities, cast aside racial stereotypes, and empower themselves with cultural knowledge and values. Native mascots and caricatures are settler colonial manifestations of a desire to dominate Indigenous peoples. Winona LaDuke (Anishinaabekwe) asserts that the use of racist imagery to depict Indigenous peoples is "a reminder of the icons of westward expansion, colonialism, and domination. It is also the fire of voices, hearts, and passions of those who have used the imagery to justify its creation, while those, 'in whose honor' the imagery is supposedly created, challenge its foundations."[125] Similarly, the movement against Native mascots and team names concentrates on the issues of misrepresentation and visibility of Indigenous peoples and embodies a long battle over ownership of Native image and identity in the American mainstream.

The movement against Native mascots was and remains Native woman led. Native women like Suzan Harjo and Amanda Blackhorse (Diné) have followed in the footsteps of a long legacy of Indigenous women who battle to define Indigeneity outside of racist stereotypes and derogatory depictions of Indigenous peoples. They have in many respects sacrificed parts of their own lives to this battle, fearlessly charging ahead to voice opposition to the damaging caricatures and stereotypes. For these women, there is a personal stake in the war against racist mascots. Native activist and artist, Charlene Teters (Spokane), describes how personal the battle is, explaining that,

> Inside each desperately grinning Cleveland Indian and each stoic Redskin, Brave, or Chief Illiniwek mascot, there is someone we know. If you look hard enough and don't panic, you begin to see the eyes and the hearts of these despised relatives of ours, who have been forced to lock their spirits away from themselves and from us. I see our brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers captured and forced into images they did not devise, doing hard time for all of us. We can liberate them by understanding this, and ourselves.[126]

The importance of Native women as leaders in grassroots organizing and advocacy has been documented in several ways throughout the Red Power movement and continues on through the fight against racist and derogatory mascots. Harjo frequently points to the damage these figures have on younger generations of Indigenous peoples as one of the primary reasons for her advocacy. Both Harjo and Blackhorse have asserted again and again that the issue is one of self-representation and control over identity, and therefore must be recognized as an issue that directly impacts the sovereignty of Indian nations. Teters explains, “using our names, likeness, or religious symbols to excite a crowd does not feel

like an honor or respect. It is hurtful and confusing to our young people. To reduce the victims of genocide to a mascot is callous and unthinking at best and immoral at worst."[127] Furthermore, testimony about personal experiences and the impact of racist mascots aptly described “persecution, harassment, and discrimination.”[128]

Associate research professor, Jessica Solyom, affirms that racist and derogatory media images prevent non-Native peoples from understanding both the past and present experiences of real Indigenous cultures and communities.[129] On any given day, a typical American could turn on the T.V. and see Indians raiding a white settler camp in numerous Western movies or witness the Washington football team fans wearing fake headdresses and war paint, or even to have the option to dress up as “Poca-hottie” or “Indian maiden” on Halloween. All of these stereotypes are damaging to Native peoples and are taken for granted imagery in which they base all further understandings of Native culture on thus creating the accepted and perpetuated social representation of all 500+ Indian nations in the United States. What’s more, the disparaging social misrepresentation of Indigenous peoples via Native mascots and team names has lasting effects on Native youth who internalize the stereotypes and the reactions to them from non-Native and Native peoples alike. The structure of white dominance, supremacy, and hierarchy present in racist mascots is therefore upheld within the minds and bodies of Indigenous youth, creating lasting harm to their identities as Native people and to the assertion of sovereignty.

The flagrant use of racist and derogatory imagery through Native mascots continued well into the 1970s when more and more Native peoples spoke out against their use.[130] The case study of Harjo in the following chapter shows one instance of a Native women leader working to eliminate the use of demeaning imagery and iconography of Native mascots. Her tireless efforts through the use of direct action, creative and expressive protest, and litigation have produced hard-fought victories in this battle. Moreover, Harjo's intentional incorporation of cultural values and empowerment of Indigenous youth in the movement has created an environment ripe with Native activists who have continued fighting for Native peoples' ability to self-represent and determine their own identities on their own terms.

CHAPTER 4

WOMEN OF THE NATIVE MASCOT MOVEMENT

Figure 1: Suzan Shown Harjo and Amanda Blackhorse joined forces in the fight against the Washington NFL team franchise.
(Photo by Vincent Schilling)[131]

"A nation is not conquered until the hearts of its women are on the ground. Then it is done, no matter how brave its warriors or how strong its weapons." Cheyenne Proverb

Women of the Red Power movement were instrumental in organizing, mobilizing, and handling the day-to-day operations of grassroots movements like AIM as described in the previous chapter. In fact, many of those who were present at the occupation of Alcatraz Island and Wounded Knee recount how Native women served as the backbone of those actions. They not only cooked, cleaned, organized food and supplies, and took care of the men and children, but they also gave their input as leaders of their families and communities. The women helped to strategize direct action and then worked to

mobilize Native peoples and get their buy-in to pull off the actions. What's more, they worked within and outside of the strict confines of gender roles and high toxic masculinity that was ever present in AIM and throughout the Red Power movement. Women of the Red Power movement ultimately created space for future generations of Native women to navigate through the male-centric institutions of AIM and negotiate their own places within it by asserting their agency as Native women and leaders of their families, communities, and cultures.

The women of the Native mascot movement like Harjo and Blackhorse have followed in the footsteps of the women advocates before them to establish their own places as leaders in the Native mascot issue. Much of what they say about how they came to be leaders within the issue fall in line with their cultural teachings and values as Native women. Importantly, their reasoning also aligns with how Native women's leadership has operated since time immemorial. The "ethic of responsibility"[132] that guides the three leaders was instilled by a keen sense of self as an Indigenous (or as Cheyenne and Hodulgee Muscogee, and Diné) woman. These women point to cultural teachings, roles, and responsibilities to describe how they came to be leaders, while also maintaining a humble disposition to their leadership.

The following case study on Harjo helps to illustrate what an Indigenous woman understands about leadership in activism and advocacy, and how she enacts those qualities to support causes that matter to her. The case study will also address the previously mentioned research questions (page 15 and Appendix A). It is my intention to show that Harjo and her contemporaries embody a continuance of Native women's leadership that is carried out through activism and advocacy in the Native mascot

movement, both on and off-reservation. This case study in that respect, focuses much more on qualities of leadership and how Harjo engages with those attributes rather than in-depth information about the Native mascot movement. I utilize interviews, academic journal articles and media reports and stories as the principal data sources informing the case study. I also incorporate personal stories and articles written by Harjo to highlight her personal perspectives and agency. I hope to honor Harjo's legacy, emphasize how important her work is to larger issues of human rights, sovereignty, and self-determination, and contribute to a better understanding of Native women's leadership in activism and advocacy.

Suzan Shown Harjo

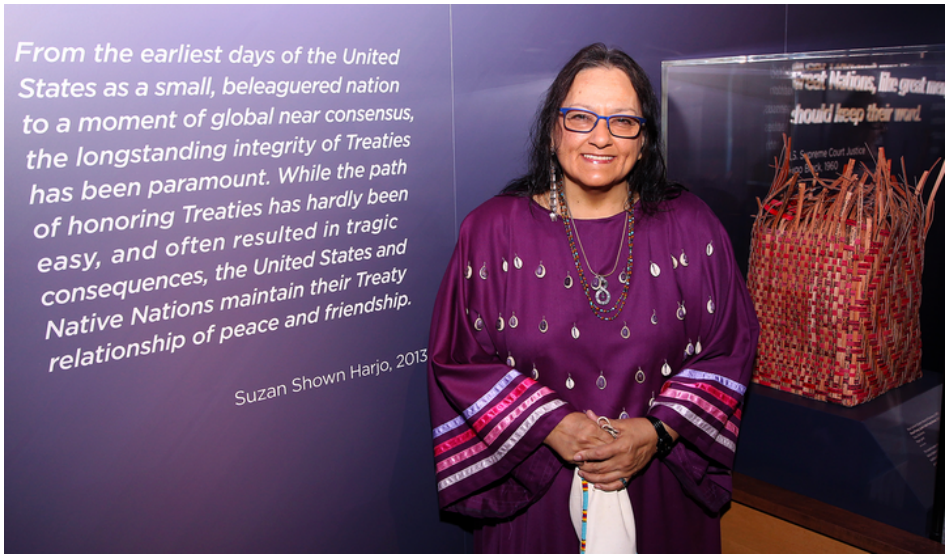

Figure 2: Suzan Shown Harjo at the opening of the exhibition "Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indian Nations," National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C., 2014. (Paul Morigi/AP Images for the Smithsonian)[133]

Suzan Shown Harjo was born on June 2, 1945, in El Reno, Oklahoma, which is located on Cheyenne treaty territory.[134] She is Hodulgee Muscogee and a member of the

Cheyenne tribe.[135] Harjo was raised on Muscogee allotment land outside of the city of Beggs in eastern Oklahoma.[136] She is the daughter of Susie Rozetta Eades (Cheyenne) and Freeland Edward Douglas (Muscogee). Both of Harjo's parents attended residential boarding schools in their youth, which would have a direct impact on Harjo's activism later in life. Her mother's grandfather was Chief Bull Bear, a leader of the Cheyenne Dog Men Society and a ceremonial leader.[137] She has two children, Adriane Shown Harjo and Duke Ray Harjo,[138] whom she raised to be empowered Natives like herself. She married Frank Harjo (Muscogee) and he unfortunately passed in 1982.[139] She has a long list of accomplishments, titles, and honors behind her name, but as Harjo introduces herself, she is first and foremost a mother and grandmother.[140]

Harjo is also a poet, writer, curator, and policy advocate. She helped to develop key federal Indian policy and secure its passage such as the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) in 1978, the National Museum of the American Indian Act in 1989, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990, and the 1996 Executive Order on Indian Sacred Sites.[141] She has received numerous academic distinctions and fellowships including the first Native woman to receive the Montgomery Fellowship at Dartmouth College in 1992, the first Native person selected as a Stanford University Visiting Mentor in 1996, back-to-back fellowships in 2004 at the School of Advanced Research in Santa Fe, New Mexico as a Eric and Barbara Dobkin Native American Artist fellow and a Summer Scholar, as well as the first Vine Deloria, Jr. Distinguished Indigenous Scholar at the University of Arizona in 2008.[142] Professionally, she has served in key leadership positions for a variety of organizations ranging from co-host and producer of the "Seeing Red" radio show on WBAI-FM Radio

in New York City, a Director of the American Indian Press Association, a former Carter Administration Special Assistant for Indian Legislation and Liaison, founder of the Morning Star Institute, and a founding trustee and curator of the National Museum of the American Indian.[143] She additionally served on the Native American Policy Committee for then Senator Barack Obama during his inaugural presidential campaign, and then assisted as an Advisor in his transition to the presidency in 2007 – 2008.[144]

Although she rejects the label of activist for American Indian rights, many would describe her as such, pointing out her long career of managing and serving in key lobbying roles to successfully "achieve passage of over 200 bills and appropriations matters,"[145] as well as the advocacy work she's done for issues like cultural repatriation and racist Native mascots. "Seeing Red," the first national Native news show co-hosted by Harjo and her husband Frank,[146] marks one of the first occasions that Harjo was able to showcase her passion for American Indian rights. She recalls in an interview, "Its focus was contemporary Indian issues, cultures, histories, and peoples. Oftentimes, we would do a midnight-to-4:00 a.m. personality show, where we would talk, play music, and take telephone calls. Any Native person at that time with a pressing issue or struggle would either come to New York or join us by telephone for news coverage, because the WBAI listeners numbered in the millions in a six-state area."[147] It was during this time in her life that Harjo began advocating at a national level for Native rights, focusing on areas of cultural rights laws and protection of sacred places, ancestral sites and ceremonial items.[148]

Harjo has a calm and principled demeanor, and in every interview I watched, she comes across as a patient person with a biting and quick wit. She is a formidable combination of empowered Indigeneity and Native womanhood that stems from deep roots in her culture and a long legacy of resistance for Indigenous rights. Even as a younger woman, Harjo maintained her composure in the face of adversity but is always ready to share knowledge about Indigenous issues with those she felt needed to be educated. People close to her say that she has a great sense of humor as well, something key in any circle, family or situation with Native peoples.

Harjo comes from generations of strong people as a Cheyenne and Muscogee woman. The Cheyenne, known as fierce warriors and for their horsemanship, are also known for the 1864 Sand Creek massacre where U.S. troops killed and mutilated over 150 Cheyenne and Arapaho men, women and children, and wounded many more.[149] As a result, the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes (who later merged into one federally recognized tribe) were forever skeptical of any dealings with the United States government and white settlers. Harjo mentions on one occasion when describing what she had learned from her family and community as a youth that, "[My family] also told me that white people would try to break my spirit, just as they had twisted history."[150] The Muscogee people also suffered greatly following the passage of the Indian Removal Act, where they were marched from their homelands to Oklahoma as part of the Trail of Tears in 1838.[151] Unfortunately, both Cheyenne and Muscogee peoples can additional point to multiple occasions in their histories that caused historical trauma for generations to come.

For example, residential boarding schools had an especially detrimental effect on Indian nations, displacing generations of Native peoples from their languages, cultural beliefs and practices, and families.

Harjo actually follows a legacy of Cheyenne women warriors who, out of necessity, fiercely opposed encroachment by white settlers and the United States army. Cheyenne women were typically charged with setting up and breaking camp, packing and moving belongings on travois, sometimes across long distances.[152] However their traditional roles were forever altered from the violence that was enacted against them during the Sand Creek Massacre. Women became warriors in the new reality where their Cheyenne men were killed by the United States army. Take for instance the first female Cheyenne warrior known as Mo-Chi, or Buffalo Calf Woman.[153] Mo-Chi was 23 years old when she survived the massacre at Sand Creek and became enraged upon witnessing the deaths of her father and husband and the destruction of her village.[154] From that point on, Mo-Chi opposed the United States with a vengeance and is quoted in Cheyenne oral history as saying, "This day, I vow revenge for the murder of my family and my people…This day, I declare war on *veho* – white man. This day I become a warrior, and a warrior I will be forever."[155]

While many Cheyenne women took up arms out of necessity, they also formed a sisterhood around the common goal of caring for their people and families in the wake of the violence and slaughter at Sand Creek. The women divided the work of gathering, digging and sorting food, and would often gather to prepare foods which presented them with the opportunity to laugh, gossip, and share stories.[156] It was in these times that Cheyenne women share their pain and grief over the loss of loved ones, and the hardships

that they were going through as families. The women formed bonds outside of gendered colonial structures that later materialized into songs, dances, jokes, stories, and lessons. Ultimately, they found resilience and strength in each other and pushed through their experiences and hardships collectively using their cultural beliefs and practices, and an unyielding belief in the continuance of their peoples for generations to come.

Harjo spoke of the same resilience and optimism that Cheyenne women must possess in order to lead their peoples, especially under duress of historical and ongoing traumas. In an interview she gave after she was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, Harjo explains, "As a Cheyenne woman, one of our first instructions was – well, to the whole of the Cheyenne nation, was that the nation would be strong as long as the hearts of the women…were not on the ground. So what that means is, we're going to have a strong nation as long as the women are optimistic."[157] Here, Harjo gives insight into her understanding of how she *defines* leadership in the context of her upbringing as a Cheyenne woman. The melding of cultural teachings via family teachings and oral histories with political consciousness that has been passed down through generations has created a strong foundation for resistance and activism for Harjo. The raw emotions of genocide, forcible removal, assimilation, and other atrocities committed towards her people have traveled intergenerationally as historical trauma through Harjo's bloodline. However, the sheer will of the Cheyenne and Muscogee peoples to not only survive but to also thrive despite the injustices they faced has also been passed on through generations.

Poetry is arguably one of the most intimate ways to know who Suzan Harjo is and how she *invokes* leadership. In fact, she states that, "There's not a single thing I've done,

except write poetry, that has been just myself."[158] As a poet, Harjo focuses on Indigenous issues and life and death struggles that emphasize honor, renewal and respect for human life.[159] Her first publication came at the young age of 12 when an Italian magazine published a poem she had written about visiting WWII memorials with her father and singing the names of the dead and missing soldiers.[160] While poetry is not a traditional form of expression in Cheyenne culture, Harjo explains that she, "began writing poetry because of the poetics and density of Cheyenne and Muscogee oral history as related by my Cheyenne and Muscogee relatives."[161] It is important to note here the long legacy of art as a form of expression for Indigenous resistance, which oftentimes included writing in various forms. Writing as a cultural and spiritual act of expression therefore accurately describes Harjo's poetry as it is able to make-meaning of Harjo's feelings, actions, and attitudes about Indigenous resistance for both Western and Indigenous societies.

Harjo uses writing and poetry to express her commitment as a woman, as an advocate for Indigenous and human rights,[162] and because it allows her to convey her own feelings of Indigenous resistance in a way that she wants to be heard. Take for instance a poem she wrote in 1990 called *jumping through the hoops of history (for columbus, custer, sheridan, wayne and all such heroes of yesteryear)*; included below is a short excerpt. The full poem is included in Appendix B.

> *10 little, 9 little, 8 little Indians*
> *7 little, sick little, live baby Indians*
> *poor little, me little, you little Indians*
> *the only good Indian's a dead 1*
>
> a lot of young Indians got dead in the '80s
> just like the '70s and the '60s
> both 19 and 18 hundreds
> and all the other 00s since 1492

a sucker's #s game over the sale of the centuries
with 99-year leases and 1-cent treaties
with disappearing ink on the bottom line
signed by gilt-eyed oddsmakers
whose smart $ bet on 0 redskins by half-time[163]

Harjo's double entendre at the end of the second stanza is epic – she not only manages to reference (or in Native slang, "burn") the Washington football team and racist mascots and team names in general but she also calls attention to settler colonialism's genocidal intent toward Indigenous peoples. The clever way Harjo conveys truths about both Indigenous history and contemporary issues within *jumping through the hoops of history* provides an excellent illustration of how she uses writing to express her beliefs about Indigenous resistance. This is wholly in line with how Indigenous peoples historically expressed themselves through the use of art, song, dance, and writing. What's more, Harjo's writing is exactly the type of cultural activity that Metoyer points out as a powerful influential force in molding Native communities.[164]

Harjo accordingly self-identifies as a writer,[165] and mentions that her family "understood the role of oral history, of writing things right through the memory of the people concerned."[166] The writing of Harjo is not only grounded in her cultural and familial heritage, it is also her preferred method to express and share her feelings, actions, and attitudes about Indigenous resistance to the youth. It additionally illustrates Harjo's adaptive ability to utilize non-Indigenous practices such as poetry to further her advocacy for Indigenous and human rights. Interestingly, she describes her poetry recounting the fight for repatriation as "the dreams, nightmares and visions that made us make the history we did."[167] This catalyst for Harjo falls in line with the reasons why many Native peoples, especially women, engage in activism and advocacy – they are intimately linked

to the historical traumas intergenerationally in addition to experiencing ongoing traumas today in both their personal and cultural lives. Native women work to remedy the pain, loss, and suffering of their families, communities, and selves through direct actions that can be translated as Indigenous resistance and a fight for cultural continuance. Those direct actions do not always conform to a standard view of activism: they oftentimes appear as grassroots cultural activities that influence Indigenous communities during times of social change.

Outside of Harjo's artistic expression via poetry, she is a powerhouse advocate for Indigenous and human rights. In her own right, she will leave a long legacy of advocacy and leadership that has furthered the project of Indigenous rights for generations to come. Her work in so many organizations has created a pathway for Native peoples to use advocacy to affect social, political, and economic change for their communities. No doubt, Harjo's cultural upbringing encouraged grassroots efforts and mobilization to address issues that affected local communities and families. She has been able to bridge those values with a keen sense of political consciousness to engage in the American political system in very distinct ways in order to advocate for Indigenous peoples and their rights. As such, the *conscious* choice of Harjo to engage in leadership over the decades has ultimately contributed to a legacy of her activism that will carry on for generations to come.

One way Harjo accomplishes this is through persistence and longevity. She often likens advocacy to gardening, explaining "you work with the soil, plant, leave it alone to grow, then return to trim and admire."[168] Harjo's decades long career advocacy lays testament to her persistence and mirrors her garden analogy: she has been planting seeds

throughout the several years, she methodically and painstakingly tends to the "garden" of her planted seeds in various areas and stages of growth, and in many cases, she has been able to sow those seeds via legislative successes for Indigenous rights. It is within this metaphorical garden that Harjo's beliefs about Indigenous women's leadership can be traced. From the start, Harjo gave credit to her Cheyenne and Muscogee ancestors and family for providing cultural values that align with her advocacy. Her recognition points to a deep understanding of a continuance of how Native women (and peoples) *enact* leadership, power and activism. According to Harjo, "…if you wish to stick it out long enough, you prevail."[169] And while her actions as an advocate began at a grassroots level, they blossomed into national and international victories that continue to benefit Native peoples across the United States.

Pro Football, Inc. v. Harjo et al.

Harjo served as a key figure in the fight against racist and derogatory Native mascots. In the landmark case, *Pro Football, Inc. v. Harjo et al.*,[170] Harjo was one of seven Native people who in 1992, petitioned the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office to cancel the federal trademark registration for "Redskins," "Redskinettes," (the team's cheerleaders), and all associated team names.[171] On April 2, 1999, a federal panel of judges ruled in favor of Harjo and the others, affirming that "Redskins" was a historically offensive term and remained so from 1967 (the date of its trademark approval) to present.[172] The three-panel judges ruled unanimously to cancel the trademark on grounds that "subject marks may disparage Native Americans and may bring them into contempt or disrepute."[173] The decision was appealed by the team owners who brought the case to

federal court. The original decision to cancel the trademark was overturned via a unique interpretation of laches (delay in making a claim) which quite ridiculously determined that the plaintiffs were too old when they filed suit.[174] Harjo et al. lost the case in 2009 when the U.S. Supreme Court declined to review the laches decision.[175]

In anticipation of losing the case to the laches loophole, Harjo immediately set out recruiting a new generation of plaintiffs who could bypass the age-limit established by the ruling. Diné social worker Amanda Blackhorse, along with five others between the ages of 18 – 24 years old, were enlisted. In 2006, they filed an identical case using the same facts and issues of the Harjo case.[176] Harjo's persistence and optimism were ever present in her decades long fight against racist and derogatory Native mascots as was her fight to force societal change to provide for more self-representation and visibility of Native peoples as defined by themselves rather than racist and defamatory caricatures. In this fight, Harjo was able to mobilize generations of Indigenous people by simply invoking the cultural teachings of her people and using her political consciousness and adaptability to bring attention to the issue through judicial means.

Harjo's legacy continues through the work of many Native peoples including Blackhorse. Her unique ability to remain ever optimistic and steadfast in her goals to bring an end to racist Native mascots can be seen throughout the activism of Harjo's contemporaries who honor the legacy that did not really begin with her but is rather as age-old as the Cheyenne and Muscogee nations themselves. She effectively defines leadership through the lens of a Cheyenne/Muscogee woman and applies the cultural knowledges and her own personal experiences to further contextualize the terms of what she feels makes a good leader. Harjo also embraces the same "proactive identity"[177] of

AIM and the Red Power movement and was absolutely influenced by their staunch advocacy for Indian nations. In fact, much of her activism against racist Native mascots falls in line with how women of the Red Power movement measured their own responsibilities to their peoples, nations, and the continuance of their cultures.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

Harjo consistently spoke of her role as a Cheyenne/Muscogee woman and the responsibility she has to her family, community, and her cultures as the main reasons why she became engrossed in the movement against Native mascots. The continuance of Harjo as an Indigenous woman acting in response to issues that affect her peoples can clearly be seen throughout the case study as a main driving force for her unwavering commitment to fight against racist Native mascots and for Native rights. Importantly, Harjo insists that she is not an activist but is instead guided by her cultural values and beliefs and the lessons of the Cheyenne women who came before her. The fight against Native mascots is intimately tied to representation of Indigenous peoples and the identities they assume from those representations which will impact future generations. The continuance of racist Native mascots, team names, and caricatures ultimately affects how future generations view themselves, each other, and their cultures. For Harjo, much of her reasons behind advocating for this particular cause directly corresponds with ensuring healthy, sustainable, and self-represented Indigenous nations for generations to come.

A deeper examination, keeping the key concepts of IFT and the AIS paradigm in mind, yielded more specific themes that I placed under categories matching my research questions. Table 1 (below; also located in Appendix C) describes how Harjo (1) defines or understands leadership, (2) what factors have influenced her ability to serve as a leader, and (3) how her beliefs about leadership, power and activism have changed over time. Many of the emergent themes from my analysis crossed between more than one

research question so they are arranged in five columns to show their overlapping position. These themes were developed using interviews of Harjo, public lectures, published articles, and her poetry. While the case study themes are in no particular order or hierarchy, I will discuss them according to how they fall under my research questions.

How do Indigenous women activists define or understand leadership?		What factors influence Indigenous women's ability to serve as a leader?	How have beliefs about Indigenous female leadership, power, and activism changed over time (if at all?)	
Expression of obligation via art/poetry and activism	Respect for all humans	Quest for memory, honor and knowledge	Transmitting Indigenous resistance to next generations	Grassroots → social transformation → policy change
Recognition of legacy	Reverence for life and death	Honor and recognize spiritual aspect of actions	Traditional and cultural advocacy	Call for private citizens to mobilize and force societal change
Awareness of injustice and past atrocities	Recognition of legacy and continuum of Indigenous future		Fight for visibility and self-representation	
Work is not for self	Native rights		Concern for children and future generations	
	Persistence and longevity			

Table 1. Research Question Themes – Suzan Shown Harjo

The detailed themes are as follows:

(1) How do Indigenous women activists (Harjo) define or understand leadership?

a. Expressions of obligations via art, poetry and activism

b. A recognition of legacy

c. An awareness of injustice and past atrocities

d. The work is not for individual self

e. Respect for all humans

f. A reverence for life and death

g. A recognition of legacy and the continuum of an Indigenous future

h. A concern for Native rights

i. Persistence and longevity.

(2) What factors influence an Indigenous woman's (Harjo) ability to serve as a leader?
    a. *Overlapping themes with Question 1 include e-i in previous list
    b. A quest for memory, honor, and knowledge
    c. Honor and recognize the spiritual aspect of actions
    d. Transmission of Indigenous resistance to next generations
    e. Traditional and cultural advocacy
    f. The fight for visibility and self-representation
    g. Concern for children and future generations
(3) How have (Harjo's) beliefs about Indigenous female leadership, power, and activism changed over time (if at all)?
    a. *Overlapping themes with Question 2 include d-g in previous list
    b. Grassroots action leads to social transformation which then creates policy change
    c. Calling for private citizens to mobilize and force societal change

It was clear in all of the case study sources that Harjo chose to express and *define* her leadership through writing and advocacy for causes she considered important to the overall goal of Native rights. Writing is a powerful influence in Harjo's cultures, and she points to this cultural activity to explain that she began writing poetry to mirror the "oral history as related by [her] Cheyenne and Muscogee relatives."[178] Poetry as an adapted cultural activity also has the ability to carry deeper meaning within each stanza. Those deeper meanings, especially in Harjo's politically charged poetry, act as resistance codes

much like the songs, dances, writings, and oral histories Tuhiwai Smith refers to. The simple decolonizing act of expressing an embodied Indigenous woman's experience through writing allows Harjo to convey her own personal feelings about Indigenous resistance which are guided by a culturally specific outlook and historical experience. The ways in which Harjo expresses her feelings about Indigenous resistance and leadership are derived from the historical knowledges and survivance of her Cheyenne and Muscogee ancestors, intimately tying Harjo's contemporary narrative and actions to a past that is laced with trauma and genocide but also resilience all at the same time. It is also significant to note that Harjo is able to utilize the English language and writing methods like poetry as an act of adaptation and a tool of Indigenous resistance instead of the assimilationist tactic it was intended to be. This is an excellent example of how Indigenous women's adaptive mechanisms work to counter settler colonial intentions of erasure through the very systems that were designed to do exactly that.

Harjo consistently recognizes how the legacies of her peoples has directly impacted her outlook and approaches in life. She offers a profound insight into how she considers legacy to affect her own life, pointing out that, "In the Cheyenne language, we have no past tense. Only Is and Is Coming. It means that what has happened in the past is still present in your consciousness and in your life."[179] This also means that Harjo recognizes the past atrocities and violence committed against her peoples, something that is crucial in ensuring a knowledgeable and well-prepared Indigenous leader.

The way in which Harjo defines leadership through an understanding of the past demonstrates that her leadership is not simply for herself on an individual level but rather is a collective project that includes the passed down experiences, knowledges, and cultural beliefs of her ancestors and relatives.

Clearly, Harjo possesses a deep reverence for all humans as well as for life and death. This concept is key in how she defines leadership especially because she often refers to a continuum of life and legacy to define her vision of an Indigenous future. For example, Harjo asserts that, "People don't know what our religion or cultural life is like…They think that somehow if we are still here in the modern day that we are like the Egyptians - that we are a modern society against a cultural backdrop. But we have a perfect continuum; we are the same people our ancestors were. We just use different tools."[180] The ability to honor human life and death, and then to connect it to a continuum affecting both the contemporary and future lives of Indigenous peoples also deeply influences how Harjo enacts leadership. This is a fundamental aspect of traditional Indigenous leadership as discussed in the Literature Review in Chapter 2. It also directly correlates to a necessity for persistence and longevity that Harjo notes as an essential characteristic of leadership. As mentioned previously, Harjo believes that, "…if you wish to stick it out long enough, you prevail."[181]

There were several factors that I was able to identify that *influence* the ways that Harjo views and engages in leadership. A major driving force for Harjo's leadership is a quest for memory, honor, and knowledge.[182] This was especially apparent in her advocacy for repatriation rights but can also be seen in the language she uses against racist Native mascots. Harjo often contextualizes modern-day Native issues like racist

mascots within settler colonialism which mirrors the AIS paradigm succinctly. Riding In explains that the paradigm, “acknowledges that colonialism, through its expansionism and forceful exertions of hegemonic control over Indian nations, has dramatically impacted the sovereignty, human rights, landholdings, religious freedom, health, well-being, and cultural integrity of Indian nations.”[183] This is a significant practice when discussing any contemporary issue that affects Indigenous peoples and is especially useful in understanding how Harjo as a leader grounds historical knowledge to show a continuance of genocide, trauma, and oppression.

Another meaningful way that influences how Harjo enacts leadership is through honoring and recognizing the spiritual aspects of her actions. In one instance during her residency at the School for Advanced Research (SAR) in Santa Fe, Harjo wrote a poetry collection recounting the history of repatriation laws where she described the poems as “the dreams, nightmares and visions that made us make the history we did."[184] The ability to recognize that spirituality holds an important place in leadership is not unique to Harjo. In fact, we can look back to traditional structures of Indigenous governance to see just how deeply embedded spirituality and cultural beliefs and values are within those structures. Take for example the religious revitalization movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that used spirituality as a remedy for the grim conditions and violence experienced by Indigenous peoples at that time. Their heavy reliance on spirituality as a means for social change holds underlying resistance codes that were not only transferred intergenerationally but are also useful to modern-day leaders especially because they are void of Eurocentric gender roles that erase the centrality of women in Native cultures, creation stories, and oral histories. Tsosie’s identified characteristics of effective

leadership also supports the significance of spirituality in Native women leaders by pointing out that a good leader must be able to "turn things over to faith when the challenges seem too great to bear."[185]

Another influential factor in how Harjo enacts leadership is through traditional and cultural advocacy strategies that act as a guide toward reclamation of inherent sovereignty, self-determination and self-representation. It is important to recognize that traditional cultural knowledge is a keystone in how many Native peoples view the world and act within it. When asked what events (either personal or professional) have been influential in her career and life, Harjo begins by "acknowledging important events involving my ancestors that happened before my lifetime," and goes on to say that, "These still are on our minds. Things that happened before my lifetime actually are happening to me."[186] In another interview, Harjo affirms her dedication to traditional and cultural advocacy by describing traditional structures outside of the settler colonial framework. She asserts that, "There aren't many distinct cultures that have systems…that have a worldview that has us as part of it other than dominant over it…it being the world and the environment. We have keys and clues to the survival of this planet and everything on it because we understand who we are in relation to it."[187]

The complexity of intergenerational Indigenous knowledge transference relies on a recognition of colonialism and the legacy of Indigenous resistance to it, and also on a leader who has a strong sense of self and their place in their culture, and a vision for the future of the people. Harjo demonstrates this sense of self and culture as evidenced above. Her lifelong fight for visibility and representation goes hand-in-hand with her concern for Indigenous children and future generations. In several interviews, Harjo

expresses concern for Indigenous youth, asserting that they have "the highest rate of teenage suicide of any population in this country, which comes from low self esteem, which comes from having those kids' elders . . . mocked, dehumanized, cartooned, stereotyped. That is what is causing the deaths of many of our children. We can't be polite about these problems anymore."[188] This concern is exactly why much of how Harjo enacts leadership in her advocacy focuses on Indigenous youth and empowering them through the use of cultural knowledge, spirituality, and legacy. Moreover, this form of intergenerational knowledge transfer does not simply flow from past to present, but instead moves between youth and elders who continually learn from each other.

Indigenous women adapt to their surroundings and whatever is thrown at them. Their obligation to culture and its continuance relies on their strong ability to acclimate to circumstances outside of their control. For Harjo, the adaptive mechanisms she credits to her ancestors and relatives created a foundation of resistance that acts as a catalyst for her advocacy. Harjo's conscious choice to engage in leadership through Indigenous resistance directly contributes to the legacy of culturally rooted activism that will carry on for generations to come. She believes that Native people "have to bring ourselves into the modern sensibility of the American public."[189] In order to do so, Harjo consistently focuses on grassroots efforts to bring about social transformation as she believes that will ultimately prompt policy change. Interestingly, it would seem that Harjo's long political career and experience with advocacy has taught her that policy change begins with engaging local communities in the issues that affect them to create any kind of lasting societal transformation.

The many years Harjo spent cultivating support amongst Native peoples for causes that affected them helped solidify her development of a very effective strategy involving the customary values of persistence and longevity. This strategy has worked for the movement against racist Native mascots, as Harjo explains,

> When the first so-called Indian mascot was changed in 1970, there were more than three thousand of these Native references in American sports. Today, there are only nine hundred. So, we've eliminated two-thirds of these offenses and that's a societal sea change. We may not win our suit, but we have grandchildren and great-grandchildren, so we are well prepared to retire the remaining one-third.[190]

Clearly, Harjo is confident the mantle of this movement will be taken up by the next generations of Indigenous peoples. Harjo, as a leader, is effectively melding her lifelong experiences in advocacy with patience that spans generations, from both before and after her own. This continuum of kinship, interconnectedness, and spirituality embeds vitally important resistance codes into the minds and bodies of Indigenous youth, a task that Harjo seems to be well in tune with after decades of advocating. Furthermore, Harjo believes that "It is incumbent upon private citizens to recognize their vital role in forcing Federal and societal change."[191] Much of the work Harjo has conducted to date carries with it a strong political consciousness about U.S. settler colonialism and it is that very consciousness that she continues to transmit intergenerationally to Indigenous youth via lessons, strategies, and beliefs about what activism looks like for Native peoples. Who better to rely on for an embodied experience of Indigenous women's activism over time than Suzan Harjo?

Connection to Literature Review

Indigenous leadership is collective. It is a cultural activity in which each Native person/relative plays an integral role. It is founded in our spiritual beliefs and cultural values as Native peoples – for me, as Diné, Nimiipuu, and Hopi. It is a leader leading by example and experience, something that is not easily acquired but rather demands struggle and perseverance. It is also tied to legacy and a continuum of shared Indigenous experience steeped in the varied consequences of colonization but more importantly, grounded in a collective commitment to nation-building for the many generations of Native peoples to come.

Indigenous women's leadership is all of these characteristics enacted through an ethic of responsibility to cultural continuance and the wellbeing of generations before and after our own. Harjo demonstrates how Indigenous women not only engage in leadership within advocacy and activism but also the strength, drive, and resilience it takes to be considered a leader. Native women must navigate the liminal space of Eurocentric gendered roles that do little to celebrate their inherent power and authority to lead their peoples. Even worse, they are often cut down by those closest to them within their own communities due to the normalized and gendered stereotypes that have consistently positioned Indigenous women as victims, weak, and unfit for leadership. Yet, they continue to act in the best interests of their families, communities, and cultures because of the understanding of their sacred obligation to the perpetuation of their culture.

It is helpful here to revisit the "ethic of leadership" characteristics as outlined by Tsosie in Chapter 2. Tsosie, an Indigenous woman herself, works to identify a set of characteristics that adequately describe how Native women define what exactly makes an

effective leader. The characteristics are as follows: an effective leader must be a visionary; they must be able to articulate goals; they must have integrity, honesty, courage, and honor their personal values; they must have a strong sense of self and above all, they must be willing to turn things over to faith.[192] Tsosie's study is actually IFT at work; a centering of Indigenous women's voices to define parameters of a role they are each intimately connected to. Harjo's advocacy, when viewed through an IFT lens, perfectly aligns to the characteristics of an effective leader identified by Tsosie, which underscores the importance of a Native feminist perspective of leadership and power. The centrality of Indigenous women's voices emerges as an integral component in understanding how traditional leadership structures functioned outside of normalized gendered frameworks and settler colonial institutions.

Through Harjo's activism, we are able to see a prime example of how Native women act within leadership roles and identify several key factors that motive them to lead. We can also see how Harjo utilizes her cultural knowledge of Cheyenne women's roles to engage in leadership. Looking to traditional models of governance and leadership that predate patriarchal colonialism is a critical part of deconstructing the gendered stereotypes of Indigenous women that discourage them from holding power and authority within the "legitimized" governing bodies of their nations. Toxic traditionalism and toxic masculinity present very real obstacles that inhibit and discourage Native women from seeking and attaining leadership positions within their nation's councils and other formal spaces of governance.

In this light, the need for Indigenous feminism and other frameworks that dismantle assumed gender social and political norms is obvious. It is within this very gap

that Indigenous women's activism and advocacy exists and thrives. Advocacy is one of the most historically traditional forms of leadership that Indigenous women take on. Resistance goes hand in hand with their activism since it represents the start of Native peoples struggle to maintain their cultural lives, values, beliefs and practices, even prior to European contact. While Indigenous feminism is still a contested term within many tribal communities, the intention behind the framework and engagement with its key principles match the actions of Native women as advocates. Therefore, Indigenous women's activism and advocacy reflect the very same principles that make up IFT.

These actions also represent the adaptive capabilities of Indigenous peoples, especially those of Native women who have worked to continue instilling cultural values and beliefs into future generations through motherhood, mentorship, and leading by example. Like much of our cultural knowledges and practices, Indigenous resistance is oftentimes passed down matrilineally through the integral lessons that youth are taught by mothers, grandmother, aunts, and sisters. In Diné culture, "a girl is groomed [from an early age] to become a leader by being given responsibilities within the home so that she will be able to care for herself and her family."[193] It makes sense that feelings about Indigenous resistance and the practices that result from those beliefs are exemplified in the continuum of culture and through all resistance movements ranging from the social revitalization movements to the Red Power movement to the more recent NoDAPL protests.

Indigenous women continue to instill a political consciousness within these movements and the Native people who participate in them. As we saw with Harjo, a political consciousness that is grounded in the spatial and temporal experiences of

American Indian peoples and that is rooted in the concepts of Indianness and sovereignty,[194] is ultimately tied to a recognition of legacy and the cultural knowledges that our ancestors fought and many died to keep present within the minds and bodies of Indigenous peoples. While Native women continue to face multiple oppressions especially through toxic traditionalism and toxic masculinity, they also empower Native youth with cultural knowledge and proactive identities that continue the project of survivance. This intergenerational strategy has allowed Native women and their peoples to not only carry on their cultural lives but has also allowed them to flourish outside of the colonial norms, assumptions and subjugated positions they are placed in. Ultimately, the strategies adopted by Indigenous women for cultural survival mentioned throughout this study places them in a unique position to transmit survivance to Indigenous youth. That in itself, is sheer self-determination and is integral to building healthy, sustainable, and empowered Indian nations.

Interestingly, a process of envisioning and an Indigenous Futurism framework assists in comprehending the complexity and importance of survivance in leadership, and for building a strong Indigenous future. Envisioning, as described by Tuhiwai Smith, is "One of the strategies that indigenous peoples have employed effectively to bind people together politically asks that people imagine a future, that they rise above present-day situations which are generally depressing, dream a new dream and set a new vision."[195] Similarly, Tsosie's first identified characteristic of effective leadership is "being a visionary and having the ability to see things beyond tomorrow."[196] We can see through Harjo's lifelong career in advocacy that envisioning is a major component of her continued successes to advance Native rights.

Returning to Harjo's explanation about the absence of past tense in the Cheyenne language and the fact there is "only Is and Is coming,"[197] it is clear that envisioning is an integral way that influences how she defines and enacts leadership and advocacy. Grace Dillon provides clarification here, affirming that "Indigenous Futurisms are not the product of a victimized people's wishful amelioration of their past, but instead a continuation of a spiritual and cultural path that remains unbroken by genocide and war."[198] As such, Harjo is not only a visionary but also represents a continuation of a spiritual and cultural path that will ultimately lead to self-determining, thriving sovereign Indian nations.

The findings presented in this study lend insight into how Indigenous women like Harjo adapt and survive by using paths, strategies, and values laid out by their ancestors, and also those imposed upon them by settler colonialism and patriarchy. They also reveal how those experiences in turn create more paths for the future generations. Lou Cornum writes that Native peoples are continually "[f]inding ourselves in new contexts, we are always adapting, always surviving. This is the seed of many indigenous technologies: the ability to continue and sustain ourselves against all odds."[199] This sentiment very much describes the work and advocacy of Harjo, whose leadership in activism will guide generations of Indigenous resistance to come.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Contributions

The American Indian Studies paradigm affirms that "a functional American Indian studies paradigm must focus on the protection and strengthening of Indian sovereignty, self-determination, self-sufficiency, and human rights."[200] The purpose of this study aligns with this assertion through an exploration of the multiple ways that Indigenous women demonstrate power and leadership in non-traditional and Indigenous forms via activism and advocacy to transfer attitudes, actions, and beliefs about Indigenous resistance to younger generations of Indigenous peoples. Major findings of Harjo's case study support my initial hypothesis that Indigenous women act within their cultural roles as leaders when faced with challenges that affect their families, communities, and cultures. The findings point to a continuance of legacy rooted in Indigenous resistance to settler colonialism where Native women engage in leadership by advocating for the best interests of their peoples, as they have done since time immemorial. Furthermore, the AIS paradigm requires that we "…must privilege oral history and traditional knowledge, promote collaborative community-based research methods that transcend disciplinary boundaries, and challenge colonial and racist discourses that rationalize and justify oppressive, genocidal, and destructive historical processes stemming from colonialism."[201]

This study prioritized these foundational tenants of the AIS paradigm to unearth themes that contribute to a greater understanding of how Indigenous women view leadership and themselves within leadership roles. Patriarchal colonialism has deeply

affected Indian nations' traditional governance and leadership structures to the point of erasing most of the power and authority of Indigenous women within those systems. However, by acknowledging the impact (both historically and today) of settler colonialism, patriarchal colonialism, heteropatriarchy and heteropaternalism on these systems as the paradigm instructs, we are able to identify the ways in which Indigenous women leaders contribute to the overall goal of sovereignty, self-determination and nation-building. Their contributions are vast and carry with them the potential to transform how we view and enact leadership in both legitimized and non-legitimized tribal systems and institutions. It also shows that the contributions of advocacy and activism are just as important to the goals of protecting and strengthening Indian nations, and that Indigenous women have operated as leaders within these arenas since contact.

This study contributes to American Indian Studies by providing a unique illustration of Indigenous women's leadership in activism by one of the foremost advocates of our time, Suzan Shown Harjo. The lessons learned from her long career advocating for Indigenous rights carry with them resistance codes passed down from generations of Native peoples who experienced trauma and genocide and still survived through it. In that respect, Harjo's messages through her activism, her poetry and artistic expression, her own writings, and the many interviews of her provide insight into what makes an effective leader and what true advocacy for the people looks like in praxis. These types of examples are vitally important toward building a strong foundation for utilizing Indigenous knowledges and ways of knowing within academic studies.

As AIS becomes even more so rooted in Indigenous epistemologies, research methods, and methodologies, it is critical that Indigenous researchers and scholars work to contribute to a larger base of Indigenous ways of knowing and experience. Plains Cree and Saulteaux author, Margaret Kovach, affirms that "Reclaiming tribal interpretations within contemporary sites requires many minds."[202] As an Indigenous researcher and student of AIS, I take this call to action seriously because I understand that I am accountable to my own tribal communities, cultures, and family for the information that I access, study, interpret, and eventually put out or publish. Similarly, the AIS paradigm calls for scholars to view their "…teaching, research, and service as a 'sacred' responsibility to Indian nations and peoples undertaken for the sake of cultural survival."[203] Through honoring the voice, experiences, and lessons that Harjo has to teach us via her advocacy, this study works to contribute insight on how Indigenous women leaders carry on their cultural roles as leaders in spite of the many obstacles they face. Those lessons are an invaluable example of traditional and contemporary cultural knowledges that act as resistance codes and key strategies for future generations of tribal leaders, scholars, and activists alike.

This study also highlights Indigenous women's views and experiences in activism, which contributes valuable insight within a frequently overlooked aspect of leadership for Indian nations. What we know about the Red Power movement and AIM mostly centers on the contributions of men participants. Very little has been written about women and their contributions to AIM, and those accounts often casts them in the seemingly lesser roles of cooking, cleaning, and caring for children. This study positions women at the forefront of the movement using traditional cultural knowledge of women's

inherent leadership within their families and communities. With the help of IFT, this study centers an Indigenous woman's (Harjo) experiences and contextualizes those experiences in the understanding that Indigenous women act within their own agency and organic sovereignty. It shows that Native women, in fact, played a much larger role in Indigenous resistance movements than most historical records would tell. This is a significant contribution to the topics of Indigenous leadership and Indigenous women's leadership and has the potential to expand our understanding of how Indigenous forms of leadership function in reality.

It further lends to a greater understanding of activism and advocacy within and outside of Indigenous communities, and how it operates in conjunction with a long legacy of Indigenous resistance. The example of Harjo brings to attention the integral role that Indigenous women play in resistance efforts and highlights their guidance and leadership throughout the decades of activism and social movements. In fact, Harjo's example is paramount to understanding Indigenous women's leadership in activism through decades (1960s – Present) of resistance. Harjo, furthermore, has been able to mobilize her own cultural values to engage in advocacy far from home, in Indigenous communities outside of her own, and in places that epitomize settler colonialism and white supremacy like Washington, D.C. That is why she points to the importance of grassroots efforts as a catalyst for social transformation as the first steps toward policy change. These lessons learned from Harjo's activism ultimately hold key strategies that can guide future generations of advocates to continue her lifelong work of fighting for Native rights.

This study's contribution to Indigenous feminism aligns with the framework's goal to first, expose racism, sexism, and colonialism in the daily lives of Indigenous

women, and then to, dismantle Euro and male-centric structures like settler colonialism, heteropatriarchy, and heteropaternalism within our understanding of the subject. The study centers Indigenous women's experiences and voice to gain valuable knowledge about Indigenous resistance and nation-building, and uncover strategies that are used to transmit cultural knowledge and feelings, actions and attitudes about resistance to future generations. Harjo's example is one of many that recognizes that power and influence operate differently within Indigenous communities and families by highlighting women's inherent leadership in their cultures.

In regard to Indigenous peoples and nations, this study recognizes the importance of reclaiming traditional cultural knowledges, values, and beliefs and their applicability to the issues Indigenous peoples face today. The contribution of traditional cultural knowledge coupled with a contemporary lived Indigenous experience is instrumental in guiding our sovereign nations toward greater self-determination and nation-building outside of structures that have been otherwise influenced and constructed by colonization and patriarchy. Harjo shows the power that cultural knowledge in rhetoric, poetry, writing, and storytelling has in supporting her advocacy efforts and getting support from Indigenous peoples. She also shows a prime example of how Indigenous women continue to act within their inherent roles as leaders of their communities, and that their leadership is something that is directly tied to a continued need for its function. She links this to her cultural beliefs, stating, "Both Muscogee and Cheyenne cultures have functional leadership traditions. It means that, when you are a leader, you lead, but it is temporary, linked with your function."[204]

Overall, Harjo is a lesson in functional leadership that is deeply rooted in cultural values and beliefs, a commitment to the continuance of culture and of Indigenous rights, and part of a long legacy of Indigenous resistance through women's activism.

Limitations and Recommendations for Further Research

There are a few limitations to this study that should be noted. First, there is only one case study included in this project. I chose to include a single case study of Suzan Harjo to provide a more thorough examination of her extensive career in advocacy, and to show how one Indigenous woman's values and actions aligned with those set forth in the literature about Indigenous leadership. The lessons learned by Harjo and her leadership through advocacy provide a baseline for further study and research of how Indigenous women define and enact leadership through activism. Emergent case study themes afford a greater understanding of motivating factors that incite Indigenous women to action, whether that be within tribal councils and governmental positions or within advocacy and grassroots efforts. The themes paint a complex and multifaceted picture of the ways that Indigenous women have continued to act in their cultural roles as caretakers of their families, communities, and cultures. However, there needs to be a concerted effort in providing more space for Indigenous women to express their leadership, assert their personal agency, and reclaim the positions of influence and power they once held in our tribal communities.

Second, there is a gap in literature about Indigenous activism generally, and Indigenous women's advocacy and how they engage in activism specifically. Due to the constraints of my study, I was unable to give a full understanding and discussion of the

women who were instrumental in the beginnings of Native activism and the Red Power movement. There is a dire need to highlight the actions of foundational Native women activists like Laura Cornelius Kellogg, Gertrude Bonnin, and Shirley Hill Witt among countless others to fully comprehend the long legacy of Indigenous women's leadership in activism and advocacy. Unfortunately, Indigenous resistance movements and activism are often criminalized by law enforcement (on and off-reservation) and governmental entities. In some cases, Native peoples have also assumed that resistance movements and activist are working against the interests of Indian communities because of their perceived disobedience and criminality. This has led to an intentional erasure of Indigenous women from historical records and narratives about their advocacy and leadership. Additional research should incorporate and center Indigenous people's voices, specifically women's voices, who are all too often silenced and overlooked in leadership and activism studies. The personal narratives and lived experiences of Native women leaders is an essential part of understanding Indigenous leadership as a whole because it gives insight into how traditional forms of governance integrate women and the spiritual and cultural significance of doing so. There is a gap in research, even within AIS, that focuses on the real experiences of Native women in leadership which has ultimately proved detrimental to successfully restoring traditional structures that encourage women to act as leaders. What's more, most legitimized forms of leadership, in and outside of Native communities, continue to displace Indigenous women from powerful positions due to the deep-rooted patriarchal colonialism that impedes their true cultural roles and value.

More research is needed in identifying the very specific ways that Native women continue to be displaced, and how to remove those obstacles to encourage them to take up their inherent places in leadership.

There is also a need for more research that centers and highlights the legacy of activist work done by Indigenous peoples. The understanding that activism, direct action, and protest are somehow criminal or opposes formal governments is a false dichotomy. In fact, these types of actions have provided Indigenous peoples with a way to assert their sovereign voice, fight for their rights as sovereign nations, and represent the best interests for their communities. Native women have acted for the benefit of their people since time immemorial. They have resisted colonization and patriarchy in many significant ways that have allowed our cultures to continue through their guidance and knowledge transmission. For that reason, it is imperative to have a better understanding of the dynamics of their activism, prior to European contact through the Red Power movement to present day.

Finally, I am an Indigenous woman who was raised within my cultural traditions and spirituality, of which I feel empowered by. This may be considered a biased opinion and analysis within Western research frameworks. However, within Indigenous research methods and methodologies, reflexivity in research is encouraged and a necessary aspect of understanding Indigenous ways of knowing intimately. Additional research by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars on this topic would provide a variety of perspectives that would help to better elucidate how Indigenous women define and engage in leadership through activism and advocacy.

Final Thoughts

I became involved with the Arizona to Rally Against Native Mascots (AZ Rally) group in the Fall of 2018, which was right around the time I started planning my thesis topic. I knew that I wanted to focus on Indigenous women's leadership and activism but was unsure what area to concentrate on or how to even frame the questions that I had into tangible research questions. AZ Rally is a group founded by Amanda Blackhorse in 2014 and is described on the group's Facebook page as "a group of Arizonians who advocate for the elimination of Native American mascots and logos in schools and professional sports."[205] When I joined the group, I knew only surface information about the issue and quickly found that I wanted to learn as much as I could about this important topic.

To give some background on this, Amanda was the lead plaintiff out of five others between the ages of 18 – 24 years old who were enlisted by Harjo to file an identical case in 2006 seeking to revoke federal trademark status from the Washington team.[206] On June 18, 2014, the Trademark Trial and Appeal Board (TTAB) of the United States Patent and Trademark Office (USPTO) voted to cancel six trademarks held by the team, ruling that the "R-word" was disparaging to Native Americans.[207] This was an amazing victory for the movement against racist Native mascots and created hope that the tide was finally turning in their favor. However, on June 19, 2017, the Supreme Court ruled in a separate case that the provision of the trademark law banning disparaging names was unconstitutional and violated the plantiffs' First Amendment right to freedom of speech.[208] Although the facts of the cases differ, *Blackhorse v. Pro-Football, Inc.* was subsequently rendered moot.

Amanda continues the fight against racist Native mascots through AZ Rally. Interestingly, the group is comprised of mostly women who are also mothers, scholars, and advocates for Native issues in their own right. In January 2019, I was fortunate to travel to Washington, D.C. with her and another group member to attend the Indigenous Peoples March where Amanda was invited to speak at the rally and share her thoughts on racist Native mascots and team names. The experience was profound and showed me that there is so much more work to be done on this issue. I stood on stage with Amanda as she eloquently spoke to a crowd of hundreds, all of who enthusiastically cheered, war hooped, and clapped in support of her message that racist Native mascots *must* come to an end. It was in this moment that I knew my thesis project would focus on the strength and resilience of Native women advocating for Native rights and peoples.

I came home from the trip with a renewed sense of purpose and drive to illustrate just how strong women like Amanda and Suzan Harjo are in their efforts to combat racist and disparaging Native mascots, team names, and imagery in sports. Both women embody the characteristics outlined in this study and are excellent role models to look to when considering what an effective leader in activism and advocacy would be. Both have a deep concern for the future generations of Indigenous peoples. What's more, Amanda has taken up Harjo's call to action to advocate at a grassroots level to incite social transformation. Through AZ Rally, Amanda has continued Harjo's work via direct action and protest, social media and digital activism, and hosting informational presentations to educate local communities on the issue.

The issue of racist Native mascots is an ongoing battle and there is still so much work to be done. The fight is moving to an even broader purpose that targets disparaging

Halloween costumes, cultural appropriation in media and pop culture, and even festival and concert goers that wear fake headdresses. That is why it is so important to understand why Indigenous women within this movement are spurred to action, and how they go about advocating for this issue. The lessons learned by Harjo's example combined with an understanding that Blackhorse is carrying on her fight can only provide more insight into Indigenous women's leadership in activism and advocacy. I hope that the information provided in this study will highlight their advocacy and offer guidance for future research in this area as it is greatly needed.

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APPENDIX A

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How do Indigenous women activists define or understand leadership?
    a. In what ways do Indigenous women enact or invoke leadership; in western/dominant society? Within their own nations?
2. How have beliefs about Indigenous female leadership, power, and activism changed over time, if at all?
    a. For Indigenous communities? For Harjo?
3. What factors influence an Indigenous woman's ability to serve as a leader?
    a. Is leadership a conscious choice?
    b. To what extent do anticipated or expected gendered social roles constrain or influence the ability of Indigenous women to engage in activism?

APPENDIX B

JUMPING THROUGH THE HOOPS OF HISTORY

APPENDIX B

JUMPING THROUGH THE HOOPS OF HISTORY

(for columbus, custer, sheridan, wayne and all such heroes of yesteryear)

10 little, 9 little, 8 little Indians
7 little, sick little, live baby Indians
poor little, me little, you little Indians
the only good Indian's a dead 1

a lot of young Indians got dead in the '80s
just like the '70s and the '60s
both 19 and 18 hundreds
and all the other 00s since 1492
a sucker's #s game over the sale of the centuries
with 99-year leases and 1-cent treaties
with disappearing ink on the bottom line
signed by gilt-eyed oddsmakers
whose smart $ bet on 0 redskins by half-time

in the 4th quarter, when this century turned on us
we were down to 250k in the u.s.
from the 50m who were here
but who just didn't hear about
the lost italian lurching his way from spain
with scurvy-covered sailors and yellow-fevered priests
at least 1,000 points of blight and plague
in 3 wooden boxes marked "*india or bust*"
and "*in gold we trust*"

columbus washed up on our shores, praising paradise on earth
and kinder, gentler people
who fixed them dinner, but laughed so hard
at these metal-headed, tiny whitemen
that they fell to their knees
we please them, dear diary, columbus wrote home
they think we're gods
so the knights of the lost boats
spread syphilis and The word of the 1 true gods
and planted 00s of flags of the 1 true kings
and sang their sacred 3-g song
"*a, b, c, d, g, g, g*
"*glory, god and gold, gold, gold*"
rub-a-dub-dub, a nina tub

rub-a-dub-dub, a pinta tub
rub-a-grub-grub, Native gold and lands
rub-a-chop-chop, Native ears and hands
rub-a-rub-rub Indians out
8m by 1500, or thereabout

meanwhile, back in the land of wicked queens and fairy tales
serfs were sowing and owing the churches
and paying dues to the papal store
all for the promise of the kingdom of heaven
starving and dying to make it to that pearly door

the inquisition kings reaped peasant blood$, but wanted more
than those in robes could rob from the poor
so the captains of invention
designed the missions to go forth and mine
with tools of destruction to kill the time

so cristobal colon led the chorus in the same old song
kyrie, kyrie, kyrie eleison
a new world beat for average savages
who didn't change their tune
and were bound by chains of office
and staked out to pave the yellow brick road
at invasion's high noon

and wizards in satin read their rights in latin
kyrie, kyrie, kyrie requiremento
and a lot of Indians got dead
as was, by god, their right
to the sound of death songs in the night
kyrie, kyrie, kyrie requiremento

and amerigo begat the beautiful
and the bibles grew and the bullets flew
and the pilgrims gave thanks
and carved up turkeys and other peoples' lands
and mrs. Gov. stuyvesant bowled with 10 bloody skulls
and begat up against the wall streets
and shopping mauls on 00s of mounds
and the 7th cavalry prayed and passed the ammunition
and loaded gattling guns 100k times
and shot off extra special 45/70s
for any Indians or buffalo
between europe and manifest destiny

meanwhile, in Indian country
no one heard about the ironhorse or goldwhores
or the maggots in the black hills
with no-trespassing signs
or what's yours is homestake mine's
but that's what they called ballin' the jack

then it was 2 late, about a quarter to midnight
and us without a second hand to tell the times were a changin'
so, we jumped through the hoops of history
on mile-high tightropes without a net
with no time to look back or back out
with no time to show off or cry out
look, ma, no hands
no hands
no hands

and the calendar was kept by #s of sand creeks
and washitas and wounded knees and acoma mesas
and 00s of army blankets of wool and smallpox
and a lot of chiefs who made their marks
no longer able to thumb their way home
where x marked the spots on their babies
and pocahantas haunted england
singing ring-a-ring-a-rosy
ashes, ashes, all fall dead
and a lot of fences got built
around a lot of hungry people
who posed for a lot of catlins
who shot their fronts
and snapped their backs
just say commodity cheese, please

and a lot of Indians got moved and removed
relocated and dislocated
from c to shining c
from a 2 z
from spacious skies to fort renos
from purple mountains to oklahoma
from vision quests to long walks
from stronghold tables to forks in the road
from rocks to hard places
from high water to hell
from frying pans to melting pots

from clear, blue streams to coke

and we got beads
and they got our scalps
and we got horses
and they got our land
and we got treaties
and they got to break them
and we got reservations
and they got to cancel them
and we got christian burials
and they got to dig us up
and they got america
and america got us

and they got a home where Indians don't roam
(now, follow the bouncing cannon ball)
and they got a home where Indians don't roam
and a lot of young Indians got dead
and those were the glory daze
and we learned the arts of civilization
reciting the great white poets
(*oh, little sioux or japanee*
oh, don't you wish that you were me)
singing the great white songs
(*onward, christian soldiers*
marching as to war
to save a wretch like me
amazin' race, amazin' race)
sailing down the mainstream
(with *land o' lakes butter maiden*
and *kickapoo joy juice* role models
for good little Indian girls and boys)

and we got chopped meat
and we got buffaloed
and we got oil-well murders
and they got black-gold heirs
and they got museums
and we got in them
and they got us under glass
and we got to guide them
and they got the kansas city chiefs
and we got a 14,000-man b.i.a.
and we got pick-up trucks

and they got our names for campers
and they got rubber tomahawks
and we got to make them
and they got to take us to lunch
and we got to eat it

and they got richer
and we got poorer
and we got stuck in their cities
and they got to live in our countries
and they got our medicines
and we got to heal them
and we got sick
and they got, well, everything

and we got to say *please* and *thank you*
and *good morning, america*
you're welcome, y'all come
and have a nice hemisphere

then, all of a sudden, a new day dawned
and america yawned
and the people mumbled
something about equality and the quality of life
some new big deal to seal the bargain
and jack and jill went to the hill
to fetch some bills to save us
and the united snakes of america
spoke in that english-only forked-tongue way
about cash-on-the-barrelhead, hand-over-fist
in exchange for Indian homes on the termination list
and bankers and lawyers and other great white sharks
made buyers-market killings when more chiefs made their marks
and lots of Indians packed their bags and old-pawn
for fun with dick and jane and busing with blondes
for a bleeched-out, white-washed american morn
while we were just trying to live and get born

and a lot of young Indians got dead
in america's 2 big wars
and the little ones they tried to hide
like the my-lais
and other white lies
and the millions on the grate-nation's main streets
with holes in their pockets

and tombstones for eyes

you see, america was busy lunching
and punching clocks
(and each other, don't tell)
and pushing paper
(and each other, do tell)
and loving and leaving cabbage-patch/latch-key kids
in the middle of the road and nowhere
(where everything got touched but their hearts
where $ bought the love they were worth)

and america's daddy and mommy looked
up from their desks
out from their ovens
over their shoulders
behind the times
down their noses
and right before their eyes
but just out of sight
behind flashlights in abandoned buildings
through crack in the walls
and in the halls of boarding schools
a lot of young Indians got dead, too
girls with bullets, booze and lysol for boyfriends
boys with nooses and razor blades for cold comfort
and a few grandmas and grandpas
on their last legs anyway
and we who were left behind
sang songs for the dead and dying
for the babies to stop crying
for the burned-out and turned-out
for the checked-out and decked-out
ain't that just like 'em
we said over cold coffee and hot tears
for getting themselves dead
forgetting to tell us goodbye
for giving america no 2-week notice
forgiving america with their bodies
ain't that just their way
to gather us up and put us down
gee, kids really do the darnest things
like get themselves dead
like a lot of them did
just yesterday and today

and a lot of young Indians got dead
faster than they could say
tomorrow

oh, say, can't you see
they learned america's song and dance
from the rocket's red glare
to god shed his light on thee
they read america's history
where they weren't
or were only bad news
they laughed when president rip van reagan
told the russians the u.s.
shouldn't have humored us
they passed when senator slender reed said
find another country or play this hand
they learned the lessons about columbus
in child-proof, ocean-blue rhymes
along with other whiteboy-hero signs of the times
they saw the ships sailing, again
and a future as extras
in movies where Indians don't win
they knew they were about to be discovered, again
in someone else's lost-and-found mind
in an old-world, new-age, snake-oil re-run
as much fun
as the first scent of those sailors
fresh from the hold
exhaling disease, inhaling gold
and a lot of young Indians escaped just in time
to miss the good wishes and cheer
have a happy, have a merry
have a very nice columbus year

10 little, 9 little, 8 little Indians
7 little, sick little, live baby Indians
poor little, me little, you little Indians
the only good Indian's a dead 1

—**suzan shown harjo**
(*on the eve of 1992*)[1]

APPENDIX C

RESEARCH QUESTION THEMES – SUZAN SHOWN HARJO

Appendix C

Research Question Themes – Suzan Shown Harjo

How do Indigenous women activists define or understand leadership?		What factors influence Indigenous women's ability to serve as a leader?	How have beliefs about Indigenous female leadership, power, and activism changed over time (if at all?)	
Expression of obligation via art/poetry and activism	Respect for all humans	Quest for memory, honor and knowledge	Transmitting Indigenous resistance to next generations	Grassroots → social transformation → policy change
Recognition of legacy	Reverence for life and death	Honor and recognize spiritual aspect of actions	Traditional and cultural advocacy	Call for private citizens to mobilize and force societal change
Awareness of injustice and past atrocities	Recognition of legacy and continuum of Indigenous future		Fight for visibility and self-representation	
Work is not for self	Native rights		Concern for children and future generations	
	Persistence and longevity			

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

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APPENDIX A

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