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Jennifer Denetdale

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Chairmen, Presidents, and Princesses **The Navajo Nation, Gender, and the Politics** **of Tradition**

Jennifer Nez Denetdale

In 1998, when LeNora Fulton announced her candidacy for the president of the Navajo Nation, she faced criticism from Navajo/Diné men and women who argued that Navajo women should not be leaders because it would lead to chaos in society, as a traditional narrative stipulated.¹ Navajo women have been discouraged from full political participation in the Navajo Nation government even as they exert considerable influence within their families and in local community politics. At the same time, women are most visible in the Navajo government as Miss Navajo Nation, the official representative and ambassador of the Navajo Nation. What does it mean to valorize Navajo women as princesses and beauty queens who represent ideal Navajo womanhood? How are women signifiers of culture and tradition in the construction of the Navajo Nation and, at the same time, denied full political participation in the Navajo government? How has the establishment of a modern Navajo government shifted traditional gender roles in ways that have been detrimental to Navajo women?

This study examines the intersection of the Navajo nation and gender by considering women's presence in the governmental structure and how Navajo leaders, who are primarily men, reproduce Navajo nationalist ideology to re-inscribe gender roles based on Western concepts even as they claim that they operate under traditional Navajo philosophy. As feminist scholars note, the idea of nation relies on the language of family and casts women as the mothers and the culture

bearers of the Nation.² Significantly, although many Navajo men, and even women, declare that Navajo women should not hold the highest office in Navajoland, both men and women draw upon traditional narratives to challenge ideas about appropriate gender roles modeled on Western ideals. With the imposition of Western democratic principals, Navajo women find themselves confronted with new oppressions in the name of "custom and tradition."

Further, my study is informed by the scholarship on the status of Native/Navajo women and examinations of the establishment of Native governments and the ongoing quest for sovereignty. First, many Native and non-Native feminist scholars have pointed out that prior to Euro-American colonization, Native and Navajo women enjoyed a significant amount of respect and autonomy in their societies. In traditional societies, gender roles were often egalitarian, meaning that both males and females were crucial to the survival and perpetuation of culture and society. Although it is difficult to find many examples where women were chiefs or leaders, women were consulted about important decisions that affected all of their people on matters that extended to the economic and the political. Foreign ideas about proper gender roles have affected Native women's roles and Western perceptions of them have been just as detrimental. Native women have suffered under colonialism, but they have continued to challenge and counter gender oppression.³

Second, studies of the Navajo Nation government have followed approaches established by previous research on Indian nations, including examinations of the meaning and significance of Indian sovereignty, the relationships between the federal government and Indian nations, and the ongoing struggle to compel the U.S. government to honor its treaty obligations.⁴ Native intellectuals also propose that our research should focus on claiming and preserving Indian sovereignty.⁵ Such analyses emphasize a materialist approach that privileges state bureaucracies and other apparatuses in establishing and reproducing national ideologies and boundaries. Further, as feminist scholar Nira Yuval-Davis points out, such approaches render women invisible in the establishment and perpetuation of nations even though women reproduce nations—biologically, culturally, and symbolically. Women are part of the nationalist project where, as producers of the coming generations, their bodies are patrolled; they are the biological reproducers and so are referred to as mothers; they are invoked as cultural symbols and signifiers of the nation in many masculinist discourses; and women participate in the nationalist discourse by positioning themselves as creators of the nation as mothers, writers, and artists.⁶ Just as women are hidden in the various theorizations of the nationalist phenomena, so, too, are they hidden in the discourse surrounding Indian nations and nationalisms.

FROM TRADITIONAL GOVERNMENT TO NAVAJO NATION

Prior to Euro-American invasion, the Diné, who by all accounts were an autonomous people, who became wealthy when sheep and horses were integrated into their society, practiced their own system of government, albeit not one that was seen as rational or acceptable to Euro-Americans. The fundamental Navajo political entity, called a "natural community," was composed of local bands that consisted of ten to forty families. In the largest assembly, called a naachid, which was a regional gathering, twenty-four headmen, twelve of whom were peace leaders and twelve of whom were war leaders, met to address internal matters, intertribal affairs, hunting, and food gathering. During years of peace, the peace leader presided, and during wartime the war leader presided. Navajo political organization did not extend beyond local bands, which were led by Naataanii, or leaders. (Most leaders were men and are referred to as headmen or chiefs.) Anthropologist Aubrey W. Williams Jr. notes that fragmentary evidence suggests that the Diné political process was closely tied to their ceremonial life and that the naachid functioned to cure individuals, to bring rain, and to restore the fertility of the soil.⁷ The last naachid was reportedly held around 1858, prior to the attack on Fort Defiance led by Manuelito and Barboncito.⁸

Headmen held their leadership based on their own abilities to serve the people. They were expected to ensure proper behavior, maintain moral injunction such as prohibitions against incest and adultery, and enforce economic laws. Often medicine men themselves, headmen served as intermediaries between the People and the Holy People. They relied upon the hastóí (elder men) and the hataali (medicine people) for guidance. After a natural community selected a headman, he went through an initiation process that included a Blessingway. The initiation included the anointing of the new leader's lips with corn pollen.⁹ Although written reports do not mention women as leaders or chiefs, Navajo oral tradition and other accounts make note that it was not unheard of for women to serve as headmen or chiefs.¹⁰ Further, early American accounts have noted Navajo women's presence in council proceedings between Navajo and American leaders.¹¹ In one of the first publications by a Diné woman, Ruth Roessel notes that Navajo women were not appointed as leaders of natural communities, but they influenced the decisions that male leaders made on behalf of their people.¹² My own research on Juanita or Asdzáá Tl'ógi, the wife of the leader Manuelito, draws upon Navajo oral accounts and suggests that she was respected as an influential leader among her people and that her husband relied upon her for counsel.¹³

During the Spanish and Mexican periods, the Diné retained their autonomy. However, with the American invasion in 1846, Navajos found

it increasingly difficult to maintain their autonomy, particularly because the hostilities were heightened as slave raiders targeted Navajo women and children, leading to cycles of peace and hostilities between Navajos, New Mexicans, and Americans.¹⁴ Beginning in 1863, Navajos experienced dramatic transformations as their physical resistance to foreign invasion came to an end under American rule. Declaring that the Diné would either surrender or be exterminated, Brigadier General James Carleton conceived of a prison camp near Fort Sumner, New Mexico, where surviving Navajos would be refashioned in the image of the white man. Carleton then ordered Kit Carson to force a Navajo surrender, which Carson accomplished with his burn and scorch campaign. Thousands of Navajos surrendered and were forcibly relocated at the Bosque Redondo camp, near Fort Sumner, from 1864 to 1868.¹⁵

The People suffered at Bosque Redondo for four long years. The land did not recognize them. The cornfields failed as droughts and pests took their toll. They starved and died from diseases. Women were sexually assaulted.¹⁶ Indian agents became increasingly autocratic and appointed male Navajo leaders who answered to them.¹⁷ Just at the camp alone, more than 2,500 Navajos died. Carleton also came under public criticism, and tensions were further heightened when other public officials challenged his assimilation program. It soon became apparent to the prison officials that the program to assimilate the Navajos was a failure. Navajos continually pressured their captors to allow them to return home. As the conditions at Bosque Redondo became known, especially with the dissemination of a joint House-Senate committee report, Navajos were closer to realizing their fervent wishes to return to their homeland.¹⁸ According to oral tradition, medicine people played an important role in Navajo impetus to return home.¹⁹ Finally, to the joy of the Diné, their leaders negotiated a treaty with the United States that allowed them to return to their beloved homeland.²⁰ Again, Ruth Roessel notes that, "While no Navajo woman signed the treaty, their thoughts and feelings were evident in the treaty."²¹

The Bosque Redondo experience dramatically transformed the Navajo political system. For example, the naachid was no longer performed. However, upon their return to their homeland, Navajo leaders conducted a ceremony to reaffirm the chiefs' roles as leaders of the People. Led by their leaders, the People went to Window Rock where a Blessingway was performed, sacred mountain soil bundles were tied, and each headman took a bundle and passed through Window Rock four times. The signing of the 1868 treaty proved to be advantageous for the Navajo people when we consider that so many other Native peoples were dispossessed of their lands and relocated to Indian territory in Oklahoma. The Navajo Nation's sovereign status was recognized by the United States in two treaties of 1849 and 1868, the only two of a total of nine to be ratified by the United States.

With their return to Dinétah, Navajos rebuilt their herds to pre-Bosque Redondo levels and struggled to restore a measure of self-sufficiency to their lives, although they remained wards of the U.S. government.²² To a great extent, in the early reservation period, Navajo pastoral life, with the constant quest for grazing lands, meant isolation from American influences.²³ Thus, into the mid-twentieth century, Navajos still practiced much of their old ways and spoke their language almost exclusively. In the 1920s, the U.S. government created the first Navajo "business" council for the express purpose of expediting tribal business with oil and natural gas companies eager to drill on Navajo land.²⁴ The establishment of this council was part of the American assimilation process that emphasized patriarchal values. Henry Chee Dodge, Charlie Mitchell, and Daacha'chii Bikiss were appointed to this first council in 1922.²⁵ Early council meetings were convened under the direction of the Commissioner to the Navajos, Herbert Hagerman, who had the final word in all council proceedings. As the leader and Blessingway singer Frank Mitchell reported in his life story, "In Washington, they looked upon us as children, or minors who did not have a mind of our own."²⁶

In the 1930s and 1940s, Navajos again suffered under U.S. Indian policies when they were forced to reduce their livestock by fifty percent because of overgrazing. This mandate forced Navajos into the wage economy.²⁷ At the same time that federal officials forced livestock reduction, they also attempted to persuade Navajos to accept the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). The IRA could be seen as beneficial because it halted land allotment and brought more Indian involvement in their governments; however, Navajos did not embrace its benefits, rejecting it because they linked it to livestock reduction, much to the disappointment of Indian Commissioner John Collier. Although the Nation rejected the IRA, Navajos were subjected to government rule based on Western democratic principles. This model looked to Navajo men to fill leadership roles. As anthropologist Christine Conte and Navajo attorney Genevieve Chato note, this Western form of government is patriarchal and has undermined Navajo women's traditional rights including land-use rights, property and livestock rights, and primary care and control of children.²⁸ Chato and Conte, seeking to explain the historical erosion of women's traditional standing, observe that, during the early reservation period and into the 1950s, Navajo children were sent off the reservation to attend boarding schools, where they learned Western values, including notions of "proper" gender roles. Returning to the reservation, Navajo men took leadership roles in the Navajo government while women assumed secretarial positions. Like white American women, Navajo women were expected to relegate themselves to the domestic realm, which is associated with little political or economic power.

Even as the Navajo government took on the shape of a Western government structure with its patriarchal values, Navajo leaders claimed that their actions and decisions were rooted in traditional political thought. However, as political theorist David Wilkins points out, except for the peacemaker's court, there are few traditional elements of government evident in the present-day Navajo political structure.²⁹ Undoubtedly, Navajo leaders do continue to rely on traditional ceremonies for affirmation and guidance; however, in many cases, these rituals are performed within their personal and kin networks.

In 1968, Navajo leaders, with the assistance of whites, staged a number of cultural events to celebrate Navajo "progress." Events included the reenactment of the return from Bosque Redondo and culminated with the re-signing of the Treaty of 1868. Emphasizing Navajos' entrance into modern American society as demonstrated through the development of their natural resources, the establishment of a Western-style government, and education opportunities for Navajo youth, the Navajo public was offered an opportunity to reflect upon the past and celebrate one hundred years of Navajo progress. The staged events made Navajo men and federal officials the primary actors in the interpretations of Navajo progress.³⁰

Today the Navajo Nation still operates under a government created by well-meaning U.S. federal officials and struggles to claim its sovereignty in every sense of the word. Like other Indian governments, the Navajo Nation has experienced political turmoil that pitted tribal members against each other and threatened to tear communities apart.³¹ Although the Navajo Nation relies on a number of strategies, such as cultural events and rhetoric about tradition, to draw links between a traditional Navajo political system and the modern government, it has always faced Navajo suspicion and criticism. Oftentimes the Navajo government is seen merely as an arm of the federal government, and Navajos learned early on not to trust Navajo leaders who sometimes reluctantly enforced federal Indian policies. Western government structures imposed onto indigenous political structures have profoundly influenced gender relations in indigenous communities.

NATION AND GENDER

Until fairly recently, Native women have been invisible in the historical record, although they have drawn the attention of scholars when they appeared in roles associated with men, such as the warrior or war woman.³² The twentieth century saw a few Native women elected or appointed to leadership positions in federal and tribal governments. Native women who assumed positions as principal chiefs, chairwomen, governors, and council delegates did not serve without meeting criticism and hostility from other tribal members, who often believe that

women should not hold leadership positions in tribal governments.³³ As law professor Jo Carrillo notes, scant research exists on female tribal leaders in modern tribal governments and even fewer studies illuminate the ways tribal governments as colonial spaces, with their adoption and incorporation of legal apparatuses, have undermined Native women's traditional status.³⁴

In the following sections, I discuss places where Navajo women are visible in the Navajo Nation government, such as the office of Miss Navajo Nation—the official ambassador of the Nation. With the imposition of a Western-style democratic government, women's traditional privileges were challenged and they experienced some loss of authority and security in the public realm, including institutionalized protection.³⁵ However, Navajo laws increasingly recognize women's traditional rights.³⁶

In 1998, LeNora Fulton came under Navajo public scrutiny with her decision to run for president of the Navajo Nation, becoming only the second woman to run for the highest leadership position in the Nation.³⁷ Fulton had extensive experience working with the Navajo government, including her election to council delegate from Fort Defiance, Arizona. Her announcement to run for president led some Navajo men to inform her that "the presidency is men's work" and that tradition is the reason why women should not aspire to the highest tribal office.³⁸ In a letter to the *Navajo Times*, Fulton wrote:

I've heard some remarks that Navajo women should not be leaders, but I know that we live in a time where every Navajo person is needed to fight for the survival of our Nation. Navajo women do have a place in politics, in the world of business, in education, in law and the judicial system, and it is time for Navajo women to take their place of leadership.³⁹

Fulton's platform highlighted family and community issues and tied them to the Nation's survival. She insisted that she followed traditional dictates that acknowledge the importance of women to Navajo survival and continuity. Like many other Navajo women who have been successful in carving out a career have felt, she said, "I'm a sacred being [who was] raised to be a leader."⁴⁰

Although no Navajo woman has been elected as president of the Navajo Nation, women have served as council delegates and in various offices at the chapter levels. The most prominent woman council delegate, Annie Dodge Wauneka, served from 1951 to 1968. Her contributions to the betterment of Navajo family life and health reflect views that Native women in public leadership roles often bring "domestic" issues into the public forum.⁴¹ A peer of Annie Wauneka, Irene Stewart

ran for a council delegate position in 1955 and 1959, both times unsuccessfully. Thereafter, serving as a chapter officer for many years, Stewart noted that women are often discouraged from seeking leadership roles, and particularly that of chairperson (the office now known as president). She often heard criticism of women, saying, "Whenever there were difficulties some were quick to criticize. One man said, 'We should not allow women to take office in our Tribal council and chapters.'"⁴² Stewart related the traditional narrative that is cited to bar Navajo women from leadership:

The Navajo have a legend about a woman leader. Her name was Asdzáá Naat'áani (Woman Chief). She was the queen of her people in the underworld before the Navajos came to this land. Her authority was mostly over women and girls. She became lax in her authority, especially in regard to moral principles, thus making it easy for other women to become loose in their morals. . . . There were many quarrels between the men and the women over who was to support whom. The women said they did not need men to support them and this made the men angry. They decided to leave the women all to themselves and to make a new home far across a big sea. In time, life became hard for both sexes but the queen and her daughter remained stubborn and would do nothing to bring the sexes back together. Finally, after four years, an old wise owl advised them there would be no more Dine'é if they continued with their foolishness. This made them admit that they were wrong, and ever since the men have taken over as rulers. My people have this story in mind when they criticize a woman leader. They say there will be confusion within the tribe whenever a Navajo woman takes office.⁴³

This narrative is a variation on stories that detail what happens when men and women fail to recognize that both their roles are important to the survival and perpetuation of the People. It is a narrative that has been interpreted in different ways. For example, in the 1960s and 1970s, anthropologist Mary Shepherdson, who collaborated with Irene Stewart to produce Stewart's autobiography, commented on Stewart's retelling of the narrative and compared it to the Bible. Shepherdson allowed her white feminist perspective to interfere with her understanding of Navajo gender roles, saying, "I contend that neither of these sacred stories can do anything but lower the status of Navajo and Christian women."⁴⁴

In her study of women in Navajo society, published in 1981, Ruth Roessel also declares that traditional women "usually refrain from wish-

ing or believing that some day a woman will be a Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council." Rather, Roessel allows, "In the early days of Navajo history it appeared that the men expected and welcomed the participation of women in roles of leadership and decision-making."⁴⁵ However, it is worth serious consideration to ask why we are arbitrary in declaring that women should not vie for the top leadership in the Navajo Nation government because of traditional restraints and, at the same time, refuse to recognize that the hierarchical structure of the modern government itself is not traditional. It must be kept in mind that the concept of Navajo nationalism is a contemporary one and that the application of creation narratives to interpret the meaning of nation and women's roles in the political body needs to be handled critically.

In the 1990s and today, Navajo women claim the privilege of holding high political offices within the Navajo government and base their claims on traditional narratives that convey the importance of gender balance and women's contributions to the betterment, survival, and continuation of the Diné. Tradition becomes a tool that Navajo men and women use to legitimate claims about appropriate gender roles.⁴⁶ In Navajo society, there are some characteristics and attributes that are not gender specific; thus, Navajo women are credited with intelligence, compassion, and the ability to speak well and persuasively. They also are said to have the community's interest foremost in mind. According to Navajo values, an individual is a leader if he or she has the necessary skills and qualifications.

Although Navajo women are discouraged from full participation in the Navajo polity, Miss Navajo Nation represents ideal Navajo womanhood to Navajos and the outside world. To illuminate how women are involved in the Navajo nationalist project, I turn to the Miss Navajo Nation pageant and discuss how the requirements reflect, on the one hand, ideal Navajo womanhood and, on the other, imposed notions of ideal Euro-American womanhood, which draw upon Victorian ideals of purity, chastity, and domesticity. Scholars have begun to pay attention to Native beauty pageants and suggest that these contests, including photographs of them, reflect strategies where Natives are negotiating their relationships to their traditional cultures and, at the same time, are cognizant of their affiliation with Indian and American nations.⁴⁷ I intend to add to the emerging conversation by suggesting that we must also consider Native beauty contests as further evidence of the bifurcation of men's and women's roles wherein men participate fully in the public sphere while women are relegated to specific and limited participation in the same sphere.

As Miss Navajo Nation, Navajo women are simultaneously symbols of national pride that announce to the world that Navajos have successfully entered the American mainstream and signifiers of cultural continuity with the Navajo past.⁴⁸ The first Navajo beauty pageants

began in the 1950s as part of the tribal fairs. Indian agents created these fairs to demonstrate successful Navajo assimilation to the outside world and to expose Navajos to modern American technologies. The beauty contests were important to the announcement that Navajos had successfully entered modern progressive society.⁴⁹ In the 1980s, the Navajo Nation created the Office of Miss Navajo Nation to administer the annual beauty pageant and to oversee Miss Navajo Nation's public appearances. In these contests, Navajo women dress in traditional outfits and must demonstrate a traditional skill, both of which evoke a sense of timelessness of cultural values. "Traditional" Navajo women's purity, mothering and nurturing qualities, and morality are evoked by the Navajo Nation to extol Navajo honor and are claimed on behalf of the modernizing project of nationalism. However, when Miss Navajo Nation does not conform to the dictates of ideal Navajo womanhood, she is subjected to harsh criticism intended to reinforce cultural boundaries. Her body literally becomes a site of surveillance that symbolically conveys notions about racial purity, morality, and chastity.

According to the official Web site of the Office of Miss Navajo Nation, the chosen young woman must have characteristics that reflect those of our female deities, particularly Changing Woman, who epitomizes the Navajo woman. Changing Woman was born to rid the world of chaos and darkness, and she did so by giving birth to the Hero Twins, Monster Slayer and Born for Water. As a mother, Changing Woman is nurturing, benevolent, and generous. She also created the original clans by rubbing skin from various parts of her body. In particular, Changing Woman is lauded for her powers of reproduction, for she alone has the power to produce the coming generations of Navajos.

As Miss Navajo Nation, the model Changing Woman must follow directives about a woman's appearance, morals, and virtue. A woman must be young, between the ages of 18 and 24, single and never have been married, and never have been pregnant. She must not be seen in a bar or publicly intoxicated, nor can she use tobacco (other than ceremonially). If she has a boyfriend, they must be discreet and she must not be cohabiting with him. During her official appearances, Miss Navajo Nation must always be accompanied by two chaperones from the Office of Miss Navajo Nation. Ironically, the deity upon whom Miss Navajo Nation models herself is acknowledged for her sexuality, her ability to procreate. It is her human qualities that make her one of the most revered of the Navajo Holy People.

If Miss Navajo Nation is accused of misconduct or violations of the ethical laws and/or codes of conduct, she must answer to the Government Services Committee of the Navajo Nation to address the allegations and clear her name. If found guilty, she must relinquish her crown. Ironically, while Miss Navajo Nation must be virtuous and have impeccable morals, every other week or so, the *Navajo Times* reports with

relish the infractions of Navajo male leaders, including embezzlements, adultery, and domestic violence. They are rarely brought before any committee of the Navajo Nation, although sometimes public airings of leaders' ethical violations bring about changes.

In 1997, Radmilla Cody from Grand Falls, Arizona, was named Miss Navajo Nation. Of Navajo and African-American descent, Miss Cody was deemed by the judges to be the best representative of Navajo tradition and culture. Her beauty and grace and, in particular, her ability to sing traditional Navajo songs quickly pushed her into the Navajo public eye. Especially laudable from the perspective of an appreciative Navajo public was Miss Cody's ability to "butcher a sheep with surgical precision" while dressed in a lavishly decorated velvet blouse and skirt that covered her almost completely from neck to ankles.

Journalist Debra Weyermann noted in an article she wrote on Radmilla that Cody's crowning led to a display of racism from some Navajos who did not approve of a woman representing them who was half Navajo and half African American. According to Weyermann, Navajo Nation President Albert Hale "harangued pageant officials about the unseemliness of Cody being crowned Miss Navajo."⁵⁰ Two months after Miss Cody was crowned Miss Navajo Nation, Orlando Tom, a Navajo from Blue Gap, Arizona, sent a letter to the *Navajo Times* complaining that Cody did not reflect the best characteristics of Navajos because of her mixed heritage. According to Tom, Miss Cody's appearance is "clearly black, and thus representative of another race of people."⁵¹ Tom went on to warn readers that tribal members of mixed heritage were a threat to the future of the tribe and suggested that Cody focus on her African-American heritage and stay out of Navajo affairs.⁵² A barrage of letters, many of which lambasted Tom for his prejudice and defended Cody, reflect Navajos' adoration of Cody.⁵³ It seems that some Navajos like Tom have conveniently forgotten that Navajos claim an ancestry that includes the adoption of and intermarriage with neighboring Pueblos and Mexicans.

In the controversy over Radmilla's race and blood quantum, she was not only scrutinized for not looking like a Navajo but also for looking African American. Such concerns raise questions about Navajo responses to Navajos with African American ancestry. As anthropologist Circe Sturm has observed in her own studies of Cherokees and race mixing with African Americans, Cherokees have discriminated against Cherokee freedmen. Cherokees have refused to acknowledge Cherokees with black blood as Cherokees for a number of reasons, including the creation of a Cherokee state apparatus modeled on the U.S. federal government that polices Cherokee identity on the basis of genealogy and race. Just as Cherokees have responded to U.S. racism in ways that are unique to their own history and nation building, so

too have Navajos reproduced, reinterpreted, and redeployed dominant race-thinking.⁵⁴

In January 2003, after she had completed for reign, Miss Cody began serving a twenty-one month sentence in an Arizona federal prison for knowing about and not reporting her ex-boyfriend's drug smuggling operation. Miss Cody admitted that she had strapped packets of cocaine to her body and slipped through airport security. In her letter of apology to the Navajo people and then in an interview, both of which were published in the *Navajo Times*, Cody explained that she became enmeshed in her boyfriend's drug operation because she feared for her life.⁵⁵ Cody's story of domestic violence is a familiar one, for Navajos, and Native peoples in general, experience some of the highest rates of unemployment, homicide, poverty, domestic violence, and suicide.⁵⁶ Once again, Miss Cody was in the Navajo public eye. Her involvement with drugs raised questions about her morality and virtue, particularly as it appeared applicable to her being a former queen of the Nation. Once again, Navajo readers wrote letters to the *Navajo Times*, some condemning her, but many offering prayers and sending her messages of compassion and understanding.

Although Miss Navajo Nation embodies Navajo cultural values associated with ideal womanhood, we must also acknowledge that beauty pageants are rooted in white middle-class values that present femininity as values of chastity, morality, and virtue. The criteria for Miss Navajo are influenced and shaped by colonialist beliefs about the place of women and their symbolic value as representatives of the Nation. Introductions of Western-style governments have meant exposure to Western value systems, including ideas about proper gender roles. As feminist scholar Chandra Mohanty observes, male-led reforms in third world nationalist movements were also occupied with legislating and regulating the sexuality of women, particularly women from the emerging middle class, and the selective encouragement of women's entry into the public sphere by the institution of modes of surveillance that in turn controlled women's entry into the labor force and into politics.⁵⁷ In a similar manner, American notions of gender roles have been integral in the formation of the Navajo Nation where women are symbolized as the culture bearers and the mothers of the Nation yet, at the same time, do not have access to all sectors of society, particularly the political realm.

The Navajo Nation's claims to practice many of the traditions of their ancestors as they administer the government must be seen in light of transformations under colonialism. While it is necessary for Native scholars to call upon the intellectual community to support and preserve Indigenous sovereignty, it is crucial that we also recognize how history has transformed traditions, and that we be critical about the ways tradition is claimed and for what purposes. In some cases, tradition has been used to disenfranchise women and to hold them to stan-

dards higher than those set for men. Tradition is not without a political context. As postcolonial critic Anne McClintock observes in her examination of how nations are gendered:

All nations depend on powerful constructions of gender. Despite nationalisms' ideological investment in the idea of popular unity, nations have historically amounted to the sanctioned institutionalization of gender difference. No nation in the world gives women and men the same access to rights and resources of the nation-state.⁵⁸

First Nations scholar Taiaiake Alfred, in his critique of contemporary tribal governments, notes that Native governments based on Western democratic principles have not been successful and that a return to a traditional philosophy "will help us restore the lost harmony between indigenous people's social and political cultures."⁵⁹ Including an analysis of gender is crucial to transforming contemporary Native governments because women are primary actors in the configurations of Nation. Otherwise, as McClintock asserts, "If nationalism is not transformed by an analysis of gender power, the nation-state will remain a repository of male hopes, male aspirations, and male privilege."⁶⁰ Finally, as Cherokee scholar Andrea Smith insists, we must be willing and courageous enough to confront sexism, for "if we maintain these patriarchal gender systems, we are then unable to decolonize and fully assert our sovereignty." Affirming tribal sovereignty challenges tribes to consider how the impact of colonization and Europeanization influences the decisions our leaders make and programs they pursue in a manner that may ultimately undermine our sovereignty in the long run.⁶¹

While Navajo women face the challenges of overcoming social, economic, and political conditions that undermine their traditional status, we should not come to the conclusion that Navajo women are victims. Rather, Navajo women struggle to claim their rightful places in a society that has traditionally acknowledged their contributions to the survival and continuity of the People.⁶² Like Native women throughout the Americas, Navajo women have been active in reclaiming land, community, family, and traditional beliefs and values. As grandmothers, mothers, and daughters, they assert their rights to dictate land use, affirming their authority at the community, clan, and family levels. And while they struggle for equal participation in all areas of Navajo life, particularly within the government, they have made significant inroads, as exemplified by women such as Dorothy Lameman Fulton, the first woman chief of police for the Nation, and Claudeen Bates Authur, the first woman chief justice of the Nation. Asked if they think that a Navajo woman will someday be elected to the highest office in Navajo land, Navajo women's responses are a resounding "Yes!"

This article came out of a lecture that I presented to several audiences composed of Diné, Natives, and non-Natives—community members, scholars, and students. Their comments and insights helped me to better articulate issues related to the complicated relations of Diné women, sexism, colonialism, and Diné sovereignty. Thanks to LeNora Fulton Johnson, Dorothy Lameman Fulton, and Leila Help-Tulley for their insights on Navajo women and leadership. My appreciation also for the Indigenous and Indian feminist scholarship and encouragement of Andrea Smith, J. Kehaulani Kauanui, and Sanjam Ahluwalia.

- 1 Throughout my discussion, I move back and forth between the terms, "Navajo," "Diné," and "the People," as they refer to my people, the Diné. Similarly, I use the terms, "Native" and "Indigenous" to refer to the original inhabitants of this continent. I have tried to avoid from the term "Indian," as it does not describe who we are as Native peoples but rather refers to the people from India.
- 2 Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications, 1997), 29. See also Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres, eds., *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat, eds., *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002); Micaela di Leonardo, ed., *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991); Lata Mani, *Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998); Mrinalini Sinha, "Gender in the Critiques of Colonialism and Nationalism: Locating the 'Indian Woman,'" in *Feminists Revision History*, ed. Ann-Louise Shapiro, 246–75 (New Brunswick, N.H.: Rutgers University Press, 1994); Ann McClintock, "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family," *Feminist Review* 44 (1993), 61–80; Margaret Jolly, "Motherland? Some Notes on Women and Nationalism in India and Africa," *Australian Journal of Anthropology* 5 (1994), 41–59.
- 3 There are many studies of how Native women have fared under colonialism. See the following for examples: Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986); Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine, *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1983); Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, eds., *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Praeger, 1980); Karen Anderson, *Changing Woman: A History of Racial Ethnic Women in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Theda Perdue, ed., *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, *Why I Can't Read Wallace Stegner and Other Essays: A Tribal Voice* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996); M. Annette Jaimes with Theresa Halsey, "American Indian Women: At the Center of Indigenous Resistance in North America," in *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, ed. M. Annette Jaimes (Boston: South End Press, 1992); Lee Maracle, *I Am Woman* (North Vancouver: Write-On Press Publishers, 1988); Michelene E. Pesantubbee, *Choctaw Women in a Chaotic World: The Clash of Cultures*

- in the *Colonial Southeast* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); and Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Cambridge, Mass.: South End Press, 2005).
- 4 There are many studies of Native American governments, including the following: Vine Deloria Jr. and Clifford Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty* (New York: Pantheon 1984); Sharon O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989); Vine Deloria Jr., *We Talk, You Listen: New Tribes, New Turf* (New York: Macmillan, 1970); Don L. Fixico, *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945–1960* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986); Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790–1834* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970); Rebecca L. Robbins, "Self-Determination and Subordination: The Past, Present, and Future of American Indian Governance," in *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, ed. M. Annette Jaimes, 87–121 (Boston: South End Press, 1992); Marjane Ambler, "The Rights and Responsibilities of Sovereignty," *Tribal College Journal of American Indian Higher Education* 16, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 8–9; and Paul Boyer, "The Rhetoric v. The Reality," *Tribal College Journal of American Indian Higher Education* 16, no. 1 (Fall 2004), 10–13.
 - 5 Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, "The American Indian Fiction Writers: Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, the Third World, and First Nation Sovereignty," in *Why I Can't Read Wallace Stegner and Other Essays*, 78–96 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), and *Anti-Indianism in Modern America: A Voice from Tatekeya's Earth* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001).
 - 6 Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*.
 - 7 Aubrey W. Williams Jr., *Navajo Political Process* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970), 5. See also Richard Van Valkenburgh, "Navajo Common Law I," in *Museum Notes* 9, no. 4 (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1936) and "Navajo Naat'aani," *The Kiva* 13, no. 2: 14–23.
 - 8 David M. Brugge, "Documentary References to a Navajo Naachi'id in 1850" *Ethnohistory* 10, no. 2 (1963): 186–88.
 - 9 *Navajo Nation Government* (Window Rock, Ariz.: Office of Navajo Government Development, 1998), 2–10.
 - 10 David E. Wilkins, *The Navajo Political Experience* (Tsaile, Ariz.: Diné College Press, 1999), 71.
 - 11 Carol Douglas Sparks, in an effort to illuminate Navajo women's roles in the nineteenth century, notes that in 1846, the Navajo leader Narbona's wife was present at a meeting between Navajo and American men where she so moved the Navajo men with her speech against the Americans that the Navajo warriors escorted her out of the meeting at Narbona's bidding. See Carol Douglas Sparks, "The Land Incarnate: Navajo Women and the Dialogue of Colonialism, 1821–1870," in *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*, 135–56 (New York: Routledge, 1995). See also John T. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition: Containing an Account of the Conquest of New Mexico and California*, ed. William Elsey Connelly (Topeka, Kans.: 1907), 166–85, and Jacob S. Robinson, *A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition under Colonel Doniphan* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1932; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), 42–51.

- 12 Ruth Roessel, *Women in Navajo Society* (Rough Rock, Ariz.: Navajo Resource Center, 1981), 132–35.
- 13 For an account of Juanita, see Jennifer Nez Denetdale, "One of the Queenliest Women in Dignity, Grace, and Character I Have Ever Met": Photography and Navajo Women—Portraits of Juanita, 1868–1902," *New Mexico Historical Review* 79, no. 3 (Summer 2004): 288–318.
- 14 Recently, scholars have built on the work of David Brugge, who examined Catholic Church records in New Mexico and discovered that the number of Native, and particularly Navajo, baptisms corresponded with raids on Navajos. See David M. Brugge, *Navajos in the Catholic Church Records of New Mexico, 1694–1875* (Tsaile, Ariz.: Navajo Community College Press, 1985). See also Frank McNitt, *Navajo Wars: Military Campaigns, Slave Raids, and Reprisals* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), and James F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
- 15 Clifford E. Trafzer, *The Kit Carson Campaign: The Last Great Navajo War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982).
- 16 John Wilson, "Prisoners without Walls: Fort Sumner in 1854," *El Palacio* 74, no. 1 (Spring 1967): 10–28.
- 17 Louise Lamphere, "The Internal Colonization of the Navajo People," *Southwest Economy and Society* 1 (1976): 6–8.
- 18 Joint Special Committee appointed under joint resolution of March 3, 1865, "Condition of the Indian Tribes," with an appendix (Washington, D.C.: Government Print Office, 1867).
- 19 Broderick H. Johnson, ed., *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period* (Tsaile, Ariz.: Navajo Community College Press, 1994).
- 20 Martin A. Link, ed., *Treaty between the United States and the Navajo Tribe of Indians with a Record of the Discussions That Led to Its Signing* (Las Vegas, Nev.: KC Publications, 1968).
- 21 Roessel, *Women in Navajo Society*, 132.
- 22 Mary Shepardson, *Navajo Ways in Government: A Study in Political Process*, *American Anthropological Association* 65, no. 3, pt. 2 (Menasha, Wisc.: George Banta Company, Inc., 1963), 12.
- 23 Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 212–90.
- 24 Kathleen P. Chamberlain, *Under Sacred Ground: A History of Navajo Oil, 1922–1982* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000).
- 25 Peter Iverson, *The Navajo Nation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981).
- 26 Frank Mitchell, *Navajo Blessingway Singer: The Autobiography of Frank Mitchell, 1881–1967*, ed. Charlotte J. Frisbie and David P. McAllester (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003), 225.
- 27 Colleen O'Neill, "The Making of the Navajo Worker: Navajo Households, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and Off-Reservation Wage Work, 1948–1960," *New Mexico Historical Review* 74, no. 4 (October 1999): 375–403.
- 28 Genevieve Chato and Christine Conte, "The Legal Rights of American Indian Women," in *Western Women: Their Land, Their*

- Lives* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 229–46.
- 29 Wilkins, *The Navajo Political Experience*.
- 30 Martin A. Link, ed. *Navajo: A Century of Progress/1868–1968* (Window Rock, Ariz.: The Navajo Tribe, 1968). In 1968, a number of cultural events that included a fair, essay contests, a contest to create a Navajo Nation flag, and several publications were part of year-long events to celebrate one hundred years since Navajos returned from Bosque Redondo in 1868.
- 31 David Wilkins describes some of the turmoil that the Navajo government has experienced, particularly during Peter MacDonald's fourth term, when a struggle for power resulted in the deaths of several Navajos and prison terms for others, including MacDonald himself. After MacDonald's resignation, a host of other Navajo men served as president and were removed for various violations. See Wilkins, *The Navajo Political Experience*. See also Donald Grinde and Bruce Johansen, "The Navajos and National Sacrifice," in *The Multicultural Southwest: A Reader*, eds. A. Gabriel Melendez, M. Jane Young, Patricia Moore, and Patrick Pynes, 204–17 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001), and Peter Iverson, *Diné: A Navajo History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002).
- 32 See for example, Laura Jane Moore, "Lozen: An Apache Woman Warrior," in *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives*, ed. Theda Perdue, 92–107 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- 33 See for example, Wilma Mankiller and Michael Wallis, *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1994).
- 34 Jo Carrillo, "Tribal Governance/Gender," in *Readings in American Indian Law: Recalling the Rhythm of Survival*, 205–14 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998).
- 35 Diane McEachern, Marlene Van Winkle, and Sue Steiner, "Domestic Violence among the Navajo: A Legacy of Colonization," in *Pressing Issues of Inequality and American Indian Communities*, ed. Elizabeth A. Segal and Keith M. Kilty (New York: The Haworth Press, 1998), 36.
- 36 Antoinette Sedillo Lopez, "Evolving Indigenous Law: Navajo Marriage-Cultural Traditions and Modern Challenges," *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law* 17, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 283–308.
- 37 Marley Shebala, "The Race Has Begun! Fulton to Run for President in '98," *Navajo Times*, June 26, 1997, A-1. Kay Curley Bennett ran in 1986 and then in 1990. In the 1990 election, she was disqualified as a candidate because of a tribal law that required all candidates running for tribal chairman to have served in an elective position before or have been an employee of the tribe. After a ruling by the Navajo Supreme Court, she was allowed to run as a write-in candidate because the ballots had already been printed. See Bill Donovan, "First Woman to Run for Tribal President Had Many Talents," *Navajo Times*, November 20, 1997, A-5.
- 38 Patricia Gonzales and Roberto Rodriguez, "Women's Leadership Is Emerging in Indian Country," *Column of the Americas: Weblog of Gonzales and Rodriguez*, Universal Press Syndicate (July 10, 1998), http://www.voznuestra.com/Americas/_1998/_July/10_I
- 39 LeNora Y. Fulton, "Women Can Lead," *Navajo Times*, May 7,

- 1998, A-4; Gonzales and Rodriguez, "Women's Leadership Is Emerging."
- 40 Marley Shebala, "Wanted: More Women Leaders," *Navajo Times*, February 6, 1997, A-7.
- 41 Carolyn Niethammer, *I'll Go and Do More: Annie Dodge Wauneka, Navajo Leader and Activist* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); Virginia Hoffman and Broderick H. Johnson, "Annie Dodge Wauneka," in *Navajo Biographies*, vol. 2 90–105 (Chinle, Ariz.: Rough Rock Demonstration School, 1974); Melanie McCoy, "Gender or Ethnicity: What Makes a Difference? A Study of Women Tribal Leaders," in *Readings in American Indian Law: Recalling the Rhythm of Survival*, ed. Jo Carrillo, 235–41 (Philadelphia, Penn.: Temple University Press, 1998).
- 42 Irene Stewart, *A Voice in Her Tribe: A Navajo Woman's Own Story* ed. Lowell John Bean and Thomas C. Blackburn with the foreword by Mary Shepardson (Socorro, N.M.: Ballena Press, 1980), 61.
- 43 Ibid. Published accounts of the Navajo creation narratives include Paul G. Zolbrod, *Diné Babané: The Navajo Creation Story* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984); Washington Matthews, *Navajo Legends* (New York: American Folklore Society, 1897); Aileen O'Bryan and Sandoval, *The Diné: Origin Myths of the Navaho Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1956); and Ethelou Yazzie, ed., *Navajo History* (Rough Rock, Ariz.: Rough Rock Demonstration School, 1984).
- 44 Mary Shepardson, "The Status of Navajo Women," *American Indian Quarterly* (Spring/Summer 1982): 160. Deborah Gordon, in her examination of relationships between white women scholars and their Native subjects, notes that Mary Shepardson claimed a friendship with Irene Stewart, as opposed to being in a hierarchical relationship where Shepardson as the anthropologist exerted her authority and power to interpret the meaning of Stewart's life and culture. See Deborah Gordon, "Among Women: Gender and Ethnographic Authority of the Southwest, 1930–1980," in *Hidden Scholars: Women Anthropologists and the Native American Southwest*, 129–45 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993).
- 45 Roessel, *Women in Navajo Society*, 133.
- 46 In yet another interesting twist on the meaning of women's traditional roles in Navajo society, Diné writer Laura Tohe asserts that Navajo women do not claim "feminism" as a term or as a way to describe who they are and what they do since they have always enjoyed authority and autonomy. Such a position fails to name the colonial space in which Navajo women find themselves and the ways in which a history of colonialism has wreaked havoc in their lives while they also struggle to reclaim their lives, culture, and history. See Laura Tohe, "There Is No Word for Feminism in My Language," *Wicazo Sa Review* 15, no. 2 (Fall 2000): 103–10.
- 47 See Wendy Kozol, "Miss Indian America: Regulatory Gazes and the Politics of Affiliation," *Feminist Studies* 31, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 64–94. A couple of former Miss Navajos have noted their experiences in the pageants, calling them positive and culturally affirming. See for example, Ellen McCullough-Brabson and Marilyn Help, *We'll Be in Your Mountains, We'll Be in Your Songs: A Navajo Woman Sings* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001). Marilyn Help is a

- former Miss Navajo who today is a prominent Navajo cultural teacher and performance artist.
- 48 There are many studies devoted to the emergence of ethnic beauty pageants and their significance to nation building. See for examples, Huma Ahmed-Ghosi, "Writing the Nation on the Beauty Queen's Body: Implications for a "Hindu" Nation," *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 4, no. 1 (2003), 205–27; Colleen Ballerino Cohen, Richard Wilk, and Beverly Stoeltje, eds., *Beauty Queens on the Global State: Gender, Contests, and Power* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Maxine Leeds Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen? Black Women, Beauty, and the Politics of Race* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Sarah Banet-Weiser, *The Most Beautiful Girl in the World: Beauty Pageants and National Identity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); Elwood Watson and Darcy Martin, "There She Is, Miss America": *The Politics of Sex, Beauty, and Race in America's Most Famous Pageant* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); and Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, "'Loveliest Daughter of Our Ancient Cathay!' Representations of Ethnic and Gender Identity in the Miss Chinatown U.S.A. Beauty Pageant," in *Western Women's Lives: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sandra K. Schackel 389–426 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003).
- 49 In contrast to my findings, Wendy Kozol places the phenomenon of Native beauty contests in the Red Power movement and names them as yet another strategy for cultural survival. I found that the Navajo beauty contests occurred within an atmosphere where Navajo leaders were extolling Navajo progress within the Western meaning of progress and as it could be evidenced by the development of natural resources, entrance into Western education, and the attainment of Western-style homes and all of its comforts. See Wendy Kozol, "Miss Indian America: Regulatory Gazes and the Politics of Affiliation."
- 50 Debra Weyermann, "Little Big Woman: Meet the Real Miss America, the Queen of the Navajo Nation," *Mirella*, October 1999, 166.
- 51 Orlando Tom, "Sense of Identity," *Navajo Times*, December 23, 1997, A-4. See also Leona R. Begay, "Times Are Changing," *Navajo Times*, March 26, 1998, A-4.
- 52 Leslie Linthicum, "Queen of Two Cultures," in *The Multicultural Southwest Reader*, ed. A. Gabriel Melendez, Patricia Moore, Patrick Pynes, and M. Jane Young, 262–66 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001).
- 53 For examples of letters to the editor, see Ryan Battles and Nathan J. Tohtsoni, *Navajo Times*, April 2, 1998, A-4; Ivis Daniel Peaches and Tish Ramirez, *Navajo Times*, April 16, 1998, A-4; Shirlee James-Johnson, "Bring Healing Not Hate," *Navajo Times*, April 9, 1998, A-4; and Priscilla Bahe, "Amount of Navajo Blood Shouldn't Matter," *Navajo Times*, January 8, 1998, A-4.
- 54 Circe Sturm, *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 204, 205.
- 55 Radmilla Cody, "A Message to the Navajo People," *Navajo Times*, December 5, 2002, A-4. See also Marley Shebala, "Fall from Grace: Ex-Miss Navajo Radmilla Cody Recounts Story That Led to Drug-Related Charges and Prison," *Navajo Times*, December 12, 2002, A1, A3, and "'She'll Be Back Singing Like a Bird, Healed from a Broken Wing,'" *Navajo Times*,

- December 12, 2002, A3; Rick Abasta, "Award-Winning Singer Plans to Keep Public Schedule," *Navajo Times*, December 12, 2002, A1, A3.
- 56 Luana Ross, "Imprisoned Native Women and the Importance of Native Traditions," in *States of Confinement: Policing, Detention, and Prisons*, ed. Joy James, 132–43 (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
- 57 Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Cartographies of Struggle," in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, ed. C. Mohanty, A. Russo, and L. Torres, 1–47 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).
- 58 Anne McClintock, "'No Longer in a Future Heaven': Gender, Race, and Nationalism," in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*, ed. Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 89.
- 59 Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1999), 44.
- 60 McClintock, "'No Longer in a Future Heaven,'" 109.
- 61 Andrea Smith, "Native American Feminism, Sovereignty, and Social Change," *Feminist Studies* 31, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 123, 124.
- 62 Jennifer Nez Denetdale, "Representing Changing Woman: A Review Essay on Navajo Women," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 25, no. 3 (2001), 1–26.