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An examination of communicative dialectical tensions and paradoxes encountered by Native American researchers in the field and in the academy

Lorenda Belone

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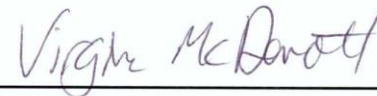
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Approved by the Dissertation Committee:

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**AN EXAMINATION OF COMMUNICATIVE DIALECTICAL
TENSIONS AND PARADOXES ENCOUNTERED BY NATIVE
AMERICAN RESEARCHERS IN THE FIELD AND IN THE
ACADEMY**

BY

LORENDA BELONE

B.S., Biology, The University of New Mexico, 1988
M.P.H., Epidemiology Concentration, The University of New Mexico,
2004

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy
Communication**

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

July 2010

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my children, Eric, Jessica, Jeanette, and Megan,
with much love.

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There are many I would like to thank, my parents, Benjamin and Louise, and my sister, Melvina, who were caregivers to my children when I could not be there. I am grateful for my maternal grandparents, Harry, who always encouraged the importance of an education, and Lorraine, who always had a hot meal ready and words of encouragement in pursuing an education. I am indebted to my mentors, Nina and John, and my core research team, Greg, Rebecca, and Julie, all who were supportive and understanding. I am thankful for Margaret who opened her house to me, allowing me a place to rest my head any time of day or night. I wish to thank the tribal communities who allowed me the opportunity to work in their communities and to be part of their lives and the many others who were supportive in the field. Thank you to those in the academy who encouraged me, including my comprehensive exam and dissertation committees, John, Ginny, Olaf, and Nina, who remained with me throughout this journey. Lastly, I am appreciative of the financial support from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Center for Health Policy and the Navajo Nation Scholarship Office.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the communicative dialectical tensions and paradoxical situations faced by Native researchers in the academy and in research with their own communities or with other Native communities. Thematic analysis was conducted on narratives from 12 semi-structured interviews from participants across the country. Three major themes emerged regarding communicative struggles for the participants when conducting research with Native communities: a dialectic of insider/outsider; challenge of developing positive communication; and concerns of appropriate and inappropriate behavior. Four major themes emerged with regards to communication challenges for the participants while working in the academy: insider-outsider dialectic, paradox of walking the talk, navigating the academy, and open and honest communication. This study also examined the successes encountered by the participants. Overall, the participants deemed

success in the community as simply engaging in research with the community. Success in the academy centered on issues of support.

Two important implications emerged from this study, one theoretical and one practical. First, the study identified two dialectics not previously discussed in dialectic approach/theory and thus makes a contribution to research/theorizing about dialectics. Specifically, there was the dialectic of insider/outsider related to spiritual identity and the dialectic of insider/outsider related to cultural knowledge. Second, the study illustrates the challenges that Native researchers face in conducting community research and in navigating the academy. The findings point to the importance of mentoring Native researchers in managing the dialectics and paradoxes by senior researchers who are sensitive to indigenous research. The key appears to be developing a mentoring program utilizing a CBPR approach.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

My Personal Story

I am a Navajo woman and the mother of four children we live on the Navajo reservation in a community call Nakaibito which is located on the New Mexico portion of the reservation. After receiving a bachelor's degree, I worked for 10 years for my tribal government but I had always wanted to pursue a master's degree; because of family and financial reasons it was never a possibility. However, after major changes in my professional and personal life the opportunity of returning to school became available. The first year of my graduate studies was particularly difficult for me and my family. We had gone from a very decent income to no income at all and we had moved from the reservation to an urban setting. For the first two years, my children and I were able to weather the hardship of my return to school. I was able to work part-time as a research assistant and relied on student loans. But in the third year, my children decided that they wanted to return to our reservation home near their grandparents and their school; I would have to commute if I was to continue my studies. So for the past 10 years, I have been commuting weekly from our reservation home to the university which is two and a half hours one-way in pursuit of not only a master's degree but a doctoral degree.

For the past 10 years, I have served on several different research teams primarily under the direction of Dr. Wallerstein and have been mentored in the application of community based participatory research (CBPR) with several tribal communities in New Mexico. Between 1999 and 2002, I was a graduate research assistant and had numerous responsibilities: coordinated activities of two tribal research advisory boards; served as data manager of qualitative data using ATLAS.ti; conducted several focus group

discussions; assisted in the development of numerous evaluation instruments; and prepared and compiled research reports to the funding agencies and both the UNM and Navajo human research review boards. From 2002 to the present, I have transitioned into a full-time position of Associate Research Scientist and fulfill the role of project manager over several different research projects for which I am responsible for administering and managing all components of each project (including budgetary requirements). The projects have exposed me to in-the-field challenges of being a Native researcher and I have relied on my intuition and early teachings by my grandfather in respecting others as well as the mentoring and training I have received in CBPR in working with Native communities.

Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing methodologies* (2005) has been informative and illustrative of my approach to research. As I describe these projects, I will weave insights from Tuhiwai Smith's work to illustrate challenges I have experienced as a Native researcher. I will also focus on McDermott, Oetzel, and White, (2008) who discuss the paradoxically ethical structural difficulties they faced in the use of CBPR based on their work with an American Indian community as well as Wallerstein and Duran (2006) who examine the CBPR researcher-tribal community relationship and the challenges experienced. In this dissertation, I will extend the work of McDermott et al., and Wallerstein and Duran with a focus not only on the structural ethical dilemmas but on the communicative dialectical tensions from a Native researcher's perspective and experience in the pragmatic application of CBPR as an orientation to research. According to McDermott et al., dialectical tensions are internal to a person while paradoxes are structural and organizational by nature and that CBPR is viewed primarily as

communicative in nature and a process of incorporating “community participation and decision making, local theories of etiology and change and community practices into the research effort” (Wallerstein & Duran, 2006, p. 313).

One of the early research projects that I was fortunate to be involved in was funded by the CDC. This project focused on the possibility of identifying the social protective factors in tribes with the aim to uncover the meanings of community capacity and social capital among four ethnic minority populations throughout the country. The local project entailed an ethnographic qualitative study with a participatory research approach that focused on the development and implementation of the research project with participation by two New Mexico tribal communities. As a Native graduate student researcher involved in several research projects involving native communities, I have struggled with my own cultural identification as both “outsider” and “insider,” which is best described by Jones and Jenkins (2008) as indigenous researchers who conduct research with their own people and yet are still not a part of the community; the results is constant tensions, struggles, and contradiction.. Several examples are listed below to illustrate dialectical tensions, paradoxes and powerlessness I have experienced as a Native researcher in this early research project:

- a. An example of a dialectical tension occurred when working with two patriarchal communities involved in the project and the tension I felt because I was a Navajo woman raised in a matriarchal society. This was my very first research project and I was cognizant of my actions from the time we entered each community to the time we departed and sensitive to my grandfather’s teaching of being respectful. Early on in the project I

saw my role as one of just listening in the hopes of gaining a better understanding of this community and to be respectful of their ways of interacting and communicating. As a child I was taught by my grandfather that one does not speak for the sake of speaking but one should speak only to share something of importance and that it is better to be quiet and to listen and learn.

- b. Another example of a tension I experienced included monthly meetings that were held in each of the two communities with established advisory committees. In these meetings, there were occasions when I felt talked down to by the men in the meetings because I was a Navajo woman, particularly when the discussion centered on their way of life and the importance of the appropriate roles of men and women in their patriarchal society. .
- c. An example of a paradoxical situation in this project entailed the co-development of a qualitative instrument with each advisory committee; specifically the development of items that could be asked so that participants' responses centered on the identification of social protective factors or what makes their community a good place to live. During these meetings there were frequent discussions about the appropriate roles of men/women in their community, such as having only men serve in leadership roles and how inappropriate it would be for a woman to ever serve in this role. However, when we would meet with the managers of the tribal programs, they would often be women and the programs were also

often staff by women. The discussions around only men in leadership position at times made me very uncomfortable, but also helped me gain a better understanding of this community's culture and ultimately helped me design an intervention that was culturally sensitive to their needs with appropriate roles for men and women.

- d. Another paradoxical situation involved data collection, individual interviews that I conducted. In one interview, a co-investigator (a faculty member) and I interviewed two political leaders at the same time only because of their tight schedule. This interview was particularly difficult because we were both women and the interviewees' responses often positioned us as subordinate and inferior -- in their view, and within their community, with comments that women in their community know their roles or their place in the community.
- e. Examples of powerlessness that I have experienced include being written about in peer reviewed papers as the research assistant but never having been informed about the paper. In one case, the first time I was aware of the paper was when I read about myself in the published version. Another example is when I have been the researcher assistant primarily responsible for the research work, such as data collection, entry, and analyses, but never given credit as the one completing the work and data analyses as well as not offered co-authorship.

The mentorship and training I received during these early research projects were valuable. They produced in me a reflexivity and sensitivity to constantly examine who I

am as a Native graduate researcher working with tribal communities and skills to negotiate the tensions and paradoxes. Through observations of Dr. Wallerstein's interactions with communities, I have learned how to handle difficult and controversial situations. She has also demonstrated the importance of allowing for a time of reflexivity, which usually occurred during our drive home from a meeting with the community and during weekly research meetings.

The reflexivity in my work has carried over into my reflection in who I am as a Navajo woman. For example, I have become more aware of the importance of the matriarchal roles of sister, daughter, and mother in my community and the importance of sharing and passing down these roles to my three daughters. I have also become more knowledgeable in my own family's Navajo clan relationships: I developed a listing of each member's four clans, which I then gave as a Christmas gift to my children, parents, siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, and grandmother.

Based on the findings from the CDC funded qualitative study the next research project that I was involved in occurred while I was in the masters in public health program. The research project focused on the development of a validated instrument with two New Mexico tribes. The goal was to examine the relationship between community and organizational capacity, health status, and economic indicators. The title of this research project was "Social Protective and Organizational Capacity Factors of Tribes," funded by the Native American Research Centers for Health (NARCH). Once again, I struggled with dialectical tensions in this project. For example, we had previously worked with an established advisory committee in one of the two tribal communities involved in this new project. However, a new advisory committee was established for this new

project. The new committee included both old and new community members and service providers. During several meetings, issues surrounding the misuse of research by the university in the community (in the years prior to our project) had to be addressed and acknowledged by the university team. We also had to explain how this new research project was different than past research projects. This acknowledgement was required to ensure that past research practices would not reoccur. Particularly important was the development of an active advisory committee that would be involved in every aspects of the research process and adhere to the principles of CBPR which require the active engagement of communities in research that is occurring in the community. As a Native researcher actively involved in the current research project it was hurtful to be viewed as someone who because of my association with the university, would potentially cause harm to the community. I share a tribal affiliation with the community and one of the advisory committee members would always acknowledge me as “shinali” or his paternal granddaughter based on our clan relationship. However, a fellow tribal member based on the ingrained mistrust of past research by researchers from the university viewed me more as an “outsider” than as an “insider.” Though I was upset I also understood the cautious approach of the community and the importance that all researchers be questioned who come into their community whether Indigenous or not. The dual role of insider/outsider is one of “many of the issues raised by indigenous researchers are addressed in the research literature in relation to both insider and outsider research” (Tuhiwai Smith, 2005, p. 137).

In addition to struggling with dialectical tensions, I also continued to encountered paradoxical situations. For example, in one project a quantitative instrument was co-

adapted based on each community's need and guided individual interview with participants from a random household sample. The interviewers were community members who were trained by the UNM research team on human protection and confidentiality. In one community, bi-lingual interviewers primarily women between the ages of 25 and 55 administered the instrument. Each interviewer visited a randomly selected household but frequently found that people were often not home. Numerous trips were made back to the residence and if there was no one home after three attempts the household was dropped and another was randomly selected in its place. As a woman working with women from this community, I was interested in their experiences as an interviewers and I quickly became aware of some of the issues they were dealing with. One interviewer actually received a marriage proposal and all the women had safety concerns because the best time to catch people at home were in the evenings and on a weekdays: the women were driving an average of 30 miles roundtrip to conduct one and a half to two hour interviews and then driving home alone very late in the evening on very remote dirt roads. According to Tuhiwai Smith, "Indigenous research approaches problematize the insider model in different ways because there are multiple ways of both being an insider and an outsider in indigenous contexts. The critical issue with insider research is the constant need for reflexivity" (2005, p. 137). As a Native woman researcher, the reflexivity Tuhiwai Smith speaks to was very important in my approach. While working with the women from the community and having concerns for their physical safety, I encouraged them to be reflexive and to share their challenges of being field interviewers. The paradox existed in the need to collect data by training community members yet not training on the importance of safety while collecting data which could

negatively affect data collection and even the project as a whole. A more recent project that I have been involved in coincided with my doctoral studies. The focus of this project was to promote the participatory development and implementation of a culturally-appropriate intergenerational family/youth/elder intervention curriculum with two New Mexico tribes. We adapted the empirical based Anishnabe “Listening to Each Other” program and included empowerment and social action components. This project was also funded by NARCH and titled “Listening to Each Other Curriculum Development Project”. The two tribal communities involved in this project had participated in either the CDC funded project previously mentioned or the first NARCH project above. Prior to the start of this new project all members of the UNM research team, including myself, had four to five years of an established working relationship with both communities. By the end of this project each member had nine to ten years. As a Native researcher, one of the paradoxical struggles I faced occurred toward the end of this project. It was the members of the two communities that highlighted the paradox which involved our role as university researchers in that through the application of CBPR we hoped to create positive communicative change with our community partners. The community members pointed out was that we were also creating barriers for effective communicative discourse through the use of our vocabulary. According to Duran et al., (1998) “Labeling and naming are powerful methods of creating subjectivity and lifeworlds” (p. 346) that can marginalize due to the fact that communities are not usually privy to the worldviews of the academy. This paradox surfaced during a focus group discussion with key advisory committee members from each of the two tribes. The focus group discussion centered on the experiences of the advisory committee members and the partnership characteristics

that created an effective community-based participatory research project. It was during the discussion that the participants raised the fact that a partnership characteristic that may have hindered the research project was the institutional role of the university, which at times maintained oppressive policies such as strict deadlines and the use of a very academic vocabulary. Further, as a university researcher soon to complete a doctoral program, I hoped to soon be in the role of a principle investigator (PI) and would be the university's primary representative in research projects with Native communities. The role of PI scared me so much so that I questioned the completion of my program I had always fallen back on just "being just a graduate student" and not a fully paid representative of the university. In my mind, as the PI I felt that I would be required to "take a bullet for the university's past and current offenses" so to speak when conducting research with Native communities I honestly did not know if I could take on that role once I completed my program and become a titled university researcher.

In summary, my journey over the past 10 years as a Native woman researcher has resulted in many struggles, some communicative dialectical and/or paradoxical in nature, some surrounding issues of power and gender, some surrounding issues of historical mistrust of research by Native communities, and all around the role of a Native researcher employed by a university and working with Native communities. Based on my experience, I have learned to be an active listener and to be sensitive to being the outsider and at times the outsider within, particularly in Navajo communities acknowledging that there are hidden issues of cultural practices not to be shared, therefore not to be asked of; being sensitive and respectful to discourse in Native languages; accepting silence; being cognizant of safety issues for tribal research partners/interviewers particularly while

conducting field work; and recognition of the importance of asking appropriate types of questions and being respectful if not answered directly. These field research experiences have led me to investigate the communicative paradoxes, challenges/tensions, and dialectical tensions that Native researchers face when working with Native communities. This investigation first led to a review of literature which provides further rationale for this study.

Rationale for Study

The literature is rich with recommendations on “Building Research Partnerships” (Baldwin et al., 2009; Belone et al., In Press; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Christopher et al., 2008a; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009; Mail et al., 2006; Thomas et al., 2009a; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006), “Decolonizing Strategies” (Fisher & Ball, 2003; Fisher & Ball, 2005; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 2005; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006; Walters & Simoni, 2009), “Lessons Learned” (Belone et al., In Press; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Christopher et al., 2008a; Davis & Reid, 1999; Fisher & Ball, 2003; Thomas et al., 2009a; Thomas et al., 2009b), and “Effectiveness at influencing outcomes” (Belone et al., In Press; Cashman et al., 2008; Wallerstein & Duran, 2010; Wallerstein et al., 2008; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006; Walters & Simoni, 2009) when working with Indigenous communities. These recommendations often cite the use of community-based/tribal-based or participatory research strategies (Baldwin et al., 2009; Belone et al., In Press; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Christopher et al., 2008a; Davis & Reid, 1999; Fisher & Ball, 2002, 2003, and 2005; Harala, 2005; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009; Teufel-Shone et al., 2006; Thomas et al., 2009a; Thomas et al., 2009b; Wallerstein & Duran, 2010; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006). Additionally, the

recommendations are often geared toward researchers who are working with Indigenous communities and researchers who are non-Native and who are in the role of an “outsider” (Baldwin et al., 2009; Christopher et al., 2008a; Davis & Reid, 1999; Harala et al., 2005; McDermott et al., 2008), in the research process with little recommendations to Native researchers. According to Tuhiwai Smith (2005) Native researchers, in research involving Indigenous communities are often in the position of “both insider and outsider” (p. 5), or are viewed as “outsiders within” (Jones & Jenkins, 2008, p. 474). The lack of literature geared specifically to Native researchers on conducting research in Native communities may result from the “gross underrepresentation of American Indians/Alaska Natives at all academic levels limits the pool of potential scientists” (Walters & Simoni, 2009, p. S72). For example, less than 0.003% of all doctoral candidates in the life/social sciences are American Indians/Alaska Natives. The percentage of Native doctoral candidates may be extremely low but the number of Native researchers who are successful in obtaining National Institutes of Health funding is growing; from 1999 to 2006, the number of AI/AN principal investigators at NIH went from 9 to 24. (Walters & Simoni, 2009, p. S71, also see Manson et al., 2006).

An example of how the literature can be deficient can be found in the article titled, *New moccasins: Articulating research approaches through interviews with faculty and staff at Native and Non-Native Academic institutions*, (Harala et al., 2005). Based on the title of this paper one may assume that the authors would emphasize the voices of Native faculty and staff and their experiences of working on research in Native American communities. These voices are lacking in the literature and perhaps also in this study. Harala et al., conducted 20 individual interviews with Native American and/or Caucasian

faculty and staff of academic institutions, yet they did not provide specific demographic information on the number of Native Americans interviewed and whether they were faculty or staff members. The participants on average had worked over 14 years with Native American communities and based on the interviews three major themes emerged which were not categorized by ethnicity: 1) worldviews; 2) academic institutional organizational cultures; and 3) defining beneficial research through relationships. The study “provides suggestions on how more culturally grounded research could be approached when cultures with differing worldviews work together to address issues in the field of health and nutrition” (p. 75). This article exemplifies the lack of voice by Native faculty and staff on their research experiences with Native communities.

The Harala et al. (2005) study is important and supports the general recommendations for working with Indigenous communities but is deficient in separating out the voice of the Native American participants in the study which reinforced the lack of the voice of the Native researcher. I had hoped based on the title of the paper that it would have provided more of the perspective of the Native American faculty and/or staff from an academic institution their role in the research process and how they were able to “bridge” between Native and non-Native communities. I had expected to read about their struggles, and if the struggles were in the institution and/or working with the community, how they overcame the struggles, the issues around culturally identity, and tension between being both an “insider” and/or an “outsider.” As a Native researcher these are important questions that I plan to address by giving voice to a population that has historically been muted. Although this population has been extensively researched and written about the perspective has usually been that of one of an outsider provided by

someone with a worldview different from the community with recommendations directed to other non-Native researchers on how they can better work with and in Indigenous communities.

As mentioned, the literature is rich in recommendations when working with Native communities. However, the recommendations are not specifically geared to Native researchers who may be struggling with being both an insider and outsider perspective to the research process. That is not to say that there are not writings out there that have an indigenous focus, for example in 2008 the *Handbook of critical and Indigenous methodologies* had just been printed and the topics included: a) performing theories of decolonizing inquiry; b) critical and indigenous pedagogies; c) critical and indigenous methodologies; and d) power, truth, ethics, and social justice by Denzin et al., resources are slowly becoming available for Native researchers. Often, the only Native researcher's voice could be found in peer-reviewed articles from research conducted in other countries, such as Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. Alternatively, the Native researcher may, in fact struggle with working within an academic institution.

Understandably, there can be many obstacles a Native researcher faces when working at an academic institution as well as working with native communities. Shavers et al. (2005) identified nine perceived barriers to academic success for ethnic minorities, in the context of competing for NIH funding: 1) inadequate research infrastructure, training, and development; 2) barriers to development as independent researchers; 3) inadequate mentoring; 4) insensitivity, misperceptions, and miscommunications; 5) institutional bias in NIH policies; 6) unfair competitive environment; 7) lack of institutional support; 8) lack of support for research topic/methods relevant to research with minority

communities; and 9) social, cultural and environmental barriers . In addition to these barriers, Walters and Simoni (2009) state that there are numerous issues that can encumber “successful research in American Indian and Alaska Native (AIAN) communities, as in other ethnic minority groups” (p. S71; also see Anderson and Lavallee, 2007; Baldwin, 1999; Marin & Diaz, 2002; Norton & Manson, 1996; Tuhiwai Smith, 2005), these barriers include historical mistrust by Native communities of researchers and institutional or colonial approaches to research lacking culturally grounded theory and methods with little or no communicative and relationship building with members of the community. As a Native researcher working primarily with a Native research team, we have been sensitive to the historical mistrust of research and have utilized CBPR as the ideal approach to research with Native communities because of its focus on communicative and relationship building of community partners through the research process.

Therefore, the goal for this study is to examine the communicative experiences of Native researchers who conduct research with Native communities while working in the academy in the hope of giving voice to a marginalized group to share their experiences with other Native researchers as they navigate the academy and field work. I seek to explore the dialectic tensions they may encounter and the struggles of working in the academic institutions which may be paradoxical in nature. The number of Native researchers may be small but there are initiatives to increase these numbers, such as the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation whose focus is to “train Latino, American Indian and other ethnic minority group members as health policy leaders whose expertise in health services research and policy analysis demonstrates that diversity of perspectives leads to

better health outcomes” (RWJ Foundation website, 2009) and the Native American Research Centers for Health which is a funding mechanism “to develop a cadre of AI/AN scientists and Health Professionals” (Federal Register, 2008, p. 4235).

Focus of Study

The focus of this study will be on the communicative paradoxes and dialectical tensions faced by Native researchers who conduct research with Native communities. I conducted in-person or telephone/cell phone individual interviews with Native researchers at different phases in their research careers. I allowed these researchers the opportunity to share their stories through semi-structured questions on the roles they have served in the research process and the communicative challenges/struggles they faced in working in the academic institution and in Native communities. If they were faced with challenges, I also asked how did they overcome those struggles? Throughout this process, I examined whether they had struggles with culturally identity and around insider/outsider issues?

Key Terms

Given the focus of this dissertation, there are a number of key terms that will be briefly defined here with an extensive review in chapter two. These terms are community based participatory research, insider/outsider, decolonizing methods, dialectic, paradoxes/tensions, and American Indian/Alaskan Natives/Native American/Indigenous peoples, a brief description will be provided for each of these terms.

Community Based Participatory Research. There exist several definitions of CBPR. However, I will focus on the W.K. Kellogg definition, but also acknowledge the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality (2004) and the Green et al. (1995)

definitions. The 2001 W.K. Kellogg Foundation's Community Health Scholars Program defined CBPR as "a collaborative approach to research that equitably involves all partners in the research process and recognizes the unique strengths that each bring" as provided in Minkler and Wallerstein (2008, p. 6). The Kellogg definition is often cited in the work of researchers who are engaged in CBPR. Along with this definition, Israel et al., (2008, 2005, 1998), are often credited with defining nine principles of CBPR but are quick to state that these principles should be viewed with care and "that no one set of principles is applicable to all partnerships. Rather, the members of each research partnership need jointly to decide on the core values and guiding principles that reflect their collective vision and basis for decision making" (p. 6). Therefore, CBPR is an approach to research that is often recommended to researchers who are working with Native communities (Baldwin et al., 2009; Belone et al., In Press; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Christopher et al., 2008a; Davis & Reid, 1999; Fisher & Ball, 2002, 2003, and 2005; Harala, 2005; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009; Teufel-Shone et al., 2006; Thomas et al., 2009a; Thomas et al., 2009b; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006; Wallerstein & Duran, 2010), and one explanation may be that because it has "been identified as promising strategies for research aimed at studying and reducing health disparities" (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2008, p. 8; also see Israel et al., 2005, Wallerstein & Duran, 2006, Wallerstein & Duran, 2010; Wells & North, 2006).

Insider/Outsider. The words "insider" and "outsider" are respectively defined by the American Heritage College Dictionary (2007) as "an accepted member of a group" (p. 717) and "one who is excluded from a party, association, or set" (p. 989). The terms insider and outsider will be used in the context of positions held by individuals in a

research setting that involves Native communities. Below are examples from the literature review of the use of these terms:

- a. According to Harala et al., (2005), the university is viewed as the “outsider” and has little interest in benefiting communities in which research may be conducted.
- b. With regards to research in American Indian (AI) communities, Davis and Reid (1999), articulate it best by stating that “Outsiders, rather than insiders, have historically conducted research in AI populations”(p.755S).
- c. Tuhiwai Smith (2005), provides another example, “ There are a number of ethical, cultural, political, and personal issues that can present special difficulties for indigenous researchers who, in their own communities work partially as insiders, and are often employed for this purpose, and partially as outsiders, because of their Western education” (p. 5).
- d. Jones and Jenkins (2008), focus on postcolonial cross-cultural collaborative inquiry and working the hyphen, the hyphen as a character in the research relationship between colonizer and indigenous researchers and that ‘these collaborations become a rather different exercise in translation as indigenous researchers find themselves outsiders in their own communities” (p. 474), which is best described by Black feminist Patricia Hill Collins (1998, 1991) as the “outsider within,” (p. 474; as cited in Allen et al., 1999, p. 406).

As mentioned, the examples above on the use of the terms insider/outsider are to be understood within the context of research that is conducted with Native communities.

Decolonizing Methods. To begin to define decolonizing methods one must first define colonization and decolonization. First, colonization in the context of American Indian history was established by European settlers through the use of “treaty-making as a form of protection from ‘hostiles’ whose lands they were invading” (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998, p. 343; also see Deloria & Lytle, 1983), treaty-making gave the settlers a sense of “civility and legitimacy” (p. 343), from the first treaty with the Delaware Tribe over 600 treaties were entered into over the next 100 years (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). Brave Heart and DeBruyn theorize that the cause of American Indian’s current social ills, such as the high rates of domestic violence, alcoholism, homicides, and suicides originate from the “loss of lives, land, and vital aspects of Native culture” due to the colonization of the Americas resulting in a “legacy of chronic trauma and unresolved grief across generations” (1998, p. 60; also see Duran et al., 1998; Duran & Duran, 1995). The importance of the loss of land must be understood in the context in which American Indians regard “land, plants, and animals” as “sacred relatives, far beyond a concept of property” (p. 62). Colonization is a “series of developments leading to the economic expansion of Europe... tied to a chronology of events related to ‘discovery,’ conquest, exploitation, distribution and appropriation” (Tuhiwai Smith, 2005, p. 21). So, in effect, the “centuries of colonialism’s efforts” were “to methodically eradicate our ways of seeing, being, and interacting with the world” (Wilson, 2004, p. 359). The result was that the only accepted worldview was that of the colonizers.

Therefore, decolonization is a course of action that “requires the overturning of the colonial structure, but that must be initiated by the colonized” (Wilson, 2004, p. 362; also see Duran & Duran, 2005, Tuhiwai Smith, 2005). “Decolonization...does not mean

and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purpose” (Tuhiwai Smith, 2005, p. 39). Examples of decolonizing methodologies in research include: embracing traditional knowledge and American Indian and Alaskan Native worldviews; engaging in American Indian and Alaskan Native research partnerships; building American Indian and Alaskan Native research capacity within universities and tribal communities; changing academic reward systems; and challenging colonial research practice in colonized communities (Walters and Simoni, 2009).

Dialectic. The foundational underpinnings of dialectics is the concept of dialogue. According to Bakhtin (1981), dialogue is made up of many voices with two opposing forces called “centripetal” which is a force that seeks to bring order to the chaos of everyday life and “centrifugal,” which is viewed as a force that seeks to create disorder out of the order and through dialogue these tension are managed and communicated in everyday life (Baxter, 2006, Littlejohn & Foss, 2005, Miller, 2005). Building upon the notion of dialogue, dialectics centers on naturally occurring contradictions including the concepts of totality, process and praxis, which will be expanded upon in this paper (Miller, 2005) Dialectical tensions are defined as internal or external to an individual or relationship and for the purpose of this project, I focus on dialectical tensions that are internal to a person, particularly tensions encountered or experienced by Native researchers during the research process with Native communities or tensions while working in the academy.

Paradoxes / Tensions. The study of simultaneous, yet contradictory desires, messages, and/or forces can be broadly categorized as the study of paradoxes. “A paradox exists when your need to fulfill a goal requires you to act in a way contrary to that goal (Stohl & Cheney 2001; Wendt, 1998, as cited in McDermott et al., 2008, p. 5) and that paradoxes are viewed as “structural and organizational” (p. 6). When conducting research with communities researchers are faced with ethical paradoxes, McDermott et al., (2008) identify three paradoxes they have encountered while conducting research with an American Indian community: the paradox of power, the paradox of participation, and the paradox of practice (p. 7). An example of the paradox of power can be found in the “power imbalance between researchers and community members” (Trickett, 1998, as cited in McDermott et al., 2008, p. 7). The paradox of participation is demonstrated when “the structure of the participation may prevent people from feeling free to express their thoughts by formalizing a process that needs to be informal” (McDermott et al., 2008, p. 14). The paradox of practice occurs when there is differing timelines and goals between the academy and the community resulting in problems throughout the research process. An examination of paradoxical situations that occur naturally in the research process with American Indian communities are important learnings a researcher can learn from and build upon in their next research project and throughout their research career.

American Indian/Alaska Natives/Native American/Indigenous peoples. The Indigenous peoples of the continental USA are from over 560 federally-recognized Indian tribes with a population estimate from 2.5 up to 4.4 million, who are referred to as American Indians/Alaska Natives (King, 2009; Walters & Simoni, 2009). It is not uncommon that these population numbers fluctuate, but as census reporting improves the

reporting of population statistics also has been improving. A broader definition of the North American Indian is that they “are a diverse and complex group whose demographic patterns and cultural multiplicity result from 5 centuries of conflict between the indigenous population of North America and the Europeans who colonized the continent” (Stiffarm, 1992, as cited in Baldwin et al., 2009, p. S77). There are estimates that prior to the European invasion the indigenous population may have been between 7 and 18 million (Baldwin et al., 2009), if these numbers are accurate, the Native population over the last 500 years has plummeted from a high of over 18 million to a low of 2.5 million. The terms used when referring to the indigenous peoples of North America have varied over the years, and have included such terms as: Indigenous Peoples, American Indian, American Indian Alaska Natives, Native American, Native American Indian, or Native Peoples. For the purpose of this paper, I will generally use the term Native; however, in the literature review several of the different terms listed are used so keep in mind that these terms basically refer to the Indigenous peoples of North America.

Summary

As a Native researcher trained in the communicative and relationship building approach of CBPR and currently involved in a Native intergenerational family intervention, my purpose in this study is to examine and give voice to the paradoxical and dialectical tensions of Native researchers who are a grossly underrepresented minority in the academic institution. This study is important for a number of different reasons. According to Walters and Simoni (2009), there currently is no empirical evidence specifically on American Indian Alaska Native researchers. The current study will uncover: a) challenges and barriers encountered in the field and in the academy; b)

paradoxical and dialectical tensions in the field and in the academy; c) management of tensions; and d) possible mentoring approaches. Identifying key issues may provide the first steps for overcoming barriers for Native researchers to become successful in conducting research with Native communities and in navigating the academic institution.

The remainder of this dissertation will include a chapter on the review of the literature including my research questions, a chapter on the methods conducted in this study, a chapter on the findings, and lastly a discussion chapter. Chapter one provided an introduction with self reflection and examples of my research experiences and struggles while working on three different research projects, including my rationale and focus of this study, and key terms. Chapter two contextualizes the challenges of working with Native communities through the literature review on the history of research and health of Native communities; decolonization and decolonized research methods; and the communicative dialectical tensions and paradoxes.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This section includes a literature review of four main topics: history, decolonization, challenges and tensions, and my research questions. The literature review will (a) contextualize where Native researchers are today and the potential challenges of working in American Indian communities based on the importance of the sharing of history, (b) provide a brief history of the decline in population of American Indians, (c) a brief history of Navajo, (d) overview the history of research with American Indians and the history of mistrust of research among American Indians, (e) review the history of American Indian health and specifically the Navajo perspective of health, and (f) review the American Indian decolonization. The literature review will also include the challenges, dialectics, paradoxes, and tensions of conducting research with American Indians and my research questions surrounding issues involving American Indian researchers.

History

“History is a narration about past events that tell us about what was important when the event or era occurred, but also about what we think about the event today” (Loewen, 1999; Roberts, 2007, as cited in Oetzel, 2009, p. 339). For many Native communities, their past and their narratives or stories about their history were shared orally from one generation to the next, because that most if not all Native language were oral with no written alphabet, which may still be true today. So, in a sense, although it is the actual events that define the past, it is the stories and narratives that make up history and our history reflects what we want to remember and how we see ourselves and others (Darnton, 2003; Loewen, 1999; Roberts, 2007, Oetzel, 2009). Therefore, the sharing of

history is of up most importance, particularly for those with oral histories who have no text to refer back to--it is history that shapes who we are now and in the future and how we see others now and in the future. Oetzel (2009) describes three reasons that history is important: a) it is part of collective memory and cultural identity; b) past traumatic events are passed down through generations (historical trauma); and c) history has significant consequences for intercultural relations today. The telling of history is an important aspect of many cultures--it contextualizes their important events from the past, now and in the future. For that reason, in the next section a brief history of Native Americans and more specifically the Navajo will be provided, to help contextualize the many historical issues that researchers face when working with Native communities.

A Brief History of the Decline in Population of American Indians. American Indian tribes each had their own distinct language and culture and they flourished with population estimates of over 18 million prior to contact with the first European explorers some 500 years ago (Baldwin et al., 2009, Davis & Reid, 1999, White & Shield).

With the continued encroachment of European settlers American Indian tribes faced genocide “through waves of disease, annihilation, military and colonialist expansion policies” (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Duran et al., 1998; Duran & Duran, 1995). In addition to treaties, there were numerous legal actions by the federal government, such as the Indian Removal Act of 1820, which forced the relocation of American Indians west of the Mississippi onto reservations, then the Dawes Act of 1887, which privatized those reservation lands for sale to non-Native settlers (Fisher & Ball, 2003).

Duran and Duran (1998) have outlined in six phases the historical trauma experienced by most American Indians since 1492: a) *first contact* – loss of American Indian worldviews; b) *economic competition* – loss of physical and spiritual resources; c) *invasion war period* – loss of lives and traditional homelands; d) *subjugation and reservation period* – force movement to unfamiliar and unforgiving reservations greatly limiting movement; e) *boarding school period* – loss of family units; loss of children to distant boarding schools, loss of language and loss of the practicing of Native religion; and f) *forced relocation and termination period* – loss of families to urban areas and the lost federal recognition by many tribes (Duran & Duran, 1995). According to Duran & Duran (1998), the historical trauma experienced by American Indians has resulted in unresolved grief across the generations and has been expressed over the last 500 years by the vast difference in health disparities between American Indians and the White populations of the U.S. (Jones, 2006, Christopher et al., 2008a). Given the diversity of tribes across the U.S., the next section provides specific details about one specific tribe, the Navajo, my tribal affiliation, as an illustrative example of how the government mistreated my tribe as well as an attempt to contextualize who I am as a Navajo woman and as a Native researcher.

Brief History of Mistreatment of Navajos by the US Government. Navajo people also have a history of mistreatment by the U.S. government. The most commonly cited example of this mistreatment is the *Long Walk* to a place called *Hweeldi* by the Navajo, “the place where only the wind could live” (Bruchac, 2005, p. 10). Over the course of two years, from January 1863, to the end of 1864, over 8,000 Navajos were rounded up from Arizona and New Mexico by the U.S. Army and were forced to march a

300-mile trek across New Mexico to a place known as Bosque Redondo now known as Ft. Sumner, New Mexico which was an 18 trek days by foot. The people were only allowed the clothes on their backs, a lucky few had blankets. They marched regardless of the season, and as a result, over 200 people died along the way, primarily the young and the very old. According to historians, this “relocation was the first attempt to create a reservation for American Indians in the western United States,” (Oetzel, 2009, p. 338). Forty years prior, the American Indians of the eastern U.S. were relocated west of the Mississippi (Fisher & Ball, 2003). One year later, in 1868, the Navajos signed the Treaty of Bosque Redondo, allowing them to return to their homelands.

It was hard for our people to be so far away from our home, but they did not give up. Our people never forgot their homeland between the four sacred mountains. Our people prayed. They did a special ceremony. Then the minds of the white men changed. Our people agreed never to fight against the United States and they were allow to go back home.

Bruchac (2005, p. 10).

Today, the history of the ‘Long Walk’ can be found in books and on the internet as well as in the schools of Navajo children. The pain of the force relocation of the Navajo people is also remembered by elders whose parents and grandparents suffered and now retold by grandchildren and great-grandchildren as eloquently voiced below by a tribal member:

It's still very difficult for us to talk about these stories. It makes me cry, and it makes me sad and it makes me angry, and at the same time we also are very appreciative that our ancestors had the courage and resilience to keep on going in

the face of just incredible catastrophe and incredible trauma that we think that they must have been thinking about us. And so at the same time that we are appalled at what they lived through--the utter inhumanity and injustice shown to our ancestors--we also are thankful to them. Traditionally Navajo people don't go to the Bosque Redondo because when they left the medicine people did a ceremony and they said, 'we are never to return to this place of horror and many of us have broken that and gone back to remember our ancestors.' And so when we remember them we also are thankful, very thankful and grateful to them for showing such fortitude and courage.

Jennifer Denetdale (2010)

Compounding the history of the "Long Walk" of the Navajo people are the memories of the boarding schools of the 19th and 20th centuries. Based on U.S. policies, American Indian children were forced from their homes and shipped to schools across the country where they were expected to give up their language and culture and often endured physical, emotional, and sexual abuse (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Duran et al., 1998, Duran & Duran, 1995; Duran & Walters, 2004; Oetzel, 2009; Walters & Simoni, 2009). As shared by one Navajo:

The boarding school was more than a hundred miles away from my home, so our journey took us several days...'Navajo is no good, of no use at all!' Principal O'Sullivan shouted at us every day...'Only English will help you get ahead in this world!' It was no good to speak Navajo or be Navajo...Everything about us that was Indian has to be forgotten...Both boys and girls had their hair cut. I felt naked and ashamed.

In summary, the sharing of our past and our history is important. It is how we tell others about events that are important to us, how we think about those events today, and how it will influence our actions in the future. For Native communities, remembering and the sharing of the decimation and mistreatment of the American Indian population, including the Navajos, by the U.S. Government are important for healing. Through the sharing of history, one is able to contextualize the historical implications on the health of Native communities today and the important role Native researchers can play in understanding and addressing the historical context of health disparities in these communities for movement toward healing in the future.

A Brief History of Research with American Indians Historically, research has been conducted on American Indians with the aim, for example, of the completion of a doctoral dissertation (or research project) with no benefit to individual tribal members, communities or the tribe and frequently with the infliction of long lasting harm. According to Christopher et al., (2008a), many American Indian communities have been “analyzed, stereotyped, and exploited by outside groups, resulting in uneasiness with nontribal members” (p.1398), of research and researchers in general, these negative experiences may elicit and compound memories of historical mistreatment (Baldwin et al., 2009; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Davis & Reid, 1999; Wallerstein & Duran, 2010). Unfortunately, the mistrust of research and researchers by Native communities may also hamper the work of researchers who are genuinely interested in the elimination of health disparities (Belcourt-Dittloff, 2000; Christopher et al., 2008a; Kunitz 1996; Weaver, 1997). It is not uncommon for Native people to feel as if they have been “researched to

death” that has only benefited the investigator and the academic institution with no benefit to the community and at best a stigmatization based on the findings (Burhansstipanov, 1999; Burhansstipanov, 1998; Burhansstipanov & Dresser, 1994; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Christopher, & Schumacher, 2005; Davis & Reid, 1999). Interestingly enough, this is the exact sentiment that was voiced at a tribal council meeting that I recently attended, which only highlighted the obstacles faced by Native researchers to adequately address the huge health disparities of American Indians despite the need for research that will benefit and improve the health of Native communities. For the most part, research has “often benefited investigators and their academic communities more than the AI groups they purportedly served” (Davis & Reid, 1999, p.755S). For this reason, Native communities will view research as exploitative and researchers inconsiderate to “the wishes and beliefs of AIs,” (p.755S), even if the research may be of benefit to the community there may be a resistance to the participation in the study. The alarming and rising health disparities in American Indian communities can be addressed through partnerships with tribes on a focused research agenda; however, the history of research conducted in these communities has resulted in a deep-seeded mistrust of research. Unfortunately, in some tribal communities, research continues to be exploitative, such as the Havasupai diabetes research project that involved the collection of over 300 blood samples from the early 1990s focused on healthy eating habits and blood draws for the screening of diabetes and genetic research. According to a pending multi-million dollar lawsuit filed by 52 members of the tribe against Arizona State University, the blood samples were obtained without approved institutional review board informed consent. The illegally obtained blood samples were then used by universities

and laboratories throughout the country for studies on inbreeding, schizophrenia, and migration theories (Shafer, 2004).

Because of the history and the current examples of abusive research, within Native communities there exists a lack of trust of academic institutions, which hinders research. According to Walters and Simoni (2009), “Multiple factors impede successful research in AIAN communities, as in other ethnic minority groups (Anderson, 2007; Baldwin, 1999; Norton & Manson, 1996; Tuhiwai Smith, 2005; Walters & Stately, In press; Marin & Diaz, 2002). A major barrier to research is the mistrust of research American Indians feel based on “scientific exploitation, linguistic and cultural dissimilarities, lack of culturally grounded theory and methods, and limited or selective access to community members” (p.S71). Traditionally, research is conducted by an outsider--someone who is not from the community or tribe. The researcher has his/her own focus on their “own goals of benefiting humanity at large, expanding scientific knowledge, and advancing their academic careers... largely unaware of their attitudes toward and effect on the participants” (Davis & Reid, 1999, 755S). Therefore, one of the ways for research to be successful in Native communities is through the acknowledgment of the mistrust of research and researchers by Native communities and to actively overcome these barriers.

Scholars have found that without trust between the community and the researcher, the research will not be successful (Roger & Petereit, 2005, Christopher et al., 2008a, Wallerstein et al., 2008). Further, when research is conducted “outside the historical context of intergenerational trauma, unresolved grief, and loss,” the American Indian community can be “misunderstood and...addressed in ways that perpetuate the problems”

(Duran & Duran, 1995; Gagne, 1994; as cited in Fisher and Ball, 2005, p. iii46) and that the “issues are compounded when insufficient consideration is given to the impact of oppression, discrimination, and disempowerment among AIAN community members” (Morrissette, 1994, as cited in Fisher and Ball, 2005, p. iii46). Based on the successful research with Native communities, researchers must strive to develop trust and to acknowledge the historical trauma experienced by these communities.

Native communities have become more active in the oversight of research in their own communities. For example “Indigenous communities have recently begun to challenge the underlying epistemological frameworks of research conducted by outside academic institutions” (Harala et al., 2005, p. 67, see also – Tuhiwai Smith, 2005). Tribes have also begun to assert “their sovereignty and self-determination...by establishing laws, policies, and procedures for outsiders working on their reservations and also researchers ... responding with increased awareness of and sensitivity to the wishes of native peoples” (Davis and Reid, 1999, p. 755S). Over the past 20 years, with tribal governments actively pursuing self-determination and management of their governmental structures, one result has been better control of research activity in tribal communities, including research guidelines and tribal institutional review boards. Attempts to better monitor research have not only occurred at the local level but also at the national level with development of institutional review boards at regional Indian Health Services and the 1994 publication by the American Indian Law Center of “model standards to help tribes develop local guidelines” are examples of improved oversight (Mail et al., 2006, p. 148). The history of mistrust regarding research by American Indian communities is being addressed through local and national control of whom and how research is

conducted in tribal communities. Although there is active movement by tribes to control or have a better oversight on research conducted in their communities, this may not necessarily be true of all 560 plus tribes. Because of the increase in control by tribal governments over research tribes are positioning themselves in a better position to address their health concerns rather than outsiders dictating which health concerns the tribes must address. The next section is a very brief history of Native health to highlight the health disparities that Natives have had to contend with since colonization.

History of Native Health Care

Within the past 20 years, there has become available more epidemiological data concerning American Indian populations in the continental U.S. and Alaska; these populations are exhibiting greater prevalence of certain health conditions, e.g. cancers, comorbid disorders, diabetes, substance misuse as compared to other populations. At the same time tribal lands have been subjected to environmental ruin for these reasons there has been a renewed interest by researchers interested in issues around genetic studies to environmental justice (Rhoades, 2000, Mail et al., 2006).

Since the early 19th century, health care has been provided to American Indians as part of treaty obligations in which lands were exchanged. Early care was provided by military doctors (Kunitz, 1996) from the War Department. The health care responsibility was moved to the Department of Interior in 1849 and later moved again in 1954 to the U.S. Public Health Service where the Indian Health Service was created in 1955; soon after, a number of medical facilities or large hospitals were built on Indian reservations across the country. According to Kunitz (1996), appropriation funds for the Indian Health Services increased consistently from the program's inception through the mid 1990s.

However, funds have always been grossly inadequate; for example, the amount spent per capita on health services for the entire US population in 1990 was \$2,629 as compared to the Indian Health Service which was \$976. Despite the inadequate funding levels over the years, Kunitz notes that since 1955 “Indian mortality has declined and life expectancy has improved substantially – from about 60 years at birth in the 1950s to 73.2 years at birth in 1989/91” (p. 1471). The creation of the Indian Health Service has been instrumental in providing some level of health care to American Indians. However, the quality and quantity of services has always been determined by annual federal appropriations, which has often fallen short of meeting adequate demand with serious consequences to the delivery of much needed health care for American Indians in this country. Besides the direct delivery of health care to Native communities the Indian Health Service within the last eight years, in conjunction with the National Institutes of General Medical Sciences, other institutes of the National Institutes of Health (Federal Register, 2008, p. 4235) and through the Native American Research Centers for Health, has increased funding mechanisms by developing an annual competitive research/student development grants designed to increase the number of American Indian researchers, overcome the mistrust of research by tribal communities, and reduce the health disparities in Native communities. The number of grant awards has been small but continues to grow every year, which is encouraging based on the urgent need to address the health disparities that has been in existence in Native communities for hundreds of years.

Historically, health care of American Indians has been an obligation of the U.S. government due in part to treaty requirements that the government and tribes entered into in exchange for tribal lands and natural resources. However, since the signing of the

treaties over 200 years ago, there has existed a disparity in health care delivery to Native communities which has affected the overall health of Native people. In the next section, I provide, specific examples of how one tribe, perceives health.

Navajo Perspective of Health. Traditionally, the Navajo perspective on life including health and illness is based on the concept of “hozho,” or beauty, harmony and order (Wyman, 1970, as cited in Huttlinger, 1995). The Navajo universe is not bounded; it surrounds all Navajo people. Therefore, a Navajo may speak of his/her surroundings and all that it may include (i.e., weather, nature, animals, the supernatural, and personal strength) in terms of their well-being and harmony (Sobralke, 1985; Kluckhohn, 1974, as cited in Huttlinger, 1995). An individual's own harmony will include elements of spiritual, psychological, and physical well-being, and these elements are not thought of as being separate from each other (Huttlinger, 1995). Because most present theories and definitions of health are based on a Western biomedical model, many Navajos have a difficult time understanding the demands and expectations associated with this type of health care delivery. To give meaning to and make sense of an emergent cognitive domain for the Navajo, health care researchers and clinicians need to fully appreciate and understand the wealth of traditions and cultural customs associated with Navajo perceptions of health and illnesses. It is important, however, to keep in mind that fixed cultural expectations and social norms, as they exist at one point in time, do not always suffice as guides to behavior indefinitely. In the last two decades, social norms regarding access and use of a health care system, in particular the Indian Health Service, have changed dramatically. The availability of the increased access to care has played a role in this change. Navajos less than two generations prior may not have had any access to

health care, whereas today, that access may be more readily available but may still be lacking for some.

Navajos define themselves not so much as an individual but as a member of a family and/or clan group. A Navajo family will include the nuclear family, extended family, and certain other individuals bound by ties of friendship or community (Higgins & Dicharry, 1991). However, in Navajo society it is the family that is the basic unit with the women in the family responsible for holding the family together (Clark, 1978, Higgins & Dicharry, 1991). The roles of grandmother, mother, daughter, sister, and auntie help to hold the family together through clan relationship, in that a Navajo self-identifies through the mother's clan as who they are as a Navajo man or woman. Navajo society is, therefore, viewed as matriarchal. In the Navajo belief system, which is still very much true today, one never discusses problems with others; feelings are not discussed or shared (Dutton, 1983, as cited in Dempsey & Gesse, 1995). One is helpful and does not complain (Hobson, 1954, as cited in Higgins & Dicharry, 1991). One has the right to make one's own decisions (autonomy) and to work out one's own problems. If one experiences difficulty in solving a problem, no help and cooperation would be offered unless it was requested. To discuss problems is viewed as gossiping, and very much frowned upon (Higgins & Dicharry, 1991). The communicative norm of not openly discussing problems certainly collides with the Western health model of openly discussing a health problem before each examination. The Navajo perspective is a glimpse of the tensions a Navajo faces when navigating a health care system and the difficulties that can arise during a patient provider interaction, particularly when a provider may lack cultural sensitivity.

Up to this point, this literature review has included the historical underpinning of the decline in population of American Indians; the mistreatment of Navajo by the US government; research with American Indians, the mistrust of research among American Indians, American Indian health, and specifically the Navajo perspective of health with the importance of the sharing of history so that any current research with Native communities may be contextualized towards a better understanding of the tensions and paradoxes that Native researchers face when conducting research within Native communities and the need for decolonization of research methods and approaches.

Decolonization

In the attempts to understand decolonization, colonization must first be understood and the past and present effects on Native communities. The colonization of North America including war, diseases, and force relocation of the indigenous peoples has contributed to trauma experienced over the last 500 years by numerous generations and has led to the decimation of the Indian people from thriving nations to struggling communities (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998, Duran & Duran, 1995, Struthers & Lowe, 2003, Whitbeck et al., 2004, White Shield, 2001). Duran and Duran (1995) provide a succinct outline of six historical phases experienced by Native communities since 1492, the first includes the encounter of western explorers by Native communities and is termed *first contact*, which resulted in the destruction of the ways of life and worldview of the indigenous peoples, followed by *economic competition*, in which the natural world and wildlife was consumed at will by the settlers with no regard to the importance held by the indigenous people of living with and in this natural world. The next phase is termed *invasion war period*; in this phase the U.S. government used military force to carry out

policies of extermination. The phase of *subjugation and reservation* followed, which were also military policies of the force relocation usually from familiar lands to unfamiliar lands and wildlife. The fifth phase is *boarding school*, which resulted in new government policies to destroy the family by separating the children to far-off boarding schools. The last phase is termed *forced relocation and termination period*. This phase included the force relocation of either families or individuals from reservations to urban cities, such as San Francisco and Chicago, with the promise of jobs and housing which were not followed through on (p. 32-34).

Specific examples of the eradication and subordination of Native people in the United States has taken many forms, which have been primarily U.S. government policies directed at genocide and ethnocide, such as the distribution of smallpox-laden blankets by the U.S. army to the unethical placement of Native children into non-Native homes (Walters & Simoni, 2002). Other examples of attempts to obliterate Native communities include the Indian Health Service (IHS) who in the 1970s oversaw the sterilization of 40% of Native women who were of childbearing age; the sterilization was conducted without consent (Jaimes & Halsey, 1992, Walters & Simoni, 2002). Even today, sterilization is a commonly encouraged practice even for women who are in their 30s [My IHS health provider encouraged me, soon after I had my last child at the age of 30, to be sterilized]. These examples are colonizing policies that were developed by the United States government in order to destroy the Native American ways of life (Struthers & Lowe, 2003). In the United States, Native American tribes have been moving towards decolonization or, more specifically, have been moving towards repealing long standing colonial structure (Wilson, 2004), particularly through self-determination of their

education, health and law enforcement systems as well as development of environmental and research protection policies. Recommendations regarding the decolonization of research is much more than just the dismantling of current research practices; it is the transforming of research not only in the field but in the academy, an approach that includes “an ontology based on historical realism, an epistemology that is transactional and a methodology that is performative, dialogic, and dialectical” (Denzin et al., 2008, p. 22, see also, Tuhiwai Smith, 2005, Wallerstein & Duran 2006, Walters & Simoni, 2009).

There exist specific recommendations for the decolonization of research methods which will be address later in this chapter. To conclude this section, I would like to share a broader definition of decolonization as shared by a Cree scholar:

Decolonization requires auto-criticism, self-reflection, and a rejection of victimage. Decolonization is about empowerment – a belief that situations can be transformed, a belief and trust in our own peoples’ values and abilities, and a willingness to make change. It is about transforming negative reactionary energy into the more positive rebuilding energy needed in our communities.

Waziyatawin Angela Wilson (2004, p.76)

Wilson voices the need for decolonization, not through blaming or expectation for others to address this daunting task, but that it is a responsibility of all Native people through our own abilities to make positive change in our own communities. I believe one example of a movement towards positive change is through the development of decolonizing research methodologies for the empowerment of Native researchers to

appropriately address the health concerns of their communities. The next section will address decolonizing methodologies.

Decolonizing Research Methods: Indigenous Peoples Research Approach

Native communities have been actively moving towards self-governance of research including development of policies and institutional review boards to have direct oversight of the focus and approach of research projects that are conducted in their communities with their people. One of reasons for this movement may be due to a passage by Tuhiwai Smith a university trained Indigenous researcher on how research is viewed by indigenous peoples:

From the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term ‘research’ is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, ‘research’, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful. The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world’s colonized peoples...It galls us that Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that it is possible to know of us, on the basis of their brief encounters with some of us.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2005, p. 1)

According to Tuhiwai Smith (2005), the technological advances of this century have marginalized indigenous peoples. Of particular concern to Tuhiwai Smith is belief systems, “the most fundamental clash between Western and indigenous belief systems

...stems from a belief held by indigenous peoples that the earth is a living entity, Mother Earth, and from this belief indigenous values and practices, social structures and relations are derived, which place indigenous views in direct opposition to western values” (p. 99). These words are powerful and resonate with this Native researcher because I too stand in a position of advantage based on my education and training as a researcher in the academy. Further, to a certain extent my experiences have had to be institutionalized to succeed in this venue so that “the burden of history makes the positioning of an indigenous person as a researcher highly problematic” (Tuhiwai Smith, 2005, p. 107). As Native researchers, we struggle with the dialectic tension of being trained researchers yet still very grounded in our communities and our traditional values. In the academy, we are trained in human subject protection and historical misuse of research on particularly marginalized peoples. We also have our own knowledge of the historical misuse of research among our people, and we are well in tune to current negative research events that affect Native people (e.g., Havasupai study in which genetic research was conducted deliberately without consent by the tribe or individuals from the tribe; certainly there are numerous positive research studies, but the negative appears to out weight the positive). The tension for Native researchers is that we are grounded in the potential harm and benefits of research and must walk a fine line when conducting research with Native communities. However, the literature informs us that there is a slowly developing interest in research by Native people. According to Tuhiwai Smith (2005), this movement reflects a social movement by indigenous peoples that requires a research agenda, that focuses on the deliberate aim of self-determination of indigenous peoples. In addition to the interest in research by Indigenous peoples, there is also a renewed interest in research with

American Indian and Alaskan Natives. One reason is that this population, compared to the general population, experiences significant health disparities in all areas of health (Baldwin et al., 2009, Christopher et al., 2008a, Duran et al., 2005, Walters & Simoni, 2002).

Based on this increased interest in unraveling colonial research structures, Tuhiwai Smith (2005) outlines two paths that indigenous researchers are taking towards decolonizing approaches. The first path described is through locally driven research, initiative, and action projects. The second pathway is through indigenous research programs and centers. The two pathways do not contend but are distinct developments which may intersect so that decolonizing methods do not totally reject all Western research; rather, it is important to center indigenous concerns and coming to appreciate research from an indigenous perspective.

Although Tuhiwai Smith (2005) does not outline a specific set of decolonizing research methodologies, she does share 25 indigenous research projects as examples of research approaches that have decolonizing properties which are as follows: a) claiming – in a sense colonialism has reduced indigenous peoples to making claims and assertions about our rights and dues thus claiming is about reasserting these rights and dues; b) testimonies – intersect with claiming because they are a means through which oral evidence is presented to a particular type of audiences; c) story telling – oral histories, the perspectives of elders and of women have become an integral part of all indigenous research; d) celebrating survival – accentuates not so much our demise but the degree to which indigenous peoples and communities have successfully retained cultural and spiritual values and authenticity; e) remembering – remembering painful events

especially because there are frequent silences and intervals in the stories about what happened after the event; f) indigenizing - draws upon “traditions – the bodies of knowledge and corresponding codes of values – evolved over many thousands of years by native peoples the world over” (Churchill, 1993, as cited in Tuhiwai Smith, 2005, pp. 143-7); g) intervening – the process of being proactive and of becoming involved as an interested worker for change; h) revitalizing – refers to the revitalization of native languages through education, broadcasting, publishing, and community based programs; i) connecting - connecting is about establishing good relations with other researchers (Native and non-Native); j) reading, - critical rereading of Western history and the indigenous presence in the making of that history has taken on a different impetus from what was once a school curriculum designed to assimilate indigenous children; k) writing – indigenous people writing about research findings; l) representing - refers to indigenous communities being able to represent themselves; m) gendering – gendering indigenous debates, whether they are related to the politics of self-determination or the politics of the family, is concerned with issues related to the relations between indigenous men and women; n) envisioning - refers to imagining a future and dream a new dream and set a new vision; o) reframing – reframing is about taking much more greater control over the ways in which indigenous issues and social problems are discussed and handled; p) restoring – spiritual well-being; emotionally, physically, and materially; q) returning – returning of lands, rivers and mountains to their indigenous owners; r) democratizing – process of extending participation outwards through reinstating indigenous principles of collectivity and public debate; s) networking – networking is a process which indigenous peoples have used effectively to build relationships and disseminate knowledge and

information; t) naming – renaming the world using the original indigenous names; u) protecting – concerned with protecting peoples, communities, languages, customs and beliefs, art and ideas, natural resources and the things indigenous peoples produce; v) creating – communities are the ones who know the answers to their own problems” and should be allowed to demonstrate their knowledge; w) negotiating – negotiating is about thinking and acting strategically; x) discovering – discovering Western science and technology and making science work for indigenous development; and y) sharing - refers to the sharing of knowledge.

In summary, the historical mistrust of the U.S. government runs deep in tribal communities, particularly the conduct of research, which is tied closely with colonialism. In overcoming centuries of being colonized, self-governance has been one opportunity of managing historical mistrust. Through self-governance, tribes have the opportunity to take limited responsibility of their own health, education, law enforcement, etc., and now more recently engagement in research as well as oversight. Through self-governance tribes are able to decolonize research by indigenizing the research. Tuhiwai Smith (2005) provided examples of how research can be decolonized through the 25 projects she mentioned. Listed are several examples of decolonization of research: the use of story telling, celebrating survival; indigenizing through use of traditional knowledge; revitalizing the use of native language; and writing of research findings by Native researchers. The next section will include recommendations for working with Native communities.

Recommendations for working with Native Communities. As mentioned in chapter one, the literature is rich with lessons learned from researchers who conduct

research with Native communities with a recommended focus on building partnerships, way of influencing outcomes, and the use of decolonizing strategies through the use of community-based/tribal-based or participatory research strategies (Baldwin et al., 2009; Belone et al., In Press; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Cashman et al., 2008, Christopher et al., 2008a; Christopher et al., 2008b; Cochran et al., 2008; Davis & Reid, 1999, Fisher & Ball, 2003; Harala et al., 2005; Holkup et al., 2004; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009; Mail et al., 2006; Teufel-Shone et al., 2006, Thomas et al., 2009a and 2009b; Tuhiwai Smith, 2005, Wallerstein & Duran, 2006 and 2010, Walters & Simoni, 2009). Based on that literature, the amount of research in Native communities continues to grow; however, the fact remains that many Native communities have not actively engaged in research and there still remains an overwhelming need for research with Native communities to begin to adequately address the overwhelming health disparities in these communities. With regards to recent research activities with Native communities, much has been written regarding respectful research approaches with specific examples of lessons learned including examples from my own research experiences. The recommended approaches usually are not framed as decolonizing methods; however, these approaches are what make sense in Native communities and therefore can be viewed in that same light, with a focus that is grounded in indigenous epistemologies based on community needs with and respect in every step of the research process with a movement towards active partnership between the academy and communities. Below are fundamental recommendations from researchers who have worked in Native communities and their lessons learned:

- a. *Partnering with Indigenous communities: 1) Build and sustain collaborative relationships; 2) Plan and design the program together; 3) Implement and evaluate the program (Baldwin et al., 2009, pp. S79).*
- b. *Several lessons learned from a CBPR process with tribal communities: 1) CBPR emphasizes place, setting, culture, and identity, building community confidence and trust through stated agreements that research processes and data belong to the community; 2) Communication is central to effective CBPR; 3) Managing differences is key for positive group interaction; and 4) CBPR facilitates culturally appropriate interventions (Belone et al., 2010, In press).*
- c. *Eight lessons learned from utilizing a CBPR approach with tribal communities: 1) Invest time to create the partnership team and subsequent CBPR project; 2) Allocate the budget 'comparably' among the CBPR partners; 3) Create partnerships with leaders who have decision-making responsibilities from each organization; 4) Provide salaries to tribal partners and project staff; 5) Implement active effective communication among all CBPR partners; 6) Share raw and summary data related to the CBPR project; 7) Modify standardized evaluation procedures to be culturally acceptable and respectful of the local community; and 8) Follow both tribal and researchers' protocol for disseminating and publishing the findings (Burhansstipanov et al., 2005, p.72-5).*
- d. *Lessons learned from working with communities to analyze data, interpret findings, and get to outcomes: 1) Academic and community partners'*

respective roles in data analysis or interpretation of findings should be determined collaboratively; 2) Community partners' roles and skills for data analysis or interpretation can be influenced by their prior experiences in research endeavors; 3) Data analysis and interpretation of findings are iterative process; 4) Obtaining commitment from community partners reduces analysis fatigue and temptation to take shortcuts; 5) Simplifying data can aid understanding but also may obscure complex relationships; 6) Time required is lengthened considerably; 7) Experiential learning approaches are effective in engaging community partners; and 8) Including the community in data analysis or interpretation, or both, can increase authenticity of findings (Cashman et al., 2008, p. 1415).

- e. *Participatory researcher and intervention research projects that have worked to build trust between American Indian communities and academic researchers and the lessons learned: The first level of trust - Acknowledge personal and institutional histories, understand the historical context of the research, be present in the community and listen to community member, acknowledge expertise of all partners, be upfront about expectation and intentions, and The second level of trust - create ongoing awareness of project history, revisit first-level recommendations, and match words with actions (Christopher et al., 2008a, p.1398).*
- f. *Practicing participatory research and recommended guidelines: 1) Determine how the potential results of the study will truly benefit*

American Indian communities: 2) Learn and understand the religion, beliefs, and culture of the people to ensure that the proposed study is compatible with that culture; 3) Conceive the study as a partnership project between American Indian communities and investigators; 4) Participate in cultural sensitivity workshops or training to refine intercultural communication skills and foster respect for cultural diversity; 5) Involve members from American Indian communities in the development and execution of research efforts; 6) Respect different philosophies regarding time and decision-making; 7) Schedule feedback sessions with community members to ensure correct collection and interpretation of data and project evaluation; 8) Invite American Indian professionals in the field of study or discipline to participate in peer review; and 9) Establish with community representatives a value exchange program for their investment of time, ideas, and knowledge (Davis & Reid, 1999, p. 758S).

g. Principles of tribal participatory research: 1) Need tribal oversight; 2) Use facilitators; 3) Train and employ community members; 4) Use culturally specific assessment and intervention methods (Fisher & Ball, 2003, pp. 210-13).

h. These findings are a first step toward creating a more equitable process of research with Native American communities: 1) Importance of developing trusting relationships between Native and non-Native academic institutions, communities, and individuals; 2) Look at the nature of

inquiry, the differences of inquiry based on cultural worldview, and the impact of the academic institution's organizational culture on the research process; 3) Determine beneficial research; and 4) Develop, conduct, and assess research with community (Harala et al., 2005, p. 71-3).

- i. *Guidelines for fieldworkers who engage in collaborative research: 1) Be flexible but recognize that everyone has limits; 2) Be willing to collaborate by sharing authority, responsibility, and credit for success; 3) Give thoughtful attention to the ethical implications of your actions; and 4) Apply the concept of culture in everyday working relationships (Holcup et al., 2004, p. 165).*
- j. *These recommendations are...for researchers who are interested in using a CBPR approach with tribal communities: 1) Acknowledge historical experience with research and with health issues and work to overcome the negative image of research; 2) Recognize tribal sovereignty; 3) Differentiate between tribal diversity and its implications; 4) Understand tribal diversity and its implications; 5) Plan for extended timelines; 6) Recognize key gatekeepers; 7) Prepare for leadership turnover; 8) Interpret data within the cultural context; 8) Interpret data within the cultural context; and 9) Utilize indigenous ways of knowing (LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009, p. 8).*
- k. *A summary of the panel's discussion in the conduct of community research with American Indians resulting in the following recommendations: 1)*

Obtain historical and current community information; 2) Develop a list of approaches in preparing for research; 3) Obtain necessary community cooperation; 4) Prepare for working in the community; 5) Establish community IRBs (Mail et al., 2006, pp. 149-51).

- 1. A Tribal community-university partnership and the lessons learned as well as important questions left to resolve: 1) Be prepared for continued involvement and potential delays given the need to gain community entry, trust, and buy-in; 2) Be prepared to provide some training to research institutional-based offices regarding CBPR methods and the unique issues involved in working with tribal communities as Sovereign Nations; 3) Be prepared to educate funding agencies regarding the importance of providing food at Tribal gatherings as part of the cultural process and the need for extended timelines; 4) Be prepared to understand and navigate at least two cultures, that of the research institution and that of the community; 5) Clarify and document each party's expectations and responsibilities; 6) Allow sufficient time for Tribal review and approval as well as University IRB review and approval of all forms, questionnaires, and procedures; 7) Hire from within the community and be sensitive to the multiple roles that community-based project staff must navigate; 8) Be open to input and evaluation; 9) Be flexible; 10) Be able to develop commitment, perseverance, and some ability to tolerate delays and discouragement; 11) Be willing to adapt as needed; 12) Involve a formal assessment process to evaluate the process and the status of the*

partnership; 13) Develop and use assessment instruments for measuring the quality of collaborative relationships and meeting effectiveness

(Thomas et al., 2009a, p. 10).

- m. A research partnership involving CBPR/TPR and the lessons learned: 1) CBPR/TPR principles must be adhered to from the very beginning; 2) It is critical that key personnel are hired in the community and are considered true research partners; 3) Tribal Council resolutions are required to respect to Tribal sovereignty; 4) A memorandum of understanding is critical for documenting roles and responsibilities; 5) University based researchers must understand and follow the research policies and procedures of their Tribal research partners; 6) The needs and resources assessment protocol should be developed in partnership with the community experts; 7) Recruitment and consent/assent protocols should be developed under the guidance of the community advisory board (CAB); 8) Assessment instruments, surveys, and questionnaires should be identified, adapted, and/or modified in partnership with the CAB and community project staff (CPS); 9) The focus assessment should be the strengths and assets of the community rather than being problem focused; 10) Data should be gathered by CPS with support from the academic researcher as needed; 11) Finding should be presented in draft form to the CAB; 12) Findings should be presented and provided to the community, beginning with Tribal Council; and 13) Transparency is critical (Thomas et al., 2009b, online publication).*

- n. *Four strategies are helpful for us as university or other institution-based researchers as we seek to begin a community partnership: 1) Reflect on our capacities and our institution's capacities to engage in partnership; 2) Identify potential partners and partnerships through appropriate networks, associations, and leaders; 3) Negotiate or reframe the ultimate health issue(s) for research; and 4) Create and nurture structures to sustain partnerships through consistency building and organizational development (Wallerstein et al., 2005, p. 35).*

The voices of the above researchers provide great examples for working with Native communities. These examples can be viewed as decolonizing approaches because the community's local knowledge and ways of being are incorporated into the research approach, even though the researchers do not frame their recommendations in that manner.

There are researchers who do speak directly to decolonizing methods. For example, Walters and Simoni (2009) have recently provided what they term specifically as “decolonizing strategies,” which are geared to all researchers working with American Indian/Alaska Native (AIAN) communities:

- a. *Embracing traditional knowledge and AIAN worldviews –AIAN communities are in the process of reclaiming rights to their own knowledge production and to science, which has been part of their communities for millennia (Walters & Simoni, 2009, p. S73; also see Evans-Campbell, 2006; Walters et al., 2006; Wilson, 2004;).*

- b. *Engaging in AIAN research partnerships – In response to research exploitation, AIAN communities are proactively developing research for their own communities and instituting their own human participant review boards and research protocols (Becenti-Pigman et al., 2008; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006; Walters & Simoni, 2009, p. S74)*
- c. *Building AIAN research capacity within universities and tribal communities – Building research capacity involves institutional investment at the federal, state and university levels (Walters & Simoni, 2009, p. S74);*
- d. *Changing Reward Systems – Administrators in academe and the NIH must work toward changing reward systems to value AIAN knowledge and recognize the challenges of community-based research partnerships (Walters & Simoni, 2009, p. S74);*
- e. *Challenging colonial research practice – HIV researchers can challenge colonial practices by questioning the noninclusion of AIAN people in research, oversampling in studies to ensure adequate representation of AIANs for comparative purposes, reducing problems in racial misclassification by incorporating a question on tribal affiliation in studies, and whenever possible, disaggregating AIANs in existing HIV data so that they are not lost and ‘othered.’ (Walters & Simoni, 2009, p. S74); and*
- f. *Building AIAN programs specific to HIV and mental health – Currently, there are no AIAN-specific HIV training programs; however, there are a*

few mental health-related programs that have demonstrated success in mentoring AIAN researchers. (Walters & Simoni, 2009, p. S74).

Accordingly, Walters and Simoni's decolonizing strategies include: the recovery, acceptance and utilization of centuries old AIAN knowledge; the development of tribal specific human protection boards and tribal focused research; the building of research capacity among AIAN researchers; the acknowledgment by the academy of the importance of AIAN knowledge and the challenges of CBPR approaches; the confrontation on current colonial research traditions; and lastly the development of AIAN health specific training programs geared to Native researchers. Walters and Simoni (2009) revealed the barriers encountered by AIAN researchers: a) justifiable mistrust of educational systems and health research; b) educational disparities among AIAN; c) role burdens; d) marginalization of research interest; and e) discrimination and microaggressions. First, the mistrust of education system can be attributed to the boarding school period (Duran & Duran, 1999) of AIAN historical encounters with the US government as well as the historical and present day abuses of research on Native people. Second, according to Walters and Simoni (2009), AIANs are the "most underrepresented racial/ethnic group at every educational level in the United States" (p. S72). Third, AIAN researchers often shoulder the burden of educating others in the academy on AIAN issues, because they are the only AIAN; AIAN researchers often have to shoulder administrative duties early in their career; and also have the burden of community obligations and responsibilities. Fourth, AIAN researchers often experience marginalization in their research interest of working in AIAN communities due to the fact that there are generally few opportunities to partner with other researchers on a similar

topics. Lastly, AIAN researchers may experience discrimination and microaggression while working in the academy, examples may include racists comments and jokes, the omission of AIAN knowledge into the research process, and the rolling of eyes by peers when an AIAN researcher raises an AIAN issue.

Not only do Walters and Simoni (2009) provide recommendations for all researchers engaged in research with Native communities, they also provide specific recommendations for AIAN researchers, including: a) seek support and build coalitions – in battling the academy, most AIAN scholars would benefit from emotional, psychological, spiritual, and social support; b) recognize and reject internalized colonial messages – stress and microaggressions in research settings can lead to increased self-doubt and crises in confidence for AIAN people; and c) Utilize an AIAN ethical frame. Walters and Simoni contend that for AIAN people, there are two ethical imperatives in their everyday conduct and lives. The first is the *independence* ethical frame, which involves respecting, valuing, and honoring differences. The second is the *interdependence* ethical frame, which involves organizing one's mind and attitudes around the idea of sharing space including intellectual space and Western and AIAN knowledge and methodologies (2009). Therefore, Walters and Simoni's decolonizing strategies for AIAN researchers are: seek and build supportive systems; be aware of and rebuff internal messages that may cause doubt; and use the independence and interdependence ethical frames.

CBPR as an example of decolonizing methods. In the section focused on Indigenous people's research approach, Tuhiwai Smith (2005) offers great examples of research approaches that have decolonizing properties. A current approach to research

with decolonizing methods being utilized with American Indians is community-based participatory research (CBPR). One of the reasons for the use of this approach is the emphasis on participation with a focus on the relationship researcher who is considered the outsider and members from the community (Brown & Vega, 1996; Jones & Wells, 2007, Minkler & Wallerstein, 2008). In this section, a CBPR approach to research will be shared as an example of a decolonizing approach but prior to this information by Minkler and Wallerstein (2008) will be provided as important background in the understanding of community based participatory research:

For community based participatory research, in particular, we need to ask, 'If all research involves participation, what makes research participatory?' (Cornwell & Jewkes, 1995, p. 1668). In health, this question is critical, as international conferences since Alma Ata (in 1978) through Ottawa (in 1986) and Jakarta (in 1996) have declared the importance of community participation in improving health conditions. With health viewed as a resource originating from people within their social contexts rather than from the health care system, participation is seen as critical to reducing dependency on health professionals, ensuring cultural sensitivity of programs, facilitating sustainability of change efforts, and enhancing health in its own right (Jewkes & Murcott, 1998).

Minkler and Wallerstein (2008, p. 30)

CBPR is an approach to research with guiding principles, it is viewed by some as a practice of communicative and relationship skills (McDermott et al., 2008), to address a community's topic of interest. As mentioned in chapter one of this paper, there are several definitions defining CBPR, the 2001 W.K. Kellogg definition is the one I will

refer to, it is an approach that is collaborative, equally involving all research partners throughout the process, building upon the capacity that each provides. The Kellogg definition is often cited in the work of researchers who are engaged in CBPR. Along with this definition, Israel et al., (2008; 2005; 1998), are often credited with defining the nine principles of CBPR, which are listed below:

1. CBPR acknowledges community as a unit of identity. Units of identity refer to entities in which people have membership.
2. CBPR builds on strengths and resources within the community. CBPR recognizes and builds on the strengths, resources, and assets that exist within communities of identity.
3. CBPR facilitates a collaborative, equitable partnership in all phases of research, involving an empowering and power-sharing process that attends to social inequalities.
4. CBPR fosters co-learning and capacity building among all partners. CBPR is a co-learning process that fosters the reciprocal exchange of skills, knowledge, and capacity among all partners involved, recognizing that all parties bring diverse skills and expertise and different perspectives and experiences to the partnership process.
5. CBPR integrates and achieves a balance between knowledge generation and intervention for the mutual benefit of all partners. CBPR aims to contribute to science while also integrating and balancing the knowledge gained with interventions and policies that address the concerns of the communities involved.
6. CBPR focuses on the local relevance of public health problems and on ecological perspectives that attend to the multiple determinants of health. CBPR

addresses public health concerns that is relevant to local communities and emphasizes an ecological approach to health that pays attention to individuals, their immediate context and the larger contexts in which these families and networks exist.

7. CBPR involves systems development using a cyclical and iterative process. CBPR addresses systems development in which a system draws on the competencies of each partner to engage in a cyclical, iterative process that includes all the stages of the research process.

8. CBPR disseminates results to all partners and involves them in the wider dissemination of results. CBPR emphasizes the dissemination of research findings to all partners and communities involved and in ways that are understandable, respectful, and useful.

9. CBPR involves a long term process and commitment to sustainability. CBPR involves a long term process and commitment to sustainability in order to establish and maintain the trust necessary to successfully carry out CBPR endeavors, and to achieve the aims of addressing multiply determinants of health.

Israel et al., (2005) contend that these principles should be viewed with care and that they should not be exclusive but should be a guide for research partners to build upon when developing their own guidelines for a collaborative partnership, for what may be applicable in one partnership may not be in another.

Dr. Wallerstein is a local researcher who has worked extensively utilizing a CBPR approach and it is her view that “CBPR is not simply a community outreach strategy but represents a systematic effort to incorporate community participation and decision making, local theories of etiology and change, and community practices into the

research effort” (Wallerstein & Duran, 2006, p. 313). The key elements of CBPR include the following: a) community ownership; b) coalition building with internal and external partners; c) capacity building by all partners; d) promotion of interdependence that facilitates co-learning; and e) long-term commitment by all partners. The key elements of CBPR, ownership, coalition and capacity building, co-learning and long-term commitment to a research issue certainly allows for the decolonization of research when it focuses on our Native concerns with our world views so that we are able to conduct research from a perspective that is beneficial to the needs of the community (2005). For that reason, within the last ten years CBPR experts have acknowledged the need for communities to partner in research to address disparities in the expectation of improving health resulting in community-based participatory research to move to the forefront of intervention research (Israel et al., 2005; Viswanathan et al., 2004; Minkler & Wallerstein, 2003, 2008; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006; Wallerstein et al., 2008). There has also been a movement within Native communities, according to Burhansstipanov et al., (2005): “The majority of tribal Nations prefer, if not mandate, that CBPR be used in most proposed studies involving their communities today” because it “engages individuals and communities in research ventures and can help to surmount past trust issues” (Burhansstipanvo et al., 2005, pp. 70-71, also see Ammerman et al., 2003; Christopher, 2005). Because of this active movement in Native communities, CBPR has been built upon by Fisher and Ball (2002; 2003; 2005) with additional principles focused on Native communities and termed the approach as *Tribal Participatory Research* (TPR), also known as tribally-driven research or participatory research in American Indian communities. TPR principles are focused on the sovereign status of Native communities

or tribes (i.e. the right to conduct business on a government to government basis) and the unique governing powers they possess, which are not found in other communities.

According to Fisher and Ball, there are four mechanisms of TPR: a) tribal oversight; b) use of facilitators; c) training and employing community members as project staff; and d) use of culturally specific assessment and intervention methods (2002, 2003, & 2005).

Therefore, TPR expands upon the principles of CBPR through the inclusion of community values and historical points of view (Fisher& Ball, 2005).

In summary, this section on decolonization focused on contextualizing the historical trauma experienced by American Indians over the past 500 years, Duran and Duran (1995) summarize this time period to have included: first contact; economic competition; invasion war period; subjugation and reservation period; boarding school period; and forced relocation and termination period. Tribes have come a long way and there has been a movement towards self-determination as means of overcoming years of oppression and colonial structures. Self-determination by tribal governments has been a movement towards the management of their education, health, law and environmental enforcement and most recently research activity including the creation of tribal institutional review boards. As a result of self-determination tribes are requesting the utilization of CBPR because it is an approach with guiding principles that involve communicative and relationship skills while at the same time developing research capacity skills of communities.

Contradictions and Tensions

Prior to this point, the literature review included a topic on history and decolonization with a focus on American Indians. The history section included the

historical foundation of the decline of the American Indian population, which consisted of mistreatment and abuse resulting in the distrust of the US government and of research and an examination of American Indian health, specifically a Navajo perspective of health. Decolonization focused on contextualizing the historical trauma experienced by American Indians over the past 500 years through colonization, and addressed the six vital phases that changed American Indian history to the focus of today and the involvement of Indigenous people in research with specific recommendation on conducting research including community based participatory research as a decolonizing approach to research (Duran & Duran, 1995). The review of the history and decolonization literature facilitate an understanding of the next section on communicative contradictions and tensions with a focus on dialogue, dialectic approach, dialectics, paradoxes and tensions, and barriers and challenges. That is, the history of research with Indigenous people is fraught with challenges and tensions. Thus, it makes sense that research with decolonizing methods will still have continued challenges, contradiction, paradoxes, and dialectics.

Dialogue. To understand the concept of dialectic we must first understand the concept of communication as dialogue. Very briefly, according to Bakhtin meaning-making or dialogue is made up of many voices that which may include a point of view, a topic or subject, and philosophical beliefs which occur all at once resulting in tension (Baxter, 2006). It is this tension that Bakhtin indentified as two opposing forces which he termed as “centripetal” and “centrifugal”. Centripetal is viewed as a force that seeks to bring order to the everyday chaos of life whereas centrifugal is a force that intends to upset the order also knows as the force of difference. Therefore, dialogue is the result of

the constantly occurring tension between order and disorder as we make meaning of our everyday life and communicate who we are (Baxter, 2006, Littlejohn & Foss, 2005, Miller, 2005). It was the disorder that interested Bakhtin the most or centrifugal force and how “individuals, cultures, and even language itself construct an integrated whole when there are so many things operating that work against a sense of order” (Littlejohn & Foss, 2005, p. 197). It is this disorder or difference that Baxter (2006) would state as fundamental to human existence; therefore, communication is the practice of these differences or dialogue. Bakhtin viewed life as a never ending dialogue so that to live one contributed to the ongoing dialogue through asking questions, through responding, through agreement, through attention, and usually with specific conditions and contributors (Littlejohn & Foss, 2005). Therefore, Bakhtin’s notion of dialogue is communication that involves both order and chaos in specific situations that shapes everyday life. It is this concept of the management of constant disorder and order that set the foundation for the work of scholars to gain an understanding of the naturally occurring contradictions in relationships resulting in a dialectical approach (theory) to the examination of communication. There are several concepts important to the understanding of a dialectical approach these concepts will be discussed further in the next section.

Dialectic Approach/Theory. The concepts of contradiction, totality, process and praxis are central to the understanding of a dialectical approach/theory (Miller, 2005). First, contradiction, which is defined by the American Heritage College Dictionary (2007), is “to assert or express the opposite of (a statement)” (p. 311). With regard to dialectical contradiction, it is the tension of the opposites that coexist and are dependent

upon each other that define the tension or the contradiction. The concept of totality in dialectical approach is that the contradiction, whatever it may be, cannot be viewed in isolation but should be understood as part of a larger whole. For example, it is not just one communicative exchange that may occur in a relationship but many communicative exchanges or an ongoing dialogue that make up the relationship. Process is another concept that must be understood with regards to dialectics. It is the social process that is important; the process of living and the many relationships we encounter or how we manage and eventually approach later in life based on those past relationships. The last concept, praxis which can be defined as the practical application of a dialectical approach or, in other words, as we go through life we continue to engage in dialectical contradictions as relationships are established and the nature of the dialectical contradiction is re-formed based on the lived past experiences which will continue through the social process of life (Miller, 2005). As mentioned above, it is these four concepts, contradiction, totality, process and praxis, that are essential to the discernment of dialectical theory and within this school of thought there have been identified numerous dialectical tensions particular to interpersonal relationships (i.e. connection-autonomy, certainty-uncertainty, and openness-closedness) (Martin, 2005), as well as in intercultural communication studies (i.e. cultural-individual dialectic, personal-contextual, differences-similarities, static-dynamic, history/past-present/future, and privilege-disadvantage) (Martin & Nakayama, 2000, Oetzel, 2009). In the next section, I focus on several of these dialectics.

Interpersonal Dialectics. Within relationships there naturally exist tensions or dialectical contradictions. The tension may either be internal or external to the

relationship. Examples of internal relational tensions consist of: a) privilege-disadvantage dialectic occurs when one partner in the relationship is in a position of privilege as compared to the other (Chen, 2002, Oetzel, 2009); b) revelation-nonrevelation dialectic involves the revealing or non-revealing of the relationship to others (Oetzel, 2009); and c) separation-integration dialectic requires the management of the inclusion and exclusion into each partner's social network (Oetzel, 2009). One example of an external intercultural relational tension is the conventionality-uniqueness dialectic when an intercultural couple is unique to those around them and to what extent are they opened or closed about their relationship with those around them (Oetzel, 2009). These are just a few examples of internal and external interpersonal relational dialectics. In the next section, I will share dialectics that are specific to the study of intercultural communication.

Intercultural Dialectics. Martin and Nakayama (2000) identified six dialectics of intercultural communications: a) cultural-individual dialectic arises when an individual may share similar communication patterns to a group yet may also have unique communication patterns that they alone use; b) personal-contextual dialectic involves personal communication style which are dictated by the context an individual may find themselves in; c) differences-similarities dialectic refers to the fact that as humans we are similar and communicate in similar ways yet we are also different in the language we may use to communicate in; d) static-dynamic dialectic involves the stationary communication patterns focused on a cultural issue but because of time the cultural issue may have become lively and dynamic; e) history/past-present/future dialectic highlights the need to remember events of the past due to the impact it may have on the present or

future; and f) privilege-disadvantage dialectic refers to the fact that based on context, individuals may be in a position of privilege yet in another context may be at a disadvantage. The six dialectical above are great examples of the tensions one may encounter in intercultural communication. Further, communication tensions that may be encountered are paradoxes which will be explored further in the next paragraphs.

Paradoxes/Tensions. A paradox is a need to reach an objective or aim but acting contradictory to that purpose (Stohl & Cheney, 2001, Wendt, 1998). Researchers who engage in CBPR may find themselves in paradoxical situations resulting in tension while conducting research in collaboration with communities (Belone et al., In Press, McDermott et al., 2008, Metzler et al., 2003, Sullivan et al., 2001, Wallerstein & Duran, 2006). For this paper, I will focus on the work of McDermott et al., (2008), Wallerstein and Duran (2006), and my own experiences (Belone et al., In Press) with examples of paradoxical tension filled situations encountered while in the field.

McDermott, Oetzel and White (2008), using their experiences working with a Native community, focused on the structural and organizational ethical paradoxes one may encounter in the initial stages of a CBPR research approach. Their examples include the paradox of power, participation, and practice and within each of these categories are three defined tensions. First, the paradox of power, when conducting research with community partners there normally exist a power struggle, which the authors call the paradox of power. Three examples of these struggles include: a) tensions around research topic, which are frequently determined by the researcher yet should be a topic of interest by the community; b) tensions in sharing of resources that are accessible to researcher yet should be shared with the community; and c) tensions in equal partnership which are

compounded with the importance of confidentiality and protecting the community. Second, participation at all phases of the research process is an important aspect of CBPR but certainly paradoxical situations do occur. McDermott et al., reported three such tensions: a) tension in respecting the community yet to some degree attempt to change the community through research topic; b) tension in deciding who should participate in the community and when there are enough participants; and c) tension around leadership, researcher as principle investigator yet should have equitable partnership throughout the research process. Finally, the practice of CBPR requires that researchers and community members come together on a shared focus but there can exist paradoxical situations on conflicting focuses such as: a) tension of conflicting timelines between researcher and the community; b) tension of researcher's need for systematic focus while having community indigenous knowledge focus; and c) tension of participants critically examining the research process and outcomes while being supportive of process (Belone et al., in press). McDermott et al. (2008) provide great examples of paradoxically situations involving power, participation and practice while conducting CBPR and the tensions they encountered as researchers.

Wallerstein and Duran (2006) share their CBPR challenges and paradoxes in the researcher-community (tribal) relationship with a focus on levels of participation, an array of consent, issue of power and privilege, discrimination, and a movement toward social change. First, there are many challenges to the level of participation by communities throughout the research process from the construction of the research questions, submission of proposal, applicable methodological approach, data collection, analysis, and finally dissemination. Research partners are then placed in a paradoxical

situation of the need for an equitable partnership yet the level of participation by the community can be hampered by the lack of research skills. Second, there is the challenge of obtaining community consent especially when working with tribal communities who have sovereign status; a contradiction may be encountered when the funding agency questions the consent of a tribal governmental department and request the consent of members of the community. Third, there is the challenge of the position of power and privilege that researchers possess with regards to education and resources. CBPR is a power-sharing approach but inconsistently the research knowledge and resources are usually held by the researcher. Fourth, there exist the challenges of racism toward communities that may be in existence and/or historically and paradoxically by the mere involvement in a research project a community may be discriminated against due to the fact that research may be conducted through colonial approaches by researchers. Lastly, a contradiction may exist when researchers are interested in the use of research for social change yet the possibility of social change in the institutions that researchers are coming from is highly unlikely. The paradoxically researcher-community relationship experiences of Wallerstein and Duran (2006) illustrate the challenges and tensions of a CBPR approach when conducting research with tribal communities.

As a Native researcher, I have been actively involved in several research projects with tribal communities in New Mexico that have utilized a CBPR approach and I have experienced firsthand the paradoxical tensions mentioned by McDermott et al., (2008) and Wallerstein and Duran (2006). The first example includes a tension in participation, although I served as a research assistant/project manager and a core member on the projects cited in McDermott et al., (2008) and Wallerstein and Duran (2006) I was not

listed as a co-author on those particular manuscripts nor was I offered the opportunity for authorship limiting my participation in all aspects of the research process including publication. Second example includes the tension of sharing resources, while working on an intervention designed in collaboration with a tribal community, resources were made available to the community, although small, as a means of allowing greater participation in the research project yet the advisory board of the project voiced their concern that the resources changed the research relationship from one of choice to one of obligation. The third example involves the tension of power and privilege that researchers possess specifically with regards to education, CBPR is a power-sharing approach yet as researchers I have used vocabulary that dominates a meeting marginalizing the tribal research partners limiting their participation in the research process. The three examples exhibited paradoxical tensions involving participation, resources and power.

The use of CBPR in a research approach with communities often result in paradoxical situations involving power, participation, practice, consent, discrimination, and social change (Belone et al., in press, McDermott et al., 2008, Metzler et al., 2003, Sullivan et al., 2001, Wallerstein & Duran, 2006), although these are tension filled moments there are certainly approaches researchers can use to minimize the outcomes.

Barriers/Challenges. When actively engaged in research with tribal communities researchers encounter communicative paradoxes and tensions; these situations create barriers and challenges for researchers who must navigate these issues. Although there are many challenges experienced by Native researchers, I will focus on two areas: a) the challenges of conducting research with Native communities; and b) the challenges of working in the academy.

The literature is extensive in providing recommendations for barriers to overcome when conducting CBPR research with tribal communities (Baldwin et al., 2009, Belone et al., in press; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Christopher et al., 2008a; Davis & Reid, 1999; Fisher & Ball, 2002, 2003, and 2005; Harala, 2005; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009; Teufel-Shone et al., 2006; Thomas et al., 2009a; Thomas et al., 2009b; Wallerstein & Duran, 2010; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006). Earlier in this chapter, an extensive discussion on the recommendations was provided. Briefly, barriers may include: 1) lack of knowledge on the historical impact of research by outside researchers; 2) researchers' insensitivity to indigenous epistemologies; 3) lack of a tribal driven research interest; 4) lack of Native voice in academic literature; and 5) colonial approaches to research further marginalizing Native communities (Brave Heart-Jordon & DeBryn, 1995, Burhansstipanov et al., 2005, Duran & Duran, 1995; Harala et al., 2005). Although numerous barriers exist, Native researchers are in a better position to address these barriers because they are highly motivated, have a sense of responsibility, and understand the community's needs (Walters & Simoni, 2009).

According to Walters and Simoni (2009) and Tuhiwai Smith (2005), these barriers can be overcome and one of the means is through decolonizing or indigenizing research at the academy through the growth of Native researchers allowing for the utilization of new methods to research incorporating indigenous knowledge. Up to this point, this literature review has included the contradictions and tensions centered on dialogue, dialectic approach, dialectics, paradoxes/tensions, and barriers/challenges allowing for a greater understanding of the struggles encountered by Native researchers who conducted research with Native communities and in the academy.

The literature review thus far included three main topics: history, decolonization, and contradiction and tensions. The literature review framed the historical demise of the American Indians population through maltreatment and oppression by the US government, including the misuse of research and neglect of health care. The review included a focus on decolonization as an approach by American Indians of overcoming the historical trauma experienced over the past 500 years through colonization. Particularly, the historical mistrust of research by tribes has resulted in the development of decolonizing research approaches. One decolonizing approach is to have Native researchers involved in research; however, the researcher is still trained in the academy with a colonizing approach in addition to other numerous barriers. Even with these barriers, Walters and Simoni (2009) believe that Native researchers can address these struggles because they are invested in tribal communities and have a sense of responsibility. The literature review thus contextualized the need to examine the struggles of conducting research with American Indian communities and in the academy. Therefore my research questions examine the struggles involving American Indian researchers.

Research Questions.

The literature review provided a base for the importance of the research questions to examine the communicative dialectical tensions, challenges/barriers, and paradoxes Native researchers encounter coupled with the unique historical treatment of Native communities including the individual researcher themselves. The following questions frame the dissertation:

RQ 1: What are the communication (and other) challenges, tensions, paradoxes, and dialectics that Native researchers report when conducting research with Native communities?

RQ 2: What are the communication (and other) challenges, tensions, paradoxes, and dialectics that Native researchers report working in a researching institution?

RQ 3: How do Native researchers manage dialectics, tensions, challenges and paradoxes?

RQ 4: What are the narratives of success for Native researchers who conduct research with Native communities?

RQ 5: What are the narratives of success for Native researchers while working in research institutions (academic settings)?

The next chapter will describe the research methods to be utilized in the examination of the research questions.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

The purpose of this project is to identify the struggles and successes encountered by Native researchers who work in the academy and conduct research with Native communities. The extant literature is rich in providing recommendations to researchers who are interested in working with Native communities (Baldwin et al., 2009; Belone et al., in press; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Christopher et al., 2008a; Davis & Reid, 1999; Fisher & Ball, 2002, 2003 and 2005; Harala et al., 2005; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009, Teufel-Shone et al., 2006; Thomas et al., 2009a, Thomas et al., 2009b, Tuhiwai Smith, 2005; Wallerstein & Duran, 2010, Wallerstein & Duran 2006; Walters & Simoni, 2009). However, there is little guidance for Native researchers who are both an insider and outsider in the research process. Understandably, Native researchers may face many obstacles. A qualitative approach in the examination of the potential communicative dialectical tensions and paradoxes was undertaken to gain a broader understanding of the experiences of Native researchers who simultaneously work in academic institutions and with Native communities. The findings fill a gap in the literature by giving voice to the unique position of Native researchers. Given this gap, a qualitative research approach was selected since the project is exploratory in nature (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). A qualitative approach is inductive in nature, which moves from the general to the specific and locates the observer in the world with an interpretive, naturalistic world view (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). A qualitative researcher has available a variety of methods to collect information such as the use of case study; personal experience; introspection; life story; interview; artifacts; to just name a few, these approaches allow one to capture the focus of the research questions being asked..

Based on the fact that a qualitative research method approach has been selected, I discuss five major areas in this chapter: 1) a justification of the qualitative approach in general the methods selected specifically; 2) a description of potential participants in this study; 3) the proposed procedures and data collection tools to be utilized in this study, 4) the role of the researcher, and 5) the data analysis framework.

Justification of Research Methods

For this study, I utilized a qualitative research approach which is defined as “a situated activity that locates the observer in the world” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 3). According to Martin and Nakayama (1999) within communication research four research paradigms can be referred to based on Burrell and Morgan’s (1988) framework: functionalist; interpretive; critical humanist; and critical structuralist. The interpretive paradigm will be the focus of this paper which “emphasizes the knowing mind as an active contributor to the constitution of knowledge” (p. 5). For culture and communication researchers, it is important to understand the communicative behavior rather than to try and predict it. An interpretivist’s approach to research “is often conducted from an ‘emic’ or insider perspective, where the framework, and interpretation emerge from the cultural community” (p. 6). A qualitative approach allows for the examination of a phenomenon in its natural setting and brings people’s meanings into the interpretation of the observation for that reason qualitative investigators believe their approach allows for the approaches used by a quantitative investigator.

Very briefly, the interpretive perspective includes the ontological view that promotes a nominalist position that “social realities exist in the form of multiple mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific, dependent for their

form and content on the persons who hold them” (Guba, 1990a, as cited in Miller, 2005, p 57). The interpretive epistemology supports a subjectivist stance in which reality is socially constructed and it is this reality that is of interest by interpretivist researchers (Miller, 2005). This perspective rejects the notion that there is a separation between the knower and the known and posits that any research findings is based on communication between the participant and the researcher. The interpretive axiological perspective or the study of values in research and theory development contends that it is impossible to separate values from scholarship and for that reason the researcher brings with her/himself their own values through which the research interaction is examined. Thus, the overall goal of the interpretive perspective is one of understanding rather than of explanation. The interpretive perspective regarding beliefs about reality, knowledge and value are well suited as the selected research method to examine my research questions: I am interested in the social reality of the participants and am interested in a better understanding of their struggles and successes. Within this larger framework, the specific methods for this dissertation included semi-structured, in-depth interviews from a narrative perspective. The following two sections briefly describe these two components and explain why they are appropriate to address the research questions.

Interviews. There are many approaches in qualitative research. For this study, I focused on in-depth interviewing to elicit each participant’s experiences and perspectives as a Native researcher working with Native communities and in the academy. An in-depth interview is usually conducted face-to-face, but this may not always be the case due to the recent advances in technology (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Distance and time are also factors that may influence a truly face-to-face in-depth interview. According to

Fontana and Frey (2000), a qualitative approach to interviewing includes three approaches: structured, semi-structured, or unstructured. A structured interview requires that the researcher have prepared questions that are administered to all participants with restricted response options so that there is little room for differences in the questions from one respondent to the next so that the interview has a structure to it so that it is standardized and focused. With structured interviewing, the researcher is seen as unbiased and impartial, and not imposing her/his views on the participant's response. There is no opportunity to deviate from the structured interview. On the other hand, an unstructured interview is viewed as the opposite of a structured interview and traditionally has been an "open-ended, ethnographic interview" that focuses on an understanding of the "complex behavior of members of society without imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, pp. 652-3). Based on these two extremes of interview approaches, I have selected semi-structured interviewing as a middle ground on the continuum of interviewing approaches. The questions are semi-structured meaning they are pre-established (see Appendix A) but the researcher does not limit herself to only these questions. Depending on the participant, an unexpected turn may occur during the course of the interview at which time it is up to the researcher to pursue the new direction or not; the interview is not so structured that the researcher does not allow herself that option. For this study, I conducted interviews in this semi-structured approach to encourage an active interaction. This allowed me to hold to the overall purpose of the study. In the next section, I provide a description of narrative interviewing.

Narrative Interviews. For qualitative communication researchers, an interview may be: ethnographic, informant, respondent, narrative, or even a focus group discussion (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). For this study, I conducted narrative interviews and used narrative analysis to examine the data because narrative interviews are an active interaction between the researcher and the participant allowing for the examination of a social phenomena of interest regarding peoples' lives (Fontana & Frey, 2000). This approach has been selected to investigate the struggles and successes encountered by Native researchers who conduct research with Native communities as well as work in the academy. Narrative interviews allow the participants the opportunity to share their own personal experiences of working in Native communities and in the academy through their own "hows" and "whats" in their own words, through their own stories.

According to Lindlof and Taylor (2002), narrative interviews "capture and explicate the 'whole story,' unlike other types of interviews, which take stories apart and reassemble the parts for their own analytic purposes" (pp. 179-180). Within communication, there are two forms of narrative interviews, which may either be personal or organizational. For this study, I focused on personal narratives which is dialogue focused as a means to generate personal stories (Langellier, 1989, Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

Through the application of narrative interviews, the participants divulge self-narratives, which are according to Gergen (2004) are "story about stories – and most particularly, stories of the self" (p. 247). As children, we are told stories whether it be a fairy tale or stories of family events and as we get older we are required to read stories and even watch stories on TV and movie screens. Gergen asserted that narratives are

useful ways to make sense of ourselves within the outside world. Stories also allow us to develop relationships and give meaning to our lives through our telling of the stories. The literature in other disciplines regarding self-narratives have focused at the individual level but Gergen is less interested in the individual and more in the public discourse of self-narration. He believes that people use self-narration to describe their actions and sustain and enhance relationships, but that narratives are not the cause of actions. Thus, self-narratives are like oral histories and that at a social level the purpose of narratives were for self and social identity and collective memory. There is, however a divide among scholars on the truth value of narratives. There is one belief that narratives can have some truth while other scholars believe that narratives do not reflect truth but construct a reality of truth (Gergen, 2004). Gergen's stance somewhat encompasses both of these perspective in that he believes that it is these self-narratives that truth is reproduced as socially constructed by the participant.

Through the application of narrative interviews the participants shared self-narratives, specifically their personal experiences in their communication challenges, tensions, paradoxes, and dialectics that Native researchers report when conducting research with Native communities as well as working in a research institution. The narratives were examined with regards to the managing of insider and outsider positions and their narratives of successes experienced in the academy as well as with Native communities. It is important to note that narrative interviewing may depend on a long-term relationship with the respondent (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). However, this may not always be true I have been fortunate to have worked with or personally know a number of

the participants who were part of the initial purposive selection approach which is described in more detail in the next section.

Interview Participants and Sampling

To gain an understanding of the communication challenges, tensions, paradoxes, and dialectical tensions faced by Native researchers at different stages in their research career, this study required an inclusion criterion of potential participants, recruitment strategies, and the appropriate sample size. The focus of this study was Native researchers who conduct research in Native communities; thus, Native researchers conducting research with Native communities are the unit of analysis. The explanation for this sampling unit is based on the fact that this is an interview-based study (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002) with a focus on recruitment of individuals who have expertise and experience related to the study at hand.. A potential participant must have met the following criteria: self-identify as a Native researcher, have in the past or is currently conducting research in a Native community, and have a graduate degree (e.g., MA, Ph.D., M.D.) or working toward such a degree. Further, given the focus on health related research, the research focus had to directly or indirectly involve health outcomes. The remainder of this section will discuss the sampling strategies and sample size.

Sampling Strategies. According to Lindlof and Taylor (2002), qualitative sampling approaches usually do not include random probability. This study took a non-probability sampling approach in which the selection of potential participants was not random because to the fact that the focus of study is not normally distributed. More specifically, I used an initial purposeful sampling approach followed by snowball sampling. A purposeful approach centers on the purpose and the sample included people

who can address that purpose. Others were excluded if they do not address the purpose (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

Snowball sampling approaches are used frequently in interview studies and are an approach that uses referrals of participants who share characteristics related to the inclusion criteria. I utilized this approach because it facilitated data collection. At the end of each interview, participants were asked if they could refer other individuals they thought would fit the inclusion criterion. This approach was appropriate because, in my experience, Native researchers know other Native researchers as they talk about their experiences regularly or as they present at national research conferences focused on Native health. The snowball approach enabled me to collect an appropriate sample in a relatively quick time. The non-probability approach fit the purpose of this study as the general purpose was not to generalize the perceptions of Native researchers, but rather to tell the varied stories that they have experienced.

Because I was seeking participants to share their personal experiences in conducting research with Native communities and in working in an academic institution, I initially sought and recruited individuals I knew personally and those that were known by the research teams that I am currently engaged in. I prepared information about an interview opportunity which I distributed personally and through the internet by a personal email message (Appendix B) to all potential participants, as well as a copy of the consent form (Appendix C) for their review.

Sample Size. In qualitative sampling approaches, there is not a specific test to identify when the sample is large enough. In fact, in most qualitative studies, sample size is considered after data collection has begun. One example of a decision that may affect

sample size is the notion of saturation; saturation occurs when no novel ideas or value is added by the analysis by including new interviews. Therefore, there are no applicable reasons for the continued increase of the sample size of the study. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) provide a very brief explanation of saturation when new data is introduced, there are no new categories that emerge and that the researcher begins to see the same categories or themes again and again. For this study, I interviewed 12 participants when the study ended. Table 1 provides an overview of the participants and their level of education, geographical location of formal training, years of research experience, and geographical location of where they are currently working. Pseudonyms were used to protect their identity.

Data Collection

This section focuses on data collection including the interview protocol and interview procedures. According to Fontana and Frey (2000) the “asking of questions and getting answers is a much harder task than it may seem at first” (p. 645). However, when a researcher has paid some attention to an interviewing protocol and procedures guide the task of data collection becomes manageable.

Table 1**Participants' Educational Level, Geographical Location of Formal Training, Years of Research Experience, and Geographical Location of Where Currently Working**

Participant	Gender	Education	Location of Formal Training	Research Experience	Currently Working
Joy	F	PhD	Midwest	Since 1998	East
Megan	F	Masters	Pacific Northwest	Since 2007	Southwest
Robin	F	PhDCandidate	Pacific Northwest	Since 2004	Pacific Northwest
Jordan	F	Masters	Southwest	Since 2005	Southwest
Hayden	M	PhD	East	Since 2002	East
Jean	F	PhD	East	Since 2002	Southwest
Daniel	M	Masters	Southwest	Since 2005	Southwest
Corina	F	PhD	North	Since 2001	North
Lily	F	PhD	North	Since 2000	Southwest
Jessica	F	PreMasters	Southwest	Since 2005	Southwest
Leah	F	PreMasters	East	Since 2006	Southwest
Ashley	F	PhD	Southwest	Since 1994	Southwest

Interview Protocol. According to Lindlof and Taylor (2002), qualitative researchers face challenges when interviewing because the aim is to empower participants to share their stories, ideas. For this study, narrative interviews were conducted with semi-structured questions with probes and ice breakers to allow the researcher and participant some time to become familiar with one another. I summarized the type of questions I asked and their purpose. I emphasized the questions that I thought would address the research questions.

First, I opened the interview with some basic description information to serve as “ice breakers.” The purpose is to provide some background information of the participants and to ease into the interview. The second and third questions asked participants for a story about a difficult time conducting research in a Native Community and in the academy respectively. There were a number of possible probes depending on the detail of the participants’ story. I asked for several stories of difficulties depending on depth and relevance to communication issues (e.g., a participant may tell a story about how challenging it is to be a researcher and get a Ph.D., but this is not the type of story I am centering on). These questions (and responding probes) were designed to answer the first three research questions. Based on the fact that I utilized a semi-structured approach, depending the challenge I asked the additional probing questions: the reasons for the challenge; whether challenge was overcome; the community’s and/or university’s role in the challenge, the community’s and/or university’s support in overcoming the challenge, it opportunity arose would response to challenge be different; and based on experience of challenge what advice would you give to up and coming Native researchers.

The fourth question addressed the insider/outsider dilemma directly. At times this dilemma was addressed in their stories of challenges, but I had direct questions in case it did not. I preferred that the participants take me to this issue on their own, but because it is of key interest in this dissertation, I did have the option to take participants to this issue specifically. Thus, the question ensures I can answer the second research question.

The fifth question (and accompanying probes) addressed the stories of success that the participants' experienced while working in an academic institution. This question addressed the final research question. Overall, the research questions were designed to solicit narratives of the participants given the focus of the study. Depending on the success, I asked the additional question of what role did the community's and/or university's have in the success.

Interview Procedures. Upon approved human subject protection informed consent from the university (Appendix C) as well as the Southwest Institutional Review Board (Appendix D) located in Albuquerque, New Mexico and housed in the Albuquerque Area Indian Health Board, I conducted narrative interviews with 12 Native researchers. Depending on the participant, the interview was conducted either face-to-face or on the telephone/cell phone. The original protocol included the possibility of interviewing by the use of Skype based on distance of participants. However, this was not employed because the university's IRB had numerous concerns regarding the use and confidentiality of Skype. Participants who could be found locally were interviewed face-to-face; however, when a scheduling conflict occurred a telephone/cell phone interview was conducted. There was one participant who traveled to a conference held in Albuquerque and in that instance I was able to interview locally the participant from

other state. The location of the face-to-face interview was decided by the participants, which were usually places/locations that offered a safe space and confidentiality as well as a space that was conducive to recording of the interview. A telephone/cell phone interview usually did not require the consideration of a safe place but because of the use of electronic devices for recording purposes the location had to be free of noise and distraction.

Prior to each interview the participants were provided an overview of the study and a copy of the consent form allowing them the opportunity to review the documents and to ask questions about the study. For those found locally, upon their consent to participate a time and place for the interview was scheduled, and prior to the interview they were asked to complete the consent form including the recording of the interview. For those not local, upon their consent to participate a time was scheduled for the interview, and they were asked to complete the consent for including the recording of the interview; consent for those not found locally required that the consent be faxed prior to the interview. Once consent was given by a signed consent form and the time of the scheduled interview was at hand the interview began the participant was asked to reflect on the research questions with the opportunity to share their personal stories or experiences, both positive and negative of being a Native researcher. I was the only person to conduct the interviews and all interviews were one-on-one.

An interview usually lasted between one to two hours and all were voice recorded. At the completion of each interview, the participants who were interviewed face-to-face were given a participant incentive, a \$50 gift card, and were asked to sign a participation incentive receipt (Appendix E). For those interviewed over the phone the

participant was mailed a copy of the signed consent form, an incentive (gift card), an incentive receipt, and a stamped self-addressed envelope to return incentive receipt. Upon completion of each interview, the digitally recorded interview was sent by groupwise email to a professional transcriptionist who then transcribed the interview into a document that was password protected and sent to me by email. All interview documents, tapes, transcripts, and computer files have been kept in a locked and secure location with no personal identifiers to ensure confidentiality and to meet the requirements of human protection.

Role of Researcher

According to Fontana and Frey (2000), narrative interviewing is an active interaction that occurs between the researcher and the participant allowing for the examination of the participant's life placing the researcher in the role of listener. Within communication research, the researcher's role in a research study may vary from an active position of "complete participant" to an inactive position of "complete observer" with levels of participation between the two positions (Gold, 1958, as cited in Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). I will provide an example of each of the two extremes of role participation. As mentioned, an example of an active role is that of a complete participant which permits the researcher "to use the self to understand behavior in a natural setting" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 145). In other words, the researcher becomes an active participant in the researcher process and gains access to settings and situations that may not otherwise be encountered by others than the participants themselves. An example of an inactive role is that of a complete observer--the researcher observes "without being 'present' to the participant" (p. 150) so that the participants are not aware of being

observed. For this study, I utilized the role position of “observer-as-participant,” and closer in position to that of complete observer and defined as “the agenda of observation is primary, but this does not rule out the possibility that researchers will casually and nondirectively interact with participants” (p. 149). According to Lindlof and Taylor (2002), an interview with predetermined questions can outline a clear goal of the study this is considered a common approach used by the observer-as-participant position. A weakness of this approach is that there may occur minimal contact between the researcher and the participant resulting in the researcher bringing too much of her own understanding into the responses to the imposed questions. For that reason, during the data analysis phase of this study, I allowed each participant the opportunity to review and comment on the transcribed interview for their revisions and/or edits allowing for the correction of any misinterpretations or misunderstandings during the transcription phase of this study.

For this study, in addition to serving in the role of observer-as-participant, I also was in the position of both insider and outsider because I am a doctoral candidate who has over 10 years of research experience with southwest Native communities. As an insider, I share some level of understanding of the experiences of the participants in their work with Native communities; at another level, I am also Native and of the same tribe of some of the participants. At the same time, I was also an outsider because I did not have an understanding of all the Native communities that the participants conducted research with as well as not having an understanding of the participants’ research experiences within their own academy, which were very different than my own research institute. According to Tuhiwai Smith (2005) “at a general level insider researchers have to have

ways of thinking critically about their processes, their relationships and the quality and richness of their data and analysis” (p. 137) and at all times “insider research has to be ethical and respectful” (p.139). Fortunately, the CBPR mentorship and training I have received over the last 10 years has been extremely valuable and has produced in me a reflexivity and sensitivity in always examining who I am as a Native graduate researcher working with tribal communities, and I utilized reflexivity and sensitivity in my interviews allowing the participants to tell their own story. This was no easy task because the narratives that I was hearing were at times compelling, outrageous, hurtful, and sad and I wanted to engage in a personal conversation but pulled back to assure that the interview stayed on track, there were occasions that I asked if the participant was interested in a discussion after the interview and in a couple of instance we did have a reflective discussion off the record.

Data Analysis

There were several iterative steps that I followed in the completion of narrative and thematic data analysis. In the first step, I relied on one transcriptionist who transcribed each digital recording of each interview I conducted into a password protected document, I downloaded from my groupwise email address and saved onto my computer. Each interview was identified through a numbering system with no personal identifiers. In the second step, I opened the document and started to read the transcription and would clean up as I read. For example, the transcriptionist was not familiar with some of the acronyms (i.e. NIH) used or some of the terms (i.e. rez). As I was reading, I started to take notes on some the big concepts that jumped out at me. In the third step, I identified the unit of analysis which was the responses to the open-ended questions

(Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). This step involved the development of categories and codes using a grounded theory approach which according to Lindlof and Taylor (2002) has two important features: “1) Theory is grounded in the relationships between data and the categories into which they are coded; and 2) Codes and categories are mutable until late in the project, because the researcher is still in the field and data from new experiences continue to alter the scope and terms of his or her analytic framework” (p. 218). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) suggest that analysis begins early when utilizing a grounded theory approach “we code our emerging data as we collect it. Through coding, we start to define and categorize our data” (p. 515) so that “grounded theory is an iterative process by which the analyst becomes more and more ‘grounded’ in the data and develops increasingly richer concepts and models of how the phenomenon being studied really works” (p. 783). I followed the recommendation of Denzin and Lincoln and coded the data as it was received. I read and re-read the data and begun to identify codes. I then used Excel and developed tables to quickly retrieve all the data regarding a specific code. In my Excel table, I listed the participant in each column and in the rows I listed the codes, such as insider outsider, allowing for a deductive thematic analysis (Rice & Ezzy, 1999, as cited in Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). At the same time, I used an inductive approach and allowed other codes to emerge from the data, such as language. Based on the codes, I conducted a careful line-by-line read of the units of analysis all the time looking for “processes, actions, assumptions, and consequences” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 780). In step four, I started with some general themes based on the literature, such as dialectic, and added more themes as I went along. I analyzed each of the twelve interviews into my Excel sheet. In step five, I transferred the data from the Excel sheets

to a Word document and organized based on the themes. I then reported the themes, first contextualizing the setting of the theme, then supported the theme by quotes from the participants.

In summary, this chapter was organized in a manner to address the grand tour question of identifying the struggles and successes encountered by Native researchers who conduct research with Native communities as well as work in the academy. The chapter included five major areas: 1) a justification of the qualitative approach in general the methods selected specifically; 2) a description of potential participants in this study; 3) the proposed procedures and data collection tools to be utilized in this study, 4) the role of the researcher, and finally, 5) the data analysis framework.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to examine the struggles and the successes of Native researchers while conducting research in the communities and in the academy. The findings are reported by research question. Research question one examined the communication (and other) challenges, tensions, paradoxes, and dialectics that Native researchers experienced while conducting research with Native communities. The findings included three major struggles: a dialectic of insider/outsider; developing positive communication; and appropriate/inappropriate behavior. Research question two examined the communication (and other) challenges, tensions, paradoxes, and dialectics that Native researchers experienced while conducting research in the academy. The findings include four major struggles: insider outsider dialectic; paradox of walking the talk; navigating the academy; and open and honest communication. Originally, research question three examined how Native researchers managed the struggles in RQ 1 and 2. However, the manner in which the participants spoke of managing the struggles were not different in how they spoke of the struggles; therefore, the findings from research questions three were incorporated into RQ 1 and 2. Research question four and five examined the success of conducting research in communities and in the academy, respectively. The findings from the original RQ 4 and 5 (which separated the community and academic settings) were merged into one research question (RQ3: What are the narratives of success for Native researchers who conduct research with Native communities and who work in the academy?). The examination of the success encountered in the community and in the academy the findings include 11 narratives of success in the community and three narratives of success in the academy.

RQ 1: What are the communication (and other) challenges, tensions, paradoxes, and dialectics that Native researchers report when conducting research with Native communities?

There were a range of challenges that the participants in this study experienced specific to research activities involving Native communities, the following three major themes emerged: a) a dialectic of insider/outsider; b) challenge of developing positive communication; and c) concerns of appropriate and inappropriate behavior. The rest of this section explains these themes and illustrates these themes with quotes from the participants.

Dialectic of insider and outsider

The dialectic of insider and outsider encompassed a variety of issues that resulted from navigating issues of belonging. The navigation of belonging issues consistently make salient issues of identity and what group they belong to. In some of these settings, they are researchers and outsiders, while at other times they are members of the community (or at least the community of American Indians) and insiders. This dialectic came out in such situations as spiritual involvement, interacting with gatekeepers, and educating about research (i.e., constantly an outsider as you have to educate about research from the perspective of the other—sometimes educating other researchers about tribes and sometimes educating tribal members about what the university does). The following narratives illustrate each of these situations.

A first example was experienced by Daniel as he negotiated issues of spirituality with his community partners. Daniel noted,

Actually, probably, would be most recent experience in one of the tribal communities we partner with, and I'm not a direct member of their tribe, but I'm a member of an affiliated tribe, and I was asked to lead a prayer, and that was the first time I've had difficulty at ... my very first year I was asked to do the same in a much different setting. It had non-native people present, as well as natives present, and I was able to offer a prayer. But this one was in a much more traditional setting in a tribal community and that was a challenge for me. That was probably the biggest personal challenge I faced. I believe it occurred because I've been working out there for so long and I'm a male ... I was the only male present and the circumstances were that males should ... it's the customs of these tribes to have the male do it, when possible, and so I was in that position and was asked to do it. The challenge comes back to my own personal spirituality conflict. But it was in a good way. It was a challenge that serves a greater good... it wasn't a challenge that led to a negative feeling about the work we do. It was a positive challenge that reminds me that I need to come to grips or come to terms with why I have this spiritual conflict, and it does go back to where I come from and my history and my tribe.

Daniel experienced a dialectic as being asked to give a prayer brought a self-realization that he was not a member of the community. Thus, he was an outsider. However, he was a member of the affiliated tribe, and they had confidence enough to ask him to provide the prayer and thus he was an insider. This push and pull created a struggle for him as he navigated his relationship with the community and struggles with

his own spiritual conflict. This dialectic was a positive one for Daniel as he felt he experienced growth as a result.

A second example of this dialectic occurs when interacting with gatekeepers. The gatekeeper enables researchers to engage in research with the community and it is an important relationship to cultivate. Creating the relationship results in being an insider (e.g., a trusted individual), but at the same time having to go through the gatekeeper it becomes clear that the researcher is an outsider. For example, Jean described her biggest communication challenge in conducting research with communities:

I think the hardest challenge I had to face was trying to get gatekeepers to allow me into communities. And the gatekeepers aren't the tribal officials. The gatekeepers are the secretaries. And so trying to get their trust is probably the hardest thing I will ever do in my career, building those relationships. The person at the front desk who you when you go to the tribal office and say 'I'd really like to make an appointment with the governor,' or with the lieutenant governor or anybody, and they say, 'That person's not here, and that person's never coming back, and we don't want you here.' And that's definitely been the biggest challenge for me, because it's very humbling. You have to put everything aside and just work on building that relationship. Sometimes I wonder if it's because I don't look Indian enough. I know it's because I'm not from the communities around here. My tribe is in Oklahoma. I think that people in the community don't understand research and don't understand how it can benefit their communities. And so they see outsiders who come in as threats to the integrity of their community instead of people who are well-intentioned and want to collaborate. I

work hard to maintain a presence so that people see that I'm here to stay. I take presents with me. When I was doing my doctoral dissertation they (academy) were very supportive and gave me a lot of like pens and things, and anybody I've ever met I give one of those, because there's a lot of gift giving that happens in traditional communities. So I wanted to show that I'm on the same page and also just to express my appreciation for people remembering who I was. I've established networks beyond just those gatekeepers.

Jean elaborates on this insider/outsider challenge in interacting with gatekeepers because of her physical appearance (i.e., not Indian looking enough). This exacerbates her communicative challenges of building relationships (insider) and completing the work. However, she found a way to manage the tension through gift giving, an insider approach, allowing her to build networks beyond the gatekeepers; it enabled her to move from outsider to insider status.

A third example of this dialectic is the tension experienced by Native researchers who constantly have to educate others on research. They are expected to educate the academy on how research should be conducted in Native communities and at the same time also educate communities on what research is and how it should be conducted. This dialectic has been experienced by Hayden who lives on the reservation and is well aware that any negative action on his behalf in the community had repercussions not only for himself but for his family. Within the academy, Hayden's status as a member of a tribal community positions him as an insider to the community as well as an outsider in the academy who educates the academy on how research should be conducted in his community. Within the community and working with the academy, Hayden positions

himself as an outsider who educates the community on how research is conducted by the academy. For that reason, Hayden is both an insider and outsider in the community and academy who is knowledge of both worlds he described his greatest communication challenge of conducting research:

As a native researcher you're always not only informing your native community in research and how it should be done, but you're also educating the university about how research should be done in a native community. And, as a native researcher, you're kind of like in that a little, trying to educate both sides and trying to be helpful to both sides. That's been one of my greatest challenges... I live here and I always have to be respectful what I do, because if I don't, it's not only me that's affected. It's my family, the people in my little community that is a part of the reservation that are affected by my actions. And so I can't and I won't do anything that's harmful. And so I continue on just educating and being present. The thing that happens with a lot of native researchers is that, Hey, I'm from this community, but the only time I come back is to do research. And people see that. So you should be present and especially at major events that happen in the community that you're working in.

Hayden understands the importance of educating on how research should be conducted with tribal communities yet at the same time he also understands that any negative actions on his part will have consequences such as bring in bad research into the community. Hayden advises that for Native researchers it is important to be involved in the communities you work with. However, this may result in a dialectic for researchers in getting to personally involved in their work and losing their objectivity.

The dialectic of insider and outsider included examples from Daniel, Jean, and Hayden who all struggled with navigating their identity and the roles they play while conducting research with Native communities. The struggles included level of spiritual involvement, interacting with gatekeepers, and the constant need to educate the academy and the community about research. Each of the participants who struggle with the insider outsider dialect managed this tension in different ways. For Daniel, he manages the tension through his degree of spiritual involvement in the community. For Jean she has found gift giving as means to get her foot in the door to allow for the building of a research relationship beyond the gatekeepers. For Hayden, he manages the tension by being actively involved in the community. The management of the insider/outsider dialectic is further discussed with RQ2 as a tension in the academy.

Challenge of developing positive communication

The challenges of developing positive communication consist of several issues that researchers must navigate when working in Native communities. Both positive and negative communication has been experienced by the participants. Historically, native communities have been researched by outsiders and have been stereotyped through the findings as interpreted by outside researchers which have resulted in the mistrust of research and researchers in general by tribes. The historical mistrust of research by tribes certainly contributes to the following challenges: the difficulty of developing realistic expectations when working in tribal communities (e.g., related to timelines and deadlines); the questioning of the promotion of sustainable programs based on mistrust of the academy; and the obstruction of possible research partnerships between the academy

and communities by tribal gatekeepers. The following narratives exemplify each of these circumstances.

A first example involves a challenge experienced by Joy as she had difficulty communicating to the academy the challenge of working with tribal communities due to competing issues, such as the constant health and safety needs of tribes on limited funding by the US government. Notably, the government obligated itself through historical treaties in exchange for land and natural resources. Further, there are differing fiscal years for the academy and research communities making timelines and deadlines difficult to set and meet. Joy shares her frustration in conveying how busy tribes are:

We had some trouble communicating with our research partners in this case about having appropriate expectations about how busy the tribe was and about how many things they had going on, and all the things they were responsible for, and trying to set some appropriate expectations about communication and engagement and use of resources... overall they're very well-meaning people (university), I mean they really have an open mind and they are very excited about working with the tribe, and they want to do work that's helpful, but they just haven't had any exposure before. So I think part of it is just giving them a context for working with tribal communities.

For Joy, positive communication involved the contextualization of tribal conditions for academic research partners as a means of developing appropriate partnering expectations, such as the best means of communicating. For example, email may work for the academy but not for some tribes because the internet is an innovation that requires expensive hardware and software (i.e. computers, wiring, security, etc.) and

technical in nature which is difficult for many tribes to easily access. Appropriate partnering approaches may include meeting in the community and not at the academy and being realistic of the resources that each partner can contribute to the partnership.

A second example of how positive communication is challenging for Native researchers working with Native communities in developing sustainable beneficial research projects. Megan was involved in a four year research project that had just come to an end and the tribal leadership was supportive of continuing the project because a small amount of funds had become available. However, the service providers who would be responsible for the project were not eager to be involved due to their concerns around trust as described by Megan:

The biggest challenge as we were ending our work in one of the communities...was to provide support for the community, but at the same time create sustainability (of the research project-intervention) within the community. So a lot of questions came up regarding trust and what was the benefit to the community (of continuing project). So there were a lot of questions directed towards us at the institute of really what our initiatives were and our purpose in the community and what were we gaining out of it... The (community) came in and took the initiative to go ahead and run the program and the project, but they always felt that they were obligated to do it because there was money and some of the higher ups (tribal/administrative leadership) kind of put them in the position to begin with (intervention) at the same time there were issues of concern that were never really addressed. I guess we never really understood that until the end. So I think just that lack of communication resulted in the distrust.

Through positive communication, Megan believes the fostering of sustainable programs can be developed in Native communities. Through dialogue trust can be nurtured to overcome both the sense of obligation originally felt by the community as well as the sense of responsibility imposed by tribal leadership. Positive communication can also bridge the historical mistrust of research by tribal communities --even research that involved a Native research team.

A last example of how non-tribal gatekeepers can hamper possible research relationships through the lack of positive communication is by not sharing vital information with tribal stakeholders. Therefore, the gatekeeper's action can bar researchers from engaging in research with the community. Megan describes the communication challenge she experienced with a non-tribal gatekeeper who was preventing the development of a research relationship by not sharing information with key tribal members, or in this case the gatekeeper took on a paternalistic approach to the situation deciding what she believed was best for the tribe.

Working with individuals who are not tribal members, maybe who are in administrative positions who are suppose to maybe be part of a community advisory board and they've been delegated certain tasks and they believe that they are gatekeepers for the tribe (is a challenge). And so a challenge for me is having a non-tribal member try to protect the tribe in their perception versus communicating information with the key stakeholder's tribal members programs, tribal leaders. They believe that they can make a decision to opt out of something without actually involving the tribe.

Megan knows the importance of positive communication or the lack of as exercised by a non-tribal gatekeeper who pre-determined the tribe's non-participation in a research project without even consulting with tribal leadership based on her belief of protecting the tribe. The gatekeeper grossly failed to acknowledge the sovereignty of the tribe and its ability to govern itself in all matters including potential research partnerships.

The participants in this study described the difficulty in developing positive communication but understood the importance of cultivating research relationships through contextualizing tribal conditions for academic partners, as well as overcoming the sense of obligation and responsibility that sustaining programs can impose, and how the lack of positive communication can obstruct research partnerships. Through positive communication the development of trusting partnerships can be established to overcome the historical mistrust of research and to acknowledge the sovereignty of tribes.

Tension of appropriate/inappropriate behavior

The tension of appropriate and/or inappropriate behavior was encountered by researchers while working in Native communities, usually in formal meetings between the academy and the community. Appropriate behavior is behavior that is supportive of a research partnership which may be displayed by either the researcher or the community. An inappropriate behavior is behavior that is unsupportive (i.e. criticism or insulting language) of the research partnership and displayed by either members of the academy or community. In one example, it was a tribal administrator who voiced her expectation of a researcher on appropriate behavior because she was also a tribal member the expected appropriate behavior was acting in a manner that benefited the community or continued

the research partnership. An example of inappropriate behavior included the disrespect of a researcher by tribal committee members who treated the researcher as if she was not present or knowledgeable of the language even though she had introduced herself in her native tongue. The inappropriate behavior was the insulting manner in which the researcher was treated, which could negatively impact the research relationship. The last example includes both appropriate and inappropriate behavior involving tribal councils. In one meeting, the council is supportive and in another they are hostile. The three narratives below are examples of the tension experienced by the participants that involve appropriate and/or inappropriate behavior:

The first example involves Jessica's experience with the tension around appropriate behavior that was voiced by a tribal administrator. The tension came about in a meeting between Jessica, a colleague, and the tribal administrator who was frustrated by the lack of commitment from Jessica and her colleague to directly assure the administrator's continued request for training of community members in the community, Jessica felt that she was in no position to commit to the request on behalf of the academy, but she certainly understood the need. Because of the frustration of the administrator she looked right at Jessica and voiced her expectation of appropriate behavior regarding the matter because Jessica was also a tribal member, and she was expected to look out for the good of the community and assure that training was provided as requested. This expectation placed a huge sense of responsibility on Jessica, who had moved away from the community to work in the academy. She felt uneasy because she felt a little disconnected from the community. She had been gone for over ten years but because her

mother, father and sisters still live in the community, she visited for very important occasions. Jessica shared her experience below:

So the bad experience was when I went out with another person (from university) to my community to meet with a program director who was the director of many other programs. So, in that whole discussion that we had, the request came out for training and educating community members, community members that were there in the community and sort of bringing the education component to their community. So we told her we could look into it. We couldn't come right out and say, 'Yes, we could,' and it kind of got her upset, seeing that there's been so many people coming in and telling her that, and people never came back to tell her what the outcome was or whether they even tried. I guess meaning other universities, other organizations who said they would help the tribe out. They (tribe) gave them what they needed and they never received what they were promised. That was what she came right out and told us. And she looked at me and she kind of said it directly to me, 'you're from this community. You know how the community operates or works' and this is something that was kind of like putting that responsibility on me.

Jessica clearly understood the tribal administrator's request that she act appropriately by keeping the community's best interest at heart. Yet Jessica also struggled with the knowledge that she was in no position to commit the academy to the request for training. She therefore felt a great sense of responsibility to both the community and to the academy. Unfortunately Jessica was not able to manage the

tension, as it turned out due to other greater conflicting issues the partnership fell through.

The second example of tension involving inappropriate behavior is centered on how Native researchers can be treated when interacting with a tribal institutional research board (IRB). There is an interest by tribes to develop their own IRB's allowing for oversight of research within their communities. Because tribal IRBs are fairly new, there are usually no clearly defined sets of protocol regarding meetings, which can make it difficult for researchers to navigate a meeting, even for Native researchers who present themselves as Native but are treated as non-Native. The inappropriate behavior involved a young researcher, Jordan, a member of the tribe, who was representing the academy at a tribal IRB meeting. She faced what she considered inappropriate behavior by the IRB committee. Specifically, during the meeting Jordan was spoken to in her Native language as if she did not understand and as if she was not in the room. Jordan felt insulted by this behavior because the Native language was actually her first language. Jordan does acknowledge that she is somewhat different from other tribal members; she may look like them but that she does not sound like them through her vocabulary and lack of accent. Therefore, she deals with the tension of wanting to be treated as any other tribal member but clearly is different in some ways. Jordan describes her experience of inappropriate behavior by the tribal IRB:

The first time I went to the (tribal) IRB by myself I gave this presentation, one of the things that really bothered me was that the IRB members would speak in (their Native language) assuming that I didn't know (the language) they would talk to me like I was not there in the room that was really difficult for me, especially for

me, (the language) being my first language. It was kind of an insult, and I felt really insulted by it. I felt my age had a lot to do with it, and people tended to see my age as opposed to the work that I had done. I definitely feel like my age had a lot to do with it, and also being a native person in the institution... I think that just constantly being present and being vigilant, constantly going back there ... even though I know that they know that I speak (the language). I constantly introduce myself in (the language) and I go to the IRB over and over and over again. I shake hands, I wear skirts; it literally comes down to those kinds of cultural nuances, so that way they understand I'm not devoid of that part of myself or I don't ignore that part of myself.

Jordan's tension of appropriate/inappropriate behavior in IRB meeting centered on how she was treated by the committee yet she tried to act in an appropriate manner through her use of the language and her physical appearance. Jordan does acknowledge that her age and being a representative of the academy as the primary reasons for the tension she experienced at the hand of the tribal IRB but she continues to work with this board. Each time she attends a meeting she speaks her language and presents herself in a manner that would reflect appropriate behavior, such as the wearing of a skirt to meetings and the shaking of hands. She has to be vigilant about every time she presents to this board in the hope that they will one day treat her in an appropriate manner. Jordan struggles with wanting to be treated in a certain manner by the IRB by wearing skirts and shaking hands but clearly she is to a certain extent different because of her level of education and lack of accent, yet at the same time fluent in the language.

A third participant, Ashley experiences a paradoxical situation every time she presents to a tribal council. It is a situation that she struggles with a paradox of appropriate and inappropriate behavior. She is very respectful of the work tribal councils do and understanding of the historical context that they operate in but she struggles with how they communicate to researchers. They may be supportive in one minute and hostile in another. Ashley shares the paradoxical situation she is placed in every time she goes to the council:

I would say definitely dealing with the tribal councils is very difficult. I absolutely respect and honor their sovereignty and their responsibility to take care of their people. And I also feel that they're so overwhelmed. And one time they'll seem really supportive and another time they'll seem very hostile and attacking. So I find that that's very difficult to try to manage and move forward. I think researchers have ... and the U.S. Government has been involved in many abuses of the tribe, lots of historical trauma, and then researchers have been involved in a lot of harm and in certainly not benefiting the tribes very much. And so a lot of people think about those harms as being way in the past, but actually still happening and so I think that are real important reasons why they're mistrustful of researchers. And I think sometimes these tribal council arrangements were forced upon them by the U.S. Government and that's a clash within their own values and their own way of doing things. So I think there are just so many reasons that it doesn't seem as easy. And I think sometimes they might be using that style to test the researchers to see if they're going to stick it out, or they're going to blow up or misbehave.

The paradox that Ashley experiences is the treatment by tribal councils they can be both supportive and hostile at the same time sending messages that both support the research work and, at the same time, are disrespectful of the research approach or findings. Ashley feels that a mentor would help navigate these contradictory responses to help be more successful.

So find some really good mentors, find some senior researchers that have successfully conducted research in Native communities, see if there is some ways you can give yourself references to present yourself to the tribe, and keep them updated of your progress and any problems, and make sure that you feel that there's some really direct benefits from your work along the way and, if possible. You're going to have a sustainable program that can continue on even when the research is done, or at least people will still be trained or have some more research training themselves so that they can carry on their own research or continue to be really good consumers of research and knowing whether they should be involved in research or not, each research project.

Consequently, Ashley has learned the importance of mentors who have experience in research with tribal communities who can offer personal advice on appropriate behavior when presenting to tribal governing boards. She feels this will help Native researchers manage the paradox of receiving appropriate and inappropriate behavior from her research community.

For Jessica, Jordan and Ashley the tensions they experienced involved appropriate and inappropriate behavior. For Jessica, the tension centered on being requested to act appropriately on behalf of the tribe as a tribal member yet she was also a member of the

academy. For Jordan, the tension involved being treated like a non-tribal member by an IRB committee yet she was a member who could speak the language fluently. For Ashley, the tension centered on behavior or messages of support or non-support by tribal councils and Ashley struggled with improving her own behavior every time she presented.

In summary, there were three major themes that emerged focusing on communication challenges while engaged in research involving Native communities: a dialectic of insider/outsider and the tension of belong sometimes as a researcher and other times as a member of the larger American Indian community; challenges of developing positive communication based on the historical mistrust of research by tribal communities; and concerns of appropriate and inappropriate behavior usually occurring in meetings involving the academy and the community. RQ 1 focused on insider outsider dialectic, positive communication, and appropriate/inappropriate behavior as encountered by the participants of this study while they conducted research in tribal communities. RQ 2 will focus on the experience of the participants while they conducted research in the academy.

RQ 2: What are the communication (and other) challenges, tensions, paradoxes, and dialectics that Native researchers report working in a researching institution?

Communication challenges experienced by participants in this study while working in the academy included four major themes: a) Insider outsider dialectic; b) Paradox of walking the talk; c) Navigating the academy; and d) Open and honest communication. First, insider outsider dialectics involve coping with the identity of being an insider or team member of a research team as well as outsider when the academy

failed to support the researcher. Second, the paradox of walking the talk involved the paradox of being trained yet not allowed to use the training in the academy (i.e. CBPR approaches), lack of mentorship, lack of credentials, and the tension of using CBPR and human protection. Third, navigating the academy was challenging due to differing fiscal calendars, fiscal documents, fiscal offices, working where Native focused resources are lacking, and navigating institutional powers. Fourth, number of participants mentioned the importance of establishing open and honest communication to manage these issues in the academy or research institutions. Each of these four themes will be further explained and voices of the participants will support the themes in the communicative challenges faced in the academy:

Insider outsider dialectic

Insider outsider dialectics experienced by researchers involved managing issues of support. As Native researchers in the academy, there is constant tension of seeking support with regards to funding, use of instruments, and interpretation of findings. The dialectic is that native researchers have to negotiate two identities; one as an insider based on membership, skin tone, or relationships when they work with their own community or other native communities yet as an outsider to either the community or the academy based on education, lack of funding support and knowledge about the community that may be oppose to the academy's knowledge of the community. When in the academy, researchers often struggle with different identities: a) one of being a team player (insider) yet positioned as outsiders when there is lack of funding support to continue involvement in project; b) pressured as an insider to utilize established measures yet lack of support when measures are questioned as appropriate for tribal communities, and c) knowledge of

statistical analysis (insider) yet a lack of support about, or ignorance of historical trauma and the effects on tribal communities. The following narratives demonstrate examples of the insider outsider dialectic.

The first example involved a dialectical tension involving Lily as a team member (insider) of a larger research team. She worked very hard as an insider to develop working relationships with several tribal communities. However, she was later informed that she no longer had funding support as a vital member of the team restricting her involvement (outsider) in the project leaving her to feel exploited and worried about future interactions between the academy and the community. Lily shares,

Right now I'm faced with a very difficult situation as a Native researcher, (regarding) my initial faculty support. Just two weeks ago, I was told that after August I will no longer have the support (and it will) diminished by 15 percent, which is difficult for me because, as a Native researcher. I've developed all the relationships for (university) in the tribal communities, and even though they have this other money that I was going under, I am no longer going to move under that. So I feel at this point: I wonder what will happen to the tribal communities. I feel kind of used, so to speak; and I've struggled at times with the team because there are members of the team that are very culturally inappropriate as far as how they speak to governors and some of the comments that are made, and I've really struggled with trying to inform them of what their behavior is like. And that's been a huge struggle. And so I wonder how that will be perpetuated once my time diminishes on the project.

Lily's experience highlights the dialectic of being a researcher in the academy. Lily, as a research team member and insider, was relied upon to also access her insider status with the community and develop essential relationships with those communities. However, once the relationships were established, her importance to the team changes and she was no longer supported by funding which relegates her to an outsider to the team and to the community. This dialectic was anxiety filled and recent causing Lily to become emotional as she reflected in the experience.

The second example involved Lily as well and occurred while she worked on her dissertation research project. The dialectic centered on Lily being pressured by her White committee chair to utilize measures that may not have been administered with tribal communities before and for that reason Lily refused to use the measure. In this instance, Lily is an insider in the academy based on her knowledge of the importance of using empirically tested instruments, yet she is an outsider because of her understanding in the inappropriate application of these measures with the tribal communities. Her decision to not use the measures placed her more as an outsider in the academy and as an insider to the community due to the fact that she looks out for their best interest as a researcher, Lily noted,

One of my difficulties in my home research was really getting the support of a predominantly White committee to understand what you were attempting to do; that was trying to look at domestic violence from a social, cultural, and political point. And, as I did my dissertation and as it unfolded, there was a white researcher who did domestic violence research and I had at that time three tribes who were going to support my research and allow me to do some surveys and

some data collection in the reservations. And this one white researcher had a packet of surveys she wanted me to run. And I didn't want to run them. And I refused, and from that point on my committee ... and she actually was my committee chair, which was awful ... but, from that time on, my research started to take a different view, and what I originally proposed had changed drastically and I had a lot of bumps.

Lily shares the struggle of designing her dissertation research project and how her committee chair recommends the use of measures with the tribes that Lily is working with. However, Lily felt pressured as an insider to utilize the established measures and yet comprehends the lack of validity of the measures with tribal communities and, therefore, positions her as an outsider in the dissertation process. She ultimately decided not to use the measurements resulting in her becoming more of an outsider.

The last example involves Jean and the dialectic of being an insider and understanding the significance of statistical analysis in her field of study yet an outsider due to her knowledge of the impact of historical trauma on tribal communities and the lack of support by the academy to consider intergenerational trauma. Jean shares her interaction within the academy and the preconceived notion by some that the problems within Native communities are strictly due to the lack of resources and that other conditions such as historical trauma are disregarded or not taken into consideration at all. Jean as an insider to tribal communities is sensitive to the understanding of historical trauma since she is Native. However, she is also an outsider because her understanding is counter to some in the academy. Jean shares her narrative:

I think, on that same note, there are these preconceived ideas within people within the academy about the problems with Indian people, things like refusing to acknowledge that historical trauma can be real, intergenerational trauma; refusing to accept that there are cultural or special problems in Indian populations that make us more vulnerable to certain things. I've had colleagues say to me things like, Oh, well, when you actually do your statistical analysis and you adjust for demographic variables, everybody comes out looking the same, and it's just about money and that's not right. We know it's not true, but they are ignorant and they've decided that this is what they're going to believe, and there is very little you can do to change their minds.

Jean's dialectic included being an insider and understanding the significance of statistical analysis in the academy. Nonetheless, she also was an outsider due to her knowledge of historical trauma and how it can inform the interpretation of the statistical findings. She was an outsider as well in the lack of support by the academy to consider the impacts of intergenerational trauma on tribal communities. Jean ultimately accepted the ignorance of the academy regarding historical trauma and the affect on Native communities and accepts her role as insider and outsider to this dialectic. She also accepts the fact that there is very little she can do to alter members of the academy in their ignorance.

In this section, Lily and Jean shared their experiences with insider outsider dialectics. First, Lily spoke about her struggle with being a member of a research team and all her hard work in developing relationship with tribal communities to partner in research. However, because of lack of funding support her position came to an abrupt

end, ending her involvement in the project (outsider). Lily also shared her clash with her dissertation chair and her insistence of Lily to use established measures with the tribal communities that Lily was working with. In this instance, Lily lacked support from her chair when she questioned the validity of the measures with the communities. Lastly, Jean spoke to her encounter with her peers who are ignorant on the effects of historical trauma on tribal communities and who example away the social problems of tribes through lack of resources that can be demonstrated through statistical analysis. In their opinion, Lily and Jean can be considered insiders when it comes to the academy because they can function in the academy through their research capacities yet they are outsiders when they defend their approaches or understanding regarding research and tribes, and again they are insiders to the tribes because of that understanding because it sets them aside from the other researchers and at times from the academy.

Paradox of walking the talk

The paradox of walking the talk is a communication challenge the participants experienced while working in the academy. A paradoxical situation is structural and organizational in nature. For this study, the researchers heard simultaneous messages within the academy and the message encouraged contradictory outcomes placing the researcher in paradoxical situations. The following narratives exhibit examples of the paradox of walking the talk in the academy.

The first example involves Robin who as part of a research team that utilizes a CBPR approach when working with communities which promotes the sharing of leadership, knowledge, learning, and resources. The paradox encountered by Robin is that within the academy she is trained in a CBPR approach by the PI of the research

project. However, Robin feels that the PI does not mentor those same principles in the academy when working with the research team so that, in fact, the PI does not walk the talk in the academy. According to Robin in her own words:

I'm just trying to think as a researcher. I would say maybe a breakdown in the research team, a communication breakdown of people's expectations of one another just in group dynamics. We promote CBPR, we promote shared leadership, we promote knowledge sharing, we promote long-range relationships, cost sharing, resource sharing. We do that in CBPR and yet when you're working with a research team sometimes it appears that ... and, remember, I'm a PhD student, so I'm not the actual researcher. I'm not the PI on some of these major projects that I sit on teams with, and what can happen is that the researchers tend to get driven by their own research and their own publications and their own presentations at conferences, and they forget that they have students that they're working with, and yet we might be delegated a lot of work, but actually when it comes to down to being a peer scholar, they're forgetting all of that. So that's a challenge for me when experienced scholars, who are supposed to be leading a research team actually forget about the CBPR principles during our work.

Robin shares that she is part of a research team and the research approach that is utilized by the team is CBPR which is characterized as a communicative approach involving community participation and decision making throughout the research process. The paradox that Robin highlights is that the PI of the team does not walk the talk in the academy because of conflicting structural requirements of publication and presentation which restricts the PI from allowing the team to be active partners in the academy which

is a tenant of CBPR. It is a missed opportunity by the PI to mentor CBPR in the academy through shared learning with the research team.

A second example entails the experience of Daniel who voiced the paradox of Native researchers who do not walk the talk; specifically researchers who have established themselves in the academy and have a wealth of knowledge and who may be eloquent in their words but most importantly do not follow through with their actions through mentorship to help other up and coming Native researchers through the organizational structure of the academy. As Daniel notes,

In the academy ... I think that, honestly, if I've ever been in a moment or a challenging moment in the academy, it actually came from circumstances involving other Native researchers. OK, I think that that challenge I speak of is something that seems to be common in Indian country. At least in my experience, my life experience, which is that sometimes we Natives are our own worst enemies; that we don't take advantage of ownership opportunities or the need for mentorship, especially from established researchers, to guide us and lead us and show and demonstrate by example. Not by words, but by action; because from my experience it's the action that matters the most. Somebody can be very eloquent with their words and say things that sound great, but if they act differently and they're a native researcher to up and coming researchers, it can do great harm if you don't do what you say you're about. And it's important to us that we see people doing what they say they're about, and I think mentorship is a challenge for us native researchers to keep in a positive light, to keep reinforcing.

Daniel shares the paradoxical situation of walking the talk in the academy by established Native researchers who obviously navigated the academy successfully and who may have eloquent presentations on their success but fail to mentor other researchers on how to navigate the system. This hinders the production of junior Native researchers in the academy. Junior researchers hear two messages from the established researcher. One in talk and the other in the lack of action. The lack of action or mentorship may be because senior Native researchers are often called upon to sit on committees or serve in administrative role on issues that have a native focus and they may be only native faculty resource at the academy.

The third example of the paradox of walking the talk includes Hayden's narrative which comprised of his tedious experience of establishing a Native research institute in the academy as well as successfully obtaining research projects all the while with a title of affiliated faculty. Unfortunately, the title did not allow him to reap the benefits of all his hard work due to structural requirements of appropriate credentials. The paradox is that he was able to complete the work in the academy but could not receive the credit. Hayden shares his experience:

I won't drop names, but the university that I was courted by I had provided information. Like they're in the middle of native country, what would be a nice place to have a research institute of sorts they said, Come on. Come build it. So they bring me on as a volunteer, 'slash,' affiliate, means I don't get paid. But they want you to build the center for them. So, when I got done with school, a PhD, I didn't know what that meant. I thought it meant faculty or they called it affiliate/faculty I was like, 'OK Cool. I'm getting hired, or gonna get some work.'

I get to build this research center from a native perspective. So they bring me in, I build this whole center for them from the ground up, even gave it an Indian name from one of our tribal community members and all the literature for them, gave them all the information they said ‘You did a good job. Can you arrange some projects for us? Write up our research projects.’ I was finally doing what I want to do. So I write some research projects, write the proposal to get the funding. All along my research affiliate it all kind of built up to have multiple projects and they say, ‘Well, you’re not a faculty member. You’re just an affiliate. But we’re going to put your writings into somebody else’s name, and we’re going to make this person a director.’ And that was just crushing, because I didn’t have that mentor guidanceship that said, ‘Well, you might not want to do that, or, you should do this.’ So after I built all this grant writing, and then they say, ‘Now you can’t have it. The only way we’re going to pay you is if you become a consultant, do your own work and we can get somebody else.’ And so it bothers me that that happened greatly, so that’s one reason that I, as a researcher, don’t really trust the academic world any more in that respect.

Hayden’s unfortunate narrative reflects the paradox of walking the talk in the academy. Hayden clearly demonstrated the skills to develop a research institute as well as obtain research project funding, but because Hayden did not possess the appropriate credentials or title required by the academy he could not reap the benefits. The institution would allow him to walk but was not allowed to talk.

The last example of the paradox of walking the talk consists of Jordan’s paradoxical experienced with the academy’s IRB. The paradox is that in the academy

researchers may be trained in a CBPR approach which involves the community as equal partner in the research process. However, she also points out that within the academy you are also trained on how to properly submit a human protection protocol with instruments and consent forms attached. However, when researchers utilize a CBPR approach with tribal communities those documents should be prepared in partnership. Jordan describes the paradox:

The other thing that I think was hard for me initially to accept was that going through the (academy's) IRB process it was like they required you to have so much of the project done beforehand, like you needed to have the questionnaires done, you needed to have the consent done. But when you work in a tribal community and you're trying to do CBPR, ideally you'd want them to have an input in all of that. So like one thing that we've had to do is like hand in a dummy questionnaire, something that's just kind of generic, and then once we get our IRB approval we go back to the tribe and tell them, this is what we have, but we really want your input and we start from scratch sometimes, and then we have to go back through the IRB and tell them, this is what we did differently.

One of the ways that Jordan managed the paradox was to come up with creative solutions which includes capacity building of the academy's IRB. Jordan has been able to create a co-learning environment with the IRB office she describes the research project as using CBPR and the need for community involvement of the development of the protocol. Jordan describe below how she is able to be creative in managing the paradox.

Well, you become creative I think. You come up with creative solutions. Like I said, I have this form letter that I send with every single CBPR protocol that I

submit, and basically it's like, "Dear IRB, this is what we're doing. And this is CBPR, and the foundation of CBPR is that it's participatory. We want our community members to have an input, so this will be changed later." And then I put all the different things that will change. And so I list it, and I'm very explicit about it. And this is something I submit with everything. So every time I submit a new protocol, that's what I always submit, and just kind of explaining up front, because I also make a lot of phone calls to the IRB. So the people who are reviewing, I constantly talk to them over and over and over again. And I find myself repeating a lot of things, but a lot of times people don't hear it the first time, so I say it a lot.

Jordan's paradoxical tension of walking the talk focused on being trained in the academy in a CBPR approach and in properly preparing IRB protocol for research studies however the academy made it difficult for Jordan to write up CBPR in her IRB protocol. Therefore, Jordan was trained in CBPR and preparing IRB protocols (talk) however the IRB office made it difficult for her to do the walk by making it difficult for her to conduct CBPR in the field and on an IRB application. Based on her experience, Jordan had a recommendation for managing this paradox included the creative solution of increasing the IRB's knowledge on properly conducting CBPR with communities including co-development of the protocol. Therefore, she was able to increase the capacity of the IRB and allowing Jordan and her team to properly engage in CBPR.

Robin, Daniel, Hayden and Jordan shared examples of the paradox of walking the talk in the academy, which is primarily structural in nature. Robin shared that in the academy one is trained in the application of a CBPR approach in the field; however, the

same approach is not used in the academy. Daniel disclosed that established Native researchers fail to mentor junior researchers in successfully navigating the academy. Hayden talked of successfully getting the work done in the academy but failed to receive recognition because he lacked the structural requirements of a title. And finally, Jordan received training in the academy but the academy also made it difficult for her to use her training in the field. In the narratives shared by Robin, Daniel, Hayden and Jordan the structure of the academy had a hand in the shaping of the paradox they each experienced. For Robin and Jordan, structurally one can be trained in the academy on a research approach that engages participation and reciprocity yet these concepts are not used in the work that is done in the academy. For Daniel, successful researchers are able to navigate the academy but they may become so successful that they are not accessible because of the academy's structure. For Hayden, the academy allowed him to complete the work but it was the same structure that disallowed him from receiving benefit of the work.

Navigating the bureaucracy

Navigating the bureaucracy of the academy can be daunting because there are numerous layers of power; there is a focus on teaching and on research; and funding is received from numerous sources, such as, federal, state, local, tribal, and private foundations. Therefore, navigating the academy involves: a) managing numerous timelines and fiscal calendars; b) requirements of numerous internal and external fiscal documents; c) negotiating numerous fiscal offices; d) seeking our resources focused on Native issues; and e) negotiating institutional powers. The academy operates under different fiscal calendars which determines the start and completion of each year and encompasses personnel, payroll, and holidays, and finally there is the calendar of the

fundings that may be federal, state, local or tribal. Documents utilized by the academy can also be overwhelming; there are numerous documents specific to the academics, personnel, and research that occur in the academy. Documents specific to research may include internal, federal, state, local or tribally generated documents. It is these documents that must be completed to apply, accept, and monitor any research funds. Another bureaucratic hurdle in the academy involves the numerous financial offices that are involved in the handling of research funding, to just name a few there is the contracting, accounts payable, accounts receivable, payroll, and the controller. Below are narratives from Jordan, Jean, Corina, Jessica, Joy, and Daniel to illustrate the challenges for Native researchers who may be attuned to maneuvering tribal organizations through interaction with various offices, such as housing, education (i.e. scholarship), census, etc. Participants may have relatives who work in these offices, or relatives who hold political leadership positions, or the participants themselves may have once held tribal employment positions (i.e. summer jobs), so that negotiating the academy by the participants may be new and foreign compounding the challenge.

In the first example, Jordan reveals the complexity of navigating the bureaucracy of the academy for each research project that she is involved in. The complexity is based on the fact that the academy operates on a semester and fiscal year timeline and when working with tribal communities they will also operate on a fiscal year which is usually different than the academy. Additionally, tribal programs may meet once a month therefore complicating meeting the academy's deadlines in addition to the funder's deadlines which Jordan has had to navigate for each research project that she is responsible for, leaving her to feel as if she is always waiting to get onto the next agenda

to make the next meeting all in anticipation of meeting the academy's deadlines. In Jordan's own words:

Well, the one thing that I usually always face with every single project that we go through is the time, the way the academic institution functions on both a semester or trimester kind of timeline and also a fiscal year timeline too. When you work with communities, they usually work in fiscal years I've noticed, especially if it's like a tribal government. And tribal governments are so vast, and they meet maybe once a month and you have to get on their agenda a month beforehand, but the academic institution requires you to have a certain amount of preparation done beforehand. So there's a lot of waiting and kind of conflict in that, and making projects work through that.

Jordan clearly is a researcher who has responsibilities that include preparation and handling of fiscal documents. She is familiar with the academy and tribal differences in timelines resulting in conflict of meeting deadlines and keeping with the objectives and activities of each research project as well as maintaining positive partnerships.

The second example includes navigating the requirements of fiscal documents when applying for research projects. Jean's experience of preparing a funder's application included the restriction of six pages for the research plan; two of these pages were for historical background, which was quite difficult for Jean because she felt it a huge sacrifice to limit the contextualization of the historical background of tribal communities justifying her research approach:

There's that education piece. We spend a lot of time teaching. If you have an application and you have six pages to write your application and you have to

spend two of them giving a historical background so that people understand the context in which you're engaging in this research, that's a huge sacrifice, cause that means you give up something else in that application. So the amount of ignorance within the academy can be very frustrating and limiting.

Unfortunately for Jean navigating the bureaucracy included the submission of specific funding documents when applying for research funding forcing Jean to adhere to strict guidelines of no more than six pages. This strict requirement holds Jean to the two page limit for historical background and she feels that it is a great lost to limit the contextual historical detail of tribes who have a 500 year history that has had an effect on the current social, political, and cultural conditions of tribal communities today.

The third example is the challenge of jumping through bureaucratic hurdles in the academy such as negotiating the processing of fiscal documents through numerous financial offices. Both Corina and Jessica share the difficulty of navigating the academy to pay a community member who took time from their busy lives to participate in a research project. The participation may have been a two hour focus group or hours of developing a product that is to be used as part of the research project (i.e. artwork, a story, native language transcription, etc.). Regardless of the level of participation, the bureaucratic requirements for payment are quite lengthy and cumbersome adding to the amount of time a community member may be involved in the project again taking away from their work and family. Corina and Jessica share their thoughts respectively:

Corina: I guess that things that come to mind are when ...well, with this community project I work on, sometimes stuff that has to do with the bureaucracy of the university, I guess, or when we want to pay people for things, like our

stipends where we have the advisors, sometimes it's hard to get the money to come through fast to reimburse people, and not really understanding that we need to pay people on time, or like an example is getting incentives out. They make people fill out all these like W-9s to pay people, and then you're like ... sometimes it's like sensitive stuff about people like getting a pap test and you want to give them like a Wal-Mart card, but they make you like sign all these papers, and a lot of people (are) uncomfortable, I guess, to ask for that kind of stuff, and the length of time it takes things to get done. But I guess it was also just like buying food for our meetings.

Jessica: "Feeling that we didn't have a voice. What the university say, goes. The bureaucracy at the university... to get even a simple payment to a community member who did a job for the project." (Jessica briefly touched on this challenge. She felt that the bureaucracy of the academy made it difficult to pay community participants in research, regardless of the amount to be paid the paperwork is the same for any sum making it cumbersome and time consuming).

For Corina and Jessica the frustration of navigating the academic bureaucracy is certainly difficult because it has its own timeline and fiscal requirements, which community people are not aware of. Community members may also question the lengthy time before they are reimbursed for their participation which may make them feel less valued and may affect the research partnership. For that reason, both researchers understand the importance of honoring the community's time spent on a project through processing of reimbursement in a timely manner with less bureaucracy.

In the fourth example, Joy experienced the challenge of navigating a university while working towards a doctoral degree. The university basically had almost no Native community, there were a handful of Native students primarily undergraduates and there were few Native specific courses making it difficult to navigate because it was lacking in resources (i.e. course, peers, mentors) that focused on Native communities. Joy shares in her own words the challenge:

I went to a university in an urban area that had almost no Native community (making it) a really difficult environment to work in when you think about how much of the dissertation experience, is really about being mentored by other people who help you to understand the literature, to think about data sources, to help you frame your work in a way that's meaningful, who help you think about publications, and a job when you're done and tenure.

Based on Joy's challenge of navigating an academy that lacked the resource of focusing on Native issues, she recommends managing this tension through finding a mentor or a small group of individuals who are experts in the area of research with tribal communities and who can offer advice based on their own experiences. Joy also notes that the mentors or trusted small group of people do not have to be physically near but can be called or emailed to discuss an issue of concern. Additionally, these individuals should not only possess certain knowledge and skills specific to tribal communities but be individuals who can be supportive and who see research as a valuable tool to be used by communities.

Lastly, Daniel's tension involves navigating the academy and its institutional powers that dictate all aspects of research from submission of research funding to human

protection. The challenge for Daniel is that he is a researcher who practices CBPR and values the community's involvement in the research process. However, navigating the bureaucracy and the layers of institutional powers that a researcher must pass through for all phases of the research process from the submission of a grant application to human protection protocols can leave a CBPR researcher feeling powerless. Daniel shared his frustration: "One is a challenge would be the feeling of institutional power, and not just at the university level, but also at the funding agency level, this feeling of agenda-setting." One way Daniel and his research team have been able to manage this challenge is through training and educating the academy on properly conducting a CBPR approach with communities:

Well, I know that our team is specifically involved with a lot of institutional education activities, informing our own IRB about what our work involves and what it's about and how the processes work, helping the directors of our departments understand more about our research and our research approach and how we measure that, our methodology of trying to integrate rigorous science, and also balance the power and privilege struggles. I think sharing our work at the university level is good. I'd like to see them support it more and promote less (politics) and more duty and it's a duty for the university to serve the communities around them.

For Daniel the challenge is navigating the academy's institutional powers through each step of the research process. One way Daniel has been able to manage this challenge is through teaching and educating on the principles of CBPR and how aspects of the academy need to be changed to allow for a true equal partnership with communities.

For Jordon, Jean, Corina, Jessica, Joy, and Daniel's experiences reflected the difficulty in navigating the bureaucracy of the academy. Jordon shared that there are different yearly calendars in the academy there is one for the educational training of students (i.e. semesters or trimesters), another for fiscal planning that includes personnel, payroll, and holidays. Finally there is a funders' calendar that may be federal, state, local or tribal specific and often different than the academy's yearly cycle. Jean shared the difficulty in navigating the fiscal documents required in the academy, research documents may include internal, federal, state, local or tribally explicit documents that are used for applying, accepting, and monitoring of any research funds. Corina and Jessica both shared the bureaucratic hurdle of the numerous financial offices involved in the processing of research funds specifically the payment of incentives and reimbursements to tribal community members creating frustration due to the lengthy turnaround of processing payment. Joy talked the challenge of navigating an academy that lack the resources to focus on Native issues for that reason she recommended managing this challenge through finding a mentor or a small group of individuals who are experts in the area of Native research. Finally, Daniel faced the challenge of navigating the academy's institutional powers that dictated each step of the research process from grant submission to IRB approval.

Open honest communication

Open and honest communication is recommended by the participants in this study as a means of managing dialectics, tensions, challenges and paradoxes in the academy. Open and honest communication as defined the participants is the sharing of grant requirements as outlined in the research plan, establishing partnership expectations, and

human protection requirements. Through the use of open and honest communication, many difficulties can be avoided in the first place such as the challenges of fulfilling grant objectives, and the challenges of developing university – tribal partnerships, and managing the tensions of deadlines imposed by the academy on the community regarding IRB and grant requirements. Provided are two challenges and one tension experienced by the participants and their recommendations of open and honest communication to manage these issues.

First, the challenges of grant requirements can be managed through communication that is open and honest. Megan recommends communicating early with communities on the research activities, such as objectives and deliverables, and to have open and honest dialogue that involves deep listening. Megan is quick to point out that the research plan in the grant may spell out the aim, objectives, and activities of the work with the community. However, the actual activities conducted in the community may be much more different in the field than on paper and for that reason researchers need to be flexible and open to changes recommended by the community, according to Megan:

That they are really honest with the community, that they really come into the community being able to have open and honest dialogues with them about the work that they're doing, to really hear the voices of the community, and recognizing that you have to be flexible within the community. Your grant, or whatever it is that's allowing you to work in that community ... they have all these initiatives and these checklists that you have to get through to be able to work in that community ... but the community doesn't work like that, so you need

to be able to be flexible, you need to be able to change those initiatives to fit with the community's initiatives. Otherwise it's not going to work.

Megan recommends honesty in communicative approaches with tribal communities and the need for flexibility in terms of adapting the research process to meet the needs of the community and to use approaches that make sense in the community. In this manner, Native researchers can avoid the challenges and tensions that can occur in the research process.

Second, the challenges of forging positive university – community partnership expectations can be managed through open communication. Joy shares the challenge she faces when developing university – tribal partnerships:

We had some trouble communicating with our research partners in this case about having appropriate expectations about how busy the tribe was and about how many things they had going on, and all the things they were responsible for, and trying to set some appropriate expectations about communication and engagement and use of resources.

As a Native researcher Joy is knowledgeable of the many competing demands on tribes, such as health, education, law enforcement, environmental, social services, and working relationships federal, state, local, and other tribal nations as well as research project relationships with universities across the country. Below Joy shares her recommendation for managing these situations:

I think part of it is just having open communication. Help relay information back and forth, and to some extent help to translate or contextualize or frame things in a way that the other partner (university) can understand it more easily. So I think

developing that set of skills, which is something that takes time to do, but I think developing that skill set over time and then feeling comfortable with it ... sometimes even if you have that skill set you may not always feel comfortable because of your relationship with the partners, but in this case I think over time we built a relationship so that I feel really comfortable doing that.

Joy's conflict involved contextualizing the demands on tribal councils for the university partners to understand the appropriateness of establishing expectations of the partnership. Based on this experience she recommends the use of open communication and how it can be a skill that is learned but more importantly a skill that can successfully manage a university – community partnership in the hope of avoiding future conflict or difficulties.

Third, Leah felt tension because the university was not very informative on an IRB issue about impeding deadlines. When the tribe failed to meet the deadline, the academy became irritated. For that reason, Leah expressed the need for transparency when it comes to communicating with communities especially on issues of IRB requirements and funding. Below Leah describes the tension:

Yeah, not being really forthcoming with all the information because they're (university) needing to get something through an IRB the communication between the two (university and community) wasn't always as transparent as I think it should be...and the university would get very frustrated with (tribe) because they need to meet that deadline and on the tribal side (they) couldn't get it through council or through board approval in time for the university.

The tension that Leah felt was the lack of open communication by the academy on deadlines in order to meet IRB requirements by not sharing this information the community was not able to meet the academy's deadline. For that reason, Leah saw the importance of conference calls and meeting to develop tribal research capacities so that they better understood the research process and therefore could work towards meeting deadlines. However, she is also understanding of the bureaucracy of the academy:

There has been an infrastructure that has been longstanding in academia as far as applications and funding and that's what I think puts pressure on university partners and so unfortunately I think sometimes things are pushed ahead when maybe there was more time needed. On the tribal side, it's just infrastructure of tribal communities. The actual depth of understanding about research, I think that may take some time to kind of get more tribal members comfortable with research, that it would make more sense as opposed to having to take the lengthy time to question what a project is about and why is it being done and the very protective nature of tribes which at this point in time I totally agree with and from the tribal side, set up long, long conference calls and meetings... just lots of communication.

Therefore, Leah recommends transparency as a means of managing the tension of impending deadlines. By being transparency and sharing all research requirements with tribal communities the tension of future deadlines can be successfully navigated. Through transparency tribes can develop research capacities to fully engage in research and the only way is to have open and long conversations.

For Megan, Joy and Leah the challenges of open and honest communication centered on grant requirements as outlined in the research plan, establishing partnership expectations, and human protection requirements. For Megan open communication was important especially the sharing of grant requirements and adapting the research process to include recommended changes on what make sense in the community. For Joy honest communication was essential to contextualize partnership expectations and acknowledge limitations by both the tribe and the academy. For Leah, the tension she navigated was the lack of open communication by the academy with regards to IRB requirements which resulted in the community not meeting the academy's deadline based on their acknowledge.

In summary, there were four major themes that emerged focusing on communication challenges while conducting research in the academy: insider/outsider dialectic and the tension of managing support in the academy, such as funding, use of instruments, and interpretation of findings; the paradox of walking the talk with regards to CBPR and mentoring, lack of mentorship by established Native researchers, lack of credentials by researcher, and CBPR and the IRB; navigating the academy's numerous timelines, fiscal documents, fiscal offices, Native resources, and layers of institutional powers; and finally open and honest communication about grant requirements, partnership expectations, and human protection requirements. RQ 2 focused on insider outsider dialectic, paradox of walking the talk, navigating the academy, and open communication all while conducting research in the academy. RQ1 and 2 examined challenges, tensions, dialectics and paradoxes; RQ3 will examine the success of conducting research in the community as well as in the academy.

RQ 3: What are the narratives of success for Native researchers who conduct research with Native communities and who work in the academy?

RQ1 and 2 examined the challenges of working in the community and in the academy, respectively. RQ3 examines the success stories of the participants in this study while working in the community as well as in the academy. First, the successes of working with communities as defined by the participants include gaining the support of research projects by the community and conducting research in the community with community members. Second, the examples of success in the academy were: a) development of a model that tribal communities understood; b) development of formal partnership documents between the university and tribe; and c) attainment of research grants focused on Native health issues

Success of conducting research with communities

Gaining Support of research project by the community. The mistrust of research by tribal communities is a major barrier to overcome for all researchers. For that reason, a major success identified by the Native researchers in this study was gaining support of the research project by the community. The narratives that support the theme of research support by the community include: a) developing research partnership trust; b) raising consciousness on a research topic; c) obtaining tribal IRB approval; and d) gaining tribal leadership support for a research project. Below are the narratives of success in the community as shared by Robin, Jordan, and Lily.

First, success in the community was defined by Robin as the development of trust in the research partnership. Trust from leadership is important, but trust from other stakeholders involved throughout the research process is also necessary. For Robin, the

trusting relationship demonstrated the support of the research project by the community and in her own words:

Yeah, in my experience I believe that working in tribal communities where I have been able to work in relationships where there is trust, whether it's trust from tribal leaders, administrators, traditionalists, community members, other key stakeholders. That to me is a sign of success, a sign a relationship can be continued; and it's ongoing trust. If they have a need to get a hold of me regarding that they trust that I'm going to follow up with them and vice versa.

Robin shared that through the trusting partnership relationship the community show their support of the project. The community trusted that the outcomes of the project will be beneficial to the community and they trusted that the researcher would be committed and responsible as well. Robin also understood that it was a reciprocal relationship; that trust had to be earned and given on both sides of the partnership.

Second, oftentimes research is conducted in communities and will go unnoticed by community leadership which was the experience of Jordan, who presented on a sex health topic to the tribal council and health committee. She was questioned on the importance of the topic because there were more important issues to discuss. Jordan defined success as the raising of consciousness among tribal leaders on a research topic. By raising the consciousness, tribal leaders are able to discuss the topic that otherwise might have gone unnoticed or overlooked because of other competing issues. Jordan shares her experience involving a sensitive health topic:

It wasn't as great a success, but it did serve a purpose in that it really raised the consciousness of the government about sexually transmitted diseases. One of the

things that I will remember constantly is that we went to the tribal council and the health and human services committee. So we give the presentation and a member asked ‘Why are we talking about syphilis? We have bigger issues to deal with.’ Then there was an outbreak of syphilis to the point where CDC actually had to come out and interview (and contain). (The member had) a negative approach toward sexual health. I guess, that there’s still things that are taboo (in our communities).

From this experience, Jordan learned the importance of raising the consciousness of tribal leaders even on topics that may be taboo. The raising of consciousness and an outbreak of a sexually transmitted disease garnered support of the research topic.

Third, an institutional review board is a capacity that only a few tribal communities have. However, navigating these boards is key first step for a beginning partnership. For Jordan, a success in the community was being able to obtain tribal IRB approval on a research project that examined historical trauma on the tribe. For some tribes, traumatic events in the past are not to be dwelled upon. For that reason, Jordan perceived this even as a huge success:

With the tribal project it was definitely gratifying to get all of that stuff through the IRB because it was a tribally funded research project. It was one of the first instances I’ve actually seen where a tribe said, ‘We want to learn about historical trauma, and we want to know how it affects us,’ so that was really cool to be a part of that.

Jordan is an experienced researcher and for her to be involved in a tribally funded research project to examine historical trauma and to obtain tribal IRB for the project was

a big deal. Presenting to tribal IRBs is no easy task and can be a very stressful situation as shared by a participant in RQ1. IRB approval clearly demonstrated the tribe's support for the research project and approval to continue with study.

Finally, a success for Lily was the gaining of tribal leadership support for a research project. Lily tells of the success of a tribal leader seeing the benefits of the research project. For that reason, he offered himself in any capacity that would be supportive of the project. Lily briefly shared the success: "This has been a successful project and we now have a (tribal) governor that is wanting to do anything to support the (research) project. That was very, very successful for me." Lily is well aware of the mistrust of research by tribal leaders and knows the difficulty of gaining support at that level of leadership. For that reason, she saw this as a huge success because the leader of the tribe saw the benefits for his community and offered any help he could give to support the project clearly demonstrated support.

In summary, there were four narratives that confirmed the theme of success as reflected in support of research projects by tribal communities. For Robin, Jordan and Lily the successes of conducting research with tribal communities focused on developing research partnership trust, raising the consciousness on a research topic, obtaining tribal IRB approval, and gaining tribal leadership support for a research project. For Robin, the development of establishing trusting partnership relationship is an important step in working in communities to address health disparities. For Jordan, she learned the importance of consciousness raising even on topics that may be taboo to the community. For Jordan, obtaining tribal IRB approval was a major hurdle to cross especially with a research topic that focused on historical trauma. For Lily, having a tribal leader voice his

support for the research project was a great success because he was able to see the big picture and the potential benefits to his community. In the next section, the successes of research in the community will be discussed.

Conducting research in the community. Once tribal leaders have approved a research project the next step is to actually conduct the research project in the community. A barrier that may be encountered is the actual engagement of the community throughout the research process. For that reason, to simply be able to conduct research in communities is a success that was voiced by the researchers. The narrative examples of community involvement in research include: a) development of research project for families; b) involvement of a Native research team in the community; c) cultivation of interaction between elders and the youth; d) transmission of knowledge among community members; and e) adaptation of training manual.

First, Megan considers the development of research projects with families as a success even though challenges were experienced in the process. The project was developed in partnership with the community and the result was that families were engaged because the program was culturally tailored for them. Megan shares the success of developing research projects that engaged families:

Yeah, I think both research projects were successful even though I think both of them had a lot of challenges. I think that we created two great programs in both communities and the participation that happened within the communities with the families was great. The families enjoyed the programs that were created for them and so being able to see the product and to really see how the families benefited from the program was really a success.

Megan experienced firsthand the work involved in developing a culturally appropriate research project that engaged families and seeing how the families benefited from the project. For that reason, she deemed the development of research project with families as a success while working in the community.

Second, involvement of a Native research team in a research project with communities was a success that Daniel shared. He saw the benefits of having trained Native researchers work with tribal communities due to the fact that they are sensitive to the issues of the community and work in the best interest of the community. Daniel's stated:

Sometimes we may see events occur and think that it wasn't a success. But I believe the fact that we're doing work, we're working for people to do good things, that there can be no bad in that. And let me just say that we have a Native team, or mostly Native team, who believes this and I think that all of our work has been providing benefit (to the community).

Daniel is part of Native research team and he knows that there are few research teams that are primarily Native and working with Native communities. For that reason, Daniel sees the success of Native teams conducting research with tribes because of their culturally knowledge and understanding that they bring to the research process.

Third, Lily was fortunate to witness the interaction between elders and the youth on a research project. For Lily, the interaction itself was a success. In this fast pace world that we live in it is rare to see the elders and youth in a community engage at any level. To see this interaction on a research project was a privilege. Lily trained and employed elders from the community to administer an instrument with children and for her to see

the interaction between the elders and the youth was a success. She shares this success in her own words:

I had paid elders to (administer instruments) in (their Native) language, and it was just a success for me to sit and watch the 70 year old people interact with our youth, who were four and five at that time.

Lily was able to cultivate a dialogue between the elders and youth in the community through a research interaction. She trained the elders in data collection and the administration of an instrument. The data collection interaction that involved the community members was a success in Lily's eyes. The community received training in data collection and therefore gained capacity in research; dialogue was also established between the elders and youth.

Fourth, Leah observed the transfer of knowledge among community members and voiced this as a success in the community. Leah talked about how she was able to see a transfer of knowledge on a research topic among tribal members who are involved in the project. She shares her observation:

You can actually see them taking in the knowledge about parenting or depression. So I feel like that kind of knowledge transfer has been amazing because I would guarantee that they are better with their kids. I would guarantee that they are better social servants in the community and that they see things and they've had no formal education. But they know their community and they're also getting these technical skills. So I think that kind of outreach training; I think has been very powerful in one of the communities we work in. But it's one of those kind of

latent things you can't really report on, but you've seen a shift in the mentality of these young people who are doing outreach work.

Leah was able to observe what she called a transfer of knowledge. The participants in her study were young people who were trained to do outreach work in the community focusing on parenting or depression. Based on the skills the young people receive and their interaction with community members, Leah witnessed a noticeable shift in their attitude and approaches in the community. Therefore, she deemed the transmission of knowledge by the young people as a success through their involvement in the research project

Lastly, Ashley spoke of her involvement in working on the adaptation of a manual (training) in partnership with tribes. Ashley stated that the adaptation of the manual was a very meaningful project for her to be a part of because the manual was culturally adapted to the needs of tribes. The adaptation of the manual was considered a success because it has been offered on-line at no cost and has been downloaded hundreds of times. Ashley shares her story:

I would say my most meaningful project has been adapting (a manual) in partnership with American Indians. I had a community advisory consultant who worked with me. We did focus groups with a community member and also some with service provider in substance abuse treatment to adapt that manual together. I put that up for a free download, and we've had, I think, 700 or 800 free downloads to date.

Ashley's experience in working with tribes demonstrates the success of developing a culturally relevant training manual that is now available for free to all tribes.

By the tribes partnering with Ashley, they supported the research project of developing a training manual, which fortunately was a successful product of the partnership.

In summary, there were five narratives that confirmed the theme of success as reflected in the ability to conduct research in the community. For Megan, Daniel, Lily, Leah, and Ashley the successes of conducting research with tribal communities focused on the development of research project for families, involvement of a Native research team in the community; cultivation of interaction between elders and the youth; transmission of knowledge among community members; and the cultural adaptation of a training manual. For Megan, the cultural adaptation of a program and the involvement of families in the program was a success. For Daniel, the involvement of a Native team in research with tribes was a success. For Lily, the cultivation of research dialogue between the elders and youth was deemed a success. For Leah, the transmission of knowledge and positive change in attitude by the research participant was a success. For Ashley, the cultural adaptation of a training manual with tribal involvement was a success that is reflected in the request for the manual by tribal communities. In the next section the successes of research in the academy will be explored.

Success of conducting research in the academy

The narratives of working in the academy and the success encountered are: a) development of a model that a tribal community understood; b) development of formal partnership documents; and c) administration of research grants. The three narratives are considered success in the academy by the participants based on the fact that the academy was supportive in these three areas. First, the academy supported the creation of a model based on the voices of the community and when completed the model was understood by

the community. The academy eventually accepted the model as a product of a research study. Second, in the negotiation of a formal partnership agreement the academy accepted the community's request for intellectual property rights, but not until after a lengthy negotiated process. The academy's support of the formal agreement opened the opportunity for further collaboration with the community on other issues. Third, the academy supported the administration of a participant's research grants allowing her to continue her studies and eventually complete her doctoral program. Below are the examples of success in the community as shared by Jean, Leah, and Ashley.

Jean eloquently shared a story of how she was able to develop a model that reflected the community's voice as a product of her dissertation study. Surprising to Jean was the fact that the academy accepted the model which Jean deemed as a success. Jean shares her story:

One of the biggest successes I had was through the process of doing my doctoral dissertation. I was able to develop a model which I feel really, really reflects the values and world view of the population I was working with. And I feel it's a model that I will be able to draw on throughout my career to improve cancer outcomes for Native people. It's a model that's based on the corn plant. What happened was I was doing this dissertation and I had all this data and I was trying to put it together, and it's very complicated, and the stories people are telling are very complicated and heart-breaking. I went to my dad and I talked about it with him. I went back and I was sketching it out and drawing pictures and trying to make maps. You're trying to take this qualitative data and put it all together in a one-pager, and I kept focusing on the individual. But then I went back to the

transcripts, and I went back and listened to the voices. Well, I didn't record them, so I wrote them all down. But you hear those voices as you're reading them. They kept saying, 'It's the community. It's about community. It's not about the individual'.

For Jean, being able to produce a model based on the community's voices and eventual understanding of the model by the community was a huge success. The model was a product of a dissertation research project which the academy accepted as empirical findings. For Jean, she sees the model as a work in progress and plans to test the model with more tribal communities as part of her future research plans.

Leah speaks to the success of developing a formal partnering document between the university and tribes. The document initially was negotiated at length; the university originally disapproved of giving up property and intellectual ownership to the tribe but the tribe would not forfeit this right. Fortunately, the university finally conceded to the tribe's request for intellectual property ownership which Leah saw a success in the academy. Leah shares that story:

Certainly research services agreement at the university was monumental. ... One of the big contention points was property ownership and intellectual property ownership. The university would not give it up and the tribes would not give it up. We finally had a shift in the mentality (at the university), but the university backed down and said, 'You know what? We see your point, and it should be the tribe's property,' and I think that was a great achievement on the part of the tribe.

For Leah, a success in the academy was formalizing a partnering agreement with a tribe. The agreement set the foundation for future research with this tribe and was a positive step forward in overcoming the mistrust of research by tribes.

Ashley was able to obtain research grant funding throughout her training allowing her to conduct research with a Native focus. Ashley shared that by the academy supporting her through grant funding it was a success in the academy due to the fact that they invested in her as a researcher. Now she is an established researcher working on Native health issues. Ashley's stated:

I suppose how I've been most successful... it's probably obtaining the grants that I have all along. So I think that's been pretty successful in terms of providing my own way (able to conduct research with a Native focus).

For Ashley, the administration of grant funding is time consuming and resource intensive but it was an activity the academy took on as they supported her in her training and the results are that she is now an established researcher who not only teaches in the academy but also maintains a couple of research grants.

In summation, there were three narratives that reflected the success of conducting research in the academy. For Jean, Leah, and Ashley the successes were: development of a model; development of partnership documents; and c) attainment of research grants. For Jean, the creation of a model from the voices of the community and the acceptance of the model by the academy was a success. For Leah, the lengthy process of formalizing a partnership agreement that allowed tribes intellectual property rights was a success due to the fact that it allow for the positive development of the research relationship between the community and the academy. For Ashley, the administrative support received by the

academy with regards to grants management was a success because she was supported in her growth as a researcher in the academy. Each narrative demonstrated how the academy was supportive of the work of each of the Native researchers in the academy.

In summary, this chapter reported the thematic findings with respect to each of the three research questions. The chapter included: 1) findings on the struggles of conducting research in the community comprised of the tension of spiritual involvement, the challenges of positive communication, and tensions involving appropriate/inappropriate behavior; 2) findings on the struggles of conducting research in the academy were insider outsider tensions, paradox of walking the talk, navigating the academy, and open and honest communication; and 3) findings on the success of research in communities and in the academy were gaining support of research project by the community, conducting research in the community, and research, partnering, and funding support by the academy. In the next chapter, I provide a discussion of the results.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the communicative paradoxes, challenges, and dialectical tensions encountered by Native researchers while working in Native communities and in the academy. The study involved interviewing Native researchers to answer three final research questions. In this chapter, a brief summary of the findings for each research question is offered and then these findings are discussed in the context of the extant literature. Then, the implications this paper brings to the field of communication and research practice are noted. Finally, the limitations of the study and possible future research are explored.

Discussion of Research Questions

Research Question One

Question one explored communication challenges, tensions, paradoxes, and dialectics experienced by Native researchers when they engaged in research with their own communities or other Native communities. Through thematic analysis, three themes emerged answering the first research question. The first theme focused on the dialectic of insider/outsider tension, the second on the challenges of developing positive communication, and third negotiating concerns of appropriate and inappropriate behavior.

Dialectic of Insider/Outsider. The participants shared their experience through narratives and the strain of belonging to the academy yet also a member of a community (either a specific tribal community or the larger “American Indian” community). The dialectic of insider/outsider findings supported the extant literature as well as expanded upon it. The participants of the study struggled with negotiating their dual identities

particularly in a setting that required spiritual involvement, interacting with gatekeepers, and educating about research.

Tuhiwai Smith (2005), a Native researcher, best described the insider-outsider position as a dual role of which one is placed in “both insider and outsider” (p. 137) to the research process (Allen et al., 1999, Jones & Jenkins, 2008, Patricia Hill Collins, 1998). According to the literature regarding research and American Indians, it is the academy that is viewed as the outsider (Davis & Reed, 1999, Harala et al., 2005). Situations in which this dialectic occurred included one of spiritual involvement, interaction with gatekeepers, and educating about research.

According to Tuhiwai Smith (2005), the history of research with Native communities can be difficult for Native researchers. Traditional research is no longer the only accepted approach. The literature is rich in the building of partnerships (Baldwin et al., 2009; Belone et al., In Press; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Cashman et al., 2008; Christopher et al.; 2008a; Cochran et al., 2008; Davis & Reid, 1999; Fisher & Ball, 2002, 2003 and 2005; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009; Mail et al., 2006; Teufel-Shone et al., 2006; Thomas et al., 2009a and 2009b; Tuhiwai Smith, 2005; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006 and 2010; Walters & Simoni, 2009). Therefore, Native researchers must tread new ground concerning research partnering. Fortunately, a partnership approach to research has been on the rise and there are a number of lessons learned provided for new researchers (Baldwin et al., 2009; Belone et al., In Press; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Cashman et al., 2008; Christopher et al., 2008a; Cochran et al., 2008; Davis & Reid, 1999, Fisher & Ball, 2003; Harala et al., 2005; Holkup et al., 2004; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009; Mail et al., 2006; Teufel-Shone et al., 2006, Thomas et al., 2009a and

2009b; Tuhiwai Smith, 2005, Wallerstein & Duran, 2006 and 2010, Walters & Simoni, 2009). The dialectical tension of insider and outsider is one of those challenges that Native researchers have to navigate and the participants in the current study reinforced this dialectic strongly.

However, the current study shed new light on this dialectic by noting that can be a positive or growth aspect. Specifically, the dialectic of spiritual involvement provided researchers an opportunity for personal growth. In tribal communities, it is not unusual that formal meetings begin or conclude with a prayer or both. It is usually a tribal member that is called upon to conduct the pray and typically in their Native language and almost always a male member. A spiritually focused dialectic was shared by Daniel. Daniel faced the insider/outsider dialectic as he was asked to lead a prayer because of his tribal status and being male. It was uncomfortable for him initially, but also served as a growth experience. It is this dialectic that forces Daniel to confront his spirituality yet be respectful of the community's request. This is supported in the literature by Tuhiwai Smith (2005) who states that at all times "insider research has to be ethical and respectful" (p.139). This dialectic forces Daniel to self-reflect on his spirituality which is lacking in the literature as an experience shared by other Native researchers. However, the literature does situate the importance of self-reflection in order for the partnership to flourish (Wallerstein et al., 2005) as well as respecting the community's cultural traditions (Belone, et al., In press; Davis & Reid, 1999; Holkup et al., 2004; Tuhiwai Smith, 2005), and the need to be flexible and adapt to the needs of the community (Holkup et al., 2004, Thomas et al., 2009a).

Another extension of the current study is about the role of gatekeepers in the insider/outsider dialectic. The literature is sparse regarding interaction with gatekeepers in tribal communities. LaVeaux and Christopher (2009) recommend the importance of recognizing key gatekeepers. The gatekeepers in tribal communities are defined as individuals who determine who from outside the community is allowed access to the community including researchers. In creating a research relationship, the researcher is able to increase his/her access to the community and in the position of an insider yet an outsider because continued access requires navigating the gatekeepers. Interaction with gatekeepers is a dialectic that was experienced by Jean a participant in this study. She is Native from the mid-west and working with a southwest Native community and she shared that her skin tone/color is perceived as being “not Native enough” by gatekeepers, making her an outsider. However, she is Native and in other communities is considered an insider. Unfortunately for Jean, it is her physical appearance that intensifies her communicative challenge of developing research relationships and positioning her as an insider. This finding expands the literature by acknowledging the role that gatekeepers in the community play particularly as it creates the dialectic tension of insider and outsider for Native researchers.

Because tribes are increasingly more involved in research, it is often the Native researcher who at times is questioned by the academy and asked to provide a tribal perspective on an issue and at times also questioned by the community to provide a greater understanding about the academy. The literature does not speak directly to the role of educating community members and team members about research. Thomas et al. (2009a) recommended being prepared to educate funding agencies on the need to spend

funds on food when working with tribal communities as well as being prepared to train offices within the academy on CBPR approaches that are unique to working with tribal communities. Hayden shared a narrative in which he was placed in a dialectical situation as a tribal member. Hayden held the position of an insider both by the community and the academy while also an outsider because of educational success. He often found himself in the role of educating both the community and academy on appropriate approaches to research with tribal communities. This dialectical finding can certainly add to the literature. Within the CBPR, there is a principle that of co-learning (Israel et al., 2008) and the expectation of building capacity among the research partners. Hayden may be able to manage the dialectic if he were to take a co-learning approach to educating both the academy and the community. This aspect of the insider/outsider dialectic demonstrates that Native researchers have multiple burdens as they conduct research with tribal communities. These burdens are not always the ones that mainstream researchers have to face in the same settings.

Developing Positive Communication. There is a historical mistrust of research by Native communities due to past stereotyping and exploitation by outside researchers. It is this distrust that has created the challenge of creating positive communication with the community (Baldwin, 2009; Christopher et al., 2008a; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009; Mail et al., 2006; Tuhiwai Smith, 2005; Walters & Simoni, 2009). It is these negative events that can elicit memories of historical mistreatment resulting in historical trauma (Baldwin et al., 2009; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Davis & Reid, 1999; Struthers, R. & J. Lowe, 2003, Wallerstein & Duran, 2010, Whitbeck et al., 2004). Therefore, the historical mistreat of research can create a challenge for researchers to develop positive

communication. The CBPR literature (Baldwin et al., 2009; Belone et al., In Press; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Cashman et al., 2008; Christopher et al.; 2008a; Cochran et al., 2008; Davis & Reid, 1999; Fisher & Ball, 2002, 2003 and 2005; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009; Mail et al., 2006; Teufel-Shone et al., 2006; Thomas et al., 2009a and 2009b; Tuhiwai Smith, 2005; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006 and 2010; Walters & Simoni, 2009) is rich in recommending a communicative approach to research which highlights the importance of positive communication.. The challenge of developing positive communication occurred when participants were engaged in meeting timelines and deadlines, promoting of sustainable programs, and interaction with tribal gatekeepers.

When working with tribal communities one quickly becomes aware of competing issues that take the priority over research, issues of the health and safety of tribal members on limited funding. Tribes usually operate on a different fiscal year than the academy and sometimes different than the federal government. It is these competing issues and differing timelines that make it difficult for researchers to develop positive communication. Time is an important aspect to consider with working with tribal communities, in the literature there are several recommendations regarding time: a) Importance of investing time to build partnership (Burhansstipanov et al., 2005); b) By involving the community in data analysis and interpretation the time required is lengthen (Cashman et al., 2008); c) Respect different philosophies regarding time (Davis & Reid, 1999); d) Plan for extended timelines (LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009); and e) Be prepared to educate funding agencies on the need for extended timelines (Thomas et al., 2009a). The findings from this study support the literature and the challenges of positive communication due to time constraints. For example, Joy utilizes a CBPR approach and

actively engages with communities in developing active research partnerships. CBPR is time consuming and requires the commitment to develop relationships with communities, which may conflict with the academy, community and federal timelines and deadlines. For Joy, being a Native researcher creating positive communication with the academy required the contextualization of tribal commitments and differences in timelines in the hopes of creating realistic expectations

The historical mistrust of research can certainly impact positive communication; specifically when encouraging communities to sustain research programs after the funding ceases. The communicative and relational approach of CBPR emphasized the importance of contextualizes the history of communities through: a) understanding the historical context of the research (Christopher et al., 2008a); b) acknowledging historical experience with research (LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009); and c) obtaining historical information of community (Mail et al., 2006), to develop effective partnerships and positive communication. In this study, Megan and the research team just completed a four-year research project. However, carry forward funds were made available and the tribal leadership was very interested in sustaining the research intervention program. The responsibility of running the program with the small amount of carryforward funds fell upon the tribal service providers which resulted in a lack of positive communication between the academic team and the community team due to concerns around trust and the historical mistrust of research. The service provider wanted to know the motive of the academy by providing the funds because they did not trust the academy. The challenge of developing positive communication revealed the fact that Native researchers as with any other researcher must develop a trusting relationship when working in tribal

communities. Simply being a Native does not open doors in the community to research; still present is the hurdle of overcoming mistrust of research by tribal communities.

Appropriate and Inappropriate Behavior. The literature is filled with lessons learned specific to appropriate research approaches specific to working with tribal communities (Baldwin et al., 2009, pp. S79; Belone et al., 2010, In press; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Cashman et al., 2008; Christopher et al., 2008a; Davis & Reid, 1999; Fisher & Ball, 2003; Harala et al., 2005; Holkup et al., 2004; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009; Mail et al., 2006; Thomas et al., 2009a; Thomas et al., 2009b; Wallerstein et al., 2005; Walters & Simoni, 2009). Holkup et al., (2004) recommends the importance of being cognizant of the ethical consequences of our actions when working with communities, which may include providing feedback about inappropriate behavior. Walters and Simoni (2009) recommended the use of an American Indian Alaska Native ethical frame, which they describe as independence - respecting, valuing, and honoring differences, and interdependence – sharing of space...including intellectual space. In the current study, the participants encountered both appropriate and inappropriate behavior in formal meetings involving the academy and the community. One participant was called upon by a tribal administrator to act appropriately or, in other words, act in the best interest of the tribe because she was a tribal member. Another participant experienced inappropriate behavior at the hand of a tribal committee who treated her as a non-member of the tribe based on the assumption that she was a representative of the academy. Appropriate and inappropriate behavior was experienced by the last participant when presenting to tribal councils she may encounter supportive behavior as well as non-supportive behavior. The anxiety surrounding appropriate and inappropriate behavior

exhibited the tension Native researchers must navigate while in meetings with tribal communities, the behavior of the community as well as their own behavior must be negotiated. As a Native researcher cognizant of how to conduct one's self in the community, the mistrust of research by communities, results in Native researchers still having to prove that the work they are conducting is in the best interest of the tribe and not simply to benefit the academy.

In this section, I first talked about the dialectics of insider outsider. The dialectics experienced by the participants involved team membership, dissertation process and data. The literature is supportive of using Indigenous knowledge in designing research with tribal communities for that reason Native researchers could be valuable resources (Belone et al., 2010, In press; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 2005). Second, the historical mistrust of research certainly has an impact on research today and therefore the importance of developing positive communication (Baldwin et al., 2009; Belone et al., In Press; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Cashman et al., 2008; Christopher et al.; 2008a; Cochran et al., 2008; Davis & Reid, 1999; Fisher & Ball, 2002, 2003 and 2005; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009; Mail et al., 2006; Teufel-Shone et al., 2006; Thomas et al., 2009a and 2009b; Tuhiwai Smith, 2005; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006 and 2010; Walters & Simoni, 2009). Lastly, appropriate and inappropriate behavior was discussed in the context of formal meetings between the academy and the community. The literature is rich in recommendations on how researchers should conduct themselves in communities including principles specific to research with tribal communities (LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009).

Research Question Two

Question two investigated communication challenges, tensions, paradoxes, and dialectics experienced by Native researchers while working in the academy. There are challenges for all researchers who work in the academy. However, there are particular challenges faced by minority researchers as pointed out by Shavers et al. (2005) which are: 1) insufficient focused research training, and development; 2) lack of support as independent researchers; 3) lack of culturally appropriate mentoring; 4) miscommunication and misunderstanding; 5) historical mistrust of research; 6) gross underrepresentation at all levels of education; 7) increased work load because one may be only Native researcher and often sought as “expert” in area; 8) disparity in the research area of interest; and 9) direct and indirect discrimination. Walters and Simoni (2009) provided additional barriers specific to Native researchers: 1) historical mistrust of research; 2) underrepresentation of AIAN at all levels of education; 3) increased work load by Native research, often sought as “expert” in AIAN area; 4) disparity in the research area of interest; and 5) direct and indirect discrimination. Through thematic analysis, four themes emerged answering the second research question. The first theme centered on insider outsider dialectics; the second on the paradox of walking the talk; and the third navigating the academy; and fourth open and honest communication.

Insider Outsider Dialectics. Participants in this study shared their experience with dialectal tension and the management of support concerns. The dialectic centered on being an insider based on tribal membership, the color of the skin, or established kinship while simultaneously being an outsider because of education, lack support (i.e. funding), and possessing community knowledge that opposes academy’s knowledge of the community. The outcome of the dialectic of insider outsider supported the existing

literature and is added to as well. Similar to working in the community, the participants of this study had to manage their identities--an identity of membership on a research team (insider) yet at times not having support to play that role through lack of support specific to funding, measurement design, and interpretation of findings (outsider).

The dialectical tension involving funding was experienced by Lily who as a research team member (insider) used her tribal membership affiliation, insider, to develop research relationships with several tribal communities yet her funding to continue the work was not renewed forcing her into an outsider position in the academy and with the communities. She points out that in this research project CBPR was not being utilized. However, within the CBPR literature there are recommendations on managing resource tensions, such as “CBPR recognizes and builds on the strength, resources, and assets that exist within communities of identity, such as individual skills” (Israel, 2005, p 7). The tension of lack of funding support could be managed if the academy valued the skills on an insider in cultivating research partnerships with communities, instead the relationship may have been jeopardized by the academy’s lack of continued funding support. This tension highlights the delicate of role Native researcher and their dual role of insider outsider to the research process (Allen et al., 1999, Jones & Jenkins, 2008, Hill Collins, 1998).

The dialectic involving measurement design included Lily’s encounter with her dissertation committee primarily the chair who encourages the use of measures she also utilizes. Lily was uncomfortable with the validity of the measures with tribal communities. The dialectic is that Lily is an insider in the academy as a Ph.D. student yet an outsider to the dissertation process because of the lack of support in re-examining the

study for more appropriate measures or even adaptation of existing measures. The literature supports Lily's uneasiness and instinct in the lack of support regarding her concerns of using measures that had not yet been tested with tribal communities. When working with tribal communities, the literature speaks to the importance of: modifying "standardized evaluation procedures to be culturally acceptable and respectful of the local community" (Burhansstipanov et al., 2005, p.75), and "feedback sessions with community members to ensure correct collection and interpretation of data" (Davis & Reid, 1999, p. 758S).

The dialectic involving interpretation of findings is based on Jean's role as an insider and her ability to conduct statistical analysis yet an outsider because of her ability to understand historical trauma with regards to tribal communities. Taking this knowledge into consideration in the interpretation of statistical findings, Jean is supported in her skills in analysis yet not supported in her interpretation of results. The literature supports Jean's understanding of historical trauma and it is best understood as the disturbing attack on generations of American Indians since the Americas were colonized (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Duran et al., 1998; Duran & Duran, 1995). Examples of the trauma that has been inflicted on American Indians over the last 500 years is best described by Duran and Duran (1998) to include: a) loss of American Indian worldviews; loss of physical and spiritual resources; c) loss of lives and traditional homelands; d) forced movement to reservations; e) loss of family units, loss of children to boarding schools, loss of language and loss of the practicing of Native religion; and f) loss of families to urban areas and the lost federal recognition by many tribes (Duran & Duran, 1995). The historical trauma has resulted in unresolved grief from one generation to the

next and is explained as the root cause of the health disparities experienced by American Indians today (Duran & Duran, 1998; Jones, 2006; Christopher et al., 2008a; Chavez et al., 2008).

In review, the dialectical tension of insider outsider centered on the researchers' identity of working and studying in the academy therefore insiders yet outsiders because of the lack of support for their recommended research approach based on their cultural knowledge of Native communities.

Paradox of Walking the Talk. The paradox of walking the talk are situations encountered by participants of this study in the academy placing them in situations that involve someone in the academy sending simultaneous messages yet promoting opposing outcomes. Examples of structural circumstances encountered by the participant included: receiving CBPP training from PI of research projects yet PI fail to demonstrate CBPR approaches in the academy; presentation by established Native researchers yet they fail to demonstrate mentorship, and junior researchers who conduct the work yet receive no recognition.

The paradox involving walking the talk with regards to being trained and utilizing training in only certain situations was experienced by Robin. She is a member of a larger research team trained by the PI in CBPR yet same PI fails to demonstrate effective use of CBPR in the academy. The literature has several definitions of CBPR; the definition relied upon in this paper is the one developed by a 2001 W.K. Kellogg Foundation's Community Health Scholars Program and utilized by Minkler and Wallerstein (2008) which is "a collaborative approach to research that equitably involves all partners in the research process and recognizes the unique strengths that each bring" (p. 6). The concept

of equitable involvement is one of the nine principles of CBPR which states “CBPR facilitates a collaborative, equitable partnership in all phases of research, involving an empowering and power-sharing process that attends to social inequalities” (Israel, 2008). It is this recommendation of equitable engagement that promotes the use of CBPR with tribal communities as was discussed extensively in the discussion section of RQ 1. There is lacking in the literature how CBPR approaches can be used in the academy. However, there certainly are practical implications on the utilizing of a CBPR approach in mentoring in the academy.

The paradoxical situation also involved established Native researchers who reflect success in the academy yet fail to mentor junior researchers. Junior researchers, such as Daniel, heard the talk and but did not see the walk. The literature points out the need for mentoring due to the fact that there has been a rise in Native researchers attaining NIH funding (Manson et al., 2006; Walters & Simoni, 2009). The numbers may be very small but none the less it is increasing, warranting the need of successful researchers to mentor junior researchers. Shavers et al., (2005) identified nine perceived barriers for ethnic minorities from succeeding in the academy and of the four two were specific to mentoring or training. The first barrier was due to inadequate infrastructure in the academy for training, and development of minority researchers, the second barrier was due to the lack of culturally applicable mentoring (Walters & Simoni, 2009). The literature sheds light on the difficulty for senior researchers to be more engaged, “like other faculty of color, AIAN scientists often are asked to shoulder major institutional burdens and to assume administrative positions prematurely in their career trajectory” (Walters & Simoni, 2009, p. S73; also see Henly et al., 2006; Mason et al., 2006, Yager

et al., 2007). Further, the lack of incentive within the academy to mentor junior researchers is a constraint (Shavers et al., 2005). Thus, the paradox is fueled by challenging structural and resource constraints.

The paradox of clearly demonstrating the skills to get the job done in the academy yet lacking the credentials to receive the recognition for work completed was experienced by Hayden. The institution encouraged him to do the work (i.e. establish a Native center, bring in research funding) allowing him to do the walk but not allowing him to talk the walk or earn the credit for his work. The literature is lacking regarding this paradox. However, in a study involving minority investigators and investigators at minority-serving institutions, Shavers et al. (2005) found that the insensitivity, misperceptions and miscommunication by the academy as well as lack of institutional support as barriers for the investigators to compete for NIH funding. These barriers spoke to the reward system of the academy and who got promoted and who did not.

In summation, the paradox of walking the talk in the academy centered on researchers receiving two messages at the same time one of support to be trained or to get a job done while the second message is one of lack of support of the first message creating paradoxical situations for the researchers. The literature with regards to a Native focus examines research paradoxical situations in the context of research with communities (McDermott et al., 2008, Wallerstein & Duran, 2006) and it does not include an examination of paradoxical situation in the academy as experienced by Native researchers. Thus, this study certainly extends the literature in this area.

Navigating the academy. Navigating the bureaucracy of the academy can be a challenge for all researchers, yet there are some unique challenges for Native researchers

Examples of unique challenges include: the management of bureaucratic timelines of the academy and of tribes; requirement of internal/external funding documents of the academy and of tribes; obtaining internal/external approval processes of the academy and of tribes; seeking out Native resources in the academy to support Native focused research; and managing institutional powers throughout the research process both in the academy and in tribes. These findings are consistent with the extant literature. Shaver et al. (2005) found that among minority researchers a major barrier was one of inadequate research infrastructure, training and development in the academy. To successfully navigate the academy's bureaucracy, Shaver et al. (2008) recommended training in the culture and expectation of funders and training in grant writing and the grant application process. Walters and Simoni (2009) noted that the added burden of administrative responsibilities as barrier for AIAN researchers to be successful in the academy. They recommended changing the reward system in the academy by recognizing the challenges of working with communities. One challenge that could be recognized is the difficulty of navigating the financial bureaucracy of the academy to compensate community involvement in research. According to Thomas et al. (2009a) one must allow ample time for tribes to review and approve fiscal documents as well as human protection documents. For researchers who utilize a CBPR approach to research an acceptable understanding is that "CBPR involves a long term process" which is the ninth principle of CBPR (Israel, 2005).

In review, the challenge of navigating the academy included: managing differing timelines and fiscal documents; seeking Native focus resources; and negotiating institutional powers. The literature supported several of the challenges of navigating the

academy and was lacking with regards to some of the challenges, as pointed out by Walters & Simoni (2009) “we could find no empirical data on the obstacles inhibiting scientific success specifically among American Indian/Alaska Native at the postgraduate level” (p. S72).

Open and Honest Communication. Open and honest communication included the sharing of the details of the research plan with all partners, a dialogue on partnership expectations including limitations, and a sharing of human protection requirements. Open communication is of utmost importance when partnering with tribal communities especially the sharing of grant requirements and allowing for the adaptation of the research process to allow for changes by the community. Open and honest communication is a tool that can assist in creating an understanding of partnering expectations including limitations by the tribe and the academy. The lack of communication by the academy with the community on research requirements can hamper meeting deadlines, particularly human protection requirements which may hamper the project. As tribes move towards self-determination and assume control over research on tribal lands (Becenti-Pigman et al., 2008; Christopher, 2005; Davis & Reid, 1999, Tuhiwai Smith, 2005) the need for communicating all aspects of the research process is vital to gaining approval of the project. Based on the CBPR literature focused on tribal communities, open and honest communication is central to the partnership (Belone et al., 2010, In press; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Davis & Reid, 1999). In addition to the CBPR literature the extant literature regarding intercultural workgroup communication theory (Oetzel, 2005) supports open and honest communication through the use of equal, respectful, collaborative and participatory communication and that

effective positive group communication can result in positive partnership outcomes as well as research outcomes.

In this section, I discussed first, the tension of insider outsider dialectics and how CBPR principles can be used to manage this tension, through building upon existing strengths and resources, particularly those of the researchers themselves, who bring to the academic research team a sources of Indigenous knowledge that could be a valuable resource in designing interventions and programs (Belone et al., 2010, In press; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 2005). Second, the paradox of walking the talk was also discussed, on how researchers hear two messages with conflicting outcomes. As pointed out the literature speaks to the paradoxical situations that occur in partnerships with tribes (McDermott et al., 2008, Wallerstein & Duran, 2006) but is lacking in paradoxical encounters in the academy experienced by Native researchers. Lastly, the challenge of navigating the academy, which the participants of this study had numerous examples that they shared, however as pointed out by Walters & Simoni (2009) the literature is lacking with regards to empirical findings specific to Native researchers.

Research Question Three

Question three focused on the success encountered by the researchers in the field and in the academy. Through thematic analysis, three themes emerged answering the third research question. The first theme involved gaining the support of the research project by the community. The second was being able to conduct research with the community. The third theme focuses on obtaining support by the academy.

Success of Conducting Research with Communities. There were two themes that identified success in the community: a) gaining community support of the research

project and b) actually being able to conduct the research. First, gaining the community's support of the research project was deemed as a success and the ways in which support was exhibited included development of trusting partnerships, raising awareness of research topic, receiving tribal IRB approval, and active involvement by tribal leadership. The literature was abundant in the importance of gaining support from the community for effective research with tribal communities (Baldwin et al., 2009; Belone et al., In Press; Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Cashman et al., 2008; Christopher et al.; 2008a; Davis & Reid, 1999; Fisher & Ball, 2005; Harala et al., 2005; Holkup et al., 2004; LaVeaux & Christopher, 2009; Mail et al., 2006; Thomas et al., 2009a and 2009b; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006).

Second, the ability to conduct research in the community was a theme identified for success. The participants of this study shared many examples of how research was conducted. Several of those examples included: the co-creation of an intervention program, participation in data collection by elders from the community, transmission of intervention among community members, and the adaptation of a training manual to include cultural relevant information. These examples of successfully conducting research with tribal communities are supported and recommended by the CBPR literature. The literature recommends planning and designing research program together with the community allowing for cultural appropriateness (Baldwin et al., 2009; Belone et al., In press; Fisher & Ball, 2003; Israel et al., 2005). The literature also recommends training members from the community allowing for active engagement in the research project (Burhansstipanov et al., 2005; Cashman et al., 2008; Fisher & Ball, 2003; Thomas et al., 2009b).

Success of Conducting Research in the Academy. There were three narratives that reflected success in the academy and how the participants were supported in conducting research which included development of a model with community members, formalization of partnering documents, and administrative support of research grants. Shavers et al. (2005) conducted a study with minority researchers, including researchers who were from minority serving institutions. This was an important study because it addressed the need to increase the number of NIH funded research projects by minority investigators. According to the study, in order to do this, challenges faced by minority researchers needed to be addressed, such as the lack of support by the academy. Unfortunately, the ethnicity of the researchers was not reported, and it is unclear to what extent Native researchers participated in the study. With the focus on the need of the academy to support minority researchers, the current findings help to develop the literature by illustrating ways that Native researchers were successful in the academy.

In this section, I discussed what the participants defined as success, first in the community and then in the academy. Success in the community was described as the community supporting the research project through the willingness to partner and active participation by community members, as well as, obtaining tribal IRB approval for continuation of the project. Specifically, within the CBPR literature it verified the importance of gaining tribal support for research to be beneficial with tribal communities. Success in the academy was conveyed by the researchers as support from the academy allowed them to conduct research with tribal communities through model development and support of resources. In the next section, I discuss the theoretical and practical implications of this study.

Implications

Two important implications emerged from this study, one theoretical and one practical. First, the study identified two dialectics not previously discussed in dialectic approaches/theory and thus makes a contribution to research/theorizing about dialectics. Specifically, there was the dialectic of insider/outsider related to spiritual identity and the dialectic of insider/outsider related to cultural knowledge. Second, the study illustrates the challenges that Native researchers face in conducting community research and in navigating the academy. The findings highlight the importance of mentoring Native researchers on managing dialectics and paradoxes by senior researchers who are experienced and knowledgeable in indigenous research. The key appears to be developing a mentoring program utilizing a CBPR approach.

Research Implication

The first implication of this study is that the focus is on a new audience (i.e., Native researchers) in a new research context (community research), providing two novel aspects of the insider/outsider dialectic. Thus, this study helps to expand dialectic research and theory. The first novel aspect of the insider/outsider dialectic is the focus on spiritual identity. The literature does acknowledge the difficulty Native researchers' face regarding identity and the dual role of insider-outsider (Tuhiwai Smith, 2005) as was supported by the findings from this study. However, the participants in this study experienced the unique situation of having to negotiate their spiritual identity which likely would not have been an issue for a White researcher. Therefore, dialectical theory can be expanded upon with the addition of dialectic spiritual identity. Native researchers are in the unique position of having an understanding of the importance of spirituality

creating a connection and understanding to tribal communities that non-Native researchers lack regarding cultural knowledge.

A second novel aspect of the dialectic is the tension of having cultural knowledge of working and studying in the academy yet being an outsider based on cultural knowledge of tribal communities. The result is the lack of support by the academy in utilizing cultural community knowledge to practical application in research design. An important cultural knowledge understood by Native researcher is that of historical trauma and the contextualization of this knowledge can be informative in the study design. For example, there is unresolved grief from generations of trauma resulting in health disparities of American Indians today (Duran & Duran, 1998; Jones, 2006; Christopher et al., 2008a; Chavez et al., 2008). A Native researcher's insider's knowledge to historical trauma could be invaluable in the research design.

Essentially, these two novel aspects of the insider/outsider dialectic help to demonstrate the complexity of dialectics faced by Native researchers. The insider/outsider dialectic has previously been mentioned, but the opportunities and challenges this dialectic provide have not been mentioned in the literature. For these researchers, the insider/outsider dialectic presents an opportunity for personal growth and identity development. In contrast, the dialectic also presents immense challenges for managing insider and outsider identity issues. Thus, this study illustrates that current analysis of dialectics for Native researchers is insufficient and in need of further expansion. It also illustrates personal and professional challenges for Native researchers that are shaped by dialectics. While CBPR is an ideal approach to address some of these

challenges, the study illustrates that it is not a universal answer and there are key issues to be managed during the CBPR process.

Practical Implications

There are also key implications of the study for practice. Practice in this context is helping Native researchers becoming more successful in the academy and in the field (i.e., tribal communities). These implications help to illustrate the importance of studying Native researchers' perspective, especially considering the gross underrepresentation of Native researchers in the academy. These findings help to illustrate challenges for the academy, and mentors specifically, in helping Native researchers address dialectics, paradoxes, and challenges in conducting research with communities and in the academy.

The key practical implication focuses on managing the challenge of navigating the academy and the community. The study clearly illustrates unique challenges, dialectics, and paradoxes for Native researchers. These issues are inevitable in working in this context and the key is for the researchers to successfully manage the issues. However, most of the researchers appear paralyzed in how to manage the dialectics, paradoxes, and tensions. They seek mentorship and advice about how to manage these issues and how to enhance their communication about such challenges.

Part of these challenges exists because there is a lack of resources for these researchers. For example, the type of resources that are supportive for Native researchers in the academy are courses with a Native focus, peers who are Native, and mentors who work with Native communities. The practical and immediate implication for Native researchers is to seek out mentors who are not only responsive but also knowledgeable in navigating the field (tribal communities) and the academy. Despite additional

administrative burdens the literature is clear in the importance of mentoring by senior researchers of junior researchers (Shavers et al., 2005; Waitzkin et al., 2006; Walters & Simoni, 2009; Yager et al., 2007). Shavers et al., (2005) found in her study nine barriers encountered by minority investigators when applying for NIH funding. To overcome the barriers, Shavers et al. (2005) recommend the creation of mentoring and collaboration opportunities. Waitzkin et al. (2006) found with their mentoring partnership for minority faculty and graduate students in mental health services research there was a direct link between the training, mentoring, and outcomes, such as the successful submission of publications and grant applications. Walters and Simoni (2009) reported five barriers to scientific success among AIAN researchers these barriers are discussed in detail in the literature review section of this paper. One recommendation for overcoming these barriers included the development of a community of senior researchers who can mentor junior researchers allowing for the development of indigenous knowledge in research (Tuhiwai Smith, 2005; Walters & Simoni, 2009). Yager et al. (2007) found in the same mentoring program of Waitzkin et al. (2006) the importance of “encouraging mentoring within networks of social support that acknowledge important problems generated by societal prejudices, stigma, and emotional legacies of discrimination and historical trauma” (p. 149).

However, none of these prior studies illustrates specifically how to manage the communication tensions presented in this dissertation. Given the lack of experience in managing the tensions, the best approach appears to be creating a mentorship program utilizing a CBPR perspective. The literature is rich in recommending the use of CBPR when conducting research with communities to address health disparities in the

likelihood of improving health (Israel et al., 2005; Minkler & Wallerstein, 2003, 2008; Viswanathan et al., 2004; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006; Wallerstein et al., 2008). For that reason, there is a movement by tribal communities in the use of a CBPR approach (Ammerman et al., 2003; Burhansstipanvo et al., 2005; Christopher, 2005). However, the CBPR approach can also be useful in empowering Native researchers to better manage dialectics, paradoxes, and challenges in the academy and the field. One of the key CBPR outcomes is the empowerment of researchers and community members (Wallerstein et al., 2008). Thus, if Native researchers are mentored through CBPR principles, they are likely to be empowered to better handle research challenges, paradoxes, and tensions.

Such mentorship should be organized by following key CBPR principles (Israel et al., 2005). For example, Israel et al.'s first principle is that the community as a unit of identity. This acknowledgement could be applied to a graduate research team. Native researchers often start as graduate research assistants and if senior scholars consider them as a key unit of CBPR, they are likely to receive stronger mentorship. This identity base allows for the contextualization of the remaining principles of CBPR. Principle two builds on the community's strengths and resources (Israel, 2005) and in this case the research team. As individuals of a larger team we bring to the team skills, training, and knowledge based on prior experiences including the worldview of the Native community. These are certainly strength and resources that can be built upon especially for a White researcher/mentor who is conducting research with a tribal community. The principal investigator of the research team also has strengths and resources that can benefit the team in navigating the academy. Principle three involves the development of an equitable partnership in all phases of the research process with the community (Israel, 2005). A

mentor can use the approach of equity throughout the research process with the research team through training and mentoring at each step. The research team is certainly involved in certain aspect of the process, such as human protection submission, data collection, analysis and reporting of findings. However, the team may not be included in the grant writing, progress reporting, or manuscript development and co-authorship. An equitable partnership allows members of the research team to gain skills in managing dialectics, paradoxes, and challenges throughout the research process. Principle five supports the balance between research and action with a movement towards social change (Israel, 2005). Using a CBPR approach in mentoring encourages the integration of research and action for social change in the academy on a different approach to mentoring allowing for a paradigm shift. These four CBPR principles demonstrate how mentoring graduate research teams can be approached from a CBPR perspective, expanding CBPR praxis from the field to the academy. Native researchers utilizing a CBPR approach in community research would be accustom to the principles and would allow for a full circle of reciprocity throughout the research process from the lead researcher to the graduate researcher, from the graduate researcher to other graduate researchers in the team, and finally from the graduate researcher to the lead researcher. The co-learning would be beneficial to the team in negotiating communication dialectics, paradoxes, and challenges in community research and in the academy.

Summary of Implications

One theoretical and one practical implication emerged from this study. First, the theoretical implication and the expansion of the communication field, particularly, dialectic research and theory. The theoretical implication emerged based on the study's

novel focus on Native researchers and a new research context involving communities. Two new communication dialectics were identified centering on spiritual identity and cultural knowledge in the insider/outsider dialectics, further examination is recommended in gaining a better understanding of these new dialectics in the hopes of expanding the communication field.

Second, the practical implication in managing the unique challenges of navigating the academy and community research as highlighted by the study. A key finding was the importance of mentoring Native researchers in the management of communication dialectics, paradoxes, and challenges as encountered by the researchers in the field and the academy. The study emphasizes a mentoring program utilizing a participatory approach that is reflective of community based participatory research.

Limitations

Several limitations were encountered in this study as in any research study. First, some of the interviews were constrained by the use of technology or the phone which hampered interpersonal dialogue to occur naturally allowing for visual stimulation to the discussion, such as facial expression, and not allowing for periods of silence as participants molded their stories. Covarrubias (2007) found that American Indian college students used silence as a means of communication. Interviews that were conducted over the phone did not allow the participants to exercise silence as a communicative style. Thus, I may have missed important messages in those interviews.

Second, the sample size was limited by a number of factors. The study's time frame was narrowed by the need to obtain two institutional review board approvals, one from the academy and the other from a tribal consortium. Due to the narrow time frame

the study was limited to 12 participants. The narrow window for recruitment hampered participation from senior researchers whose calendars are filled months in advance and could not at a moment's notice participate. Because the sample size was small the tribal identification of the participants was not included due to the fact that "in the life and social sciences, less than .0.003% of all doctoral candidates are AI/AN" (Walters & Simoni, 2009). At a professional level almost all Native researchers know who these individuals are and could fairly identify a participant based on their narrative alone.

Lastly, the study did not examine whether a researcher was raised on the reservation or an urban community and the possible impact on communicative norms. However, the difference of being raised on the reservation as compared to an urban community became apparent in a number of different ways during the study. For example, a couple of the participants self-identified as being raised urban and therefore encountered the barrier of not knowing the language or lacking an understanding of silence because of being acculturated to the communication norms of the main stream population. Another example, involved a participant who was bothered by the fact that during meetings tribal members would not look her in the eyes or hold her gaze which frustrated her. However, she did acknowledge that she had been acculturated to the communicative norms of the academy and the importance of looking into the eyes of whom one was speaking to, which is considered rude by tribal members and a confrontational communication style.

There were limitations to this study; however, the exploratory approach and the findings from the study provided insight on challenges and successes experienced by

Native researchers that can be used to inform possible future research, as discussed in the next section.

Future Directions

There are different future research possibilities to gain broader understanding of the struggles experienced by Native researchers. First, additional interviews can be conducted to include a larger sample of Native researchers which was limited by the time frame of this study. This approach will help determine whether a study with an expanded sample confirm the initial findings through saturation.

A second direction would be to expand the sampling plan with a focus on the recruitment of Native senior researchers. These researchers have the unique knowledge and experience of being mentored and mentoring of others. The current study emphasized the importance of mentoring but no specific details were provided in what that meant. A study focused on the characteristics of mentoring would be beneficial at a number of different levels. For example, evidence based mentoring characteristics would provide individual Native researchers information on what to look for in a mentor; mentors not familiar with working with Native researchers could be informed on how better to mentor; and mentoring training program could be informed on how better to train future mentors.

A third direction would examine CBPR approaches to mentoring. A couple of participants in the current study raised the challenge of being trained in the academy on a CBPR approach. Yet the principles were not applied in the academy through mentorship. In other words, the mentors or PIs of research projects were not walking the talk of CBPR in the academy. A majority of the research that is currently being conducted in

tribal communities recommend the utilization of a participatory approach. One reason is that CBPR does not impose academic knowledge but encourages a co-learning environment on the best approaches with communities. Such a study would help demonstrate the benefit of a CBPR mentoring approach.

A final future research direction is an examination of differences in reservation and urban raised Native researchers with a focus on acculturation and the impacts on cultural communication norms. The current study found a difference in the dialectical insider-outsider tension for those researchers who self identify as being raised in an urban community as compared to being raised on the reservation. Such a study might investigate such research questions as “Is there a difference in the communicative dialectical tensions and paradoxes encountered between these researchers?” and “Would there be a need for different mentoring approaches?”

Conclusions

The need to examine struggles encountered by Native researchers in the field and in the academy is important since there is a social movement (Tuhiwai Smith, 2005) by Native people to engage in research with the conscious goal of self-determination and the elimination of health disparities (Baldwin et al., 2009, Christopher et al., 2008a, Duran et al., 2005, Walters & Simoni, 2002). To engage in research, Native researchers must overcome the barriers of the communities’ historical mistrust of research, limited culturally grounded theoretical and methodological approaches as well as entrée to the communities (Walters & Simoni, 2009). However, Native researchers may be in the better position to address these barriers due to the fact that they are committed to positive change in their communities, as well as having a sense of responsibility to the

communities to assure ethical conduct of research (Tuhiwai Smith, 2005) to overcome the mistrust of research by communities (Walters & Simoni, 2009). Therefore, Native researchers must be supported through the identification of additional communication barriers encountered in the field and in the academy and ways of managing those challenges through decolonize approaches, such as, managing insider-outsider dialectics and developing positive communication.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

APPENDIX B: EXAMPLE OF RECRUITMENT E-MAIL MESSAGE

APPENDIX C: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

APPENDIX D: SOUTHWEST INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL
LETTER

APPENDIX E: PARTICIPATION INCENTIVE RECEIPT

Appendix A

Interview Protocol

Ice Breakers

Tell me a little about yourself? What type of work are you doing right now? How long have you been doing this work? Where did you complete your doctoral program? Tell me how you became interested in research? Other than the research institute you are currently at are there other institutes you have worked at?

Challenges in Native Communities

Tell me about a time during your research career that you were faced with a difficult situation while conducting research with a Native community.

Possible probes:

What do you think may be the reasons for the challenge occurring when it did? What did you do to overcome the challenge? Did the community play a role in helping you overcome the challenge? If not, how could the community have assisted in overcoming the challenge? Did the academy play a role in the challenge you faced? Did the academy provide support in you overcoming the challenge? If not, how could the academy have assisted in overcoming the challenges? If you had the opportunity to change how you responded to the challenge what would you do differently? What advice would you give to up and coming Native researchers who plan to conduct research in Native communities?

Challenges in Academic Institutions

Tell me about a time during your research career that you were faced with a difficult situation while working in the academy?

Possible Probes:

What do you think may be the reasons for the challenge occurring when it did? What did you do to overcome the challenge? Did the academy provide support in you overcoming the challenge? If not, how could the academy have assisted in overcoming the challenges? Did the community play a role in the challenge you faced? Did the community play a role in helping you overcome the challenge? If not, how could the community have assisted in overcoming the challenge?

If you had the opportunity to change how you responded to the challenge what would you do differently? What advice would you give to up and coming Native researchers who plan to work in the academy?

Insider/Outsider Stories

During your research career, do you have any stories you would like to share regarding your experience as either an “insider or outsider” in the research process with Native communities?

Possible Probes:

What made you an insider or outsider? How was this communicated to you by the community members. How did it feel to be an insider? How did it feel to be an outsider? Did the community view you as either an insider or outsider? Did the academy view you as an insider or outsider?

Successes in Native Communities/Academic Institutions

Tell me about a time you had success conducting research in a Native community? (within the academy)

Possible Probes: Who else was involved? What role did the community have in the success? What role did the academy have in the success? What made this a success compared to the difficulties?

Appendix B

Example of Recruitment E-mail Message

Sent to and individual I knew personally:

Introduction:

Hi _____

I am following up with you on my student dissertation project by this email I am seeking your participation in my research study.

Sent to individual that was referred:

Hi Dr./Ms./Mr.

Your name and email was referred to me by a participant in my study, my name is Lorenda Belone and by this email I am seeking your participation in my dissertation research study.

Body of email:

I am Principal Investigator as well as Dr. John Oetzel, Chair of the University of New Mexico Department of Communication and Journalism.

My research is studying the challenges, dialectical tensions and paradoxes Native researchers encounter at different stages in their research career, while conducting research with Native communities as well as work in the academy.

A potential participant you must meet the following criteria: self-identify as a Native researcher, have in the past or currently conducting research in a Native community, and have a graduate degree (e.g., MA, MPH, Ph.D., M.D.) or working toward such a degree. They can be a graduate student in a master's program, a pre/post doctoral candidate, or a researcher with a terminal degree. Further, given the focus on health related research, the research focus has to directly or indirectly involve health outcomes.

Up to twenty-five participants will take part in this study.

If you decide to participate?

An interview in person or by telephone depending on your preference will be scheduled. You will be asked questions about successes and challenges of working with Native communities or in academic institutions.

The interview should last no more than about two hours.

The interview will be audio recorded and will be transcribed.

As a participant to this study you will be paid \$50 by gift card at the completion of the interview for the compensation of your time.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You have the right to choose not to participate or to withdraw your participation at any point in this study.

If you have any questions or concerns about this research study, myself or Dr. Oetzel will be glad to answer them. I can be reached by email at ljoe@salud.unm.edu or my personal cell number is 505-306-4497. Dr. Oetzel can be reached at his office number 505-277-1902.

Thank You for your consideration to Participate.

I have attached a copy of the consent form for your review.

Lorenda Belone, M.P.H.
Ph.D. Candidate
Communication & Journalism
Associate Scientist II
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Appendix C

Consent to Participate in Research University of New Mexico Main Campus IRB

The University of New Mexico Main Campus IRB Consent to Participate in Research

Student Dissertation Project: An Examination of Native Researchers

Introduction

You are being asked to participate in a research study that is being done by Lorenda Belone, who is the Principal Investigator and Dr. John Oetzel, from the Department of Communication and Journalism. This research is studying the challenges, tensions and paradoxes Native researchers encounter while conducting research with Native communities as well as work in the academy.

You are being asked to participate in this study because you are a Native researcher. Twenty-five people will take part in this study.

This form will explain the research study, and will also explain the possible risks as well as the possible benefits to you. We encourage you to talk with your family and friends before you decide to take part in this research study. If you have any questions, please ask one of the study investigators.

What will happen if I decide to participate?

If you agree to participate, the following things will happen:

You will be asked to participate in an interview that may be conducted in person or by telephone depending on your preference.

The interview will be conducted at a location you select.

You will be asked questions about successes and challenges of working with Native communities or in academic institutions.

The interview should last no more than about two hours.

The interview will be audio recorded and will be transcribed.

How long will I be in this study?

Participation in this study will take a total of two hours over a period of one day.

What are the risks of being in this study?

- There is no known risk in participating in this study. However a possible minimal risk of this study may include the potential for the breach of privacy and/or confidentiality.

Page 1 of 4

IRB#: 09-613

Version: 02/05/10

APPROVED		02/25/10		OFFICIAL USE ONLY		EXPIRES		02/24/11	
				UNM		American Southwest Research Center			
The University of New Mexico Main Campus IRB									

Appendix D

Southwest Institutional Review Board Approval Letter



ALBUQUERQUE AREA INDIAN HEALTH BOARD, INC.

Albano Band of Navajos * Tularosa Band of Navajo * Hopi-Apache Nation * Mesquero Apache Tribe
Ranah Band of Navajos * Southern Ute Indian Tribe * Ute Mountain Ute Tribe

May 10, 2010

Lorenda Belone, MPH
P.O. Box 754
Gallup, NM 87305

Re: SWT 2010-003: Student dissertation: An examination of Native researchers

Dear Ms. Belone:

On May 6, 2010, the Southwest Tribal Institutional Review Board (IRB) met and discussed your revised protocol. We appreciate the time you took to provide clarification regarding your project.

The Southwest Tribal IRB **approves** your protocol. Work on this project **MAY** begin. This approval is for a period of one year from the date of this letter and will require continuation approval if the research project extends beyond **May 6, 2011**. This IRB letter should be shared with any applicable IRBs.

If you make any changes to the protocol during the period of this approval, you must submit a revised protocol to the Southwest Tribal IRB for approval before implementing the changes. Furthermore, if the results of the research are used to prepare papers for publication or oral presentations at professional conferences, manuscripts or abstracts must be submitted to the Southwest Tribal IRB for pre-publication approval.

We appreciate your interest in providing the benefits of health research to Southwest Tribal communities. If you have any questions regarding the IRB's decision, please contact me at (505) 962-2602.

Sincerely,

Francine C. Gachupin, PhD, MPH
Chair – Southwest Tribal IRB

cc: Dr. Tassy Parker, Southwest Tribal IRB Co-Chair
Rainey Injady, Southwest Tribal IRB (Primary Reviewer for Protocol SW 1-2010-003)
File

Appendix E
Participation Incentive Receipt

RECEIPT – PARTICIPATION

Protocol Number:
UNM HRRC# 09-613
SWT 2010-003

Project Title: *Student Dissertation Project: An Examination of Native Researchers*

ID #: _____

Received \$50 gift card Yes [] (please check)

Card # _____

I certify that I have participated in an interview with Lorenda Belone on her student dissertation project and that I have received a participation incentive in the amount of \$50.

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

.....
Investigator: Lorenda Belone

Signature of Interviewer: _____ Date: _____
.....