

## **A Historico-Cultural Review of Native American Woman's Double Spatial Marginalization in the Post-Contact Era**

### **Abstract**

*The present study explores Native American woman's spatiality in the post-contact or post-colonization era and its implications on the Native American woman of contemporary America. The paper offers a historico-cultural critique of Native American woman's spatial marginalization as a result of the US Government's assimilation and acculturation policies. The present study employs Tim Cresswell's notion of normative geography to explore the socio-cultural construction and reconfiguration of Native American normative geographic structures in the post-contact era. This study claims that Euro-Americans used religion, land treaties, education institutions, and legislative acts to destabilize Native American woman's positionality within Native American normative geographies. The research concludes that the Euro-American expansionist agenda that resulted in Native American woman's double spatial marginalization continues to mar Native American spatiality in contemporary United States. Hence, to obtain socio-cultural emancipation, Native American woman needs to contest her spatially marginalized position.*

**Key words:** *Native American Spatiality, Marginalization, Native American Woman, Post-contact Normative Geographies*

### **INTRODUCTION**

The Standing Rock tribe protest against the North Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) is one of the major resistance movements of contemporary Native American history. What made this protest an important resistance movement in the history of Native America is the role that the Native American woman played in it. On the one hand, for the spatially marginalized Native American woman, this resistance movement was an opportunity to redefine her spatial location within the Native American normative geography. On the other hand, her participation in the anti-DAPL protest exposed the deep rooted spatio-gender inequalities prevalent in Native American society. The discussion in the following study surveys the spatialization of the Native American woman in the post-contact era and the implications of her double spatial marginalization in the contemporary era.

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#### **Fasih ur Rehman**

Ph.D Scholar National University of Modern Languages (NUML), Islamabad

E-mail: [fasihrkk@gmail.com](mailto:fasihrkk@gmail.com)

#### **Prof. Dr. Shaheena Ayub Bhatti**

Director, Women Research & Resource Centre, Fatima Jinnah Women University

#### **Mrs. Asma Qazi**

Space and place are multidimensional entities. On one hand, they refer to the geographical coordinates of a physical structure, while on the other hand, they signify an individual's positionality within social hierarchies. In both scenarios, they possess meaning and thus influence the behavior of the people. However, these entities do not have inherent meaning. Rather, their meanings are inscribed by powerful entities and processes that socially or physically control the meaning-making process within a particular geographic and social setup. The subsequent meanings assert influence in multifaceted dimensions. The meaning of a place influences an individual's relationship with that particular space and establishes an individual's relation with the *other* and thus constitutes the foundations of spatial *otherness*.

The notion of spatial otherness is constituted upon certain "expectations about behavior" concerning a place (Cresswell, 1996, p. 3). Hence, a general idea about what is appropriate or inappropriate behavior concerning a particular space is developed by those agencies and processes that hold social powers. Tim Cresswell (1996) maintains that individuals and groups constitute the notion of appropriate and inappropriate conduct in the reciprocity of a place's "naturalness" (p. 5). An action is considered in place when it complies with the expected appropriate behavior, and action is considered as out of place action when it defies the expected behavior (Cresswell, 1996). The actions that are out of place are considered as transgression because they contest the naturalness and take for granted the meanings of a particular place. Consequently, it impacts the normative landscape of a particular society. Likewise, Cresswell (1996) defines normative landscapes as the social orientation of space that designates appropriateness or inappropriateness to an action within a geographical space. In other words, the constitution of normative geography takes place when some socially powerful agency entitles certain actions as right or wrong about a particular space and place.

The present study offers an historico-cultural survey of the Native American woman's positionality within Native American social and geographic spaces in the post-contact era. This study argues that Euro-Americans employed religious teachings, educational reforms, legislative acts, and land treaties to reconfigure Native American normative geographic structures upon Eurocentric models. Consequently, Native American woman, who was already spatially marginalized in the pre-contact era, became doubly marginalized in the post-contact era. In the present study, the term post-contact era means the intersection of time and place when the United States government implemented the assimilation and acculturation acts that began a new era in Native American history. The arrival of Columbus in 1492 did not altogether change the socio-cultural patterns of Native American societies, rather the Native American culture received Euro-American cultural values slowly and gradually. It is pertinent to mention here that Columbus was not the first European to discover the Americas, however, the present study takes this iconographic moment in order to signify the initiation of Europe's encounter with the region. Therefore, in this study, the term post-contact normative geographies are composed of those spatio-cultural practices that the United States government implemented under the aegis of the assimilation and acculturation programs.

Euro-Americans invaded Native America for various purposes. For instance, the Spanish colonized the Southeastern and Southwestern Native Americans to create a local peasant class. The French occupied the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi River in search of saleable

goods, natural resources and engaged in fur trade with the Natives. The Russians used the Northwestern coasts and the Arctic to trade marine mammal furs with China. The British focused on expanding their territorial jurisdiction in Native America (Luebering, 2001, p.21). However, these conquests were not “one-way” events; rather, Native and Euro-American contact brought socio-cultural changes to both populations and Europe as well. With the growing territorial dominance of the Euro-Americans, European culture also exerted its influence through different ways into the Native American society. This happened particularly, during the latter half of the millennia, when settlers and Native Americans came into close contact and thus influenced each others’ cultures. Euro-Americans cherished the legacy of a centralized government, authoritarian religion, well-defined class structure, and socio-economic models and hierarchies whereas the Native Americans did not use these socio-cultural structures (Nichols, 2004, p.27).

Native American societies were culturally diversified groups that were established upon individualized socio-political, and socio-cultural patterns. For instance, the migratory Ojibwa tribes were matrilineal societies, whereas the Algonquin tribes followed patrilineal social hierarchies. In tribes like the Huron, the man worked in the fields and gathered seasonal fruits and berries, while the woman headed councils and selected the chief (Leubering, 2010, 50). On the other hand, Euro-Americans, coming from different parts of Europe, brought with them shared cultural norms. Early conquest of the Native American lands and people instilled an attitude of superiority where they considered themselves civilized and felt a responsibility to make the Native Americans socially civilized and cultured by organizing Native American societies upon Euro-American socio-cultural patterns (Nichols, 2018, p.3). To reorganize Native American society upon Euro-American models, the Euro-Americans used Christianity and military force to transform Native American societies into so-called civilized societies. Besides this, when Euro-American and the United States government was established and wielded substantive power, legislation contained Native Americans into Eurocentric socio-cultural arrangements; these laws included the establishment of reservations, land allotment acts, and creation of boarding schools on reservations.

Additionally, the socio-cultural influence informally seeped into the socio-spatial dynamics of Native societies. On one hand, these multidimensional pressures reconfigured the socio-cultural landscape of Native America, while on the other hand, they reified the spatially suppressive normative geographies of Native American society (Perdue, 2001, 7). The Native American woman became double marginalized spatially because the Eurocentric socio-cultural patterns of the eighteenth and later centuries divided Native American society into the public and private spheres that dominated Europe. This division was supported through religious teachings, definitions of gender roles, and legislative acts. According to Luebering (2010), the mission “mandated that native individuals be separated by gender”, which augmented pre-existing physical and sexual abuse of Native American woman by man (p.187). Native American patriarchy readily accepted the gendered division of the spheres for it assured them of retaining the supremacy of the Native American man over the Native American woman. Elements that supplemented Native American woman’s double spatial marginalization also included boarding schools. These schools were established on the notion of the gendered division of labor. Male children were taught subjects that would make them

useful workers in the public sphere whereas woman was taught homemaking and the art of domesticity (Perdue, 2001, p.8). Legislative acts like the 1887 General Allotment Act further compromised Native American woman's spatiality by assigning arable lands to the male heads of families (Perdue, 2001, 8). The following section presents an in-depth analysis of these different schemes that contributed and paved way for the double spatial marginalization of the Native American woman.

### **Spatial Marginalization through Religion**

Just as they were culturally diverse, Native American societies were religiously diverse. In other words, Native American societies did not follow a single religious or belief system like the invading Christian Euro-Americans. There were hundreds of Native American tribes and clans, and the majority of them had their own belief systems, which were different from other tribes. For instance, the Ojibwe religion was founded on the Grand Medicine Society that would arrange religious ceremonies. The Grand Medicine Society is an esoteric group that acts as a "center of spiritual knowledge and a source of social prestige" (Luebering, 2011, p.39). The Carrier Natives' religion had a "great sky god and many spirits in nature" which could be contacted through dreams and visions, and they believed in "reincarnation and an afterlife" (Luebering, 2011,p. 43). The Tanaina Native Americans were "animistic" (Luebering, 2011,p. 44). The Iroquois believed in an elaborate religious cosmology that consisted of the woman falling from the sky, the deluge that is the great flood narratives, and supernaturalism, cannibalism, and star myths (Luebering, 2011,p. 49). The Natchez "venerated the Sun, which was represented by a perpetual fire kept burning in a temple" (Luebering, 2011,p. 43). The Pawnee Indians believed in star gods and performed ceremonies to entreat their presence (Leubering, 2011,p. 76). The Sioux performed the annual Sun Dance (Leubering, 2011). The Cheyenne Native Americans believed in two deities, "the Wise One Above, and the god who lived beneath the ground" (Leubering, 2011,p. 88). The Pueblo Indians believed in the Kachina religion, which is a complex belief system that comprises "hundreds of divine beings act[ing] as intermediaries between humans and God" (Leubering, 2011,p. 97). The Yuman religious belief was established upon a "supreme creator" (Leubering, 2011,p. 101) while the Navajo Indians practiced an array of ceremonies and rites that celebrated the emergence of the first people from many worlds that exist beneath the earth (Leubering, 2011,p. 104).

These multifaceted religious belief systems governed the Native American tribes. The presence of different religious belief systems made the Native American religious setup vulnerable against the institutionalized religion of Euro-Americans and thus during the contact era gave an opportunity to the Euro-Americans to impress their own socio-religious beliefs upon the Native Americans. The French, among the earliest Euro-Americans who interacted with Natives, relied on Jesuits to teach Christianity to the Native Americans. Since the French came to exploit the natural resources of America, they were not primarily concerned about the religious conversion of Natives to Roman Catholicism. However, as they established settlements on the coast, they needed the services of missionaries. Even at this stage, the work of missionaries was not necessarily to spread Christianity; rather, they worked mainly to pave the way for the colonization of Native Americans. These missionaries established churches throughout the Native lands and invited people to Christianity. English

colonizers also came to America in pursuit of commerce and territorial expansionism. The Evangelization of the Native Americans was never on the agenda list of the English. Clergies of both countries used the same methods of preaching that ranged “from fairly benign to overtly oppressive” (Leubering, 2011,p. 170). One difference between the two nationalities was that the early English brought with them a Puritan version of Christianity. These missionaries were “extremely doctrinaire ” in their religious affairs, and would torture Indians who would attempt to maintain their traditional religious practices (Leubering, 2011,p. 171). Eventually, the Quebec Act of 1774 and the U.S Bill of Rights ensured free practice of religion to the Native Americans, however, these rules never materialized.

The spread of Christianity in Native America by the Euro-Americans exerted tremendous influence on indigenous religious belief systems. The monotheistic religious culture destabilized the polytheist religious beliefs of the Native Americans. The monotheistic religious culture destabilized the polytheist religious beliefs of the Cree, Ojibwa, Chipewyan, and other Native American tribes. Christian theology cut deep into the very belief of the Native Americans that all people came from the worlds beneath the earth and that they are all equal. Christianity also taught the supremacy of the Euro-Americans and their cultures over the Native Americans, and this idea was reiterated through the lessons derived from Genesis. Native Americans were placed at the lowest level of the social strata, both culturally and spatially with the “cultural supremacy” of the Euro-Americans being extended to the spatial. Christianity stipulated spatial hierarchies, where the Euro-Americans occupied the higher position, allowing them to capture, occupy or take any portion of Native American land. At the same time, Native Americans as a whole were placed in a subordinate and secondary position to Euro-Americans and Native women were placed in the lowest strata of the spatial hierarchy of Native America.

While the Cree, Ojibwe, and Chipewyan polytheist tribes had always considered the world and its people as a product of the coupling of male and female entities, Christianity distorted this image to a great extent and propagated a “notion of single, male deity who was superior to all other deities” (Paper, 2007,p. 63). Although the linguistic barriers made it difficult for the Native Americans to understand this concept, the notion further destabilized the already ambivalent gender relations of the Native American society. It is pertinent to add that the notion of ambivalence in this study refers to the inherent discrimination prevalent in the gender relations of the Native Americans. Christian teachings enforced the “patriarchalization of Native traditional cultures” (Paper, 2007,p. 65). This imposed patriarchalization and the attitudes of the early misogynist missionaries of Christian monastic orders extended the cultural marginalization of the Native American woman, which in turn resulted in her spatial marginalization. Christian missionaries, thus, imposed Christian values upon Native Americans, which would strictly confine the Native American woman to home and the church.

Native American men and women received the teachings of Christianity differently. Traditionally, Native Americans continued their religious practices in the early contact period; however, in the era of reservations, Christianity became a means to survive the harsh privations on reservations (Luebering, 2010, p.84). Therefore, Native American men did not

readily accept Christianity until it was forced upon them. The Native American man's aversion to the new religion was rooted in his long-held superior position in comparison to that of the Native American woman and they believed that the new religion threatened their dominant position (Nichols, 2018, p.95). On the other hand, Native American women accepted Christianity because it granted them freedom from the Native American patriarchal authority. Native American woman's socio-cultural marginalization made her an easy target for Christian missionaries. She was eager to accept Christianity in the hopes of achieving cultural and spatial emancipation; however, the new religion did not give the cultural and spatial freedom that it promised or propagated. Thus neither the Native American traditional religion, nor Christianity, offered any spatial freedom to the Native American woman (Perdue, 2001, p.89).

Christianity also reinforced the Native American gendered division of labor by restructuring the Native American society upon patriarchal standards. The Christian missionaries' exaltation of male superiority and admonition that females were "lesser beings" (Paper, 2007, p. 65) widened the gender gap. Furthermore, Native American religion "mandated identification by matrilineal descent" (Paper, 2007, p. 90). However, with the arrival of Christianity, patrilineal descent was recognized in an effort to discourage matrilineal social systems, which significantly hurt women's social status. In addition, Euro-Americans dismantled Native American matri-local ritual centers that were used for different religious ceremonies. These centers were run and supervised by clan mothers who would choose and instruct the leaders. With the building of churches throughout Native American lands, the matrilineal ritual centers were destabilized and clan mothers lost the power of socio-religious preeminence. This further destabilized the normative geographies of the Native American society and put the Native American woman in a doubly marginalized position in the social hierarchy.

Furthermore, the new religion destabilized the Native American religious relationship with nature and land. In many Native American societies, farming, hunting, and food were essentially religious activities. Food, whether received through hunting or farming, was treasured as a gift of spiritual beings, and elaborate ceremonies were organized to celebrate food. Native Americans established a relationship with nature and land through these quasi-religious ceremonies. The rituals performed during hunting and after harvesting meant renewed relationship with the earth. In many tribes, like the Pawnee and Nitsitapi, female members of the tribe performed these ceremonies (Paper, 2007, p. 109). Christianity had no such traditions and discouraged Native American women from being part of any such gathering. With the passage of time, these ceremonies were rarely celebrated and Native American women who would often form the center of such ceremonies thus lost the esteemed spatial position that these rituals lent them. These religious interventions further deteriorated the Native American woman's spatial position in the Native American geographies of the post-contact era. In other words, Christianity contributed in maintaining the ambivalent normative geography of the Native American society.

### **Spatial Marginalization through Land Treaties and Acts**

Religion was not the only way in which Eurocentric spatio-cultural norms were implemented. Euro-Americans used forced occupations, land treaties, land acts, and policies that influenced the overarching structure of normative geographies of Native America and adversely affected—indeed, disenfranchised—Native American woman's space within the normative geographies of Native America. In the following section, I discuss different acts, treaties, and legislative procedures that paved the way for destabilizing the normative geographies of Native America. However, it is important to inform the reader that since all treaties deal with the issue of land and space, I discuss only those treaties that influenced the overarching socio-spatial set up with reference to the Native American normative geography. In the present section, I explore the role of the U.S Government Civilization Fund Act 1819, the Indian Removal Act of 1830, and the Dawes Act of 1887 in augmenting spatial marginalization of the Native American woman. These acts are of particular importance since they paved the way for the assimilation and acculturation of the Native American society into the Euro-American social system. In this analysis, the study does not indulge in the assessment of the acts, treaties, and policies as to whether these treaties were good or bad for any of the party; rather, it offers an analysis of the impact that these acts and treaties had upon the normative geographies of the Native American culture and spatiality. Nor does the present study dwell on what situations led the Natives and Euro-Americans to reach agreements or treaties under these acts, and whether these treaties were fulfilled or not; instead, it explores the ways these treaties changed the normative geographies of Native America and caused woman's double spatial marginalization.

Euro-Americans invaded America with a deep-rooted ethnocentric view of the world, which also developed a sense of re-organization of the Native American society upon Eurocentric socio-cultural norms. The first step towards this socio-cultural modeling began with the arrival of the missionaries and the establishment of churches in different Native American villages. The process of Christianization was slow but sure. Meanwhile, Euro-Americans also established their settlements across the present-day United States by occupying Native American lands through treaties, battles, and forced removal. Until the 1775 War of Independence, all Euro-American nations exploited Native America and its people by different means, which included the occupation of land, natural resources, and trade. After the Revolutionary War of 1775 and the foundation of a federation of states, a large portion of the North American continent came under the territorial jurisdiction of the United States. On the other hand, since the time of the arrival of the Euro-American, Native American tribes had tried to maintain their spatio-cultural sovereignty by either engaging in wars or treaties with the Euro-Americans. However, after the War of Independence, Native American tribes began to enter different treaties with the United States government. In other words, the colonization of Native Americans did not culminate until the establishment of the United States government.

The United States government continued the colonization process and considered Native Americans a challenge to their territorial expansion. Therefore, the U.S government entered into different treaties where needed and passed different laws and acts to resolve the so-called Indian issue. In this regard, the first major act that was passed by the United States

government was the Civilization Fund Act of 1819. The act was constituted to initiate a civilization project to bring Native Americans into the mainstream American socio-cultural fabric. The Civilization Fund Act of 1819 was targeted at introducing among the Native Americans the habits and art of “civilization.” Indeed, these habits and art of civilization were modeled upon the Eurocentric, or now, White Euro-American socio-cultural norms. The 1819 Act brought two decisive changes to Native American society. Firstly, it changed the means of production of sustenance so that Native Americans were coerced to abandon pre-contact modes of food production like hunting and were asked to develop agriculture as a means of food production. Second, the Act introduced the education project by which Native American children would be educated in arithmetic, reading, and writing. An annual amount of ten thousand dollars was appropriated for the implementation of the Act.

The Civilization Fund Act 1819 played a vital role in shaping the normative geographies of Native America in the nineteenth century. With the changes in the means of production, the normative geographies of Native America also changed. With the abandoning of hunting and initiation of agriculture as the primary mode of sustenance, the gender roles and spatial positioning of the Native American man and woman changed drastically. In the past, hunting had constituted not only the means of sustenance for the Native Americans, but it also established the spatially superior position of the Native American man. Hunting was an activity that required physical strength and freedom to move freely; therefore, it was considered as a masculine activity. It also allowed the Native American man to exhibit and impose his strength, and spatial control of a territory. The Native American woman rarely participated in the hunting expeditions, remained at home, and waited for the Native American man to bring the game home. Abandoning hunting meant Native American man’s resignation from his spatially superior position. On the other hand, the limited reliance on agriculture in Native American societies prior to the Civilization Fund Act had lent Native American women an important role in the field. Although Native Americans had not developed the Eurocentric model of farming, Native American woman was mainly responsible for what cultivation was performed, and these spaces were considered hers. In these spaces, the Native American woman contributed to the family income, which buoyed her status. However, the implementation of the act forced Native American women to retreat to the domestic sphere since the Native American man occupied the space of agriculture under the new law. In the pre-contact era, the gendered division of labor between hunting and cultivation defined the Native American geography. In the post-independence era, this division altogether changed and the Native American society was re-established upon a new normative geographic structure where man occupied the field, and woman was relegated to the spaces of home and domestic work. Native American woman’s limitation to home space and her labor to domestic chores further compromised her spatial position.

The second part of the Civilization Fund Act of 1819 that severely damaged the spatio-cultural orientation of the Native American normative geography was mainly related to the education of the Native Americans in areas like arithmetic, reading of the Bible, and writing English. In order to implement this section of the Act, boarding schools were established throughout Native America. In the beginning, these schools were established under the supervision of churches and were run by Protestant missionaries. Later, these church schools

were remodeled upon the format of the Carlisle Industrial Indian School. Native American children were forcibly taken from their parents and indoctrinated in Euro-American ways of living (Reyhner, 2006). These schools trained Native American boys in fields related to public spaces, whereas women were taught tasks that were compulsory in the private space of home. The process of forcibly assimilating the Native Americans into the dominant society began in these schools, and that ultimately influenced the normative geographies of Native America. Euro-American gender roles and gendered spatial allocation were enforced upon Native American children, which in later years became profoundly influential in reshaping the normative geographies of the Native American society.

The Indian Removal Act of 1830 also jeopardized the normative geography of Native America. It disturbed the overarching geographic location of the Native American tribes. With the passage of time, the number of Euro-Americans in Native territories increased while the number of Native Americans decreased every passing day due to murders in wars and deaths caused by diseases like smallpox and influenza. When they had first arrived in Native America, Euro-Americans had established their settlements in the areas that were of little or no use to the Native Americans. However, with the passage of time, the settlers began encroaching on lands that were significant for the Native Americans. These encroachments were triggered by either the lust for occupying lands that were suitable for residential purposes, valuable for their agriculture, or offered valuable natural resources. With the American War of Independence and the establishment of the United States, the ever-increasing lust for land grew among Euro-Americans and with it, the greater mistreatment of Native Americans.

The United States government's assimilation project failed miserably in the first quarter of the nineteenth century in which the notion of the Native American's otherness played a pivotal role in shaping the U.S government policy towards the Native Americans and their lands. Consequently, the United States government passed different legislation to usurp Native American lands. These acts began with the voluntary removal programs that included financial settlements and culminated in the 1830 Indian Removal Act. Before the 1830s Indian Removal Act, Native American tribes, including the Cherokee and Choctaw, were coaxed into voluntarily relocating with fringe benefits. After the passage of the 1830 Indian Removal Act, the tribes located on the east bank of the Mississippi River were forced to move towards the west bank of the river into specifically allocated reservations. These reservations were established in "Indian appropriation bills" passed by the United States government. Among these different bills, the most famous is the Appropriation Bill for Indian Affairs of 1851, which paved the way for the Indian Appropriation Act of 1871. Many of these displaced and relocated tribes not only lost their lands, but they were also forced to adopt the Euro-American socio-cultural patterns in the newly allocated reservation. According to Perdue (2001), the United States government, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), enforced the Euro-American construction of gender by "issuing rations to men for their nuclear families" and employed matrons to teach "domestic skills" to the Native American woman which made women "submissive" to men (p. 7). The relocation and subsequent devaluation of the Native American woman drastically changed ancient relationships with the lands. The normative geographic structure that developed in these

reservations engendered a sense of alienation in the Native American woman. The Native American woman, who was at the margin at her ancestral lands, became further marginalized and lost even that sense of location in the reservation land. This lack of association hindered her emotional attachment to the space of the reservation. Consequently, the Native American woman developed a sense of out-of-placeness or displacement on the reservation.

Since the United States government held power in the post-contact era, it dictated the normative geographies. The Dawes Act of 1887 or the General Allotment Act was crucial in reshaping the overarching normative geography of Native America since it introduced an era of individual land ownership, which had never been practiced by Native Americans previously. According to the Act, the male head of the family was eligible to purchase the allotted land, and the woman was denied any such power to possess land. The act aimed at equipping the Native Americans to take responsibility for their socio-economic conditions as per Euro-American socio-economic systems. However, the Act caused huge disintegration to the tribal family system, consequently making the Native American woman more dependent upon the Native American man. Native American woman's socio-economic dependency compromised her spatiality with reference to her roles and position in the Native American society. In short, in order to synchronize the normative geographies of Native America with those of the United States spatio-cultural norms, the United States government implemented the Dawes Act in 1887, and this had a profoundly negative effect on the status of a Native woman.

**CONCLUSION**

Religious teachings, educational programs, land acts, and treaties augmented the gender bias in the Native American normative geographies in the post-contact era. Consequently, the Native American woman's spatial position changed adversely. The Eurocentric hierarchal pyramid was imposed on Native societies to the degree that a woman who had been in the lower stratum originally became spatially double marginalized. This spatial double marginalization is still prevalent in contemporary Native American society, making Native American woman's socio-cultural and socio-economic emancipation challenging. The Dakota Access Pipeline (DPAL) is a contemporary example of the US government's attempt to occupy Native American lands of the Standing Rock Sioux tribe and reconfigure the Native American normative geographic structures. Hence, the anti-DPAL protest offers an opportunity for the Native American woman to contest the said reconfiguration of the normative geographic structures and thus challenge Native American patriarchal and US spatial hegemony. Within this context, contemporary Native American women may use the Standing Rock protest as an opportunity to spatially transgress the normative geographic structures that the US government aims to implement in the backdrop of the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline. In this context, the present study suggests that the issue of the Native American woman's marginalization may further be explored to understand the impact of the anti-DAPL project on the Native American woman's emancipatory movements.

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