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Weaving Strength, Weaving Power: Violence and Abuse against Indigenous Women. By Venida S. Chenault.

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Tribal Libraries, Archives, and Museums: Preserving Our Language, Memory, and Lifeways succeeds in its goal of providing views of the worlds of tribal libraries and archives, and sharing their stories. The book should be available in the collections of all universities offering graduate work in library and information studies and in many colleges and universities with substantial curriculum in American Indian studies.

Kenneth Wade University of California, Los Angeles

Weaving Strength, Weaving Power: Violence and Abuse against Indigenous Women. By Venida S. Chenault. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2011. 200 pages. \$26.00 paper.

Statistical evidence in the United States suggests that when compared with women of other racial or ethnic backgrounds, American Indian women face disproportionate rates of physical assault, rape, and stalking. American Indian women experience more sexual assaults than any other group of women in the United States and the majority of their perpetrators are of a different race. While governmental entities such as the Department of Justice have uncovered these jarring statistics and social scientists have published qualitative studies showing how violence impacts the lives of Native American women, the slim body of work on violence against Native women has typically lacked quantitative data and analysis of successful intervention strategies. *Weaving Strength, Weaving Power* effectively addresses these gaps in research about violence against indigenous women in the United States.

Venida Chenault's theoretical framework draws important connections between theories of colonization and feminist thought. She explores the gendered nature of colonial violence in order to illustrate the unique intersectional positionality of indigenous women. Similarly to Andrea Smith in her book, *Conquest*, in *Weaving Strength*, *Weaving Power* Chenault contends that indigenous women experienced colonization at the convergence of gender and race; they were not only subject to colonization as racialized, exploitable, and disposable indigenous people, but also physically assaulted and raped by colonizers because they were women. Chenault surveys the diversity of precolonial indigenous sexual/gender roles in order to demonstrate how colonization's imposition of patriarchy impacted indigenous women. She contributes to previous academic work exploring indigenous understandings of gender and sexuality carried out by Native scholars such as Wesley Thomas and Paula Gunn Allen. Like Maria Lugones's "The Coloniality of Gender,"

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Weaving Strength, Weaving Power argues that the imposition of patriarchy gravely affected the traditional positions of power and authority granted to women in indigenous societies. Colonial violence and the imposition of patriarchy deposed traditional matriarchal societies, stripped Native women of the power they traditionally enjoyed in their tribes and nations, and promoted homophobia in tribes, which had traditionally been more accepting of gender/ sexual diversity. All of the aforementioned scholars concur that the reversal of indigenous gender roles had disastrous effects on the position of indigenous women in indigenous societies and that the historical trauma resulting from colonial violence influences gendered attacks on Native women today. As Chenault and Smith propose, not only did colonization teach society to devalue indigenous women, but the colonial imposition of patriarchy and the internalization of anti-indigenous racism by indigenous men negatively influences how indigenous men treat indigenous women today.

Chenault's book provides us with a comprehensive exploration of contemporary indigenous feminism. Like other women academics of color, Chenault differentiates between Western feminism and feminism as it is theorized and/ or reclaimed by women of color in the United States. While the red power movement distanced itself from the women's movement in the 1960s (and encouraged indigenous women to prioritize the fight for their tribes/nations rather than the struggle for women's liberation), indigenous women felt underrepresented and isolated from the mainstream feminist movement. Like Smith, Chenault proposes that indigenous women should not necessarily feel compelled to adhere to Western feminism's definition of feminism. Indigenous women descend from a long legacy of feminist figures and feminist thought dating back to traditional matriarchies, traditional beliefs in female power/ female deities as well as past female leaders and female warriors. Because of this, Chenault claims, indigenous tribes and nations should reclaim traditional female power and reinstate indigenous women into positions of authority, which may have traditionally belonged to them. Indigenous women should define feminism according to their own herstories and traditions. Although Chenault does not allot much space to discussing indigenous women's issues in relation to sovereignty, her reframing of indigenous feminism complements Andrea Smith's contention that indigenous women should be included in conversations defining sovereignty. As Latin American indigenous feminists Margarita Gutierrez and Nellys Palomo argue in "A Woman's Eye-View of Autonomy," if autonomy is defined as having control of one's body and of all decisions regarding one's body, then indigenous women's definitions of autonomy are absolutely crucial to indigenous rights movements and to indigenous governance.

The pragmatic relevance of Weaving Strength, Weaving Power lies in Chenault's study of the effects of violence against indigenous women, wherein she proposes empowerment as a model for understanding the strategies of resilience that indigenous women employ to survive violence. Chenault provides an overview of current research in the social sciences on violence against women to demonstrate the scarcity of academic articles focusing on successful strategies of intervention amongst women of color and indigenous women. Chenault designed a research model setting forth empowerment as a research framework; she sought to explore the personal, interpersonal, and community dimensions of empowerment that can be altered or reduced as a result of abuse. Although she acknowledged the challenges of measuring empowerment in a quantitative research study, she sought to test the differences between indigenous survivors' responses to self-esteem, social support, and social action and indigenous women's responses to the same variables without having experienced abuse. Using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, Chenault defined self-esteem as the feeling of satisfaction a person has about self while social support (the perceived availability of someone to talk to) and sense-of-belonging (the perceived availability of someone to do things with) were used as subscales to measure empowerment. Social action was measured according to participation in traditional cultural ceremonies or activities such as women's talking circles or sweat lodges.

Unlike previous studies on violence against women, all of Chenault's informants are American Indian college students who are enrolled in federally recognized tribes or nations. While the majority of Chenault's informants reported having experienced violence, her most surprising findings in the sample indicated that most of the perpetrators of violence against her informants were American Indian and the majority of the abuse took place in an urban area instead of a reservation. Chenault's compelling findings on empowerment indicated that experiencing abuse had negative effects on participants' pride as indigenous women and on their self-esteem. Even though less than half of the participants indicated that they had overcome their experiences of abuse, in most cases such experiences did not affect their participation in cultural activities. Similarly, most respondents indicated that they participated in activities consistent with social action and the majority of respondents who specified that they received some form of social support and felt a sense of belonging after experiencing abuse resided on reservations.

Weaving Strength, Weaving Power is a fundamental addition to studies on violence against women and to indigenous feminist thought. Chenault's analysis of structural frameworks of power (systems theory) effectively elucidates the interconnected and multilayered nature of violence against women. While previous works have examined how the gendered dynamics of colonization

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impact indigenous women, Chenault elaborates on theories of colonialism and feminism by providing us with a comprehensive quantitative study of violence against indigenous women. Although a concept such as empowerment is difficult for any researcher to quantify, Chenault's specific characteristics and subscales allow for a functional measurement of empowerment among indigenous women who have experienced violence and abuse.

Chenault suggests that traditional forms of governance such as retribution should be considered for addressing violence against indigenous women; however, she does not explore where such models have been successful (such as among Aboriginal communities in Canada or among the EZLN's Mayan communities in Chiapas, which implemented their own Revolutionary Law for Women) or where such models have backfired. Additionally, her study surveyed American Indian women enrolled in college, which could be considered a more privileged group than indigenous women struggling to get out of poverty in urban areas or on reservations. Working with more socioeconomically disempowered indigenous women and considering how issues such as poverty and isolation affect access to empowerment would have benefited her research. To the book's credit. Chenault is self-reflective about the shortcomings of her research method and about the need for further research. She suggests that further study of issues such as disparity in court systems and honoring alternative forms of justice need further investment. Overall, Weaving Strength, Weaving Power is a large step towards bridging the gap between theory and practice on violence against indigenous women, an issue that has been largely ignored by academics, yet is highly critical to improving the well-being of indigenous women in the United States.

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