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Silent Victims: Hate Crimes Against Native Americans. By Barbara Perry.

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critical component of Haudenosaunee cultural interaction and traditional teaching; as Mohawk proposed, it is the ability to allow individuals to use their own reasoning and intellect and engage in a dialogue of what they think it means based upon their life experiences and abilities at that moment. As Taiaiake Alfred once noted, one of the Haudenosaunee's greatest pastimes was to debate, in attempts to convince one another that their interpretation was the best, but that the key was the discourse. Jordan has worked admirably to this end in *The Seneca Restoration 1715–1754*. Jordan has made a key and sound argument regarding Haudenosaunee culture and history that should be read by academics, historians, and laypeople. For speakers, knowing your audience and what they need to hear is an art form among holders of tradition in Haudenosaunee oratory culture; Jordan knows his audience.

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**Silent Victims: Hate Crimes Against Native Americans.** By Barbara Perry. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2008. 176 pages. \$29.95 paper.

Silent Victims is an important contribution to Native studies because it synthesizes two important facets of Native peoples' experiences: victimization and survival. Perry's capacity to document and honor the voices of Native people provides a sensitive and thought-provoking analysis of a little-discussed but widespread problem. This book has broken new ground on a number of levels and will be an asset to many different disciplines.

The mainstream fields of victimization and criminology have often neglected to engage in research or scholarship that is directly applicable to Indian people. Many existing studies and reports do not contain statistically significant data about tribal communities, and therefore either avoid the subject altogether or mention Native people in a preliminary or peripheral manner. Perry artfully addresses this gap in the literature by exploring the few resources that do exist and identifying the existing data's shortcomings. *Silent Victims* does not attempt to be the definitive piece on anti-Indian violence but rather a first step in starting to document and articulate the unique circumstances in which Native people experience crime and hatred.

Perry's empirical data is illuminating; she queried more than 250 Native people from a variety of cultural and geographical backgrounds. She explains her methodology explicitly and acknowledges that researching in such a sensitive area can raise significant ethical concerns. The book appropriately acknowledges contributions from individuals and communities, and Perry explains how she has worked to ensure that the book is reflective of and responsive to the people who participated. Although this approach does not produce the kind of "hard data" that is oftentimes expected by Western scholars, Perry's sensitivity and respect for Native people is evident throughout the book.

The book begins by contextualizing targeted violence against Native people as an ongoing part of colonization and oppression. The early chapters Reviews 151

provide a solid background for the reader who is new to the subject matter by explaining the major historical eras of federal Indian policy in the United States. Understanding the contemporary impact of hate crime on individual Natives necessarily requires an exploration of this history. As Perry notes, hate crimes are not a new phenomenon in the United States. In this sense, the entire colonial project could be conceived of as a meta-hate crime, with individual manifestations that have been largely invisible to the dominant culture.

Most importantly, *Silent Victims* reflects the actual words and experiences of contemporary Native people. The firsthand accounts of the Native people interviewed for this project form the foundation for the book's overall analysis. Beginning in chapter 4, "Imaging American Indians," the focus of each chapter is on the individual personal narratives of Native people. In that sense, the experience of contemporary Native people takes precedence over the more orthodox approach to criminology, in which the individual experiences of victims are included as exemplary and are often secondary to statistical law-enforcement data. The narratives form the center of the analysis—and the conclusions are extrapolated from the inside out. This approach results in a credible account of hate crimes that would not be possible using a traditional approach to criminology. Perry notes that "it should come as no surprised [sic] that [most] American Indians fail to report victimization to the police" (98). It is precisely this lack of law-enforcement data that has kept this ubiquitous phenomenon largely hidden from the dominant society.

Throughout the book, factors such as gender, poverty, and political marginalization are considered and woven into the overarching analysis of targeted violence as well as dominant community ignorance and indifference. Perry's acknowledgment of gendered issues is particularly insightful. She provides examples of gendered violence as a tool of historical policies of ethnocide and genocide (for example, military rape and sterilization) and sexualized oppression faced by Native women today. This analysis could be expanded to include an exploration of the unique issues faced by two-spirit (Native LGBT) people. The 2001 hate-inspired murder of two-spirit Diné teen Fred Martinez is indicative of the lethal result of prejudice directed at Native people who do not adhere to binary Anglo-American gender roles.

Several manifestations of hate crimes are explored, including verbal abuse and intimidation, physical assaults, racial profiling, and police brutality. Stereotypes and racism are central to any discussion of hate crimes against any group of people, and Perry is careful to explore the specific manifestations of historical stereotypes (Indians as "savages") and contemporary misconceptions (Indians are alcoholics and/or rich from casino profits). The narratives explore the roots of contemporary anti-Indian sentiment, including reactionary anti-Indian responses to fishing-rights struggles, land claims, and other forms of political activism.

Silent Victims is not an easy read—the narratives from survivors include graphic accounts of brutal physical attacks (some perpetrated by groups of non-Indians) resulting in physical injury, fear, and humiliation. The psychic impact of these crimes is not glossed over either. Several survivors explain how the anti-Indian hatred they have experienced has resulted in depression,

shame, and despair. One particular poignant passage quotes a Native woman who says, "Cause in the end it makes us hate ourselves, too" (114). These kinds of passages are critical in helping the reader understand that being victimized by violence results in long-term profound damage and community despair. Violent behavior has become normalized in many tribal communities, and Perry's exploration of this result—namely Indian-on-Indian crime—is appropriately understood as a cumulative effect of ongoing hate crimes and marginalization.

Fortunately, Silent Victims provides some specific examples of empowerment and social change. Rather than simply documenting victimization, Perry explores how individuals have responded to anti-Indian hatred in productive and creative ways. In the end, although not ignoring the stark reality of the effects of violence, Native people are not portrayed as passive or helpless. The final chapter, "Responding to Anti-Indian Violence," provides a variety of optimistic approaches to challenging the dominant anti-Indian paradigm in America. Ending with the passage "Toward Self-determination," this chapter provides specific examples of individual and community efforts to raise awareness and speak out about hate crimes. Perry points to grassroots organizing, culturally appropriate victim services, and community empowerment as some of the solutions to the climate of anti-Indian hatred. In addition, Silent Victims explores some of the legal barriers that make it difficult for tribal governments to take action against hate crime (including Oliphant v. Suquamish, a 1978 Supreme Court decision that stripped tribal courts of criminal authority over non-Indians). In the final passages, Perry's book provides concrete steps for policy change and empowerment.

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**To Walk in Beauty: A Navajo Family's Journey Home.** By Stacia Spragg-Braude with an afterword by N. Scott Momaday. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press. 200 pages. \$45.00 cloth.

To Walk in Beauty: A Navajo Family's Journey Home is a book of photographs and texts featuring the Begay family of Jeddito (or the Jeddito Wash), Arizona, which is located in the southern region of the Navajo Nation. In this book, Stacia Spragg-Braude also introduces the readers to Navajo history, geography, the Begay family's cultural spaces, and our Diné culture in flux from the traditional to the modern. The author and photographer notes that she became acquainted with the subjects of her book, Goldtooth and Mary Begay (now both deceased) and their children, ten years ago.

Spragg-Braude writes that "many Navajos consider it taboo to show photographs of the deceased." The author further notes that the Begay sisters "believe the images chosen were powerful and important to be included here to honor to their parents who they feel became legends, after their long and beautiful lives" (12).