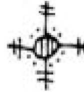

3

"Without Apology"

Native American and Evangelical Feminisms

I can only conclude that [these] traditionalists do not realize they are involved in an inconsistent selectivity so extreme that it amounts to dishonest scholarship. The other possibility is that they realize well enough but are using the Bible to rationalize a position they cling to for political and personal reasons.—VIRGINIA MOLLENKOTT on evangelical feminism

I think one of the reasons why Indian women don't call themselves feminists is because they don't want to make enemies of men, but I just say, go forth and offend without inhibition. That's generally why I see women hold back, who don't want to be seen as strident. I don't want to be seen as a man-hater, but I think if we had enough man-haters, we might actually have the men change for once. I guess I'm just not into kowtowing that way. I think that fundamentally puts the argument in the field of the dominant, in this case, of men. I think men, in this particular case, are very, very good at avoiding responsibility and avoiding accountability and avoiding justice. And not calling yourself a feminist, that's one way they do that. Well, feminism, that's for white women. Oh feminists, they're not Indian. They're counterrevolutionary. They're all man-haters. They're all ball-busters. They've gotten out of order. No, first of all that presumes that Native women weren't active in shaping our identity before white women came along. And that abusive male behavior is somehow traditional, and it's absolutely not. So I reject that. That's a claim against sovereignty. I think that's a claim against Native peoples. I think it's an utter act of racism and white supremacy. . . . And I do think it's important that we say we're feminists without apology.
—JULIE STAR on Native feminism

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In the first epigraph, we see Virginia Mollenkott rhetorically reversing the charge frequently made by evangelical supporters of gender hierarchy that feminism is not biblical. Rather, she contends, it is gender hierarchicalists who are biblically dishonest. Julie Star's analysis of feminism in the next epigraph speaks to the policing of coalitions within Native communities as they impact Native women. While evangelical feminists contend with conservative evangelical thought, which holds that feminism is "unbiblical," Native "feminists" contend with Native scholars and activists who argue that addressing issues of sexism in Native communities is unnecessary.

As was discussed in the preface, both evangelical and Native feminisms destabilize notions of political communities being either singularly conservative (in this case evangelicals) or progressive (in this case Native communities). However, because both communities often portray themselves or are portrayed in totalizing ways, both evangelical and Native feminisms have often been erased in the discourses within and about these communities. Because of this erasure, I must first spend some time demonstrating that these feminisms in fact exist. The first section of this chapter explains the emergence of these feminisms within the context of the sexisms and other forms of oppression they have sought to address within their specific communities. This analysis is also important if we are to consider the flip side of coalition building—that Native and evangelical identities are *already* coalitional identities that often advance political interests of some members of a community at the expense of others.

The second section of this chapter focuses particularly on violence as a galvanizing force for feminist interventions within evangelical and Native communities. Antiviolence organizing is also an important site for investigating not only the successes of feminist organizing but also the failures of Native and evangelical feminists to coalesce. In particular, I investigate how antiviolence organizing often coincides with both state-driven mandates and within colonial and white supremacist logics that hinder cross-racial feminist organizing projects.

In the third section of this chapter, I explore the specific interventions and strategies used by Native and evangelical feminists to challenge prevailing gender relations within their communities. While the previous chapters speak to the potential of rearticulating Christian Right politics into more progressive politics, at the same time a common thread within both prison organizing and race reconciliation is the gender heteronormativity that has the impact of co-opting indigenous and other social justice struggles. Consequently, it might be helpful to look at the feminist

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interventions being made within both evangelical and Native communities to see how they might inform a politics of rearticulation. In particular, how does feminist politics reshape what we consider alliance politics to be? How does feminist politics inform an understanding of coalition work as both an internal and external process, as well as of how these internal and external processes interface? And in communities where feminism is seen as either nonexistent (evangelicalism) or unnecessary (Native communities), what strategies do feminists utilize to transform their communities and to what effect? I conclude that, while race reconciliation and prison organizing within evangelical communities seem to open these communities up for coalition building with nonevangelical partners, feminist organizing within evangelical communities seems to have the opposite effect. While we see race reconciliation programs providing a site for coalitions between Native and evangelical communities, particularly among men, the strategies employed by evangelical feminists hinder the development of relationships between Native and evangelical women.

SEXISM AND THE EMERGENCE OF NATIVE AND EVANGELICAL FEMINISM

Analyses of the Christian Right often portray evangelical communities as singularly reactionary when it comes to gender politics. As mentioned previously, the assumption behind this analysis is that any "biblically" driven approach to gender relations is necessarily static and conservative. Consequently, until recently the existence of evangelical feminism has been largely unknown to those outside evangelicalism. Similarly, Native feminism has also been portrayed as an oxymoron. Why do Native women need feminism when, so the logic goes, patriarchy did not exist in Native communities prior to colonization? Even within Native American studies, scholars and activists have argued that Native women do not need feminism.

If both communities are portrayed so monolithically (either monolithically conservative or progressive), it obviously is more difficult to imagine coalition politics with either of them. Such a simplistic gender analysis also makes it difficult for us to see that Native and evangelical identities are already coalitional identities that can shift and change through political struggle. This chapter explores how, contrary to popular belief, Native and evangelical feminisms *do* exist by tracing their contem-

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porary developments within the context of their critiques of sexism within their communities. In doing so, I hope to lay the groundwork for exploring in the following sections what interventions these feminisms make, as well as the implications of these interventions for both internal and external coalition politics.

"Native Women Aren't Feminists" and other Myths and Mantras

Native women are not feminists, so the commonly told story goes. For instance, one of the most prominent writings on Native American women and feminism is Annette Jaimes Guerrero's and Theresa Halsey's "American Indian Women: At the Center of Indigenous Resistance in North America." In this article, they argue that Native women activists, except those who are "assimilated," do not consider themselves feminists. Feminism, according to Native women, is an imperial project that assumes the givenness of the U.S. colonial stranglehold on indigenous nations. Thus, to support sovereignty Native women activists must reject feminist politics.

> Those who have most openly identified themselves [as feminists] have tended to be among the more assimilated of Indian women activists, generally accepting of the colonialist ideology that indigenous nations are now legitimate sub-parts of the U.S. geopolitical corpus rather than separate nations, that Indian people are now a minority with the overall population rather than the citizenry of their own distinct nations. Such Indian women activists are therefore usually more devoted to "civil rights" than to liberation per se. . . . Native American women who are more genuinely sovereigntist in their outlook have proven themselves far more dubious about the potentials offered by feminist politics and alliances. (Jaimes and Halsey 1992, 330–31)

According to Annette Jaimes and Theresa Halsey, the message from Native women is univocal—concerns for gender justice must be subordinate to struggles for indigenous sovereignty and self-determination, as typified by these quotes from one of the founders of Women of All Red Nations (WARN), Lorelei DeCora Means.

> We are *American Indian* women, in that order. We are oppressed, first and foremost, as American Indians, as peoples colonized by the United States of America, *not* as women. As Indians, we can never forget that. Our survival, the survival of every one of us—man, woman and child—*as Indians* de-

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> pends on it. Decolonization is the agenda, the whole agenda, and until it is accomplished, it is the *only* agenda that counts for American Indians. . . .
>
> You start to get the idea maybe all this feminism business is just another extension of the same old racist, colonialist mentality. (Jaimes and Halsey 1992, 314, 332)

The critique and rejection of the label of feminism made by Jaimes and Halsey is important and shared by many Native women activists. However, it fails to tell the whole story, as many Native women in WARN do and did call themselves feminists.[1] Consider, for instance, this quote from Madonna Thunder Hawk, who cofounded WARN with Lorelei Means.

> Feminism means to me, putting a word on the women's world. It has to be done because of the modern day. . . . I don't think Indian people have a problem with terms like feminism because we have had to deal with paternalism for *so* long, it's part of our intergenerational thinking. So feminism is a good word. I like it. . . .
>
> I'm not the average Indian activist woman, because I refuse to limit my world. I don't like that. . . . How could we limit ourselves? "I don't like that term; it's a white term." Pssshhh. Why limit yourself? But that's me.

My point is not to set Thunder Hawk in opposition to Means: both talk of the centrality of land and decolonization in Native women's struggles. While Thunder Hawk supports many of the positions typically regarded as feminist, such as abortion rights, she contends that Native struggles for land and survival continue to take precedence over these other issues. Rather, my argument is that Native women activists' theories about feminism, the struggle against sexism within both Native communities and the society at large, and the importance of working in coalition with non-Native women are complex and varied. They are not monolithic and cannot simply be reduced to the dichotomy of feminist versus nonfeminist. Furthermore, there is not necessarily a relationship between the extent to which Native women call themselves feminists, the extent to which they work in coalition with non-Native feminists or value those coalitions, whether they are urban or reservation-based, and the extent to which they are "genuinely sovereigntist."

More important, this mantra often serves as a policing tool around

[1] For another critique of Jaimes and Halsey, see Devon Mihesuah's *Indigenous American Women* (2003). James herself shifted her position in her essay "Civil Rights versus Sovereignty" in *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, and Democratic Futures*, ed. M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 101–24.

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coalition politics. That is, Native women who center sexism in their organizing run the risk of being named as "white" whether or not they call themselves feminists. As I discuss later in the chapter, Native women face similar policing mechanisms, as do evangelical feminists who run the risk of being named as unbiblical. The very simplified manner in which Native women's activism is theorized prevents Native women from articulating political projects that both address sexism *and* promote indigenous sovereignty. In addition, this framework does not show the complex way in which Native women organizers position themselves with respect to other coalition partners. Assessing the strategies Native women use to address patriarchy and colonialism simultaneously enables us to articulate a prolineal genealogy of Native feminism, a history of the future of what Native feminism *could be* that it is not necessarily bound by current articulations of "feminism." That is, just as chapters 1 and 2 highlighted the instability of "conservative" political configurations and demonstrated the possibilities of rearticulating these configurations into more progressive formations, we must also critically assess "progressive" or "radical" political configurations. In what ways might they sometimes be furthering reactionary rather than progressive political ends? At which points do they also need to be rearticulated? To begin to address some of these questions, I will focus on Native women's analysis as it pertains specifically to coalition politics. In later works, I hope to develop indigenous feminist theory in greater depth.

This chapter is an intellectual ethnography that highlights the analysis produced by Native women activists. In taking this theory seriously, I reference it, not only in this chapter but throughout the book, on a par with the writings of those situated in academia. I am informed by Kamala Visweswaran's attempts to disperse academic authority by acknowledging the authority of the "natives" through practices that call even her own representations into question. As she argues, "To accept "native" authority *is* to give up the game" (1994, 32). (As discussed in the previous chapters, I did not sufficiently question my authority in my representation of Native evangelicals.)

To ascertain some of the theoretical productions in Native women's activist circles, I have relied on books, articles, manifestos, and speeches by Native women activists, primarily in Women of All Red Nations and the Indigenous Women's Network. I have attempted not to rely primarily on books published by women that are easily accessible but on more difficult to access materials that have been distributed throughout Native communities. The reason is that so few books have been published featur-

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ing Native women's analysis that non-Natives tend to excessively rely on them as representative of Native women's activism in general. In addition, relying on written work is wholly insufficient to uncover Native women's theories about activism. Unlike the Christian Right, which has such an extensive network of written informational sources, Native activism has often relied on word of mouth. Consequently, I have also interviewed sixteen Native women activists to discuss their theories about activism; the relationship between feminism and anticolonial struggles; the relationship between spirituality, religion, and political practice; and their theories on coalition building. The goal of these interviews is not to tell their "life stories," a genre Elizabeth Cook-Lynn notes that publishers seem to be obsessed with in publishing Native works (1998a, 120). Because of space constraints, however, this book focuses primarily on Native women activists' theories about feminism, nationalism, and coalition building. The rest of the material from these interviews may be found in another work (A. Smith 2002).

By utilizing a broader range of materials, I hope to show the diversity, the complexity, and even the contradictions within these theoretical productions. My hope was to present these women's voices not as narratives but as primary texts for the development of Native "feminist" theory. Obviously, because I am presenting these theories, my particular perspective influences the manner in which they are presented. Nevertheless, I wanted to resist the temptation to streamline these theories neatly into my own as this strategy would simply replicate the problem I am trying to address—the tendency to position one Native women's theory as representative of all Native women. My thought was that a more open-ended approach will point to the complexity, contradictions, and fullness of Native women's theorizing.[2] Because of space constraints, I was not able to sufficiently represent the diversity of thought within Native women's organizing that I would have liked. However, an alternative representation of this material with a more extended archive of Native feminist theory can be found in the earlier version of this work (A. Smith 2002).

Borrowing from Stuart Hall, I use the words *feminism* and *sovereignty* with the understanding that these are concepts "under erasure." That is, these are terms that have been destabilized and are under contention in Native communities but still have significance, positively and negatively, for Native women's activism. I make no claim that the theories generated

[2] See Joy James's similar analysis of the representation of black feminist theory (1999). The earlier version of this work includes interviewees' responses to my representational practice (A. Smith 2002).

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from this discussion are representative of Native women's theoretical insights as a whole or that all of the Native women cited claim the term *feminist* for themselves. In fact, many interviewees might vociferously reject the term. However, their theories are still instructive for Native feminists who are looking to articulate indigenous feminisms (which is also a heterogeneous discourse). My goal is to uncover some of the analysis taking place among Native women organizers that can be instructive to those thinking about sovereignty, feminist, and coalition politics. To develop what could be some theoretical foundations for Native feminisms, however, I must first demonstrate that Native feminisms exist.

Native Feminist Strategies and Articulations

Because Native women are generally told that Native feminism is an oxymoron (Grande 2004; Jaimes and Halsey 1992; Monture-Angus 1995; Monture-Angus 1999), the mantras around "Native women aren't feminists" can prevent us from having a fuller discussion about the strategic issues of terminology. That is, the term *feminist* is not as important as certain questions: (1) what conversations do particular terms enable us to have, (2) which interventions do they allow us to make in particular contexts, and (3) which conversations and interventions do they impede? Thus, behind Native women's use and/or disavowal of feminist politics are interventions into how sovereignty and feminist politics are articulated.

First, not all Native women activists disassociate themselves from the term *feminist*.[3] Furthermore, for many women who do call themselves

[3] For reasons of space, I am focusing on Native women who do call themselves feminists since they have received relatively little attention. However, many Native women disassociate themselves from this term for a variety of reasons. Below are some examples.

Yvonne Dennis: I don't believe I'm a feminist; I believe I'm a nationalist, because if we could get our nationalism back, then we wouldn't have a problem with feminism. I think we have a lot of answers in our doctrine and traditions. We've lost our balance of power between men and women. I don't have issues with . . . I don't want what the National Organization of Women wants. I don't want that. I want balance. I don't see men as the enemy. I just see that we're out of kilter. We have to bring back the harmony and the balance. All of life, we have male and female. Even in building construction, you have a female part and a male part to make the building fit together. So I believe in the balance.

Sammy Toineeta: On my reservation, women always had a voice. We could get up and speak anytime; we could take on any role we wanted. It's just that the western people never believed it. White women never believed it. . . . They don't have that;

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feminists the appropriation of the term becomes a strategy through which many Native women activists refuse the policing of their gender politics. Hence, some women assert not only that they are feminists but that they call themselves "feminists without apology."

Thomas: I think it's important for Native women to say, "Yeah, I'm a feminist." Because you know what? I think it causes kind of a tension that has a potential for growth, not only for the person that will say it, even though you vacillate sometimes, but for the person who has to hear it. Like when some dumb guy is going to go, "Hey, you're one of them feminists or something?" "God damn right, and what are you going to say about it?"

Ross: Yes, that [Native women not calling themselves feminists] does bother me. And I'm not sure why. What I think off the top of my head is 1972, working so hard to bridge the gap at these different conferences that were being held in the state of Montana between white women feminists who I knew and Native women who were feminists and who never were identified and recognized for their leadership and having the Indian women just hate being called a feminist and me saying, but we are, we are one too. It's an empowering term. I guess it goes back to my history and my struggle and at the same time white women never fully accepting them. But it still

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they never had that voice. Whereas we at least within our own community have the voice. So I think even though those other people didn't know we had a voice, didn't believe we had a voice, we had an outlet, and they didn't. So they felt they had to have this outlet, so they developed this feminist movement.

Rebecca VanVlack: I don't think feminism has a good connotation to it necessarily. Because I think in a lot of ways feminism is for white women. Women's power and women's strength I don't think has ever been totally denied or gone away with Native women. I think we've allowed it to slip out of our hands, and when you have so much else to do, but I figure it's a matter of taking it back rather than gaining it in the first place, like it is for Europeans.

Heather Milton: I find that a lot of feminists are really anti-men. And I'm not anti-men. With indigenous people, I have to tell them I'm uncomfortable with you talking like that or doing something that is really derogatory toward men because I think they have value too. I seem that way sometimes because I'll get mad as all hell for getting treated like crap sometimes, but when it comes down to it I don't really feel that way.

Ingrid Washinawatok: Indigenous women have responsibilities that are distinct from those of men. When men and women follow the original instructions, there is complementary balance. We do not want to be men, nor do we want to fight men. We want to fight sexism. However, the dominant-culture feminist movement seeks "equality" between the sexes. This ignores the distinct sexual differences and the essence of the feminine is lost (1995a, 26).

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bothers me. But I understand, right, because I do it too. But it still does bother me.

Rencountre: Feminism is defending our status as keepers of our nations.[4]

Lee Maracle critiques her previous disassociation from the "women's movement" and "feminism" as a reflection of her own "enslavement."

> Until the March of 1982, feminism, indeed womanhood itself, was meaningless to me. Racist ideology had defined womanhood for the Native woman as nonexistent; therefore, neither the woman question nor the European rebel's response held any meaning for me . . .
>
> I responded, like so many other women, as a person without sexuality. Native women did not even like the words *women's liberation*, and even now it burns my back. . . . I woke up. I AM WOMAN! (Maracle 1988, 19)

Their reasons for and the manner in which they adopt the term *feminist*, as well as how they define feminism, is as varied as for the women who do not choose to call themselves feminists. Thomas, for instance, describes her feminism as an "everyday, practical feminism."

> I think a lot of Native women have to be feminists. . . . Because they're trying to kick your ass. They're taking numbers! That's what my father told me. They're taking a number and standing in line to kick your ass, kick you dead in your ass, so don't bother to do it to yourself. Why bother? When you're raised from when your real little that this is the way it is, I haven't found anything that tells me different, and I think that's why the old man raised me to think. I was real little and everything, but he raised me to think I could box somebody, and stand up for myself, and be a surveyor when nobody else was, and have a good time! Not be all crushed by it. It's like, you're trying to piss on my parade? What I'm going to do is I'm going to like kick your ass out of the way and keep on parading because if I have to work I'm not going

[4] See also:

Star: I'm a feminist because I think anything else is unintelligent (laughs). And I just can't go with turning my brain into Jell-O for someone else's fantasy fulfillment.

Ross: I know. There was a workshop I did on Indian feminism, and I even called it that. I talked about the F-word, . . . and most of the Native women were from Fort Belknap, Blackfeet, and Rocky Boys, and they were so excited to hear an Indian woman talk and name all the things they felt that it was very well received by them. And yet that night, as I was eating dinner with several women who were my friends and were in my audience, one of them, their husband came in, dragged her into the bathroom and tried to beat the shit out of her.

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to have it be a grim, horrid experience every day. I'll make it real horrid experience for your first! I think that's an everyday, practical feminism.

Other activists use the term on a more strategic, contingent basis. Their notion of "strategic feminism" suggests an alternative possibility for articulating one's relationship to feminism. Rather than understanding "feminist" as an identity one either does or does not have, one can articulate "feminism" as a complex set of tools for political practice that can be selectively employed.

Pamela Kingfisher: I will identify in certain political arenas, but I always say what I just said—Native women do not work for our rights; we work to fulfill our responsibilities, and it's a different way.

Rencountre: Yeah, right now, during this period I am in, I do [consider myself a feminist]. But I think when I reach another certain age I probably won't be because I'm hoping males will have the respect back so I won't have to be.

Ross: Well, you know I vary that from situation to situation. Because when I'm back home, I'll say I'm a feminist just to rile the guys so they know where I still stand. So there's nothing tricky about who I am and what I'm doing. And when I'm out here in a white women's studies department, I won't call myself [one] because I don't want to align myself with their politics.

Ross's quote, in conversation with the following quotation from Toni Sheehy, points to the false binary between feminism and nonfeminism among Native women. While Ross uses the term selectively, Sheehy reports that she supports feminism but does not call herself a feminist. Her reluctance to adopt the term *feminist*, comes not so much from a disagreement with feminist politics as from the lack of a term for *feminist* in her indigenous language: As she expresses it, "It's not the term that fits within my culture. I'm an Indian woman, first and foremost. I'm a strong Indian woman, very directed, and I believe in feminism as I understand society, and that I would be a part of that. . . . The word doesn't equate with any Indian word that I would know. That's what I mean, there isn't a word."

Similarly, Patricia Monture-Angus, while not adopting the term *feminist* for herself, does not completely reject the term. She says that because the suffrage movement in the 1800s was based on the suffragettes' exposure to positions of women in the Haudensosaunee: "To fully reject feminism means to reject part of my own Mohawk history and the influ-

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ence of my grandmothers. It is important for both Aboriginal women and feminists to reclaim our histories and to note that our histories are, in fact, shared. It is equally important to see how parts of this shared history have been erased" (1995, 231).

Thus, within Native women's organizing we can see similar interventions being made into what is termed "feminist" politics by those who do and do not call themselves feminists. First, whether or not they call themselves feminists, Native women activists affirm the importance of Native women organizing as women. A common sentiment is reflected in Toineeta's statement about why Native women's organizing is important: "I think it goes back to the joke they always make: the men show up and the women do the work."

In addition, Native women cast open for debate the way sexism is defined. Many Native women argue that women and men have distinct, though equally valuable, roles to play, particularly in ceremonies. Some women presume that they cannot call themselves feminists, for instance, because they think women should not be on the drum or engage in particular ceremonial roles. This assumption speaks to the importance of further discussions in feminist circles about how and why practices become deemed as sexist. According to Tonya Gonnella Frichner,

> If you look at our traditional ways of life, men and women were not separated per se in the Euro-American model, but they were separated in terms of responsibilities. Men had their responsibilities, and women had their responsibilities. We went down the river of life side by side with parallel responsibilities.
>
> In contemporary times, I often hear people say it is sexist that women cannot be chiefs. But it really is not sexist if you understand our history. Non-Native peoples often apply a white model of sexism to Native peoples and then think what we do is sexist. But if you look at how things work within our community, you understand. Just like the flora and fauna of the world, we have responsibilities that don't cross over, so do women and men have separate responsibilities that do not cross over.
>
> For the Haudenosaunee, women have responsibilities that non-Indians would agree are incredibly powerful. Women were very directly involved in the choosing and selection of our spokesperson, the man that sits in council and brings our voices to the council fire. The suffragette movement in the U.S. was inspired by our constitution, the Great Law of Peace. Women have a lot of responsibility in government, in ways of life, in leadership, and even the power of recall of leaders who fail to fulfill their

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responsibilities. This idea of separation is just a different way of looking at things. Men and women have different responsibilities based on our original instructions, and who am I to question that? It works, it worked, and I respect that. . . .

No, I don't consider myself a feminist. I think because if I did I would think it is okay to change our laws and allow women to be chiefs. But I understand why the laws are the way they are, and we should respect them.

This viewpoint seems to echo the evangelical complementarian argument about gender roles (to be discussed later in this chapter) that women and men have distinct roles, even though both are valued equally by God. Yet there are some important distinctions. Native women activists do not call for male headship. In fact, during the United Nations Third Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, when the Indigenous Women's Caucus was developing its statement to the forum, it contemplated using the language of "complementary" gender roles and then chose to reject this terminology so as to avoid association with the Christian Right. In addition, Toineeta and Alfonso suggest that these distinct roles do not necessarily have to be tied to specific male or female bodies.

Toineeta: What you need to do is go back to the community, a community where no role or no job was lesser. Every job had equal importance in keeping that community moving. . . .

Me: If there was a situation in which all roles were equally valued, are there some roles women should be doing as compared to men, and if so, what?

Toineeta: No, but I've never felt that way. I think it's the role that should be equally valued; it doesn't matter who does it. Culturally, we had the *winkte*, the gay man, the man with two spirits, but they had certain roles. They were a lot of times brought out with the contraries into battle and were just as brave. They weren't stereotyped in a certain way, they just had a different role, and that role was very valuable to the tribe. So we have to spend a little more time focusing on the roles, and I think if the roles become more equal, then the person who does that specific thing is more equal.

Toineeta suggests an alternative possibility for theorizing about gender difference and oppression. She is suggesting that liberal feminism has often identified the primary problem with the distinction in gender roles. If we center Native women's histories in a feminist analysis, we might instead identify the problem as one of devaluing certain roles rather than gender role distinctions. However, there is some tension between sup-

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porting a gender complementarianism politics (which presumes two genders) when Native societies were not necessarily structured on gender binary systems prior to colonization (Jacobs, Thomas, and Lang 1999). As Michelene Pesantubbee's groundbreaking work on Choctaw gender relations argues, gender complementarianism should be understood as "multiple" rather than dichotomous (2005, 6). Perhaps we must speak of gender polymentarianism instead.

In addition, another common distinction made between white and Native women's struggles is that white women struggle for power they never had in society, whereas Native women are fighting to regain power they did have and in fact have never completely lost. Rebecca VanVlack observes, "Women's power and women's strength I don't think has ever been totally denied or gone away with Native women. I think we've allowed it to slip out of our hands, and when you have so much else to do, but I figure it's a matter of taking it back rather than gaining it in the first place, like it is for Europeans."

Implicitly, this analysis calls into question the progressive assumptions behind liberal feminism—that the status of women is steadily improving from its previous degraded status. This progressive notion of liberal feminist history often coincides with primitivist notions of indigeneity. As an example, a 1985 Virginia Slims ad reflected a similar notion that white patriarchy saves Native women from oppression. On the left side of the ad was a totem pole with cartoonish figures of Indian women. Their names were Princess Wash and Scrub; Little Running Water Fetcher; Keeper of the Teepee; Princess; Breakfast, Lunch, and Dinner Preparer; Woman Who Gathers Firewood; Princess Buffalo Robe Sewer; Little Woman Who Weaves All Day; and Woman Who Plucks Feathers for Chief's Headdress. The caption atop the totem pole read: "Virginia Slims remembers one of many societies where the women stood head and shoulders above the men." On the right side of the ad, there was a model in makeup, a tight skirt, nylons, and high heels, with the familiar caption "You've come a long way, baby." The message is that Native women, oppressed in their tribal societies, need to be liberated into patriarchal standards of beauty where their true freedom lies. In this Virginia Slims ad, feminism is tied to colonial conquest and (white) women's liberation is founded on the destruction of supposedly patriarchal Native societies. By arguing that Native societies were not patriarchal prior to colonization, Native women are challenging the assumption that brown women need to be saved from brown men (Spivak 1994).

Many activists do echo Jaimes and Halsey's critique as well as critiques

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developed by many women of color—that white feminism strives for gender equality within a capitalist, colonial context without questioning the economic and political system itself. Winona LaDuke (an Anishnabe) for instance, argued in her keynote speech at the United Nations' Beijing Conference on Women that attempting to be "equal" with men under the current capitalist and imperialist world order will do nothing to liberate most women: "It is not, frankly, that women of the dominant society in so called first world countries should have equal pay, and equal status, if that pay and status continues to be based on a consumption model which is not only unsustainable, but causes constant violation of the human rights of women and nations elsewhere in the world" (1995b).

A coalition of indigenous women and women's organizations from around the world issued a statement critiquing the Beijing platform on women on similar grounds.

> The "Beijing Draft Platform for Action," unfortunately, is not critical at all of the "New World Order." . . . Its recommended "strategic objectives" and actions focus on ensuring women's equal access and full participation in decision-making, equal status, equal pay, and integrating and mainstreaming gender perspectives and analysis. These objectives are hollow and meaningless if the inequality between nations, races, classes, and genders, are not challenged at the same time. Equal pay and equal status in the so-called First World is made possible because of the perpetuation of a development model which is not only non-sustainable but causes the increasing violation of the human rights of women, Indigenous peoples, and nations elsewhere. The Platform's overemphasis of gender discrimination and gender quality depoliticizes the issues confronting Indigenous women. ("Beijing Declaration on Indigenous Women" n.d., 26–28)

Thus, one central intervention made by Native women is recentering colonialism within gender analysis. Almost across the board, Native women activists trace the degradation of Native women's status, not from a universal phenomenon of "patriarchy" but from the processes of colonization that resulted in the imposition of European patriarchal relationships on Native communities. According to Janet McCloud, "Many Anglo women try, I expect in all sincerity, to tell us that our most pressing problem is male supremacy. To this, I have to say with all due respect, bullshit. Our problems are what they've been for the past several hundred years: white supremacism and colonialism. And that's a supremacism and a colonialism of which white feminists are still very much a part" (Jaimes and Halsey 1992, 332). Even women who consider themselves feminists do

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not necessarily prioritize issues that have been stereotypically defined as "feminist" in light of the pressing land rights struggles they face. As Thunder Hawk, who calls herself a feminist, states, "I'm pro-choice, I'm all for [it], in this modern day, but . . . again looking from the Indian standpoint in Indian society, to me, to argue about just equal pay and all that kind of thing, to me that struggle's like frosting on a cake. When you get done with the survival stuff, then we can tackle that." For feminism to resonate with Native women, it must be reconceptualized such that land rights issues, self-determination, and sovereignty are conceptualized as feminist issues. And, as I have argued elsewhere, it must address the United States as a colonial entity rather than a bastion of freedom (A. Smith 2005b).[5]

This reappropriation of the term *feminist,* however, does not necessarily connote a desire to coalesce with white feminists. In fact, while Native "feminists" may be accused of selling out to white feminists, in fact, their reappropriation of the term may signal just the opposite. Many Native women argue that rejecting the term *feminist* for its connotations of whiteness allows white women to determine the meaning of the word rather than allowing Native women to define it. Such a move allows white women to define both feminism and the way gender politics should and could be addressed rather than more directly challenging the politics they carry on in the name of feminism. This sentiment was expressed by several activists.

Thomas: They [white women] think they define feminism. This kills me! There's a whole bunch of people who think they do. And it just kills me . . . Maybe there isn't a global feminism. The word has a meaning, and I think that the meaning that it has for me, is different than the meaning it has for other people.

Rivera: [On Native women rejecting the term *feminist*] I think that's giving that concept to someone else, which I think is ridiculous. It's something that there has to be more discussion about what that means. I always considered, they took that from us in a way. That's the way I've seen it. So I can't see it as a bad thing because I think the origins are from people who had empowered women a long time ago.

Star: [On the notion that feminism is "white"] To me that kind of gives white women power in saying they can define a movement, they can define an order of relationships based on their particularity. I don't grant them that. I don't grant that they own that term. I don't grant that feminism

[5] See also (Kazanjian 2003).

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looks like them, acts like them, thinks like them, or should be ordered by them.

Lee Maracle writes that it is important for all women, including Native women, to develop a more global perspective on the women's movement —that white women from North America are only one small part of this movement.

> A good number of non-white women have addressed the women's movement and decried the fact that we are outside the women's movement. I have never felt outside of that movement. . . . I have never felt that the women's movement was centered or defined by women here in North America. That the white women of North America are racist and that they define the movement in accordance with their own narrow perspective should not surprise us. . . . We are part of a global movement of women in the world, struggling for emancipation. The world will define the movement. We are part of the women who will define it. . . . I represent the future of the women in North America, just as any other woman does. That white women only want to hear from me as a Native and not as a voice in the women's movement is their loss. (1988, 180–82)

Interestingly, the African National Congress Women's Section made a similar analysis of feminism that challenges any essentialist understanding of the term: "There is nothing wrong with feminism," it claims. "It is as progressive or reactionary as nationalism. Nationalism can be reactionary or progressive. We have not got rid of the term nationalism. And with feminism it is the same" (McClintock 1995, 384). Such moves resonate with the manner in which other women of color have laid claim to the term *feminist*, such as Barbara Smith's definition of the term: "Feminism is the political theory and practice that struggles to free all women: women of color, working-class women, poor women, disabled women, lesbians, old women—as well white, economically privileged, heterosexual women. Anything less than this vision of total freedom is not feminism, but merely female self-aggrandizement" (1982, 49).

These theoretical insights fundamentally challenge how feminism has been both theorized and historicized in scholarly and activist circles. For instance, the feminist movement is generally periodized into the so-called first, second, and third waves of feminism. The first wave is characterized by the suffragette movement; the second wave is characterized by the formation of the National Organization for Women, abortion rights politics, and the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment. Suddenly, dur-

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ing the third wave of feminism, women of color make an appearance to transform feminism into a multicultural movement (Heywood and Drake 1997; Kaschak 2001; Kesselman, McNair, and Schneidwind 1999; Nicholson 1997). This periodization necessarily centers the histories of white middle-class women to which women of color attach themselves. So it is not a surprise that many women of color and Native women resist identifying with this movement. However, if we *recentered* Native women in an account of feminist history, we might begin with 1492, when Native women collectively resisted colonization. In this new history, the importance of the anticolonial struggle would be central in our articulation of feminism.[6] We might understand that there are multiple feminist histories emerging from multiple communities of color, which intersect at points and diverge in others. Such a reperiodization would not minimize the contributions made by white feminists but would decenter them from our historicizing and analysis.

The value I see of such a project was evident to me when I taught a class entitled "Native American Feminism." What was interesting was how, by giving the class that name rather than "Native American Women," non-Native women in the class were directly challenged to rearticulate the assumptions behind their own feminist politics in a way that disassociating Native women from feminism would not have done. As with all English terms, including *feminism* (as well as *sovereignty* and *nationalism*, which will be discussed later), we have the task of what Patricia Monture-Angus describes as taking a language that does not work for us and giving it new life (1995, 35) or what Joy Harjo and Gloria Bird describe as "reinventing the enemy's language" (1997). Such a task of "infiltrating feminism," as Sammy Toineeta describes it, is not at odds with Native women activists also developing alternative terminology that might successfully mobilize Native communities to address issues of sexism more directly. The partial refusal to coalesce with white feminism derives not so much from a fear of being deemed "white" by association as from a strategic intervention that challenges not only the practices of Native men but the practices of white women (a much different strategy than that adopted by conservative evangelical feminists, as will be discussed in the next section). In addition, the

[6] Such an attempt is developed in Serna Berer Gluck's "Whose Feminism, Whose History?" which attempts to draw out multiple feminist histories. Yet she sometimes recapitulates white hegemonic articulations of feminist history when she states that in the early 1980s "Indian women had planted themselves firmly in the women's movement" as if the organizing they had been doing for centuries was not the "women's movement" itself (Gluck 1998, 43).

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mantra “Native women aren’t feminists” silences a broader discussion on rhetorical strategy. That is, rather than arguing over terminology, we could discuss our strategies behind the terms we choose. In addition, our rhetorical strategies may change over time. For instance, based on my own organizing history, I was more sympathetic to a disavowal of the term feminist during the “sisterhood is global” period of the 1980s when white women seemed to assume an alliance and solidarity with indigenous women and women of color. This disavowal was a strategy intended to call this assumption into question. Now, however, I see this assumption as having been sufficiently called into question, such that it might make sense to intervene in feminist politics again. That is, so many colonial policies are being conducted under the banner of feminism (such as supporting the war on terror in order to “liberate” Arab women from repressive regimes) that it seems necessary to wrest the term from this colonial discourse and claim it for anticolonial, anti-white-supremacist projects. Of course, other Native women could make compelling arguments as to why we should adopt a different rhetorical strategy. But the important discussion becomes less about which term is best than about which rhetorical strategies we should adopt in particular contexts.

Evangelical Feminism

While Native feminisms destabilize notions of Native communities as singularly progressive, evangelical feminisms destabilize notions of evangelicalism as singularly conservative. While histories of the Christian Right often characterize feminism as fundamentally based on antifeminist politics (Alexander and Mohanty 1997; Domigues 1994), in fact, feminism is also constitutive of evangelicalism. I will contextualize my discussion of evangelicalism with a brief history of the evangelical feminist movement. However, since several versions of this history have recently been published, I will not describe this history at length (see, e.g., Cochran 2005; Gallagher 2003; Horner 2002; and Ingersoll 2005).[7]

[7] As in chapters 1 and 2, this analysis is informed by extensive surveys of Christian periodical literature and participant observation in Christian Right and conservative evangelical events. However, it is supplemented with material from thirty informal interviews I conducted among gender complementarians and egalitarians (those who support gender hierarchy and equality, respectively) involved in various degrees within the Promise Keepers movement. These interviews were conducted as part of an educational project of the National Council of Churches during the summer of

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At the same time that the Christian Right was mobilizing against the political gains of liberal feminism, including campaigning to reverse *Roe v. Wade* and stop the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, sectors within conservative evangelicalism were inspired by these struggles to call for reform within evangelicalism itself. A starting point of contemporary evangelical feminism was the founding of the Evangelical Women's Caucus (EWC, now EWCI), which was formed in 1973 from the women's caucus of Evangelicals for Social Action (Hearn 1993, 219). Some of the most prominent founding members of EWCI were Virginia Ramey Mollenkott, the author of *Women, Men, and the Bible* (1977), and Letha Scanzoni and Nancy Hardesty, the authors of *All We're Meant to Be* (1974). Another evangelical feminist organization, Christians for Biblical Equality (CBE), was formed in 1985 as a splinter group from EWCI. Prominent CBE figures include Patricia Gundry, the author of *Woman Be Free!* (1977), her husband Stanley Gundry, Catherine Kroeger, and Alvera Mickelsen.

The early works of evangelical feminists tended to be concerned with the exegesis of "problem passages," that is, passages in which the biblical authors seemed to argue for the subordination of women to men. Because evangelicals view the Bible as authoritative for Christian living, evangelical feminists did not have the option of following Rosemary Radford Ruether's advice regarding patriarchal texts: "We no longer need to apologize for them or try to interpret them as words of truth, but we cast out their oppressive message as expressions of evil and justifications of evil" (1985, 137). Instead, they had to account for the problem passages within an evangelical tradition, usually by arguing that these passages said something other than what traditional evangelicals claimed. Rather than argue that the Bible poses a problem for women, they argued that, properly understood, the Bible liberates women. As Mollenkott states, "It is precisely my study of the Bible that has radicalized me" (1980, 26).

Virginia Mollenkott and Patricia Gundry characterize two important strands of evangelical feminist biblical exegesis during this period. Gundry presumes biblical inerrancy (the Bible contains no errors of any kind), while Mollenkott presumes neither inerrancy nor infallibility (the Bible

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1997 (names and identifying features have been changed). The interviewees were selected based on availability and convenience. While I make no claims that the ideas expressed in these interviews are representative of evangelicals in general, they do provide further insight into the dynamics of race and gender within Christian Right discourse.

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teaches no errors regarding Christian doctrines of faith or practice). Gundry's inerrantist position requires that she account for even the most difficult passages with a feminist reading and argue that Paul in particular, properly understood, supports gender equality in the church and home (Gundry 1977). She also attributes all Pauline books to Paul and does not argue that any passages are interpolations.

Mollenkott, by contrast, does not hew to either an inerrantist or infallibilist interpretation of Scripture, although she does maintain that the Bible is authoritative for Christian living (1977a, 100; 1977c, 105). She does try to insulate Paul against charges of sexism to a certain extent (1976, 21; 1977b, 75–76). Unlike Gundry, however, Mollenkott does not believe Paul consistently preaches women's equality. She writes, "Although there are some feminists who think that all of Paul's words and attitudes can be explained in a completely harmonious egalitarian fashion once we achieve a full understanding of the cultural conditions and the Greek usage involved, to date I have not found their interpretations convincing" (1977c, 95). Nevertheless, even these passages are divinely inspired insofar as they are instructive for Christians in considering how to balance biblical imperatives with societal norms.

These differences prove to be critical because of the central importance to mainstream evangelicals, in their response to evangelical feminism, of feminist stances on biblical inerrancy. During the time of these writings, evangelicals were locked in a "Battle of the Bible" (Price 1986). Evangelicals argued over whether or not the Bible was inerrant, infallible, or neither.[8] Inerrantist evangelicals also argued over whether or not noninerrantist evangelicals could properly call themselves evangelical.[9] These debates in inerrancy contributed to a reconfiguring of fundamentalism and neo-evangelicalism. As is outlined in greater detail in appendix 1, militant fundamentalists broke away from moderate fundamentalists, such as Jerry Falwell, who were beginning to cooperate with nonfundamentalists to further right-wing political goals (they interpreted this coop-

[8] On inerrancy, see Harold Lindsell's *Battle of the Bible*, which was one of the most influential books espousing this point of view. Lindsell argues that the Bible "does not contain error of any kind, including scientific and historical facts" (1976a, 18). See also the "Chicago Statement on Biblical Hermeneutics" in Radmacher and Preus 1984, 881–904). On infallibility, see Bloesch 1978, 65; Fuller 1973, 68; and Hubbard 1970, 58. On the view that the Bible is neither inerrant nor infallible, see Beegle 1973, 278–80.

[9] See, for example, Hanger 1984, 19–22.

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eration as violating the fundamentalist principle of separation from non-believers).[10] Meanwhile, neo-evangelicals (who shared fundamentalists' beliefs in the five fundamentals of faith but separated from them around the time of World War II because they did not want to separate from the larger society) were beginning to split into conservative, mainstream, and radical groups, largely based on approaches to biblical inerrancy.[11]

This debate over inerrancy tended to overshadow discussions of any other issues, particularly issues of women's equality. Robert Johnston argued that discussions among evangelicals, such as those in the Evangelical Theological Society, had become "one-topic convocations" on biblical inerrancy (1979, 46).[12] Margaret L. Bendroth similarly notes, "This theological stalemate [over biblical inerrancy], escalating into a full-fledged battle for the Bible, has obscured the larger issue of women's role within evangelical Protestantism" (1984, 134). Consequently, mainstream evangelicals critiqued early evangelical feminist writings almost solely on grounds of biblical inerrancy and even ignored other controversial views espoused by evangelical feminists, such as Mollenkott's universalism (Mollenkott 1980, 104),[13] which contradicts one of the five fundamentals. There was a clear sense among mainstream evangelicals that on the matter of the biblical interpretation all would be won or lost.

Thus, responses to evangelical feminism varied depending on the critic's commitment to biblical inerrancy. Some thought of evangelical feminists themselves as a priori noninerrantists, regardless of how they approached the Bible, and therefore not evangelical. Militant fundamentalists did not acknowledge the existence of Christian feminism since feminism itself was regarded as heresy. This sentiment is conveyed in Stewart Custer's review of Mollenkott's *Speech, Silence, Action!* published in *Biblical View-*

[10] See Nash 1987, 67.

[11] The five fundamentals of faith include biblical inerrancy, the deity of Christ, substitutionary atonement, bodily resurrection, and the second coming of Christ. The lack of attention to Mollenkott's universalism is surprising considering that even evangelicals, who generally have a more liberal view of biblical interpretation and/or women's equality, still reject antiuniversalist approaches. See, for example, Conn 1984, 104; Davis 1977, 17; Johnston 1979, 3; and Quebedeaux 1974, 45.

[12] Works expressing similar viewpoints include Ammerman 1991; Lightner 1978, 46; Noll 1984, 11–19; and Osborne 1985, 82.

[13] Universalism is the belief that all peoples will attain eternal salvation. In fact, prominent mega-church pastor, Carlton Pearson of the Higher Dimensions Family Church in Tulsa Oklahoma lost 90 percent of his 5000 person congregation when he started preaching universalism. He lost an election bid for mayor in 2002, and ended up losing his church in 2006 (Sherman 2006; Tiansay 2002b).

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point, a Bob Jones University journal (and Mollenkott's alma mater), in which he wrote, "Virginia Ramey Mollenkott has written one of the most self-centered books to come out of the press in recent years. . . . One wonders whether the subtitle of the books should be the 'cycle of unbelief' rather than 'the cycle of faith.' The reading of such a book reminds one that the 'public and final repudiation of what one formerly professed' is still a proper definition of apostasy" (Custer 1981, 67). In the eyes of militant fundamentalists, evangelical feminism was a theology "utterly devoid of Bible truth but Satan-inspired" that would lead Christians to believe in a "soft and effeminate Christianity—exotic, but cowardly" (Dollar 1973, 103).

Among the conservative evangelical and moderate fundamentalist periodicals, discussions of evangelical feminism were virtually nil. My survey of *Moody Monthly* (published by the Moody Bible Institute) from 1973 to 1985 uncovered virtually no articles published by evangelical feminists nor reviews of their works. As Gundry noted, this absence was not accidental, for "Traditionalists have always pretended feminists weren't there" (Williams 1980, 17). One exception was an article by Gundry in which she very cautiously argued that perhaps evangelicals should reconsider the claims of feminism in light of biblical teachings (1975). That was the extent of Moody's tolerance of feminism. Four years later Gundry's husband Stanley, who was a professor at the Moody Bible Institute, was fired from his job a few months after Patricia gave a press interview describing her feminist journey. Afterward Ms. Gundry was banned from the institute, its radio station, and all of its publications (Stentzel 1979). The official reasons for firing Stanley Gundry were (1) that the couple's views on feminism were being represented as the views of the institute and were "bringing financial loss" to it"; (2) that Stanley Gundry was in serious violation of the school's "historic position" regarding the role of women; and (3) that the teaching of Scripture is "so perfectly clear on the feminist issue" that Gundry was guilty of serious doctrinal error (Stentzel 1979).

In general the more conservative evangelical and moderate fundamentalists were reluctant to discuss even the most conservative evangelical feminists. At most, they made passing references to the travesty feminism had wrought on society and Christianity, for example:

> Women's libbers as a group are not bad people, their only crimes being those harmless ones of blasphemy, baby murder, prostitution, homosexuality, marriage breaking, hate mongering, and free sex—certainly forgiv-

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able if we consider the terrible repression they have been subjected to in the past. (Boop 1975, 54)

No, let's not take a second look at the feminist movement or Equal Rights Amendment or whatever you want to call it. Let's take a second look at the Word of God. (Gorcoff 1975, 56)

Nevertheless, it does appear that feminism had some impact on them. A few readers of *Moody Monthly,* for example, did express some sympathy toward feminism. Some examples include:

I found the book *[All We're Meant to Be]* to be an excellent and much needed Christian work in these days of re-evaluation of male-female relationships. (Wilson 1975)

We should certainly take another look before we write off the women's movement as entirely secular and irrelevant to the biblical Christian. There are many of us "out here" who are wrestling with issues concerning our own personhood. (Mahler 1975, 55)

It would also seem that feminism induced many traditionalists to at least pay lip service to the idea that women should have equal pay for equal work, should have equal employment and educational opportunities, and are equal to men before God (even though they must remain subordinate to men while they are on earth) (Hart 1983; Neff 1980, 36; Senter 1973; Williams 1982, 175). A conservative evangelical, A. Duane Litfin, wrote, "Much of what they [evangelical feminists] have written is valid, even praiseworthy" (1979, 270–71). Even Jerry Falwell, not known for his progressive views regarding women, asked, "How much thought have we given to what has caused the rise of feminism? Could it be that we failed to objectively consider some legitimate inequities that need balancing? . . . Too many Fundamentalist Christians have wrong mental attitudes toward women" (1983, 1).[14]

If there were only glimmerings of a discussion on feminism in the conservative evangelical and moderate fundamentalist community, the mainstream evangelical community seemed to be more actively involved in discussing feminist issues as represented by such neo-evangelical periodicals as *His*, *Eternity* (both defunct), and *Christianity Today*. In these periodicals, feminism was discussed as a controversial subject, not heresy.

[14] By contrast, *World* suggested in 1999 that men and not women were facing gender discrimination in the educational system, concluding that "feminists are the real sexists" (Veith 1999c, 26).

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A typical article on feminism was "Women: Second Class Citizens?" which appeared in *Eternity*. Nancy Hardesty wrote the article, and several people wrote reactions to it—some favorable, some not—in inserts within the article. The editors prefaced the article by describing the controversy inherent in feminist issues, saying that Christians "need to come to God's work with an open mind, leaving prejudices behind as much as possible" (Hardesty 1971, 14). Such periodicals often featured articles on feminism in which several viewpoints were represented in order to create a "balanced view."[15] This approach indicates that, although mainstream evangelicals were not wholeheartedly accepting feminism, they were willing to converse with feminists. This willingness to converse, however, depended on a feminist's take on inerrancy.

For instance, Harold Lindsell, whose *Battle of the Bible* sounded the call for biblical inerrancy as a litmus test for evangelicalism, rejected any evangelical feminist's claims to be considered evangelical if she rejected inerrancy. As he stated, "I do not for one moment concede . . . [that] anyone can claim the evangelical badge once he has abandoned inerrancy" (1976a, 18). He argued that someone like Mollenkott could not be called evangelical because "the way Mollenkott interprets the Bible means she cannot hold to an infallible Scripture. . . . What is the issue for the evangelical is the fact that some of the most ardent advocates of egalitarianism in marriage over against hierarchy reach their conclusions by directly and deliberately denying that the Bible is the infallible rule of faith and practice. Once they do this, they have ceased to be evangelical; Scripture no longer is normative" (Lindsell 1976b, 45–46).[16] (Note that in this paragraph Lindsell conflates infallibility with inerrancy.)

Whether or not Lindsell thought it is possible to argue for an inerrant evangelical feminist approach to the Bible is unclear. Some writers argued that they could not (Bubna and Bubna 1980; Edwards 1986; Laribee 1976; Zoscher 1976). But many were also willing to concede that evangelical feminists can properly call themselves evangelical. Litfin referred to "the feminists who call themselves evangelical—and the writer does not question their use of the term" (1979, 259). Part of the reason for this concession may have been the unwillingness of some evangelicals to make inerrancy the litmus test for evangelicalism. Carl Henry has stated that the

[15] Other articles that have appeared in such a format include Carlson and Barnhouse 1975; "Coming a Long Way" 1973; "How to Create a Woman" 1973; "Jesus and Women" 1973; Jewett and Elliot 1975; and Suffer and Knight 1981.

[16] See also House 1979, 53.

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"distaste for the use of inerrancy as a polemical weapon in the absence of reasoned supports, must not be ignored. Neither can the increasing fragmentation of evangelical cohesion over the issue of inerrancy. . . . The duty of the evangelical enterprise requires something higher than invalidating every contribution of evangelicals who halt short of that commitment" (1984, 25).[17]

Other writers approved of writings that explicitly advocated inerrancy, such as Gundry's, but rejected those that did not, such as Mollenkott's. For instance, Harvie Conne critiqued Mollenkott's approach to the Bible, saying, "I struggle with how far one can move to the left of the evangelical continuum on biblical authority before moving off it altogether" (1984, 108). However, he speaks approvingly of Gundry's inerrantist approach to feminism, observing that she could "speak to evangelicals in a way not possible for . . . Mollenkott" (108; see also Rausch 1976, 22; and Siddons 1978, 40). Finally, there are many evangelical writers that spoke approvingly of evangelical feminists who did not subscribe to inerrancy. Many writers positively reviewed Mollenkott's work (Nelson 1981; Newman 1976; Vander Broek 1984). Shirley Nelson, for instance, in reviewing *Speech, Silence, Action!* wrote, "It is a healing book, not in the sense of soothing balm, but with the discomfort that healing often entails: stretching, moving unused muscles, seeing with a light that burns" (1981, 44).

Similarly, Paul Jewett's *Man as Male and Female* (1975) argued that Paul was a product of his patriarchal culture and hence did not always reflect God's will in his teachings (Jewett 1975). When he was brought up on charges at Fuller Seminary for teaching partial fallibility, the seminary found that the book was not a negation of the "Fuller Statement of Faith," which declares the Bible to be infallible (Johnston 1979, 35).

But in all cases commentators consistently ignored evangelical feminists' social and political concerns and commented only on their exegesis. For instance, Mollenkott wrote "The Women's Movement Challenges the Church and Three Responses" (1974). Her article was not designed to discuss biblical interpretations of women's role in society but to discuss the contemporary struggles of women with which the church had to come to terms. Mary Stewart Van Leeuwen, Robert Saucy, and Charles Ryrie basically wrote similar responses: Mollenkott's article was of limited value to evangelicals because it did not "discuss these questions from a Biblical Perspective" (Mollenkott 1974, 321). Another example was Walter M. Dunnet's review of *All We're Meant to Be* in *Moody Monthly*. Although he

[17] See also Hanger 1984.

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concedes that "much of the cultural and sociological data in the book point up inequities in society," he proceeds to dismiss this book because he disagrees with its biblical interpretations (1975, 74). Feminists recognized that this preoccupation with inerrancy often masked an implicit reactionary political agenda, as Mollenkott's quotation at the beginning of this chapter indicates. However, evangelical feminism during this period created little space in which to discuss this political agenda because it was trapped into concentrating its efforts almost solely on providing alternative exegeses.

Nevertheless, it would not be accurate to argue that evangelical feminism had no impact on the evangelical community. The first Evangelical Women's Caucus in 1975 was filled to capacity (360 people attended and others had to be turned away), and *All We're Meant to Be* was so influential that it was named *Eternity*'s book of the year for 1975 (Buckley 1980, 33). As mentioned previously, even those traditionalists who were completely hostile to evangelical feminism acknowledged its impact on the evangelical community in statements such as:

> The feminist movement continues, inexorably, to make inroads into evangelical circles. (Litfin 1979, 258)

> There are few of us, however, who have not heard the Lord's Prayer begin, "Our Father/Mother, who is in heaven," or have not noticed a "Timeless One" in place of "Father" in pastoral prayers. (Edwards 1986, 30)

> The role relationship of women and men is one of the most discussed topics of our day, in evangelical circles as well as elsewhere. (Knight 1976, 13)

Mainstream evangelical responses to evangelical feminism began to change rather dramatically around the mid-1980s. At least three factors seemed to play a role in this shift: (1) the split in the Evangelical Women's Caucus and the formation of Christians for Biblical Equality, (2) the changing debate around biblical inerrancy in mainstream (and even conservative) evangelicalism, and (3) the rising consciousness of sexual, domestic, and clergy abuse in evangelical communities (this factor is addressed later in this chapter).

The Slippery Slope to Lesbianism

The first factor important in the development of evangelical feminism was the schism in the evangelical women's caucus and the formation of CBE as

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a result of EWC passing a resolution in support of gay and lesbian civil rights (Spring 1986). Heterosexual marriage, CBE holds, is "the pattern God designed for us" ("Christians for Biblical Equality Statement of Faith" 1994). Patricia Gundry represents this viewpoint when she states, "I refuse to link gay rights to women's rights" (1988, 15).[18] As a result, the feminists represented by CBE became much more acceptable for inclusion in the mainstream evangelical discourse than had been EWCI. They became the "good" evangelical feminists, unlike the hopelessly "bad" "lesbian" evangelical feminists. While gender hierarchicalists may not have agreed with CBE members' point of view, they were now taking greater pains to show them respect and take their arguments more seriously. For instance, the gender hierarchicalists John Piper and Wayne Grudem said of evangelical feminists (only those associated with CBE qualify as such), "We consider these authors to be brothers and sisters in Christ, and we have endeavored to respond to them in sincerity and love" (1991, xiii).[19]

The remaining members of EWCI (Mollenkott, Hardesty, and Scanzoni) are now seen as having "crossed over to liberalism . . . from the boundaries of evangelical Christian doctrine" (Kassian 1992, 216–17), and their writings are no longer included in mainstream evangelical journals and other periodicals. In 1991, EWCI changed its name to the Ecumenical/Evangelical Women's Caucus (EEWC) in order to reflect the fact that evangelicalism was no longer the community of accountability for many of its members (Kassian 1992). In addition, several of its key members, such as Virginia Mollenkott and Nancy Hardesty, have come out as lesbians. This shift was reflected in the advertising for its 2004 conference. It featured non-evangelical speakers such as Riffat Hassan, Rosemary Radford Ruether, and Phyllis Trible. Its statement of faith also reflects these changes: "EEWC welcomes members of any gender, race, ethnicity, color, creed, marital status, sexual orientation, religious affiliation, age, political party, parental status, economic class, or disability. . . . We believe that the gospel is good news for all persons. We also recognize that faith is expressed through a

[18] Gundry argues that she does not want to be associated with gay rights because when her husband was fired from the Moody Bible Institute as a result of her work, her critics were denouncing her as a lesbian. She (as well as members of the CBE) has been able to accrue more respectability in evangelical circles by openly denouncing evangelical lesbians (though Gundry does maintain in this article that she is not against gay rights, simply not interested enough to become informed as to what the Bible has to say on the issue).

[19] Note that Mollenkott and the current members of EWCI are not included in the list of acceptable evangelical feminists.

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rich diversity of traditions and forms of spirituality."[20] Mollenkott's own theology has radically shifted and is now more under the purview of radical Christian theology as well as much less Christian-centric.[21]

Biblical feminists in CBE now find themselves more consistently included in the mainstream evangelical discourse. In fact, they became sufficiently powerful that the Council of Biblical Manhood and Womanhood (CBMW) was founded in 1987 specifically to counter CBE. The fact that Piper and Grudem of CBMW took the time to compile a book more than five hundred pages in length to respond in excruciating exegetical detail (and also using psychological, sociological, and legal analysis) in order to denounce evangelical feminism (i.e., those feminists represented by CBE), including a specific position paper in response to CBE's statement of purpose (previous denunciations of evangelical feminists were usually no longer than a page), indicates how seriously CBMW takes the work of CBE.[22] It is also a sign of CBE's influence that CBMW does not describe itself as supporting gender *hierarchy* but rather gender *complementarianism* (the belief that men and women have gender-complementary roles and men's role is to serve as heads of households and/or hold the office of pastor).[23] Thus, even gender hierarchicalists feel sufficiently compelled to soften their positions with euphemisms. Members of CBE, by contrast, have become known as gender *egalitarians*. Later in the chapter, I discuss the complementarian versus egalitarian debate in greater detail.

While CBE has gained considerable influence, the EWCI feminists function as a left-hand boundary to its religious critiques. If CBE says anything

[20] Evangelical/Ecumenical Women's Caucus Web site, www.eewc.org.

[21] For an analysis of Mollenkott's shifting theology, see Cochran 2005.

[22] Other changes in the attitude of traditionalists toward biblical feminists are reflected in these works. See *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* (Piper and Grundem 1991). See also Packer 1986; and Pinnock 1986.

[23] Some complementarians, particularly Charismatic Christians, may support women as pastors but still support male headship in marriage. Women feature prominently in the development of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity. See Hyatt 2000, 121. In 1998, *Charisma* published a reader response to the question "Should women be ordained?" All but two of the nine who wrote responses said women should be ordained. *Charisma* further noted that Charismatic and Pentecostal churches were ordaining increasing numbers of women (Sound Off 1998). Other *Charisma* editorials call for support of the increased prominence of women leaders in Charismatic churches (Jackson 2006; Strang 1997). In another set of letters to the editor, all those printed supported women in the ministry (Letters 1999b). It also ran an op-ed piece, which stated that men must "become 'man enough' (and humble enough!) to admit that it's not the Bible but our male pride and cultural bias that prevent us from releasing women into ministry" (Grady 2000c).

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too radical, complementarians charge that it is heading down the slippery slope toward the lesbian apostasy of EWCI. As Nancy Kassian argues, "It appears that many evangelical believers who adopted a conservative feminist position regarding the role of women at one point gravitated towards a more radical one as time wore on. EWC began by being evangelical, but is now far from it. Given this trend, it is entirely possible that the most recent evangelical and feminist leaders and CBE may be destined to follow suit" (Kassian 1992, 216).

The Politics of Inerrancy

Establishing correct meanings entails lots of hard, interpretive work. When disagreements arise, it is tempting to retreat from the hard work under the banner of tolerance and sensitivity. Instead, we should underscore in a loving, sensitive manner that only one of several conflicting interpretations can be correct. . . . [Otherwise] we find few contextual safeguards in this land of "what-it-means-to-me" and probably very little of God's voice.
—WALT RUSSEL

It follows then that persons within *different* discursive systems will not be able to hear the other's reasons *as* reasons, but only as errors or even delusions.—STANLEY FISH

The second factor critical to the evolution of evangelical feminism is the changing debate over biblical inerrancy. It appears as though evangelicals are increasingly describing themselves an inerrantists. This trend may be an indication of the strength of biblical conservatives. In order to even be heard, evangelicals must take up the banner of inerrancy. But at the same time evangelicals disagree on what inerrancy means. As Norman Geisler notes, "The de jure battle of inerrancy has calmed among mainline American evangelicals. Most have reaffirmed faith that the Bible is God's inerrant Word. However, the waters are still troubled in the area of what constitutes a de facto denial of inerrancy. There is a tendency to affirm inerrancy with the theological right hand, and then to deny it with the hermeneutical left hand" (Geisler 1987, 27).

Most evangelicals (though not all) argue that the Bible is inerrant only in the nonextant original manuscripts.[24] Most further qualify inerrancy in

[24] The doctrinal basis of the Evangelical Theological Society is "The Bible alone, and the Bible in its entirety, is the Word of God written and is therefore inerrant in

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other regards. For instance, the "Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy" of 1978 qualifies inerrancy such that it applies only to original autographs regardless of their lack of modern technical precision, irregularities of grammar and spelling, observational descriptions of nature, reporting of falsehoods, use of hyperbole and round numbers, topical arrangements, variant selection of materials in parallel accounts, and use of free citations (Humphreys 1987, 325).[25] In addition, some evangelicals shift the locus of inerrancy of the text to the author, arguing that the Bible is inerrant in the sense that God (through humans) has written exactly what he wants to.[26] Thus, if there seems to be an error of fact it is because God was not interested in relaying specific scientific details. Consequently, evangelical feminists seem to have more leeway in their selection of exegetical methods. For instance, it might be acceptable to argue that a passage is an interpolation, provided one argues that the interpolation was also divinely inspired.[27] At the same time, the "acceptable approaches" toward biblical exegesis depend on one's relationship to power within the mainstream evangelical discourse. For instance, D. A. Carson (a male complementarian) approaches the Bible in a more liberal fashion than the females Scanzoni and Hardesty do, yet Scanzoni and Hardesty are much more likely to be accused of heresy.[28]

the autographs." Even George Dollar, a militant fundamentalist, argues that only the autographs are inerrant (and that the King James Version translation is the only reliable one) (1973, 264). Fisher Humphreys (a nonmilitant fundamentalist) is an exception, arguing that all responsible translations are inerrant (1987, 329).

[25] For further description of the varieties of inerrancy, see Young 1987, 404–406.

[26] Hodges 1994, 26; Johnston 1992; Noll 1993, 233; Silva 1988, 69. Clark Pinnock describes himself as an inerrantist while still maintaining that (1) the divine authority of some of Paul's teaching are questionable, (2) the early chapters of Genesis are saga, (3) the Book of Jonah is didactic fiction, and (4) Ephesians and the Pastorals are not Pauline. He also defends the source theory of the Old Testament among other, more controversial statements as described in Yarbrough 1991. Of course some scholars, including Yarbrough, are disturbed by this expansion of the definition of *inerrancy*.

[27] Those conservative evangelicals who argue that exegeting certain passages as interpolations, even to support women's ordination, is potentially still within the purview of evangelical scholarship include Carson (1991, 144), Padgett (1987, 41), and Schreiner (1991, 485 ff.). Of course, many evangelical scholars reject this approach, and others argue that it does not matter if they are interpolations. Since they are still part of the canon, they must be exegeted as such (similar to what Mollenkott argues). Cf. Wall 1988, 273.

[28] Carson, for instance, argues that John 7:53–8:11 is an interpolation—and apparently not a divinely inspired one (1991, 144). No one seems to argue that he is not evangelical because of this interpretation, and he is included in an anthology (*Re-*

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The extent to which support for biblical inerrancy simply becomes a code for supporting gender hierarchy is particularly apparent in Julie Ingersoll's study of the fundamentalist takeover of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC). Feeling that the bureaucracy of the convention was dominated by theological moderates, fundamentalists began to meet and form alternate institutions in the 1970s. They started their own journal, the *Southern Baptist Journal*, and organized the Mid-America Baptist Seminary, Criswell Bible College, and Luther Rice Seminary. The International Council on Inerrancy was founded in 1977 by W. A. Criswell. Leaders of this fundamentalist movement within the SBC included Adrian Rogers, Criswell, Jerry Vines, Fred Wolfe, Charles Stanley, and Robert Tenery. Their churches gave minimal amounts to the SBC Cooperative Program,[29] and they continued to be peripherally involved with the SBC as the loyal opposition. The situation changed in 1979 when Paul Pressler, now a federal appeals court judge in Houston, and Paige Patterson, currently the president of Southeastern Baptist Seminary, announced a ten-year plan to take over the convention. They would elect fundamentalist presidents who would use their powers to appoint fundamentalists to agency and seminary boards until the denomination was transformed (Ammerman 1991; Rosenberg 1984, 191). In 1979, they began the takeover; by 1990, it was complete (Mohler 1998). While the issue was originally framed in terms of adherence to biblical inerrancy, as the fundamentalists took over the boards of seminaries and agencies they changed the orthodoxy requirements for maintaining positions within SBC institutions (Maxwell 1995). In particular, Ingersoll notes, Albert Mohler Jr., who was appointed by the fundamentalists to oversee the SBC's most prominent seminary, the Southern Seminary in Kentucky, the four stances candidates have to articulate to be eligible for a position at the seminary do not include inerrancy. Rather, the orthodoxy requirements are conservative positions on the issues of abortion, homosexuality, women's ordination, and the uniqueness of the Gospel. Ingersoll concludes that "the inerrancy of the Bible is no longer the central test of orthodoxy at South-

covering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood) that denounces the weak biblicism of evangelical feminists. Meanwhile, in the third edition of *All We're Meant to Be* (1993), Scanzoni and Hardesty continue to maintain their infalliblist biblical hermeneutic, which does not contradict even conservative standards of inerrancy, and yet they are considered apostates.

[29] Member churches donate funds to the Cooperative Program (the general fund), which are then disbursed to agencies and seminaries within the SBC.

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ern; it has been replaced by opposition to women's ordination and gay rights" (2005, 59).[30]

This dynamic establishes the extent to which what is at stake is not how inerrant the reading of the Bible is but who becomes established as an inerrant reader. As Katherine Boone writes, "No matter how much one may claim to take the Bible as one's authority, one is judged by one's fidelity to the fundamentalist interpretative model. That allegiance established, it seems that one may apply biblical texts to life circumstances and situations with considerable freedom" (Boone 1989, 89).

As I have argued elsewhere, those who are established as inerrant readers have the ability to argue for "biblical" positions on a wide variety of political and social issues (from abortion to the flat tax) that have no reference in the Bible (A. Smith 1999a). Evangelicals hold what Martin Marty describes as "the iconic regard for the Bible as an object in the national shrine, whether read or not, whether observed or not: it is seen as being basic to national and religious communities' existence" (1987, 164). Interestingly, this analysis of inerrancy emerges from within evangelicalism itself.[31] According to the evangelical feminist Van Leeuwen, "If you come from a tradition that says the Bible is clear and self-interpreting, you can never admit that the lens through which you look at Scripture might change from time to time, even though Scripture doesn't change. People want to forget that their great-great-grandparents used the Bible to endorse slavery and misogyny, because to acknowledge that might suggest that the Bible is not as clear and self-interpreting as they thought it was" (Frame 1999, 103).

But the politics of who can be an inerrantist is not unchanging either. The gendered nature of inerrancy took an interesting turn in the *Today's New International Version* (TNIV) Bible controversy.[32] Zondervan and the

[30] The fundamentalist takeover did have some impact on the fundamentalists as well, as Patterson was fired from his position at Criswell Bible College for devoting too much time to denominational activities but was later reinstated.

[31] Interestingly, the Christian Right activist Thomas Atwood has made a similar analysis of Christian Right uses of the Bible. He writes, "In recent years some well-meaning Evangelical Right organizations have applied biblical 'scores' to candidates' positions on such issues as the INF [Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces] Treaty, South Africa Sanctions, tax reform, and Contra aid. . . . Well intentioned though they are, one has to question whether some of these uses of Scripture aren't violations of the commandment against taking the name of the Lord in vain" (1990, 47).

[32] For another description and analysis of the TNIV controversy, see Cochran 2005. Another slight controversy arose with the publication of the Good as New

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International Bible Society (IBS) were ready to publish a gender-neutral version of the New International Version (NIV) of the Bible in cases in which the Greek or Hebrew words are themselves gender neutral (New International Version Inclusive Language Edition). Zondervan and IBS had formed the Committee on Bible Translation (a fifteen-member group) to oversee the translation. Many complementarians, such as Wayne Grudem, *World* magazine, Pat Robertson, Jack Hayford, and James Dobson, organized to squash the translation. *World* helped spark the controversy by running an article that accused this new version of being a "stealth bible" designed to further an unbiblical feminist agenda (Olasky 1997) and has since continued to publish articles criticizing the project.[33] This article inspired Focus on the Family to host a meeting in 1997 among twelve Christian leaders and representatives from the International Bible Society and Zondervan and developed the "Colorado Springs Guidelines" for translations. The tactic taken by the opponents was that those who supported the translation were "feminist" and "politically correct," and therefore, by definition, not inerrantists (Grudem 2002; Lister 2001; Makkai 2001). Members of the committee included Timothy Bayly, John Piper and Wayne Grudem from CBMW, *World*'s publisher Joel Belz, and Focus on the Family's Charles Jarvis. The guidelines they devised include: retaining masculine references to God (although the new NIV would have retained masculine references to God); using "man" as a designation for the human race; refraining from making changes from singular to plural to avoid gender-specific language; and not changing "brothers" to "brothers and sisters," "son" to "children," "father" to "parent," or "fathers" to "ancestors" (LeBlanc and Rabey 1997).

Zondervan and IBS agreed to permanently drop plans for a "gender-neutral" NIV. Then, in February 1999, the Forum on Bible Agencies began planning a conference on gender language and *World* became involved in trying to stop it. It was rescheduled once with a broader theme, "Accuracy

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translation Bible, which advertises itself as "women, gay and sinner friendly." This version leaves out the pastoral epistles and Revelations and includes gnostic texts. The prominent evangelical Tony Campolo of the Emergent Movement says of this version, "It spoke to me with a powerful relevancy that challenged me to re-think all the things that I have been taught." But when *World* accused him of endorsing this Bible, Campolo stated that he did not endorse it because "our traditional Bible needs no radical revision to be the friendliest book in the world for every single one of us" (Veith 2005a).

[33] Bayly and Olasky 1998; "Dobson's Choice" 2002; "NIV's Twisted Sister" 2002; S. Olasky 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, and 1999d; Poythress 1998. Some of its readers have criticized *World's* one-side coverage of the issue (World Mailbag 1998).

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in Translation." The Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood accused this conference of simply being a strategy to counter the Colorado Springs guidelines. The Summer Institute of Linguistics, the translation arm of Wycliffe Bible Translators, then withdrew its sponsorship. Eventually, the conference was canceled (Plowman and Olasky 1998a). Later Zondervan and IBS decided to revive the project and published a different gender-inclusive version of the Bible, the TNIV, in 2005 (Morgan 2002b; Winn 2002). The rationale for publishing the TNIV after promising there would be no revision of the NIV along issues of gender was that the TNIV would be a completely new translation. The Committee on Biblical Translation rejected the Colorado Guidelines in the development of the TNIV. The Southern Baptist Convention and Focus on the Family are boycotting this version, but one prominent egalitarian megachurch, Willow Creek Church, has pledged to promote it (Begin 2005; S. Olasky 2002; Plowman and Olasky 1998b; Reed 2002). Larry Walker, who was a CBT member, was forced to retire from the Mid-America Baptist Theological Seminary because he would not dissociate himself from the CBT (LeBlanc and Rabey 1997). One significant shift in this translation was the elimination of a statement that would have been in the preface to the effect that the purpose of the new version was "to mute the patriarchalism of the culture of the biblical writers through gender-inclusive language when this could be done without compromising the message of the Spirit" (Morgan 2002a, 19).

Ironically, the charge that one side was translating based on politics rather than inerrancy was used *against* the translation opponents, particularly as many complementarians became supportive of the TNIV. Even many gender complementarian scholars were concerned that it was now antifeminist politics that was derailing a more accurate biblical translation (Blomberg 2002; Poythress and Strauss 2002; Tiansay 2002a; Winn 2002). In fact, a rationale for the attack on the TNIV Bible was that a more accurate translation would be "awkward" (Grudem 1997). Even complementarians who did not necessarily support the TNIV began to complain about the tactics of the Colorado Springs contingency. Stated a formal Moral Majoritarian, the fundamentalist pastor Ed Dobson:

> The people I know who are evangelical and egalitarian have come to that conclusion through their study of the Scripture and not their desire to conform to the winds of cultural change. While I disagree with them, I do not suspect their commitment to the Bible. What troubled me most was that anyone who was egalitarian or who was interested in updating the English language of the NIV to include both genders was accused of opening

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the evangelical tent to a humanist, radical feminist, liberal agenda. Such accusations are nothing less than evangelicalism's own form of political correctness. (Maudlin 1997a)

The pro-TNIV camp also accused the anti-TNIV camp of placing obstacles in the way of spreading the Gospel message with such criticisms as, "Gender-specific translations would be counterproductive on secular college campuses. Translations for the general public should not erect unnecessary barriers to the gospel" (Grudem and Osborne 1997, 39). The Evangelical Press Association (EPA) then censured *World* for its coverage of the TNIV, saying it did not adhere to the EPA code of ethics by relying on "inflammatory language" and "slanted, first-person editorializing" (Grady 1997a). *World* had thought the EPA would rule in its favor and withdrew from it when it did not ("A Perilous Venture" 2006; Grady 1997a; D. LeBlanc 1997). Later the EPA concluded that there were "major errors" in the handling of the case and set aside the independent ethics inquiry (Moore 1997). It was dismissed in late 1997 (M. Olasky 1999a).

Other publications presented a more balanced view of this issue. *Charisma* presented the debate from a neutral perspective (Blomberg 2002; Grudem 2002). It published an anti-TNIV advertisement in its July 2002 issue, although it did not itself take a stand.[34] *Christianity Today* also ran a number of TNIV debates in which it attempted to present both sides of the conflict (Grudem and Osborne 1997; Poythress and Strauss 2002). While it did not take a particular stand on the TNIV itself, it seemed to clearly take a stand against the tactics of the Colorado Springs contingent, refusing to print an anti-TNIV advertisement (Poythress and Strauss 2002) calling the tactics "bullying" (Christianity Today 2002b, 27; Zoba 1999). In another *Christianity Today* article, John Stackhouse also complained, "Does this issue warrant blasting a Bible with a shotgun and mailing it back to the publisher? Enough to sanction threats to a Bible society if it doesn't cease production of the offending version? Enough to justify the dismissal of a seminary professor involved in the translation

[34] This advertisement, titled "100 Christian Leaders Agree: The TNIV Bible is Not Trustworthy," claims that the TNIV is not trustworthy but interestingly refused to call it a feminist version. It can be found on www.no-tniv.com. Signers of the ad included P. Bunny Wilson, Bruce Wilkinson, Donald Wildmon, Charles Swindoll, R. C. Sproul, Pat Roberson, Sandy Rios of Concerned Women for America, Adrian Rogers, Paige Patterson, Janet Parshall, J. I. Packer, R. Albert Mohler, Josh McDowell, Bill McCartney, James Kennedy, Mary Kassian, W. Wayne House, Jack Hayford, Wayne Grudem, Steve Farrar, Jerry Falwell, James Dobson, Nancy Leigh DeMoss, Charles Colson, Joel Belz, and Tim Bayly.

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project a year before his retirement? Enough to keep a new translation out of the hands of people who would welcome it both for their own reading and for sharing the gospel with friends who might be very sensitive to gender questions?" He calls this debate "Bible rage" and suggests that the issue is not about inerrancy but a "social and political agenda" (1999a, 84).

D. A. Carson, who, as mentioned previously, was featured in the Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood's anthology and had served on its board of reference, wrote a book strongly critiquing *World*'s coverage of the debate, particularly Susan Olasky's article, as well as the role CBMW played in it. He suggests that many people opposing the TNIV do so not based on any real knowledge about biblical scholarship but simply to support what they see as a complementarian cause (1998). Similar critiques are made in a book on the inclusive Bible by Mark Strauss, a fellow complementarian (1998). He contends that the CBT is clearly not a feminist conspiracy since many complementarians are part of it. He then turns the question of who is really motivated by a political agenda rather than a simple desire to achieve greater biblical accuracy: "One must indeed ask who has the stronger social agenda: the CBT, many of whom are complementarians and whose goal is to produce the clearest and more accurate translation of Scripture, or the CBMW, whose whole purpose is to promote complementarianism in the church" (30). The biblical scholar John Kohlenberger even claimed that this controversy propelled him from the complementarian to the egalitarian side of the fence. He contended that if complementarians were so quick to dispense with biblical accuracy to support their complementarian politics how could he trust their biblical exegesis on any other issue?[35] Thus, it was the anti-TNIV group (generally associated with complementarians) that was becoming marked as unbiblical and politically motivated. Ironically, biblical inerrancy became a tool that could help dismantle the patriarchal house.

Using the work of Trinh T. Minh-ha, Ruth Frankenburg analyzes how those in marginalized cultures are considered nameable and "bounded" in relation to the dominants, which are considered normative and universal. In other words, for instance, only people of color are perceived to have a culture. White people are perceived as having normative experiences; they are not "cultured," or "raced" (1993, 193). Cathy Cohen further describes, in her study of black responses to AIDS, how groups that define themselves in opposition to the dominant public police the boundaries of what

[35] Christians for Biblical Equality biannual conferences, Texas, 2001, and Minneapolis, 1997.

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can be represented as part of that group. "Through the process of public policing, which communicates the judgements, evaluations, and condemnations of recognized leaders," she writes, "the full membership of certain segments . . . is contested and challenged" (1999, 74). Similarly, mainstream evangelicals define themselves as normative evangelicals who objectively state biblical "truth." Evangelical feminists, by contrast, are guided by "special (and secular) interests—regardless of the exegetical tools they use."[36] In order to compete in this sort of discourse, biblical feminists in general do not opt for the strategy of Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza, a feminist biblical scholar, who labels her hermeneutic as an explicitly feminist one: "A Feminist critical interpretation of the Bible cannot take as its point of departure the normative authority of the biblical archetype, but must begin with women's experience in their struggle for liberation" (Fiorenza 1984, 13). Rather, they argue that they are merely exegeting "the truth" in the Bible; it is the complementarians who are misguided (Stackhouse 1999b). In contrast to Fiorenza's "hermeneutics of suspicion" approach to the Bible, Catherine Kroeger (CBE's cofounder) and Mary Evans outline an evangelical feminist hermeneutical strategy in their *IVP Women's Bible Commentary.*

> Much contemporary feminist criticism has viewed the Bible as hostile to women because it has been used for unjust oppression in contemporary societies. Some feminists have understandably viewed the Bible as inimical to the concerns of women and have employed what has been called a "hermeneutic of suspicion." . . .
>
> In contrast to such efforts, this commentary is written by women of faith who believe that all Scripture is inspired by God and given for the benefit of all humanity. The contributors have examined the difficult texts from a "hermeneutic of faith." . . . It argues for the full inspiration of the Bible and the full equality of women. (2002, xiv–xv)

As the profeminist Stanley Gundry states, Many biblical feminists have come to their position from traditionalism because they felt compelled to do so by Scripture itself. . . . The ideal, it seems to me, is that we be aware of

[36] As Robert Letham states, "It is incontestable that the agenda [of evangelical feminism] has been set by the wider feminist movement, inside and outside the church. The nature of that agenda is increasingly plain. The direction of that wider movement, its own internal logic, is taking it away from any semblance of biblical Christianity" (1990, 77). For similar viewpoints, see Achtemier 1993, 17; Felix n.d.; Kassian 1992, 206; and Kersten 1994.

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and freed from our subjective personal and cultural biases and predispositions so that we can be subjectively changed by God's Word" (1986).[37]

Similarly, Rebecca Laird contends that women's calls for women's ordination "came not from a demand for more social freedom but from their reading of Scripture" (2000, 107).[38] This disavowal of feminist politics is especially apparent in the TNIV controversy. Of course, as mentioned previously, many of those who support the TNIV are gender complementarians. In response, even those who are evangelical feminists disclaim any feminist reasons for supporting the TNIV; the only interest is in providing a more "accurate" translation of the Bible. As Mimi Haddad, the president of Christians for Biblical Equality, argued, this translation is driven not by feminists but by "distinguished scholars" (Tiansay 2002a, 83). According to Mark Strauss, "The TNIV does not slant the Bible toward a feminist agenda. All members of the TNIV translation committee are evangelical scholars and some are complementarians. . . . Their goal was not to produce a politically correct version, but to render God's Word accurately into contemporary English" (Poythress and Strauss 2002, 42).[39] Evangelical feminists vie to be "unbounded" and included in the universal evangelical discourse.

The contemporary emergency of Native and evangelical feminisms belie the notion that Native or evangelical communities are singularly reactionary or progressive. These feminisms also demonstrate the multiple interests and standpoints within these communities, pointing to the possibilities that these interests can shift and change through struggle. However, as I will discuss below, the ways in which feminist politics become

[37] See also Alexander and Alexander 1975; Bilezikian 1987, 421; Peters 1977; and Williams 1980.

[38] Wendy Zoba similarly distances herself from feminism in an article critiquing the increasing restrictions on evangelical women in missionary positions. "By limiting half of the evangelical force that have legitimate spiritual gifts," she writes, "we're not hurting the cause of women so much as the cause of Christ," quoting Jim Plueddemann, the general director of Serving In Mission (Zoba 2000b, 45).

[39] Ted Haggard of the New Life Church declared, "As someone who believes men and women have equal value but contrasting roles that complement one other, and someone [who] believes that God is 100 percent masculine, I was pleased with the TNIV. The gender issues are appropriately addressed in my view. The TNIV does not read like a Christian feminist translation at all—not even close" (Tiansay 2002a, 84). See also Craig Bromberg of the Denver Seminary (2002) and Ronald Youngblood, chairman of the board of the International Bible Society, who claims, "There's not a feminist bone in our bodies . . . no ideological or feminist bias" (Winn 2002, 29).

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articulated can also hinder the development of internal and external coalition politics. These difficulties become especially clear in the following discussion of Native and evangelical antiviolence organizing.

VIOLENCE

A key factor in the development of both evangelical and Native feminist organizing is the rising consciousness around sexual and domestic violence. Given these commonalities, one might presume that violence would be a likely starting place to develop coalitions between Native and evangelical feminists. While the possibility exists for future coalition politics, we can also see that, ironically, evangelical feminist articulation of antiviolence politics, while paving the way for greater coalitions with nonfeminist evangelicals, actually hinders the development of coalitions with non-evangelicals.

Within evangelical communities, this consciousness began to develop in the 1980s. Opened in 1977 and waxing in influence throughout the 1980s, the Center for the Prevention of Sexual and Domestic Violence, headed by Rev. Marie Fortune, was formed to deal with issues of abuse in religious communities. Fortune's *Sexual Violence: The Unmentionable Sin* (1983) and *Is Nothing Sacred?* (1989) helped raise awareness of issues of abuse in evangelical communities. Since then, evangelicals have sent publishers a flood of books and articles dealing with abuse.[40] Many of these writings argued that, not only does membership in evangelical homes and communities *not* protect one from abuse, but in fact it makes abuse *more likely*.[41] Furthermore, studies conducted by evangelicals themselves found

[40] See, for example, Brewer 1991; Feldmeth and Finley 1990; Giles 1993; Hannah 1998; Jordan-Lake 1992; McManus 1994; Midgett 1993; "Sexual Abuse" 1999; Uttley 1999; and Wright 1999. It is interesting that in these articles Marie Fortune, who is not an evangelical, is held in universal esteem. See also Alsdurf and Alsdurf 1989a; Cagney 1997; Christianity Today 2002a; Cutrer 2001, 2002b; Daigle 2001; Farhart 2003; Hutchinson 2002a; Jewell 2006; Kennedy 1994, 2002a; Liparulo 2005; Lowe 2000; MacHarg 2004; Mailbag 2002; Moeller 1993; "More Wounds of Rape" 1992; Newman 2005; Patterson 1992; "Private Sins of Public Ministry" 1988; Tarro 1992; "The Secret Crime" 1988; Veenker 1999; Veith 2005c; Vincent 2004; Willoughby 1999; and Wilson 1988. The *Washington Times* (the newspaper associated with the Moonies but frequently displayed at Christian Right events) published a special section entitled "The War against Women" (n.d.) calling for an end to gender violence. Christians for Biblical Equality held a conference in April 1994 in Chicago on this very topic, Women, Abuse, and the Bible. The National Coalition of Christians against Abuse was also formed to address abuse within churches.

[41] In a survey conducted by James and Phyllis Alsdurf, two-thirds of the Christian

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churches completely wanting in their ability to deal with these crises. The evangelical scholar James Alsdurf, for instance, in a 1980s study of 5,700 Protestant pastors, found the following.

—Twenty-six percent normally tell battered women to submit to their husbands "and to trust that God would honor her action by either stopping the abuse or giving her the strength to endure it."
—Twenty-five percent said a lack of submissiveness in the wife is what triggers abuse, and a majority said that it is better for women to tolerate abuse than to separate from their husbands.
—Seventy-one percent would never advise a battered wife to separate from her husband because of abuse.
—Ninety-two percent would never counsel divorce for abuse. (Grady 2001, 41).

The World Evangelical Fellowship set up an international task force on violence against women when an African woman stood up at a general assembly and asked, "When will this organization address violence against women? There are men in this very room who abuse their wives" (Kroeger and Nason-Clark 2001, 8). She received a standing ovation. This task force has published several publications and prayer journals for abused women (McVicker 2001). In 2001, it also passed a statement calling for a spotlight on domestic abuse, for churches to denounce abuse from the pulpit, for the promotion of healing and safety for survivors, and for admonishment of the perpetrators of violence (Stephen 2001). Janice Shaw Crouse of Concerned Women for America stated that the response to feminists who say the church promotes violence against women is "We must face an unwelcome truth." That is, the church needs to more fully address violence against women committed within the church. According to Crouse,

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women they surveyed believed it was their Christian responsibility to submit to their husbands' violence (1989b, 84). Carolyn Heggen notes that the second-best predictor of whether sexual abuse will occur in a home (next to drug or alcohol addiction) is whether or not parents belong to a conservative religious community (Heggen 1993, 73). See also Christianity Today 1999b, 51; Gil 1988; Jacobs 1984; and Kane, Cheston, and Greer 1993, 228.

This understanding was challenged in W. Bradford Wilcox's *Soft Patriarchs, New Men: How Christianity Shapes Fathers and Husbands* (2004). He contends that evangelicals *who attend church regularly* actually have the lowest rate of domestic violence. It is only "nominal" evangelicals (who do not attend regularly but describe themselves as evangelical) who have the highest divorce and domestic violence rates compared to peoples of other faith backgrounds (D. LeBlanc 2004).

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"The church is the bride of Christ. This bride is not meant to be battered—neither are any of her members!" (2005). *World* ran an article strongly denouncing the epidemic of sexual abuse committed by evangelical pastors (Vincent 2002a). It even launched a mini campaign call for the ouster of Haman Cross from Campus Crusade for Christ after he was accused of sexual abuse and Campus Crusade declined to discipline him (this campaign was successful) (Vincent 2002b).

As evangelicals began speaking out on gender violence, they often tempered their stances on gender subordination (Peake 2001).[42] *Charisma* ran an article on Alberto Mottessi, who has been described as the Latin American Billy Graham. He has preached to over twenty million people, condemning domestic violence (particularly violence committed by pastors), challenging gender subordination, and calling for women to join the ministry. He prays "for women who suffer from the effects of machismo" (Tiansay 2003, 42). Another *Charisma* story featured George Boomer, a traveling pastor who previously served time in prison. This article notes that his father abused his mother and he, too, was an authoritarian leader in the home—"using Scripture to support his oppression" (Harmon 2002, 50). However, once, when he tried to hit his wife, she knocked him unconscious with a cast-iron frying pan. According to his wife, "That was one thing my mother did: She didn't allow my father to hit her. . . . Marriage is not a dictatorship. . . . Instead . . . [it] is built with understanding and respect for the other partner within the house" (50).

The reality of abuse in evangelical communities called into question the value of male headship advocated by complementarian evangelicals and forced many to temper their positions (Baly 1975; Beane 1998a; Bender 1971; Henry 1975; Neff 1980; "Women's Role in Church and Family" 1985). They had traditionally argued, without any explanation or evidence, that because the Bible clearly mandates female subordination patriarchy must be beneficial to women. The reality of abuse belied this argument. As James and Phyllis Alsdurf argue, "The Christian community, for the most part, espouses a distribution of power that puts the man in charge and sees the woman as needing his control. For battered women, the assigning of ultimate authority to men opens the door for husbands to wield power that is characterized by coercive force and unreasonable demands" (1989b, 95).

The empirical data published in evangelical venues seemed to support

[42] Concerned Women for America distributed a pamphlet, "Violence against Women Bearing One Another's Burdens" (written by Janice Crouse), that criticized calls for wifely submission in the face of domestic violence (n.d.).

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the position of evangelical feminists rather than that of complementarians. The epidemic of abuse unmasked the politics of their exegesis: the defense of male privilege at the expense of women. Consequently, complementarian responses to biblical feminism, which still dismiss feminism as unbiblical, have had to spend much more time defending the social value of patriarchy and arguing that it does not *necessarily* lead to abuse.[43] For example, the complementarians John Piper and Wayne Grudem state, "Commending Biblical truth involves more than saying, 'Do it because the Bible says so.' . . . Not only must there be thorough exegesis, there must also be a portrayal of the vision that satisfies the heart as well as the head. . . . We must show that something is not only right but also good. It is not only valid but also valuable, not only accurate but also admirable" (1991, 33).

This, in turn, has given biblical feminists a platform on which to discuss issues of women's status other than through direct biblical exegesis.[44] Ironically, then, it was probably not so much the theological arguments of evangelical feminists as the material conditions of women's lives that strengthened the legitimacy of evangelical feminism among mainstream evangelicals. This is not to argue that evangelical feminist hermeneutics was completely unimportant. As Susan Thistlethwaite argues, it is the reality of abuse (rather than biblical studies) that causes abused evangelical women to question presuppositions of divinely sanctioned male domination and propels them into a crisis of faith. However, learning how to appropriate the Bible in a more liberatory fashion can be indispensable to healing. She states, "Women can learn to imagine themselves in the text . . . that does affirm women (such as women's discipleship) and on the basis of their own experience, which shows that they have been the ones to hear the Word of God and do it. This type of imagining challenges traditional interpretation . . . and moves interpretation to a new level of en-

[43] Even when complementarians defend patriarchy, they have been forced to concede that there is widespread abuse in its application. See Bowman 1994, 62; "Child Sexual Abuse" 1990; Kassian 1992, 207, 214–15; Kellogg and Hunter 1993; and Piper and Grudem 1991, xiii, 469–72. *New Man* ran an article declaring that male authority does not necessarily lead to violence and abuse (Hunter 2005).

[44] For instance, Mary Stewart Van Leeuwen published *Gender and Grace* (1991), which discusses women's equality from a more social psychological point of view rather than a more exegetical point of view, and it was awarded the Critics Choice Award by *Christianity Today* ("Critics Choice Awards" 1991; Van Leeuwen 1991). Ironically, she is the same person who earlier dismissed an article by Mollenkott for being unbiblical, though Mollenkott argued essentially the same things that Van Leeuwen does in her book.

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gagement with the contemporary life of the church" (1985, 104). As a result, evangelical feminism has found a broader audience in the evangelical community. For instance, the World Evangelical Fellowship's International Task Force on Violence against Women states that it has not taken a position on complementarianism versus egalitarianism. However, a prominent CBE spokesperson, Catherine Kroeger, has produced much of the material coming from this task force, so its work has a very strong egalitarian slant.[45]

It is undoubtedly significant that issues of gender violence have also been central to many Native women organizing from a "feminist" position. A common argument made about why Native women do not need feminism is that Native communities were egalitarian prior to colonization (Grande 2004; Jaimes and Halsey 1992; Monture-Angus 1995). As J. Kehaulani Kaunui argues, if we are to follow this to its logical conclusion, we would also have to argue that indigenous nations do not need decolonization today because they were not colonized prior to colonization.[46] Just as violence in Christian homes is evidence that the Bible does not necessarily protect evangelical women, violence in Native homes is evidence that precolonial gender roles in Native communities does not necessarily protect Native women today (Mihesuah 2003; A. Smith 2005b).

Regardless of the origins of sexism in Native communities, it operates with full force today and requires strategies that directly address it. Before Native peoples fight for the future of their nations, they must ask themselves who is included in the nation. It is often the case that gender justice is articulated as being separate from issues of survival for indigenous peoples. Such an understanding presupposes that we could actually decolonize without addressing sexism, which ignores the fact that it was precisely through gender violence that we lost our lands in the first place (A. Smith 1999b).[47] Beatrice Medicine's poem "Border Town" (Medi-

[45] The Women's Commission of the World Evangelical Fellowship has also published books with a strong egalitarian slant, including *Gender or Giftedness* (M. Smith 2000).

[46] Speech delivered at the symposium "Native Feminisms without Apology," University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, April 28–29, 2006.

[47] See Ingrid Washinawatok (1995a), who writes, "Indigenous cultures are the only remaining matrilineal societies left in the world. Male dominated western governments used colonization to destroy matrilineal societies to achieve the goal of stealing land and resources. The 1820 Civilization Act enabled the United States to remove women from their traditional roles in self-governance and spiritual positions" (27). See also LaDuke 1995a, 5; and Senogles n.d., 30.

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cine 1996) illustrates the relationship between colonization and gender violence.

> Protecting two teen-aged white
> males for fifteen years
> for beating and raping a whimpering, terrified Lakota girl.
> Then, shooting her in the head
> with a "twenty-two."
>
> Silencing in the Border Town and
> protecting their own.
> Where Lakota women are called
> "easy,"
> "welfare mothers,"
> "bottle whores" and
> treated like bitch dogs.
>
> Listening "What's the big deal?"
> "They shoot each other and if they
> don't, they get drunk and freeze to
> death" states a White male merchant . . .
> A conspiracy of silence for fifteen
> years in the Border Town
> Discovering the body of the brutalized
> Lakota teen-ager nine months after her
> disappearance hidden in a bay of the
> lake formed by damming a river and
> damning a people to live in Border
> Towns where we are viewed as
> "worthless and easy women" or worth
> five "twenty-two" bullets, blaming the victim—"She was looking for
> sex."

This tendency to separate the health and well-being of women from the health and well-being of our nations is critiqued in Winona LaDuke's call not to "cheapen sovereignty." She discusses attempts by men in her community to use the rhetoric of sovereignty to avoid paying child support. She contends that " 'Sovereignty' has become a politicized term used for some of the most demeaning purposes" (1996b). Her words speak to the importance of recentering. That is, rather than articulating gender justice as oppositional to sovereignty, the question becomes "What does sov-

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ereignty look like if we recenter Native women in the analysis? An intersectional analysis of nationhood is evoked when Mililani Trask challenges who we perceive to be the builders of the "nation."

> To this very day, we are the only group of Native Americans that live and die as wards of the state. . . . And so we told this story and it was a story that has a bitter history. And when we spoke openly about it in the circle, we wept, we wept openly. . . . Everyone in the circle was quiet, and then in the corner, this crotchety voice started speaking and this woman was saying, "What are you crying about? You've been crying for a hundred years! . . . You're crying because you don't have a nation? What are you waiting for? You're waiting for Washington to make your nation? You cannot trust them. You should stop crying. You should make your nation." . . . And we looked at each other and said, "We better stop crying, we better make our nation. We're matrilineal, we've been waiting for the men to do it. We've been waiting for Washington to wake up to our prayers and get justice. They're colonizers; they're liars; they're not going to do it. It's our job, we have to do it." (2001, 5)

What this analysis suggests is that rather than adopting the strategy of fighting for sovereignty first and then improving Native women's status, as Jaimes and Halsey suggest, we must understand that attacks on Native women's status are themselves attacks on Native sovereignty. By leaving these patriarchal gender systems in place, we are unable to decolonize and fully assert our sovereignty. Consequently, Native women have begun organizing what one could term "feminist sovereignty projects." One such attempt to tie indigenous sovereignty to the well-being of Native women is evident in the materials produced by the Sacred Circle, a national American Indian resource center for domestic and sexual violence based in South Dakota. Its brochure, "Sovereign Women Strengthen Sovereign Nations," reads:

TRIBAL SOVEREIGNTY:	NATIVE WOMEN'S SOVEREIGNTY
All Tribal Nations Have an Inherent Right to:	All Native Women Have an Inherent Right to:
1) A land base: possession and control is unquestioned and honored by other nations. To exist without fear, but with freedom.	1) Their body and path in life: the possession and control is unquestioned and honored by others. To exist without fear, but with freedom.
2) Self-governance: the ability and authority to make decisions regarding all matters concerning	2) Self governance: the ability and authority to make decisions regarding all matters concerning them-

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the Tribe without the approval or agreement of others. This includes the ways and methods of decision-making in social, political and other areas of life.	selves, without others' approval or agreement. This includes the ways and methods of decision-making in social, political and other areas of life.
3) An economic base and resources: the control, use and development of resources, businesses or industries the Tribe chooses. This includes resources that support the Tribal life way, including the practice of spiritual ways.	3) An economic base and resources: the control, use and development of resources, businesses or industries that Native women choose. This includes resources that support individual Native women's chosen life ways, including the practice of spiritual ways.
4) A distinct language and historical and cultural identity: Each tribe defines and describes its history, including the impact of colonization and racism, tribal culture, worldview and traditions.	4) A distinct identity, history and culture: Each Native women defines and describes her history, including the impact of colonization, racism and sexism, tribal women's culture, worldview and traditions.
Colonization and violence against Native people means that power and control over Native people's life way and land have been stolen. As Native people, we have the right and responsibility to advocate for ourselves and our relatives in supporting our right to power and control over our tribal life way and land—tribal sovereignty.	*Violence against women, and victimization in general, means that power and control over an individual's life and body have been stolen. As relatives of women who have been victimized, it is our right and responsibility to be advocates supporting every woman's right to power and control over her body and life–personal sovereignty*

This brochure suggests that sovereignty for Native women occurs within the context of sovereignty for Native nations. It also suggests that sovereignty for Native nations cannot occur without respect for the autonomy of Native women. And, as I have discussed elsewhere, the Boarding School Healing Project, founded in 2002, seeks to build a movement to demand reparations for U.S. boarding school abuses (A. Smith 2005b).[48] The strategy of this project is not to seek remedies on the individual level but to demand a collective remedy by developing links with other reparations struggles that fundamentally challenge the colonial and capitalist status quo.

[48] For more information, see www.boardingschoolhealingproject.org.

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The strategy of this project is to organize around boarding schools as a way to address gender violence in Native communities. This project attempts to organize against interpersonal gender violence *and* state violence simultaneously by framing gender violence as a continuing effect of human rights violations perpetrated by the state. This organization theorizes that it is through boarding schools that gender violence in our communities was largely introduced. The continuing effects of boarding school abuses continue today because these abuses have not been acknowledged by the larger society. As a result, silence continues within Native communities, preventing Native peoples from seeking support and healing as a result of intergenerational trauma. Because boarding school policies are not as acknowledged as human rights violations, Native peoples individualize the trauma they have suffered, contributing to their shame and self-blame. If both boarding school policies and the continuing effects from these policies were recognized as human rights violations, it might alleviate the shame and provide an opportunity for communities to heal and further their decolonization struggles.

It should be mentioned that while the issue of violence has been critical in the development of a "feminist" consciousness within evangelical and Native communities, antiviolence organizing does not necessarily correlate with progressive politics. Within evangelical circles, gender complementarians assert that violence is not particularly prevalent in evangelical homes. In response to the University of Colorado scandal, in which women said they were raped by male athletes, *World* asserted that sexual abuse is a result of liberals promoting homosexuality and pornography: "Wrong as the right wing is in some of its selfish attitudes toward women, we conservatives haven't done one-tenth what you liberals have done to enslave women" (J. Belz 2004a, 6). And at the 1997 National Association of Evangelicals conference the representative of the Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood informed me that most domestic violence is caused by lesbians!

In addition, violence is often deployed in the service of civilizing and missionizing projects within evangelicalism to enable white evangelical women to "save brown women from brown men" (Spivak 1994). While this trend is explored in another work (A. Smith forthcoming), a prescient example of this deployment was an article on the Ecumenical Coalition on Women and Society (ECWS), which is sponsored by the Institute of Religion and Democracy (an organization that tries to counter what it considers to be liberalizing trends within mainline denominations). The ECWS is focused on organizing against secular feminist politics and more

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liberal feminist theologies. It does, however, bring together egalitarians and complementarians. *Christianity Today* reported that a strategy it developed to alleviate divisiveness across complementarian-egalitarian lines was to focus its work on addressing violence against women in the Third World. Women in this group might not agree that women in the United States are oppressed by gender hierarchies, but they can all agree that women in the Third World are. According to Kay Rader of the Salvation Army, "Western women have more education, power, and influence compared to women in the developing world" (Gardner 1999). The women's sector of the World Evangelical Fellowship adopted a similar strategy of shying away from controversial issues such as women's ordination and wifely submission in order to focus on violence against Third World women such as "slavery, poverty-driven prostitution, female genital mutilation, and the dowry system" (Gardner 1999). This strategy is reflected in the increasing involvement of evangelical women in the movement to "liberate" women and children involved in the sex trade (Carnes 1999; Christianity Today 2006; Lawson 2005; Noll 2000; Zoba 2003), which is "ten times larger than the trans-Atlantic slave trade at its peak" (Lawson 2004).[49] Thus, in one rhetorical swoop, white evangelical women can minimize their accountability for the privileges they have accrued as the genealogical beneficiaries of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the United States while running off to save brown women from slavery in other countries. As Kamala Kempadoo notes, this antitrafficking movement fails to address how states tie antitrafficking laws to repressive anti-immigration laws that control the labor of Third World women who are not trafficked. Furthermore, the 2000 Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act selectively uses sanctions against countries deemed in opposition to U.S. interests (Israel and South Korea were reclassified from potential targets for sanctions while Cuba and North Korea were not) (Kemadoo 2005).

As Julie Ingersoll notes, the one area of influence white women are almost always allowed even within the most fundamentalist circles is "preaching to the 'unsaved' in foreign lands" (2005, 130). In fact, this notion of saving "brown women" is explicitly delineated in a *Christianity Today* article in which a Christian persecution advocate argues that the paradigmatic Christian is "a poor and brown third-world female" (Horowitz 2005). As pamphlets distributed by Project Hannah, a woman-

[49] See this same civilizing logic about saving women from gender oppression in India and the Congo in Olasky 2004; and Phiri 2006.

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focused mission project, state, "We can rescue their [oppressed Third World women's] souls from continuing to live in hell, not just here, but for all eternity!"[50] Furthermore, Project Hannah asserts that indigenous women in Chiapas, Mexico, need rescuing by making the dubious claim that "from pre-Hispanic times, the cultures that have developed in Latin America have been patriarchal, and this has been the pattern until the present time" (apparently European cultures are not).[51] Thus, at least currently, evangelical feminism seems to be less a site for potential coalitions with Native women than a site that reinscribes colonial relationships with indigenous women, Third World women, and women of color.

Meanwhile, women of color and Native women are beginning to address the cooptation of the antiviolence movement by the state (INCITE! 2006; A. Smith 2005b; Sokoloff 2005).[52] For many years, activists in the rape and domestic violence movements have promoted strengthening the criminal justice system as the primary means of reducing sexual and domestic violence. Particularly since the passage of the Violence against Women Act in 1994, antiviolence centers have received a considerable amount of funding from the state to the point where most agencies are dependent on the state for their continued existence. Consequently, their strategies tend to be state friendly: hire more police, give longer sentences to rapists, pass mandatory arrests laws, and so on. There is a contradiction, however, in relying on the state to solve the problems it is responsible for creating. The antiviolence movement has always contested the notion of home as a safe place because most of the violence women suffer happens at home. Furthermore, the notion that violence occurs "out there," inflicted by the stranger in the dark alley, prevents us from recognizing that the home is, in fact, the place of greatest danger for women. However, the strategies the domestic violence movement employs to address violence are premised on the danger coming from "out there" rather than at home. That is, reliance on the criminal justice system to address gender violence would make sense if the threat was a few crazed men who we can lock up. But the prison system is not equipped to address a violent culture in which an overwhelming number of people batter their partners unless

[50] Hannah, Legacy of Hope brochure. Project Hannah is program of Trans World Radio. See www.twr.org.

[51] Women in Mexico brochure, Project Hannah.

[52] Much of the work being done by women of color to organize around violence without going through the state is occurring through the organization INCITE! Women of Color against Violence (www.incite-national.org).

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we are prepared to imprison hundreds of millions of people. Furthermore, state violence—in the form of the criminal justice system—cannot provide true safety for women, particularly Native women and women of color, as it is directly implicated in the violence women face. Even Pat Nolan notes the contradiction of expecting an institution based on violence to solve the problem of interpersonal violence: "With over 600,000 prisoners being released each year, the level of violence inmates experienced inside prison will play a large part in determining the type of neighbors they will be after their release" (2005b).

Unfortunately, the remedies that have been pursued by the mainstream antiviolence movement have often strengthened rather than undercut state violence. While the antisexual and antidomestic violence movements have been vital in breaking the silence around violence against women and in providing critically needed services to survivors of sexual and domestic violence, these movements have also become increasingly professionalized in providing services, and consequently there is often reluctance to address sexual and domestic violence within the larger context of institutionalized violence. In addition, those who go to prison for domestic violence are disproportionately people of color. Julie Ostrowski reports that of the men who go to domestic violence courts in New York, only 12 percent are white. Half are unemployed, and the average income of those who are employed is $12,655 (2004). But the issue is not primarily that antiviolence advocates are supporting the prison industrial complex by sending batterers and rapists to jail since many anti-violence advocates simply say, "If someone is guilty of violence, should they not be in jail regardless of their racial background?" The co-optation of the antiviolence movement by the criminal justice system has far-reaching effects besides aiding the immediate victims of domestic violence. The Right has been very successful in using antiviolence rhetoric to mobilize support for a repressive anticrime agenda that includes three-strikes legislation and antidrug bills. These anticrime measures mean that abused women are more likely to find themselves in prison if they are coerced by partners to engage in illegal activity, as even Pat Nolan notes (2006a). When men of color are disproportionately incarcerated because of these laws, which were passed in part through the co-optation of antiviolence rhetoric, the entire community, particularly women, who are often the community caretakers, is negatively impacted. For instance, the Violence against Women Act was attached to a repressive anticrime bill that was then heralded by antiviolence advocates as feminist legislation. Ironically, this critique of the antiviolence movement is implicit in Charles Col-

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son's op-ed piece "Why Women Love Big Government." He suggests that women are more likely to support state solutions to social problems because of their vulnerability to violence and oppression (Colson and Pearcey 1996). He does not suggest that we should support expanded social or economic programs, nor does he propose any clear recommendations. If we follow Colson's argument to its logical conclusion, it would be safe to say that it is unhelpful for Native communities to tell women *not* to seek help from the state if the community declines to do anything to end violence. At the same time, those of us in the antiviolence movement may ask ourselves why we think "big government" or the state is going to solve the problem of violence. Perhaps the mainstream antiviolence movement could learn from the critical stance toward the state adopted by evangelical prison organizers, who could themselves learn from feminist groups how to challenge the gender-normative assumptions behind their organizing.

As Angela Davis notes, violence is a powerful ideological conductor capable of shaping coalition politics in a number of ways (2000). On one hand, it is clear that the antiviolence movement was critical in shaping both Native and evangelical feminist politics. On the other hand, this movement can also be divisive within feminist politics by positioning Third World communities and communities of color as particularly prone to violence. If antiviolence politics is to further rather than disable coalition politics between different communities of women, it is clear that antiviolence analysis and organizing must address the intersections between gender violence and state violence (INCITE! 2006).

NATIVE AND EVANGELICAL FEMINIST INTERVENTIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR COALITION POLITICS

Having explored the contemporary emergence of Native and evangelical feminisms, this section explores the specific intervention these feminisms seek to make both within their communities and in the world at large. Of course, as Native and evangelical feminisms are not monolithic, I explore the complexities and varieties within these discourses. "Mainstream feminism" is itself not monolithic, but in this section I am pointing more to how mainstream feminism is created, imaged, and positioned within Native and evangelical feminisms rather than analyzing its complexities on its own terms.

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Despite appearances to the contrary, Native and evangelical feminisms are having and can have transformative impacts on evangelical and Native organizing. The fact that these transformations do occur speaks to the possibilities of further political rearticulations along more progressive lines in both communities. These feminisms also challenge theoretical and organizing paradigms in what both Natives and evangelicals perceive to be mainstream feminism. Additionally, as I will explore in chapter 5, Native feminism fundamentally challenges how we understand the concepts of sovereignty and nationhood. However, while feminist articulations within Native and evangelical communities speak to the promise of new politics of coalitions, they can also foreclose coalition politics. When we looked at the unlikely alliances created through evangelical prison organizing and race reconciliation, a limitation to these alliances is that they are founded on a patriarchal, heteronormative framework. It would seem, therefore, that evangelical feminist interventions might provide a helpful corrective to these failings. However, the development of evangelical feminist thought seems to tell another story, as I will explore later in the chapter. In fact, evangelical feminism often forecloses alliances with nonevangelicals, particularly women of color, rather than providing openings for new coalitions.

Prolineal Genealogies of Native Feminisms

The implicit assumption behind the way Native women's organizing is policed (through the equation of feminism with whiteness) is that Native women who organize around the basis of gender have betrayed Native men by working in coalition with non-Native women. Yet, in looking at the analysis produced and the politics enacted by Native women activists, whether or not they define themselves as feminist, it is apparent that their engagement with feminism constitutes a strategic redeployment of the concepts of both feminism *and* Native sovereignty.

Sovereignty and Tradition As Julie Star's quotation at the beginning of this chapter suggests, Native women who call themselves feminists are often accused of divisiveness.[53] They have essentially forsaken their coali-

[53] For instance, see Patricia Monture-Angus's analysis of the Native Women's Association of Canada (1999, 143–52).

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tion with Native men to work in coalition with white women. With few exceptions (Mihesuah 2003), narratives of Native women's organizations minimize sexism within Native communities as a reason for their formation. Yet Janet McCloud recounts how sexism in the Native rights movement contributed to the founding of the Indigenous Women's Network.

> I was down in Boulder, Colorado and Winona LaDuke and Nilak Butler were there and some others. They were telling me about the different kinds of sexism they were meeting up with in the movement with the men, who were really bad, and a lot of these women were really the backbone of everything, doing a lot of the kind of work that the movement needed. I thought they were getting discouraged and getting ready to pull out and I thought, "wow, we can't lose these women because they have a lot to offer." So, we talked about organizing a women's conference to discuss all the different problems. . . . Marsha Gomez and others decided to formally organize. I agreed to stay with them as a kind of a buffer because the men were saying the "Indignant Women's Organization" and blah, blah, blah. They felt kind of threatened by the women organizing. (McCloud n.d., 50; see also Gomez n.d.-b, 49)

Whether or not Native women call themselves feminists, all those that I interviewed universally agreed that sexism is a problem within both Native activism in particular and Native communities in general, and most were vociferous in their complaints. Talking about sexism within Native communities to a larger audience is problematic given the tendency of the larger society to stereotype Native communities as more sexist than white society. However, the extent to which Native women activists identify sexism as a major hindrance in their organizing efforts suggests that these issues need to be more publicly discussed. Perhaps, rather than denying that sexism exists in Native communities, Native peoples could position themselves as models for other communities on how to address these issues openly in order to inspire other communities to do so as well.[54] However, this discussion must take place within an analysis of colonialism and its effects on gender relations in Native communities. For instance, Luana Ross speaks to how sexism hindered the development of the Amer-

[54] While interviewees universally recognized sexism, not all saw it as problematic as those quoted here. Both Madonna Thunder Hawk and Lakota Harden stated that, while sexism is rampant in the American Indian Movement, they did not always experience it in their circles.

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ican Indian Movement by preventing women from working to their fullest potential.[55] According to Luana Ross:

> Anyway, there was such a big cry to get all of the Indians involved [in the American Indian Movement] and reclaim who you are and blah, blah, blah, and they treated women so horribly that they just made it damned hard. Why was I the secretary? We were always cooking dinners; they were out with white girls or getting young Indian girls pregnant. So there was a lot of sexism in the movement. . . . I think the major way that I remember has to do with leadership of the organization always being male—spokespeople always being male. The women are always seen as the drudges, and, as well, the number of young women that those guys got pregnant, and I mean just used and abused is staggering to the point of where I'd say by the mid-1970s the American Indian Movement was no longer welcome on reservations on Montana. And a lot of it had to do with the treatment of young girls.

[55] Other interviewees felt that sexism had been a major obstacle in their work:

Me: Have you experienced problems with sexism in your organizing?

Heather Milton: Oh, definitely! In a big way! Oh, oh, God! Really bad! Like, well it's not bad; it's good. I don't know. It was interesting. It reached a point in the group back in the day, where us women were really wanting to explore what the role of women was, and looking at it in a ceremonial way, or whatever. We've seen older women, and they had been really strong and were taking back their role in the community, and we thought, we had to do that too. It's our right as young women that we have a role in the community. Then we fought with our men. They were young men, but we still fought with them. And there was a time where there was this big split. Where we wouldn't work with each other; it was horrible.

Loretta Rivera: [Sexism] is most irritating; most irritating because some of it still goes on here, where I see a lot of men who are put in the forefront and there are women behind the scenes who are brilliant women who do all the writing, who get the money, but they won't stand out there, and it irritates me so because it's such a poor message to young women that you would still do that. . . . I think whenever there's been situations when people have wanted to put someone in a political position, they don't even want to talk about supporting a woman. They're pretty quick to vote for a man, and it's the Indian women who are pretty quick to vote for a man. So it makes it really a hard thing. I can't believe I can still go to a meeting and they'll spend three-quarters of their time talking about how to get men at the meeting.

Mona Rencountre: Their way of thinking is paternal. "Well, no matter what you think, it's always going to be this way. So if you think that way, why don't you just get off the reservation?" The thing that irks me the most is they don't even know. "How was I disrespectful to you?" After firing me from my job, one of my bosses said that [was] because I told him he was very disrespectful to women. That's what he said. "How was I disrespectful?" He didn't even know.

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As Pamela Alfonso indicates, this sexism has a bigger impact than simply excluding women. Often a feminist analysis changes the way one organizes around the issue generally. Alfonso's approach to organizing challenges the professionalization of movements, which gives those with elite standing more say in determining the direction of a political strategy. She suggests that a gender analysis of Native organizing might also challenge its investment in professionalization. According to Alfonso:

> Oh, I'm constantly challenged. A recent example. We were at a meeting. There were two Indian women and six Indian men. There was one Indian man who was an educated attorney, and the other Indian men were just community folks. Various characters. . . . As we were sitting there, this very smart Indian man was making recommendations, but to me, as an activist, we always have a menu of choices, and if you want to be in right relation to the community you lay out the choices and you let the people choose. This guy was dictating a plan of action and was saying everything else was fruitless. Well, I'm sorry, I don't give that thinking away to anybody. Tell me what you're thinking; tell me what the other options are; we can make our own decision. And some of the decisions we make may be based more on courage than on intellectual ability to win. After that meeting, and we were going back and forth, and there was this little spat going on because I was doing that to him. I was saying, wait a second, so you don't think we'll win, but that's not what I'm asking. I'm asking, who makes the decision, who does this and that . . . ? And he was just being a real *ass*. Basically, condescendingly talking to me. I may not have a law degree, but I understand enough about law, and, I'm sorry, the truth is you have a masters' degree, you don't have any more education than anyone else; you just happen to know the law. And the law is only one tool when you're talking about social change. To me, the law, we're not good at it. If you give me a bow and an arrow or a rifle, and I suck at a rifle, I'm most likely not going to choose that weapon. So if you're telling us the legal tools, that's all you're telling us. You're not telling us about the bow and arrow, about the knife, about the sneak-up, about strategy, nothing. So, anyway, this little dodgeball was going on at the meeting. At the end of the meeting, the men, I think were upset with me for asking all those questions and being disrespectful to him. So what they did at the end, they said they needed someone to write something, and I said there's a laptop computer. Let's take it out and write it right here. He said, I'm a professional speechwriter, and they said, why don't you do that? The men did that to the other men. The other woman jumped in. She was feeling the same disconnect that these men were, disregarding our

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> experience and our concerns and supporting this man who is Indian but who is not a part of the community, and he only had one tool to offer us. I felt very disrespected. . . . They think I'm an aggressive, impolite woman. I don't apologize for being a warrior. I've chosen to be a fighter. I'm not an at-home momma. That's not the role I've chosen. I'm not a docile, second-support spouse. I choose to be at the forefront at this kind of work. I don't apologize for the skills I have. I'm sorry I'm a woman and that bothers you.

And, as Lisa Thomas notes, sexism is not an issue that, contrary to Jaimes's and Halsey's assertions, Native women have put on the back-burner. In fact, as Lisa Thomas's story indicates, Native women have often confronted this issue strongly, even through physical confrontations. According to her:

> Guys think they've got the big one, man. Like when——had to go over there, and she went to these Indians because they thought they were a bunch of swinging dicks and stuff, and she just let them have it. She just read them out. What else can you do? That's pretty brave. She was nice; she could have laid one of them out. Like you know——, well, of course this was more extreme because I laid him out! He's way bigger than me. He's probably five foot eleven. I'm five feet tall. When he was younger, and I was younger, I don't even know what he said to me, it was something really awful. I didn't say nothing because he was bigger than me, I just laid him out. Otherwise you could get hurt. So I kicked him right in his little nut, and he fell down on the floor—"I'm going to kill you! You bitch!" But then he said, "You're the man!" If you be equal on a gut and juice level, on the street, they don't think of you as a woman anymore, and therefore they can be your friend and they don't hate you. But then they go telling stuff like "You're the man!" And then what I said back to him was, "I've got it swinging!"

Of course, as both Sammy Toineeta and Thunder Hawk note, sexism within Native activism needs to be seen within the context of sexism in the larger society. They point to the importance of further developing the intersectional analysis proffered by the critical race theorist Kimberle Crenshaw, which emphasizes the intersections of racism and sexism in the lives of women of color. The "intersection," however, that this analysis does not emphasize is the intersection of sexism in the dominant society with sexism in Native communities or other communities of color. Historically, one of the ways in which patriarchal relationships became inscribed in previously nonpatriarchal Native societies was through European colonists' refusal to engage in economic-political negotiations with

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Native women designated by their nations for that role (Perdue 1999; Pesantubbee 2005; Shoemaker 1995). Indigenous nations as a result began to devalue Native women's leadership themselves. In the contemporary context, as Thunder Hawk notes, this practice continues, as the media of the dominant society has consistently refused to recognize the leadership of women in the American Indian Movement, which further contributes to sexism within the movement. She sees sexism in the larger society as a bigger issue to Native women than sexism on the part of Native men. However, she notes that women have sometimes been able to use that sexism to their advantage by engaging in activism that falls under the radar of the forces of government repression. By using this strategy, Native activists were able to continue more radical work under the auspices of Women of All Red Nations. Thunder Hawk says,

> A lot of the "male leadership" [in AIM] ended up in jail or on the run. But when you're dealing with tribal people who still have the inner workings of a tribalistic society then that's how you operate. So what do you do? You learn right away that women could just about do anything under the eyes of the feds and the press because you were invisible. . . . We decided then that we have to get organized and we have to do it as women. . . . And the women's, feminist movement was taking off real good, and we were hearing about it. So we said, okay, give ourselves a name [Women of All Red Nations] and let's get organized.

In my own experience working with Women of All Red Nations in Chicago, it was the case that we were one of the most politically active Native organizations at that time. We organized countless rallies and demonstrations, which often garnered good media attention. However, never once was WARN credited with organizing these events. One time a man from AIM in Kentucky came to Chicago to support our event, and the media dubbed it as an AIM-organized event even though there was no AIM chapter at that time in Chicago. As another example, during that same time, Roxy Grignon, a Menominee activist, spearheaded a campaign to close an open Indian burial mound in Dickson, Illinois. Through her tireless efforts, she and the group she cofounded, To Enable Our Ancestors to Reach the Spirit World (TEARS), were successful. However, at a press conference that announced the closing of the burial mound, two men from AIM chapters in other states attended and were credited with its closing. Grignon received no press mention at all. Thus, in all these instances the prominence of Native men was not necessarily their doing

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or even their desire but the result of the media's refusal to acknowledge American Indian women's leadership.

Another factor identified by Sammy Toineeta explaining the lack of women's public prominence in AIM was the types of activism AIM typically engaged in. Toineeta makes this argument in her distinction between activism (which she sees as male dominated) and organizing (which she sees as female dominated). She argues that activist work designed to bring media attention to an issue is often male dominated. Because AIM often engaged in this kind of work, men tended to receive more attention. Whereas organizing work, usually dominated by women, involves the slow process of building community support and is not something that has the same public visibility.

> Activists and organizers are very different. A lot of people equate them. . . . Activists kind of hit and run. You're there; you try to help solve a problem, and then you move onto the next one. Organizers look at it and say, we can develop a program around this. We can organize and get the town together and get them to work on a citizen's monitoring board. Long-term things. And you work with them; you keep working with them. When we first started becoming more active, I think the men saw themselves really in the role of an activist, and the women were in the role of the organizers. I don't know if that's still true today because we're not doing the same kind of activist work. We're doing more organizing work. Now, if we went back to a situation where we were going to go for the headlines, I might still see that exist.

Toineeta concludes that Native activism today is more female dominated than it was in the 1970s precisely because it is dominated by organizing rather than activism. It is certainly the case, for instance, that during the United Nations (UN) Conference against Racism the indigenous caucus at the preparatory meetings, as well as at the UN meeting itself, was dominated by women (which is not to say sexism was absent during these meetings).

Sherry Wilson similarly notes that often the work women do, such as cooking, goes undervalued—not just by Native men but by the larger society as well. Both Wilson and Toineeta's insights are important correctives to many of the current theories developed about Native activism by scholars. In these accounts, the activism women were involved in goes unrecorded in order to highlight the more dramatic roles often dominated by men. For instance, in their germinal and noteworthy account of

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the rise of the American Indian Movement, Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Warrior write, “In the years that followed [the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973], the Indian movement built on its experiences and matured in some respects, but it rarely demonstrated the kind of bold, imaginative strokes of genius that, for a brief season at the end of the 1960s, were poised to change everything” (1996, 278).

This statement, perhaps unwittingly, conveys the idea that the critical work done by Native women after the 1960s, such as the founding of WARN and the Indigenous Women’s Network, their success in making sterilization abuse a public issue, their work in making environmental racism a commonly understood concept, and their success in organizing a global indigenous movement that has had a significant impact in the UN process, is not “bold” and “imaginative” because this work has not been centered around headline-grabbing, dramatic demonstrations and occupations. Similarly, Troy Johnson discusses in *The Occupation of Alcatraz Island* how the media focused on one or two spokespeople, invariably men, as the leaders of the occupation, thus marginalizing the contributions of others who took an equal part in this effort. Yet his account tends to replicate the same error, focusing on the dramatic actions that were often led by men and downplaying the work done by women. For instance, the work women did in setting up a school on the island earns less than a page in his account (1996, 87). Elizabeth Castle argues that because “traditional historians rarely consider ‘unofficial’ political power significant, and feminist revisionists often measured such informal power against white patriarchal standards and then declared it second best,” the role of Native women in organizing is marginalized within scholarly discourses (2000, 166).

At the same time, however, it would be a mistake to argue that Native women just cooked and cleaned and supported the men. As demonstrated by a documentary film about the death of a prominent AIM activist, Annie Mae Aquash, *The Spirit of Annie Mae*, women were also at AIM protests on the front lines with guns, just as men were (Martin 2002). Toineeta and Trask argue that, while Native women’s labor is often welcomed within Native activist circles, it is often devalued in the arenas of land struggle and sovereignty. By devaluing women’s work as only relevant to the family, Native activists have failed to see how women’s work also fundamentally shapes the project of nation building. States Trask:

> The commonly held perception is that “women’s issues” relate only to the family, children, nutrition and health. And in recent times, their issues relat-

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ing to employment, pay equity and gender bias have been included under the umbrella. This is due largely to the recognition of women laborers. However, there continues to be great reluctance to the local, regional, national and international levels to accept self-determination and nation-building as primary issues of concern to women–especially women of color . . .

As a result of this tragedy of assimilation and imperialism, the traditional role of indigenous women in the political arena has diminished–casting them aside or relegating them to subservient and marginal positions in today's world. It is this oppression that should be viewed as a primary political threat to the survival of all indigenous peoples. Its eradication should be a central goal and the paramount objective of indigenous women who are committed to this survival of their cultures, communities and nations. . . . Nation building is everyone's work. (1995, 14–15)[56]

Jennifer Denetdale further argues that, while Native women are part of the nationalist project, where they are involved as "cultural symbols and signifiers of the nation in many masculinist discourses," they are simultaneously marginalized as producers of theory about Indian nations and nationalisms (2006). Consequently, argues Patricia Monture-Angus, the absence of women in indigenous nation building contributes to nation-building projects that are top down rather than community based (1999).

The work of Angela Davis points out that the focus on political demonstrations and occupations has serious consequences not only for women but for social justice organizing as a whole. She notes that something similar happened in the Black Power movement. The increasing focus on flashy demonstrations not only marginalized women, who were often the ones doing the organizing, but it undermined the movement as a whole. While activism has its place in a movement, it is through the tedious and slow processes of organizing that a movement attracts new members and builds power. She states, "Revolution . . . [is] no fashionable club with newly minted jargon, or new kind of social life—made thrilling risk and confrontation, made glamorous by costume. . . . Serious revolutionary work consists of persistent and methodical efforts through a collective of other revolutionaries to organize the masses for action" (1988, 162).

Addressing the marginalization of Native women in political organizing

[56] See also Sheila Tousey: "One of the things I worry about is the role of Indian women in society today. It's got to change. You don't see a lot of Indian woman leaders within the tribal government. Indian society has developed to become very sexist and sometimes I wonder whether that is why I have a hard time being able to find work there" (n.d., 35).

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within both Native communities and the larger society means more than simply the exclusion of women's voices. As discussed in the preface, when we *recenter* Native organizing from the perspective of Native women we also change the kinds of organizing and activisms we value and promote.

Given that sexism is widely held to be a problem for Native women, within both Native communities and the dominant society, does their activism entail a rejection of sovereignty? To the contrary, Native women's "feminism" enables them to redefine sovereignty, tradition, and Native organizing rather than rejecting them. For instance, as the Mending the Sacred Hoop Project in Duluth, Minnesota, notes, Native women involved in the antiviolence movement often have to struggle against those in the community who argue that domestic violence is "traditional." The debate then becomes a question of what is "traditional" and how Native women position themselves in relation to "tradition." On one hand, some activists, such as Tonya Gonnella Frichner, are firm in their belief that Native traditions have clear principles that provide direction in organizing gender relationships to which Native peoples should adhere since they are based on the natural world: "Our original instructions are never outdated. The Great Law of Peace doesn't go out of fashion, doesn't become outdated. Whether it's now or 500 years ago, those original instructions still apply. The rules of the natural world still apply. If you let something go in your hand, it's going to drop to the floor. That's the law of gravity; that's the natural law."

Some Native women describe feminism as ultimately "traditional." As Julie Star states:

> Well I would say our traditional ways are feminist, properly understood. I do see feminism as ordering right relations and I think that's what our traditions are all about, is being in balance with one another. Being in balance with all creation, be it the environment, be it nation-to-nation, and I think feminism is that, but it does so from the particular vantage point that women are able to provide. . . .
>
> So people talk about going back to the traditional ways. My question is, what traditional way are you really talking about because the traditional way is much more feminist than anything that's been articulated yet. Generally what it means is some perverted tradition which is a Hollywood male creation, which has nothing to do with our walking in balance or living as a true sovereign nation.

The rhetoric of the antidomestic and antisexual violence movement in Indian country is largely framed around the notion that "violence against

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women is not an Indian tradition." An example can be seen in the analysis of Anishnabe traditional practices regarding domestic violence:

> Wife battering, as we have seen, was neither accepted nor tolerated among the Anishinabe people until after the freedom to live Ojibwe was subdued. Wife battering emerged simultaneously with the disintegration of Ojibwe ways of life and the beginning use of alcohol. The behavior of the Ojibwe people under the influence of alcohol is often totally contrary to Anishinabe values. It is especially contrary to the self discipline previously necessary to the development of Ojibwe character. . . .
>
> Today we have lost a lot of the traditions, values, ways of life, laws, language, teachings of the Elders, respect, humility as Anishinabe people because of the European mentality we have accepted. For the Anishinabe people to survive as a Nation, together we must turn back the pages of time. We must face reality, do an evaluation of ourselves as a people—why we were created to live in harmony with one another as Anishinabe people and to live in harmony with the Creator's creation. (Anishinabe Values/Social Law Regarding Wife Battering n.d., 49)[57]

While this perspective is widespread, it is not universal. Linda Epperly (Muscogee) contends that, while many Native nations were not marked by gender oppression, some did sanction gender violence and other forms of gender oppression. She says that, while she previously subscribed to the popularly held viewpoint that domestic violence did not exist in Indian tribes prior to colonization, after conducting further historical research she concluded that it is not possible to make such universal claims about tribal practices. She argues that to do so is to put Indian peoples into a savage-innocent dichotomy in which Native peoples are either completely barbaric or perfect.[58]

Her arguments point to another issue addressed by Lakota Harden and Loretta Rivera, that accessing what Native nations did prior to colonization is not always easy. Epperly, for instance, relies on missionary accounts of tribal practices, which obviously were written with Eurocentric biases and after Native nations had been subjected to colonization.

Second, what is remembered as "traditional" is also political. Jennifer Denetdale critically interrogates the gendered politics of remembering "tradition" in her germinal analysis of the office of Miss Navajo Nation.

[57] See similar viewpoints in Asetoyer 1995; and Mousseau and Artichoker n.d.

[58] Linda Epperly, talk presented at the Oklahoma Native American Coalition against Domestic Violence conference, Tulsa, Oklahoma, December 10, 2002.

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She notes that this office is strictly monitored by the Navajo nation to ensure that Miss Navajo models "'traditional' Navajo women's purity, mothering and nurturing qualities, and morality [which] are evoked by the Navajo Nation to extol Navajo honor and are claimed on behalf of the modernizing project of nationalism." She notes that "when Miss Navajo Nation does not conform to the dictates of ideal Navajo womanhood, she is subjected to harsh criticism intended to reinforce cultural boundaries. Her body literally becomes a site of surveillance that symbolically conveys notions about racial purity, morality, and chastity." Meanwhile male leaders, who may be guilty of everything from domestic violence to embezzlement, are rarely brought before any tribal committees. She argues that the ideals that Navajo women are supposed to represent are not simply traditional Navajo values but also unacknowledged European Victorian ideals of womanhood. She asserts, "Navajo leaders, who are primarily men, reproduce Navajo nationalist ideology to re-inscribe gender roles based on Western concepts even as they claim that they operate under traditional Navajo philosophy" (2006, 18–19).

Harden argues as well that Native peoples' memories of traditions are not untainted by the experiences of Christian boarding schools and other historic traumas, which impact what we remember about our histories. She states:

> In trying to piece together our history and our stories and our legends, it seems that much of what we remember has actually been tainted and changed by colonization. We do not actually remember what happened before colonization because we were not there. So we have to ask ourselves, how much of what we think is tradition was really originally ours; and how much of it is Christian-influenced? Knowing how powerful Native women are now, how could we have ever accepted anything less then? How could we have let ourselves be ignored or degraded? I'm not saying that I know, because I don't. But those questions have brought me to wonder how much of the tradition is really ours, and how much does that even matter?
>
> I remember at our school, all us were preparing a sweat lodge in our backyard. Our backyard was huge, the plains. And I remember one of the boys saying, "Women can never carry the pipe." "Women never used to do this or that." (Now I realize that all comes from Christianity.) And I remember feeling very devastated because I was very young then. I was trying to learn these traditions. I was quite the drama queen and going to the trailer and my aunt was making bread or something. "Auntie, this is what they're saying!" She said, "Well you know, tradition, we talk about being traditional.

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What we're doing now is different. When we talk about trying to follow the traditions of say our ancestors from 100 years ago, it's probably different from 300 years ago. If when the horses came, what would have happened had we said, 'Oh we don't ride the four-legged, they are our brother. We respect them; we don't ride them?' Where would we be? Hey man, we found those horses and we became the best horse riders there ever were, and we were having good winters. So tradition is keeping those principles, the original principles about honoring life all around you. Walk in beauty is another interpretation. Respecting everything around you. Leave the place better than you found it. Those were the kind of traditions that we followed. But they change as we go along."

And in a few minutes [after talking to my Auntie], then I went back to the room. Now, being a pipe carrier means that you don't drink alcohol, you don't smoke marijuana, you don't take drugs, you don't fight with people, and you don't abuse anyone. And I was really trying to follow that because that's what my uncle taught me. So I went to the middle of the room, and I said to the guys in the room, "I want everybody here who is following the tradition, who has given up the things I just named to stand here in the circle with me." And no one did. I said that until this circle is filled with men, when it's filled with men, I'll do something else like learn to cook. But until then, there has to be someone standing here doing this, and if you're not going to do it, I will. And no one ever said anything to me or anything about women not doing these things ever, at least from that group.

Loretta Rivera also points to the selective remembering of tradition in Native communities and further suggests that the questioning of tradition is itself a traditional practice: "So when I find a young person who wants to question the rhetoric, question the traditions, I just love it, because that's the kind of teenager I was. I always tell people, in the village two hundred years ago I would be doing the same thing, questioning the stuff. That we were a range of people then, and we're a range of people now." And, even as she affirms tradition, Tony Sheehy also speaks to the gendered politics of remembering tradition.

I subscribe to all the feminist things [but] . . . I describe myself more as a traditionalist. I truly believe when we were created that we had some god-given roles as human beings, and in those roles we weren't subservient to anyone. We weren't taught to walk two steps behind anyone. . . . In understanding who I am and valuing who I am as a traditional woman, I know that I have a right to be a leader. I have a right to be in all of these places. I have a right to speak. I also know by tradition that sometimes I have to question

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tradition as to whose tradition was that. Is this our traditional way from my tribe or from the community that I live in? Or was it something that the colonists or in the colonization process we adapted and now claim it to be our tradition? So I challenge that. That's where it gets into—maybe I'm bringing in feminist views to traditionalism.

Rosalva Castillo calls for a more flexible relationship between Native women's activism and tradition that is based not just on reclaiming traditional gender relationships but on reinventing them in light of the contemporary context.

> More than rejecting their "traditional" practices, many Indigenous women have insisted on reinventing it under new terms and within this transformation process. . . . Zapatista women demand for the right to participate in the revolutionary struggle to the extent that their will and capacity allows them, to work and receive fair wages, to decide on the number of children they can have and take care of; to have posts of responsibility and to be allowed to participate in the running of the community, to the right to health and education; to the right to marry the partner of their choice and to not be forced into an arranged marriage; to not be the victims of any kind of violence and finally, to the right to positions of leadership within the revolutionary forces. (N.d., 4–5)

Lee Maracle goes so far as to ask: is "tradition" an Indian tradition? At the 2005 Native Women and Feminism conference (Edmonton, Alberta), some participants argued that feminism is not traditional. Maracle's reply was "Who defines what is traditional?" She said that her tribe had a system of slavery prior to colonization, but then it abolished the system. So what is traditional in her tribe, she asked, slavery or the abolition of slavery? Maracle then argued that prior to colonization tribes always adapted to changing circumstances. So is our current relationship to tradition actually traditional? Or is it the product of colonialism in which any change can seem threatening?

On the other hand, it should be observed that those who argue that traditional practices do contain clear, accessible guidelines for how to order gender relations note that these principles manifest themselves differently today than they did in precontact times. Frichner describes how following these principles would translate in her context of UN advocacy: "I think what it would be would be when we do our work, we are treated as equals and we're treated in a good way instead of dismissed on some levels

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because we're women. Nowadays, it seems like the Euro-American model is playing itself out in the way Native women are treated."

The articulations of Native women organizers speak to more than the exclusion of Native women within either feminist or Native sovereignty struggles. They challenge the very terms on which these struggles articulate themselves.

Is Biblical Feminism Either? Complementarianism versus Egalitarianism

While evangelicals and their critics often portray themselves as untainted by feminist politics, the instability of gender politics within evangelicalism is demonstrated by the clear impact biblical feminism has had on this discourse. This impact can be missed, however, amid the increased effort to tie evangelical orthodoxy to support of gender hierarchicalism. For instance, the Southern Baptist Convention amended its Baptist Faith and Message in 1998 to include a statement on male headship: "A wife is to submit herself graciously to the servant leadership of her husband even as the church willingly submits to the headship of Christ. She, being in the image of God as is her husband thus equal to him, has the God-given responsibility to respect their husband and to serve as his helper in managing the household and nurturing the next generation" (Land 1999, 2).

In 2000, it was amended to say "the office of pastor is limited to men as qualified by Scripture." In May 2002, the SBC fired 13 missionaries who did not affirm these revisions. Twenty more resigned for the same reason. Ten others took early retirement. Seventy-seven missionaries altogether have declined to work under this message, but 99 percent of the 5,500 overseas SBC missionaries have affirmed it, publicly at least ("Baptists Fire Missionaries" 2003). Many signed but did so "in order not to destroy their ministries" rather than because they actually affirmed the statement (Cutrer 2002c). The Baptist General Convention of Texas, which opposes the current SBC leadership, began forming an alternative global organization and an emergency fund in 2002 to help missionaries who had left as a result of these revisions (Cutrer 2002a). It received $1.4 million in contributions within the first eleven months (Walker 2003). *Christianity Today* also criticized the message, arguing that is was unnecessarily restrictive and alienating (Christianity Today 2000b). The response of Paige Patterson, a former SBC president, to the egalitarian critiques of the message was "The problem is they have to argue with God, not with us" (37).

As discussed earlier, the Council of Biblical Manhood and Womanhood

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was formed in 1987 to oppose Christians for Biblical Equality. It was central in the efforts to squash the TNIV translation. It has also conducted campaigns against evangelical churches that support gender equality such as the famous Willow Creek Church in Barrington, Illinois, which is not only one of the largest evangelical churches in the country but has taken a stance affirming women's leadership in all positions of the church (Winner 2000a).

It is possible that this backlash does not signal the triumph of gender hierarchicalists. In fact, it may testify to the success of the evangelical feminist movement in changing gender roles within evangelicalism. Pierre Bourdieu's description of doxa may be helpful in this analysis. Bourdieu separates fields of knowledge between doxa and opinion. *Doxa* is defined as "undisputed, unquestioned understandings of the world," that which seems natural. The dominating class secures domination by making the processes of domination seem natural—within the field of doxa. Through crisis, Bourdieu argues, the field of doxa can enter the field of opinion—fields of knowledge that are understood as contestable. Once this process of change occurs, agents of reaction can attempt to institute "orthodoxy," which is the attempt to turn the field of opinion back to the field of doxa. But it is never entirely able to do so (Bourdieu 1998, 169). Thus, we can interpret this backlash as a reassertion of orthodoxy based on gender hierarchy, but the extent to which orthodoxy needs to be reasserted is indicative of how much it has eroded. What we may be seeing among conservative evangelicals is an increasing mandate to verbally assent to the demands of gender hierarchy while de facto living lives based on the at least partially economically determined need for gender equality. As James Scott puts it, "Only when contradictions are publicly declared do they have to be publicly accounted for" (1990, 51). Husbands can let their wives be in charge as long as there is "no public challenge to their authority" and they are still given "credit for running things" (52).[59] Evangelicals publicly subscribe to gender hierarchy while increasingly living their lives based on egalitarian principles. Thus, I will demonstrate how these growing cries of orthodoxy are concurrent with pronounced but generally

[59] Similarly, Brenda Brasher contends that this gender flexibility is what allows gender insubordination to remain in place. She writes, "To the extent that male pastors are pressed by female congregants to address particular issues rather than redistribute authority in a nonsexist manner pastors are able to maintain an image of being responsive to women's concerns, thereby destabilizing women's impetus toward change and retaining congregational authority as a prerogative of males" (1998, 90).

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unacknowledged shifts in the gender politics of evangelical communities. As a result, evangelicalism is marked by contestations between gender complementarians (those who support gender hierarchy in the church and/or the home) and egalitarians (those who support gender equality in the church, home, and society).[60] Even in groups that seem to support complementarianism, important shifts in gender politics are apparent.

As mentioned previously, CBMW's mission is to root out egalitarianism. While its organizing efforts have certainly done much to undermine the work of egalitarians in evangelical communities, the fact that gender hierarchicalists found CBE sufficiently threatening to form a countergroup is significant. In addition, even within its literature we find unacknowledged shifts in terms of gender hierarchy. First, the fact that gender hierarchicalists feel the need to call themselves complementarians instead of hierarchicalists indicates that they feel the need to distance themselves from male supremacy. In fact, one flyer they promoted ranks their position between "the effeminate left" and the "male dominant right." This signals another interesting shift in that CBMW seems to want to distance itself not only from male dominance but from the political Right as well.[61] In addition, in 1997 the Campus Crusade for Christ, which has affiliated itself with CBMW and supported SBC's statement on male headship, announced a revision of its "Four Spiritual Laws," which now feature inclusive language. Meanwhile, Concerned Women for America, while organized for the express purpose of countering feminism, increasingly adopts (and co-opts) its history, principles, and issues. In an article in *Family Voice*, Concerned Women for America calls for mobilization against the global trafficking in women and even contends that feminists support trafficking! Clearly these developments did not occur in a vacuum but are the result of feminist struggles within neo-evangelicalism that have shifted the terms of the debate about gender roles.

[60] *Christianity Today* lists the complementarian versus egalitarian seminaries. Fuller, North Park, the Palmer Theological Seminary, Ashland, and the Church of God School of Theology are egalitarian and not likely to hire complementarian faculty. Westminster, the Dallas Theological Seminary, Covenant, and the six seminaries of the Southern Baptist Convention require complementarian allegiances. Trinity, Gordon-Cromwell, Denver, and Regent College have faculty with varying perspectives on this issue (George 2005).

[61] Interestingly, in the flyer's chart, which graphs the varying positions taken by the "effeminate left," the "male dominant right," and the complementarian center, conservative "get tough on crime" approaches to criminal justice are categorized with the male dominant right whereas restorative justice models are categorized with the complementarian center, where CBMW situates itself.

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Contestations in evangelical politics have become particularly pronounced with the rise of the Promise Keepers movement. Promise Keepers has perhaps been most severely criticized for its gender politics, particularly by liberal feminist organizations such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Fund for a Feminist Majority. Eleanor Smeal, a former NOW president and current president of the Fund for a Feminist Majority, declared, "Don't be fooled by their [Promise Keepers'] outward appearances; the Promise Keepers are preaching that men are ordained to lead—women to submit or follow. We have been there, done that. These out-moded attitudes have led time and time again to low pay, low status, and the abuse of women" (Smeal 1997). When critics of Promise Keepers want to highlight its sexism, they invariably quote Tony Evans, who advises men to "sit down with your [wives] and say something like this: 'Honey, I've made a terrible mistake. I've given you my role. I gave up leading the family, and I forced you to take my place. Now I must reclaim that role.' . . . I'm not suggesting that you *ask* for your role back, I'm urging you to *take it back*. . . . There can be no compromise here. If you're going to lead, you must lead . . . Treat the lady gently and lovingly. But *lead*!" (Conason, Ross, and Cokorinos 1996, 14).[62]

These cries of gender oppression often do not coincide with the reality experienced by the female partners of Promise Keepers. I talked to several women on staff at Promise Keepers who said that the organization has a reputation for being one of the most women-friendly evangelical organizations. Even evangelical women who were critical of Promise Keepers conceded its reputation for being a good place for an evangelical woman to work. Staff members did report a glass ceiling in terms of how far women could advance (although one believed that Promise Keepers would hire women as vice presidents even though it had not yet done so) (Horner 2002). But it has provided comprehensive sexual harassment training for all the staff, and women report being treated and paid well. The women partners of Promise Keepers widely report positive changes in their marriages.[63] Even egalitarian women have many positive things to say about

[62] After Promise Keepers received much criticism for this statement, its rhetoric around gender relations softened considerably. In a very clever rhetorical tactic, Promise Keepers appointed Tony Evans as a speaker at the Stand in the Gap rally, where he reframed this quote so that it would not sound like it supported male supremacy. He explained that what "male leadership" actually entails is treating one's wife as an equal and recognizing that leadership is mutual, not a matter of oppressing or abusing one's wife.

[63] One notable exception was a woman I talked to who is active in the domestic

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Promise Keepers. Says one CBE member, "My husband has attended [Promise Keepers events], people from my church attend, and I have seen wonderful, wonderful things happen in the lives of men who attend. . . . Do I think they have the whole message on egalitarianism? I do not. Do I think they espouse the views that I support about women in the church? I do not. But for the good they do, I don't want to discredit them completely."

Doug Smith, another proponent of egalitarianism, contends that "The driving force behind Promise Keepers is women. Every woman I have talked to says that when their man comes back from Promise Keepers, that he is a better husband and a better father as a result. Women are praying for Promise Keepers." *U.S. News and World Report* followed ninety men from Promise Keepers and interviewed their families. It found that these men were treating their wives more equally as a result of Promise Keepers (Shapiro 1995). During the 1996 Promise Keepers rallies, McCartney advised husbands to sit with their wives and together rate their marriages on a scale of one to ten. Then compare the scores. "Your wife's score will be lower, and your wife is right," he predicted. The message men receive from this advice is that it is women who are the ultimate authority in evaluating the health of a relationship. Elijah Muchina told me that he learned he can be oblivious to the pain his partner may be in and he must actively listen to ensure that he is treating her respectfully. Articles in *New Man* (which was a Promise Keepers publication before it went independent) and Promise Keepers publications generally advise men on how to treat their wives respectfully and meet their needs rather than asserting their authority over them (McGuire 2000). Thus, the messages of gender hierarchy in Promise Keepers rhetoric are often subverted by messages of gender egalitarianism, and consequently liberal feminist critiques of Promise Keepers often do not resonate with evangelical women.

Promise Keepers's gender politics is much more complex than is articulated by its critics because it is a coalition of complementarians and egalitarians. Contrary to popular opinion, Promise Keepers has not taken a stand on the issue of complementarianism versus egalitarianism (Frame 1999; Van Leeuwen 1997). Probably most of the leaders, such as McCartney, are complementarians, and they often do not distinguish their posi-

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violence field. She reported that a friend of hers runs a Christian batterer's program, and 70 percent of the participants are men who do not think being a Promise Keeper is inconsistent with being a batterer. At that time, Promise Keepers had refused to make statements against battering or sexual abuse. Since that time, many evangelical women have complained, and Promise Keepers finally made a fairly strong statement against sexual and domestic violence at Stand in the Gap.

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tions from those of Promise Keepers (Frame 1999).[64] However, a significant number of men who have served in leadership positions are egalitarians. A prominent egalitarian among the Promise Keepers ranks is Bill Hybels (a former board member and spiritual adviser to President Clinton) who heads the very influential Willow Creek Church. In my research, I found that most Promise Keepers (including the staff) are not in consensus about (1) what Promise Keepers' position is on gender issues, (2) where it stands on egalitarianism versus complementarianism, or (3) what defines complementarianism or egalitarianism. However, I have noticed that, even while complementarians may vociferously defend their positions, what is considered complementarian sounds increasingly more egalitarian than it did a decade ago. Here is one exchange I had with a Promise Keepers (PK) staff member.

Me: Is Promise Keepers complementarian or egalitarian?
PK: Definitely complementarian?
Me: What exactly is complementarianism?
PK: That means men must exercise servant leadership in the home.
Me: So that means men have the final say in a marriage if there is an impasse in the decision-making process?
PK: No, they must work things out together. He can't just decide for them both.
Me: Does it mean that women and men have different roles? Perhaps women should be concerned more with the family and the husband with work?
PK: No, they both have the same roles. Women should have the same job opportunities as men.
Me: But men are to be servant leaders? What about women?
PK: They're supposed to be servant leaders, too.
Me: So what exactly is the problem with egalitarianism?
PK: Hmmm. Well, I'm not exactly sure what egalitarianism is. Maybe I should find out.[65]

Promise Keepers staffer Charles King's definition of male headship seemed to center primarily around the importance of men being spiri-

[64] McCartney, Charles Colson, Joseph Stowell, and Tony Evans (all prominent Promise Keepers speakers) took out a full-page advertisement affirming the SBC's 1998 amendment to its Faith and Message, which affirmed male headship (Land 1999, 3).

[65] Ingersoll and Gallagher found similar trends in their research on evangelical women (Gallagher 2003; Ingersoll 2005).

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tually active in the home. He asserted in an interview that "wherever a dad is actively involved as a believer in the home, there is a 75 percent chance that the children will be believers. Where the dad is no longer home and the mother is charged with the responsibility of being the spiritual head of the household, there is only a 15 percent chance that the children will be believers." This leadership does not seem to translate into decision-making authority, however.

Me: Hypothetically speaking, let's say you have a great job. But your wife gets this great, once-in-a-lifetime job offer in another state. Who decides what to do?

King: Decision is made through prayer. Ask God for the answer because it can go both ways. If I was a technician and my wife was an anchor lady who got an offer at CNN [Cable News Network], then it might make sense to follow the wife around. Jan has followed me around because my job dictated such moves. But, if the shoe were on the other foot, then absolutely, I would follow her. Don't leave God out of the decision. See what God says, and God might very well say follow your wife. God must run the show; it gets messed up when I try to take control.[66]

For many complementarians, male headship does translate into decision-making authority. Nevertheless, even in these situations, complementarians stress the importance of mutuality in decision making and equality in the workplace. They also stress that gender roles, while helpful, should not be overly restrictive. In an interview, Robert Tyler stated:

Tyler: The man should take initiative to sacrifice for the family. For me headship means that the husband leads in loving service. There is mutual submission in different roles. So much in popular culture is about who controls power. But the Gospel is he who will serve. There is some differentiation of roles, and there's difference in initiative. I think even secular writers are picking up this theme: "Men are from Mars; Women are from Venus." I think one thing that happened is that there was a real outcry about abuse and neglect and subjugation of women and their devaluation. I think that cry has been heard. And now the church is starting to say, but women and men are not identical; they are different, and there's things we can learn from that.

[66] Of course, it is also true that many Promise Keepers staffers have become skilled at sidestepping discussions on gender hierarchy in order to diffuse critiques by liberal feminists, but, even so, the fact that Promise Keepers would feel the need to be accountable to liberal feminism is significant.

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Me: Egalitarians will say that male headship itself will naturally promote the conditions for abuse. That is, if a woman see a man as the authority, she won't be able to challenge his hitting her. So, how do you correct these kind of dynamics when someone is seen as in charge?

Tyler: In a family, I would hope that the loving initiative by a father would not make demands for respect but would command respect. Any situation where a man is being abusive is clearly wrong and should not be tolerated. In Malachi, it says God hates divorce, but God hates more a man's violence toward his wife. If I hear about that, I would say that the woman should be removed until violence stops. There should be some intervention.

Similar themes are echoed in my interview with Clark Clements.

Me: What is male headship then?

Clements: Headship has to do with responsibility. My wife is equal to me before God, an equal image bearer, and has equal access to God and the Spirit, but we have different roles. The roles aren't rigid, but there are general propensities that we are responsible for. Probably most men cut the yard, and women cook, but women can certainly cut the yard. But if I am the head of cutting the yard, it doesn't mean I have to do it, but if it doesn't get done, I will stand accountable for it.

Me: What are you the head of?

Clements: My wife, my children, and my home.

Me: On a hypothetical level, let's say you have a great job in one state and your wife gets a great job in another state. Who makes the decision?

Clements: Like any loving couple, we have to work it out. If that's a great opportunity, I want to make sacrifices for that. I think I do have the final veto power, but I don't really go there. . . . And in eleven years there have been very few decisions that have come to me making the decision.

This blurring of lines can also be found in the National Fatherhood Initiative promoted at the Promise Keeper events of 2004. Its goal is to "improve the lives of children by encouraging all fathers to be responsible, committed and involved in their children's lives." Yet none of the basic principles it espouses focuses on male headship; in fact, the principles stress respecting and supporting one's wife and children.[67] Interestingly,

[67] The principles are: (1) respect your children's mother, (2) spend time with your children, (3) earn the right to be heard, (4) discipline with love, (5) be a role model, (6) be a teacher, (7) eat together as a family, (8) read to your children, (9) show affection, and (10) realize that a father's job is never done. ("Ten Ways to Be a Better

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in its newsletter, the benefit that daughters gain from having good fathers is that "she is more willing to attempt challenging tasks which, in turn, usually result in better jobs, higher incomes, and financial self-reliance" (Degraffenred 2004, 9). There are no benefits listed that speak to daughters becoming better wives and mothers or leading more domestic lives. Larry Jackson, a speaker at the 2004 rally defined *servant leadership* in such a way that it almost seems to grant the authority to the wife. "You can't say you're the king unless you're a servant first," he said. So, if you are the head of the household and the dishes are not washed, you need to wash them. You should only focus on what you should give rather than what you receive, and your wife "may not give anything because you haven't given her anything." *Christianity Today* similarly opined that complementarian and egalitarian marriages often look surprisingly alike (Horner 2002). In his study of Promise Keepers literature, Sean Everton concludes that Promise Keepers "employ the language of male headship in largely symbolic terms while at the same time embracing a day-to-day egalitarianism" (2001, 60).

Similarly, at the 2005 Promise Keepers conference in Lansing, Michigan, and the 2004 conference in Seattle, several speakers argued that male "headship" (though they did not use that term explicitly) only means that the man must serve his wife and does not entitle him to boss his wife around. Dan Seaborn, of Winning at Home, said at the 2005 Lansing event that the men in the audience had pain they needed to heal from, but they had also caused pain to other people. He declared that his mother was a victim of domestic violence by his father, and that he now represented to the men the child that is hurting because of what they were doing to their wives. This speaker said nothing to the men about asserting power in marriage; rather, he admonished them to think about how they can prioritize the needs of their wives and children.

The issues of domestic and sexual violence within evangelical communities have also contributed significantly to a blurring between complementarian and egalitarian lines. An example is a Steven Tracy article on male headship on violence. While he says he is a complementarian, he contends that we must critically interrogate what biblical headship is. He notes that a man in his congregation justified his sexual abuse of children,

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Dad," National Fatherhood Initiative brochure. Gaithersburg, Md., n.d.) Its other brochures, including "Creating a Father-Friendly Workplace" and "12 Ways to Balance Work and Family," stress that fathers should adopt flex-time work schedules and limit their career aspirations in order to spend more time with their families.

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saying, "I guess I did it because I was the head of the family, and it was my right to do whatever I wanted to my wife and kids" (Tracy 2003, 50). However, proffers Tracy, we must distinguish male headship from male domination. While the man is the head of the woman as the Father is the head of the Son, it is also true that "the work of the Father and the Son is the collaboration of intimate equals. In this reading of biblical headship, submission is not a matter of mere duty, but a delightful response from a woman who is loved, partnered with, and trusted as an equal" (52). He further challenges the idea that men should wield all the authority in the church and the home: "Feminists have long argued that male headship necessarily denotes inequality. Christian men who insist on maintaining a monopoly on all domestic and ecclesiastical authority validates this misconception" (54). Godly women have the authority to proclaim the Gospel, prophesy, run a household, manage commercial enterprises, hold men accountable, and serve as colaborers in ministry. In the end, Tracy concludes, "Male headship means protection, not domination" (54).

J. Lee Grady's article on domestic violence in *New Man* argues that evangelical teachings on male headship have "unknowingly, created an environment that encourages abuse" (2001, 40). However, in his effort to redefine headship in a manner that does not encourage abuse, he adopts the hermeneutical strategies of evangelical feminists, even explicitly citing the prominent CBE scholar Catherine Kroeger. For instance, he contends (borrowing from Kroeger) that the charge for women to "submit" (*hupatosso*) was really a declaration that women would be "identified with" their husbands and no longer kept under the control of their fathers. He also suggests that the description of men as the "head" (*kephale*) of their wives should be translated as "source" rather than "head" (44), a hermeneutical strategy commonly adopted by evangelical feminists.[68]

Jane Hansen attacks feminists for "declaring war" against men but ultimately calls for an end to "gender wars," which stop women from fulfilling their potential in the church (1997, 58). David Neff similarly notes in his review of the edited collection *Does Christianity Teach Male Headship? The Equal Regard Marriage and its Critics* (2004), that many are redefining headship as a codeword for responsibility. In fact, he contends that the basic problem is that men do not want to fulfill their familial roles, so the

[68] In fact, Grady was the keynote speaker at CBE's annual conference in 2003, so he may have shifted his position to the egalitarian perspective. Another *Christianity Today* article espouses female submission in marriage but contends that submission correlates with male sacrifice not male headship (summer 2005).

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concept of headship is more about not being a deadbeat father than about asserting authority in the home. In fact, one contributor suggests that the concept of headship is really a strategy to get men excited about fulfilling their responsibilities. That is, they will not be excited about being fathers and husbands unless they get to claim headship and hence feel indispensable (Neff 2004). A prominent charismatic pastor, Jack Hayford, also announced his split with CBMW's position because, he contends, male headship is part of a temporary social order rather than God's intended plan for gender relations. "Let me put it plainly, he writes. "There is no way that male authority over women can be properly deduced from the Bible as being God's original intent" (Hayford 2003).

Thus, while liberal feminist organizations have expressed concern that Promise Keepers is against all the gains made by liberal feminism, it has actually been supportive of many of them. In fact, most of the Promise Keepers I talked to saw the organization as a *positive* response to feminism rather than a reaction against it. Says King:

> When I saw that article in the paper written by the head of NOW and realized they were very upset about Stand in the Gap, I thought, this is just a six-hour prayer gathering. What possible threat could that be to the women of America? First of all, we know that many women have been abused over the years by male power and dominance, and there has been a real need for women to get together and to stand up and say we're not going to take it anymore. It's the male abuse of power that has caused that to happen. So I don't have any quarrel with NOW. But when I saw Patricia Ireland saying she was really angry and hurt, I prayed for her, wondering why is she angry with men who want to walk closer to Jesus, honor our families, and honor our wives? Maybe, she's concerned Promise Keepers will go too far and try to keep women barefoot and pregnant, down and out. But that's not possible; the women of America are way beyond that. So what I talk about is servant leadership. When a man and woman get married, they first serve Jesus and then they serve each other. As they serve each other, I don't see any domination. I don't see men doing the things NOW wants to be concerned about. So they are hurt, angry, and distrustful. So our response is just watch us over time and see what we do. You need to remain critics. You need to remain vigilant. That's fine.

In fact, in a 1997 issue of *New Man*, the cover article on feminism concluded that "Christians need feminism. . . . Why do women receive 70 percent of what men receive for comparable work? Why does a woman's mental health and life expectancy go down when she marries while a

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man's mental health and life expectancy go up? Why are the faces of those living in poverty overwhelmingly female? Is this what God desires?" (Maudlin 1997b, 34). Promise Keepers also produced a video in which it declared that eradicating sexism is at the top of its agenda. In fact, I learned at the 1997 Minneapolis conference that the Promise Keepers founder, Bill McCartney, invited CBE to oversee one of its rallies to ensure that nothing sexist was evident. Of course, I do not mean to argue that Promise Keepers is a profeminist organization or that sexist and patriarchal ideologies are not intertwined in its practice. Rather, the relationship between feminism and Promise Keepers is a much more complicated one than is generally articulated by its critics.

Despite evangelical rhetoric about the importance of women staying at home, remaining married despite the quality of the marriage, and not supporting abortions, it seems that evangelicals are actually little different from their secular counterparts in these areas (Gallagher 2003, 175).[69] According to the Barna Research Group, divorce rates are actually higher among evangelicals than among other sectors of the population, including atheists. Ninety percent of born-again Christians who divorce do so *after* becoming a Christian ("Till Death Do Us Part?" 2000). According to *Christianity Today,* more than half of born-again Christians do not think divorce is a sin even when adultery is not involved (MacHarg 2004). A prominent Southern Baptist pastor, Charles Stanley, promised to resign from his pastorate in the First Baptist Church of Atlanta if he were to divorce. But when his marriage ended the church's administrative pastor told the congregation that Stanley would continue as the senior pastor, and the congregation stood and applauded (Christianity Today 2000a).[70] The majority of evangelical women are employed outside of the home (Ammerman 1993, 136; Miller 1997, 196–97). In fact, *Charisma* ran an article calling on Christians to stop harassing women who work outside the home, declaring, "Working mothers are not the source of all society's ills" (Minter 1997, 69). In one study of parishioners in the new Charismatic churches (the Vineyard, Hope, and Calvary Churches), 75 percent disagreed with the idea that women should "take care of the home and leave running the country to men" (208). Evangelicals complain that abor-

[69] In recognition of this fact, Focus on the Family organized the Council on Biblical Sexual Ethics to issue a statement to counter sexual immorality within Christian churches specifically (Council on Biblical Sexual Ethics 2001).

[70] Another well publicized conversation about divorce arose over the marriage breakup of a popular contemporary Christian artist, Amy Grant (Veith 1999d; Zoba 2000a). For more coverage on divorce in evangelical communities, see Veith 1999b.

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tion rates are high within Christian colleges ("Abortion" 1989). According to some studies, conservative evangelical women are not so solidly anti-choice as one might guess (Brasher 1998, 160–61). A writer for *Christianity Today*, Lauren Winner, notes in her book *Real Sex* that three surveys of single Christians conducted in the 1990s found that two-thirds were not virgins. In 1992, a *Christianity Today* survey of one thousand readers found that 40 percent had had premarital sex, 14 percent had had an affair, and 75 percent of those who had affairs did so when they were Christians. In 2003, North Kentucky University found that 60 percent of students who signed sexual abstinence commitment cards broke their pledges. Of the 39 percent who kept them, 55 percent had had oral sex and did not consider it to be sex. Winner reported that many evangelical college students she talked to did not consider anal intercourse to be sex (2005). Thus, it would appear that to a large degree evangelicals have adapted to the demands of the secular world much more than they have transformed it. However, as Julie Ingersoll contends, feminist strands have always been part of what has never been a monolithic and static fundamentalist movement, so all apparent "deviations" from stereotypical gender repressive practices cannot be dismissed as mere "accommodation to the larger culture" as if fundamentalism is itself completely separate from the larger culture (2005, 146).

In addition, more women are coming into prominence as evangelical pastors or spiritual leaders. Women pastors are often prominently featured in charismatic venues such as *Charisma* (Johnson 2002). *Charisma* also has run articles supporting women's ordination (Grady 2000a). Beth Moore, Kay Arthur, and Anne Graham Lotz are popular Bible teachers, although they are not without their detractors. For instance, Lotz describes how some men turn their backs on her when she speaks because they feel it is unscriptural for a woman to speak from a pulpit if men are in the audience. Nonetheless, her popularity has grown to the point where half of the people in her audiences are men. Of course, part of her acceptability undoubtedly rests on the fact that, in addition to being Billy Graham's daughter, she espouses conservative gender views such as male headship and the exclusion of women from senior pastor positions (she is unsure whether or not women should be ordained) (Eha 2002).

An even more marked shift in the Christian Right position vis-à-vis feminism is Ralph Reed's retelling of the "women's movement." In *After the Revolution,* he argues that the women's movement of the nineteenth century was actually a Christian movement and thus implies that the Christian Right rather than the contemporary feminist movement is the

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true inheritor of this so-called first wave of the women's movement (1990, 141–55). Concerned Women for America (CWA) makes a similar argument in "Sisterhood or Liberalism." Contemporary feminists, CWA argues, "choose to ignore history that clearly reveals that the original suffragists were largely pro-life and pro-family" (Concerned Women For America 1997). A writer for *Christianity Today* recently opined: "I am a feminist because of Christ, the world's most avant-garde emancipator. When he praised Mary for choosing to learn from him over kitchen work (which we will always have with us), he was more radical than Gloria Steinem" (Tennant 2006). The fact that these sectors choose to align themselves with some parts of feminist history indicates that there has been a shift in gender politics within the Christian Right.

While most neo-evangelicals are not embracing an explicitly feminist perspective, despite the efforts of evangelical feminism, it is important not to underestimate the impact of evangelical feminism on neo-evangelical communities. In many instances, neo-evangelicals have unconsciously adopted feminist principles while rejecting the label of feminist for themselves. As Margaret Bendroth acknowledges, "even the most antifeminist polemics in recent evangelical literature accept feminist norms of self-realization and personal autonomy. Modern evangelicals, it would seem, are not nearly as conservative as they, and others, would like to think they are" (1993, 120).

Internal Coalitions at the Expense of External Coalitions

While Christians for Biblical Equality seems more successful than was the Evangelical Women's Caucus in developing internal coalitions within mainstream evangelicalism, it has done so at the expense of building external coalitions with feminists and other social justice activists outside evangelicalism. This disavowal of coalition building with nonevangelical feminists can be traced to the CBE split with the EWCI over the resolution to support the civil rights of gays and lesbians. Interestingly, despite this split, most of the CBE members I interviewed supported gay civil rights. The issue at stake, they claimed, was that they could not afford to be in an organization that made a public statement about the issue. Said one member, "I personally believe homosexual relationships are contrary to biblical morality. Having said that, though, I think the church has not been a community of redemption. Further, I believe there should not be discrimination against homosexuals in terms of public policy. I would oppose the

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amendment in Colorado [which would not include gays and lesbians in antidiscrimination policies].” Another member recounts the split between the two groups.

Me: Can you talk about CBE’s break with EWC? I understand it was over homosexuality?

CBE member: Not really. I would say it was over power plays. The thing of it was that all of us coexisted very nicely. We knew there were lesbians. What happened was that at the 1984 conference there were various resolutions. The board decided that the resolutions were very confrontational, and we decided to stop doing them. At the Fresno conference, people put up three resolutions and subvert[ed] this properly made decision. The first two everyone supported (the first was on people of color, which we all supported), but we wanted them to stop the resolution process, which the board had already decided to do. The second one was in favor of battered women, and the third was the one on homosexuality. With the third one, I said, “Look, if we pass this one, we are forcing the conservative women out. We are all here together, but when we give special recognition to one group, the poor timid woman who comes from a conservative church—that church will never let her come if they hear we have passed the resolution. Can’t we just continue to be here together?” I tried to point out it was an exclusionary tactic. Women were crying, running from the room. There were people in the corridors crying. The vote was taken in an unfortunate way. Lots of people were brought in right before the vote, and no one was checking their credentials. The Boston chapter went to Denny’s and cried until 2:00 a.m. the first night. Women would say, “I either have to leave EWC or leave my job; I can’t do both.” And it was clear that many women had just been forced out, and they had been discriminated against. If there wasn’t room for them, there was not room for me.”[71]

Me: So is there any space now for dialogue between evangelical lesbians and biblical feminists who don’t support homosexuality?

CBE: I think dialogue is important. We need sister organizations. One that will appeal to the more conservative women, and another that will be more open. That was the original idea of EWC, but the heavy-fisted

[71] It is interesting how this individual reverses the charge of discrimination from one leveled by gays and lesbians against evangelicals to one she is leveling at gays and lesbians for being “anti-evangelical.” This strategy is becoming increasingly popular in evangelical discourse, where evangelicals attempt to assume the mantle of an “oppressed minority.” (A. Smith forthcoming)

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women started maneuvering. One woman was the dean of ——, and she had to get out *real* fast to keep her job. It was not that they were a nasty bunch of women, but they had taken away a place for conservative women. With feminists, you have very strong-minded women, but sometimes we don't work well together.

Ironically, CBE, in order to maintain its evangelical credentials, maintains a more actively antigay and antilesbian stance than do other evangelical organizations, making it part of its statement of faith. Another avenue of discussion between straight and lesbian evangelical feminists was *Daughters of Sarah*, an evangelical feminist publication that featured debates and discussions on issues of feminism and lesbianism. It folded in 1996. In 1978, Scanzoni and Mollenkott's *Is the Homosexual My Neighbor*? came out, which provided an evangelical defense of homosexuality. Now we see virtually no debate at all on this issue.[72] The most significant thing that seems to have happened recently is the dialogue and collaboration between Mel White (the former ghostwriter for Pat Robertson and others) and Jerry Falwell in 1999. As this was another unlikely alliance, Falwell reports that he felt it was important to collaborate and dialogue with White (with whom he maintained his friendship even after White came out) against the growing violence in American society.

I believe homosexuality is wrong. . . . But we never fought over it. . . . I believe the Bible teaches that. But with the violence of the last decade, particularly over the last two years—at Wedgewood Baptist and Columbine, where Christians were targeted, and the attacks against gays, like Billy Jack Gaither and Matthew Shephard—something has to change. Mel and I were

[72] This may change with the increased visibility of the National Gay Pentecostal Alliance, Soul Force, Potter's House Fellowship in Tampa, and the University Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches and other Gay Christian groups (Dean 2006; DeVore 2000; Grady 2004b; Letters 2000; Shepson 2001, 2002). Soul Force, an evangelical gay activist group formed by Mel White (a former ghostwriter for Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, and Billy Graham), organized a speaking tour of Christian colleges in 1996 to call on them to change their policies against homosexuality (Van Loon 2006). Gay alumni from Oral Roberts University in Tulsa, staged a "coming out" during the homecoming celebration in 2002. And *World* reported that Fuller Seminary, while maintaining an official position that homosexuality is sinful, is increasingly providing venues in which those who oppose this position can voice their views (J. Belz 2006b). However, unlike the topic of evangelical feminism, these groups receive only negative coverage in the evangelical periodical literature. For another example of the consistent affirmation of homosexuality as sinful among evangelical egalitarians, see Willow Creek's position both supporting gender equality and opposing homosexuality (Winner 2000a).

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talking about the violence on both sides. We're never going to agree on the rightness or the wrongness of the gay lifestyle. But we certainly can agree on an antiviolence theme (Gilbreath 2000, 114).

This collaboration was sharply criticized by James Dobson, who insisted that no food be served at this dialogue because Christians are not supposed to break bread with unrepentant Christians (Religious News Service 1999). In general, this event was an exception rather than the rule.

This split between EWCI and CBE signaled a reconfiguration in evangelical feminist politics. Whereas the Evangelical Women's Caucus saw itself as being in coalition with secular and liberal Christian feminists over issues such as abortion rights, the Equal Rights Amendment, and so on, women involved with Christians for Biblical Equality began to define themselves in opposition to secular feminist politics, opposing abortion rights and homosexuality, organizing against the Beijing conference on women, and decrying the influence of "Goddess religion" (Groothius 2001; Spencer 1995; Stackhouse 1999b). For instance, some representatives of CBE have been involved in the previously mentioned Ecumenical Coalition on Women and Society. Says Janice Shaw Crause, the director of the coalition:

> We're not out there saying that feminism itself is inherently bad; that is not our position. But the religious radical feminists go so far as to say that there are five genders, or that gender is fluid, or that you really ought to experiment with all the various types of gender. The bottom line is, our churches are being destroyed by radical feminist ideology, which is a combination of heresy and paganism, and that is what we're trying to combat. . . . Both groups (CBMW and CBE) are within our parameters, and they war with each other. But we're all up against radical feminists who say that Jesus was not divine . . . so it's foolish to start arguing about the things that we disagree on. (Bauer 1999, 66–67)

Signaling her desire to distance biblical feminism from other nonevangelical feminists, Rebecca Merrill Groothius writes, "There is a prevalent fear among evangelicals that if we affirm any idea deemed 'feminist' we will be stepping out onto a slippery slope that will have us all sliding swiftly into paganism, witchcraft, goddess worship, abortion-rights and gay-rights agendas, and, of course, the destruction of civilization. In reality, however, anyone who affirms gender equality on the basis of *biblical* teaching must be as thoroughly opposed to such trappings of contemporary feminism as any antifeminist might be" (Groothius 1999).

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The reaction of CBE to the split with EWCI seemed to be that in order to maintain legitimacy within evangelicalism, it had to police its own boundaries even more strictly than other evangelical groups do. Unlike Native women's feminist articulations, this evangelical feminist strategy seems more intent on avoiding guilt by association (in this case, association with secular or liberal Christian feminists, particularly lesbian feminists). By closing itself off from other coalition partners, this more conservative evangelical feminist movement became less of a potential space for political rearticulations into more progressive politics.[73] In doing so, however, CBE did position itself to exponentially expand its influence on mainstream evangelicalism. It should be mentioned, however, that Mary Stewart Van Leeuwen of CBE does challenge some of this "guilt by association" politics, arguing, "I call myself a feminist. I decided I would not give up a perfectly good word because some have misused it. Otherwise, I couldn't call myself a Christian either" (Frame 1999, 102).

While CBE has had a tremendous influence on evangelical communities, its influence its based precisely on its unwillingness to challenge the evangelical community on other issues. As Pamela Cochran notes, CBE assiduously adheres to all other social, political, and theological boundaries of Christian Right politics in order to advance its gender-egalitarian agenda (Cochran 2005, 185). Timothy George, the executive editor of *Christianity Today,* affirms this trend, calling on complementarians and egalitarians to stand together against "radical feminism" and arguing that, in the end, there is more that unites than divides complementarians and egalitarians (George 2005, 53). Consequently, he sees himself as unaligned with either side of the debate. In answering the question posed at the beginning of the chapter—whether or not evangelical feminism can provide strategic interventions to advance the work of race reconciliation and prison organizing beyond a heteronormative frame—the answer would appear to be no, at least in its current configuration. Whereas these other movements have provided opportunities for coalition building between evangelicals and nonevangelicals, the more conservative evangelical feminist movement has eschewed these coalitions, particularly those with secular feminists, in order to legitimize itself within the evangelical commu-

[73] When I talked to people involved in CBE, many really did see women's ordination and the issue of male headship as single issues detached from a broader social justice agenda. In fact, many members were supporters of the Christian Coalition, the Institute for Religion and Democracy, and other explicitly right-wing Christian organizations.

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nity. The split between EWCI and CBE might be instructive in considering strategies for coalition building in the future. It would seem that prior to the passage of the gay civil rights resolution in Fresno, EWCI *did* provide a critical space for a rearticulation of gender politics that could influence other sectors of evangelical organizing because it brought together progressive, social-justice-minded, evangelical feminists with those who were more conservative and had more credibility with mainstream evangelicals. The EWCI provided a space for dialogue and conversation that had the potential to extend more progressively political ideas to a broader evangelical audience. After the resolution passed, however, the space for this conversation was gone. Ironically, the strategy of pushing this resolution forward may have had the unintended impact of making evangelical feminism more conservative. Perhaps the lesson to be learned in developing coalitions with unlikely allies is that the most important strategy might not be to convince potential allies to explicitly support the same political agenda but to provide spaces and venues for continuing conversations and relationships that can change political consciousness over time.

The lessons emerging from evangelical feminisms also point to the question of what organizing models we can develop for creating unlikely alliances that do not depend on heteronormativity. Chapter 5 explores such models as they are employed by Native women organizers.

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