

BOOK REVIEWS

A MESSAGE FROM YOUR NEW BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

I remember it well. I was living in Paris and finishing up a Master's program in International Relations, when I overheard a student saying that he couldn't wait to add two letters to his name: "M.A." Of course, he was half-joking, but his comment made me wonder why I was getting a graduate degree. Was it really a piece of paper and a bit of cultural prestige that made my efforts worthwhile? Although I knew that there was something more meaningful about the countless hours I had spent reading, attending lectures, and writing essays, I could not articulate what it was.

Three years later, when I started working on my Ph.D. at the University of Amsterdam, I finally figured out why I wanted to spend 4 or 5 years completing a dissertation that would most likely reach very few readers. I decided that what drove me was the desire to write a book that expressed my own thoughts, resonated with readers, and contributed in a small yet significant way to intellectual discussions on my subject. It took another 15 years (!) before I achieved this milestone and had my manuscript printed by a relative unknown publishing company. And although I have lots of ideas and outlines in my mind, I have yet to find the time to initiate another book project.

My point is that books represent much more than academic capital or entries in reference sections. At best, they reflect the life force of authors, provoke readers to think differently, move academic discourse in new directions, and enable various practices of freedom. Speaking for myself, I cannot imagine saying, writing, or doing anything useful or creative without drawing on knowledge gained from my favorite books. And based on my experience, I believe that fellow resistance scholars and practitioners have similar relationships with the books they love—including readers and authors of the *Journal of Resistance Studies*!

As book review editor, I encourage readers of our journal to share their thoughts and engage in vibrant conversations on books that matter

to them. Living in an age of instantaneous communication and shrinking attention spans, paying careful attention to manuscripts with coherent and fully-developed arguments on resistance is as important as ever. I am looking forward to receiving and responding to your book reviews, and am confident that they will further improve the quality of our journal as well as discourse on resistance scholarship and struggles. Feel free to contact me at cheneychabots@gmail.com with your questions, feedback, and suggestions.

Sean Chabot, Journal of Resistance Studies

Leanne Betasamosake Simpson: As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom Through Radical Resistance

University of Minnesota Press 2017

As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom Through Radical Resistance lays out a forceful, intimate portrayal of how indigenous resistance is theorized, practiced, and embodied through “grounded normativity,” or the knowledge and understanding rooted in land and cultural practice. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson presents incisive argumentation while maintaining intentional distance from writing for “the academy,” noting that indigenous thought must not lose its character and qualities by trying to fit itself into the mold of colonial academic standards. She therefore adopts a style reflective of Nishnaabeg intelligence and indigenous experience, flowing between stories and oral histories, and scholarly theorization of indigenous resistance to create a book which is both intellectually rich and deeply personal in nature.

Throughout this book, Betasamosake Simpson details the experiences and “ways of knowing” from her experience as Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg, and the ways in which Nishnaabeg existence, experience and knowledge embody and advance resistance against colonialism. The author demonstrates how the formation of knowledge must be reclaimed through advancing normativities that center indigenous ways of thought,

using land as pedagogy and life as “method.” From resisting colonially-imposed gender norms and binaries, to rejecting capitalism and the patriarchal, colonialist, extractivist world this creates, this book examines numerous thematic aspects of indigenous resistance while maintaining consistent attention to the central importance of indigenous method, unfiltered and uninterpreted by colonial systems and institutions, in establishing any theorization of indigenous resistance. Challenging gender binaries and linear measurements of time are examples of Simpson offers as acts of everyday indigenous resistance, and doing so through communion with the land and community serves as a form of indigenous method.]

Betasamosake Simpson establishes a strong voice of personal experience by elaborating on the concept of *kwe*, or woman within the spectrum of genders in Nishnaabemowin, the Nishnaabe language. Grounding her positionality as *kwe*, Betasamosake Simpson sets out this book with the assertion of her “life as method,” because Nishnaabeg people “have always generated knowledge through the combination of emotion and intellectual knowledge within the kinetics of our placed-based practices, as mitigated through our bodies, minds and spirits.” This book and theoretical grounding is thus understood and presented by the author as using “*kwe* as method, generating *kwe* as theorist.” Practically speaking, this reframes the theorist’s life as a method in and of itself; lived experience and indigenous knowledge become the generative fuel through which the theorist continues to learn and analyze the world.]

This understanding of personal indigenous identity as both method and theory frames a story presented in Chapter 9, one of the most important chapters in understanding how theories of indigenous resistance are deeply rooted in indigenous knowledge, tied to land and practice. The story describes how a gender non-conforming child named Binoojinh discovers maple syrup through exploration of the land, imitation of animal behavior, bringing their knowledge of discovery back to the community, and receiving the trust and respect of older community members who then come to see and explore what the child has learned. The story of Binoojinh’s discovery creates a reference point by which to juxtapose the process of knowledge creation when done through grounded normativity and land-based indigenous intelligence,

against the same processes when mediated and violated by a settler colonialist system that imposes restrictions on the use of land, as well as harmful social norms on the ways that children, women, and non-binary individuals are valued and heard in a community or society at large.] The story of Binoojinh bears significance for the emerging field of Resistance Studies as it compels scholars, researchers and activists to adopt a prefigurative approach to studying resistance. If this work aims to build powerful resistance of indigenous groups against threats to their cultural or physical survival, the method must reflect the knowledge and practices of indigenous communities rather than mimicking the same hegemonic ways of thinking that are being resisted.

With *As We Have Always Done*, Betasamosake Simpson offers a transformative account of how indigenous resurgent radical resistance must be enacted by viewing life as method, and land as pedagogy. For those seeking to support, understand and build indigenous resistance around the world today, Betsamosake Simpson's writings are a mandatory foundation upon which to reject systems of colonialist oppression and to ground personal and collective resistance through radical resurgence.

Sarah Freeman-Woolpert, Journal of Resistance Studies

Shannon Speed: Rights in rebellion. Indigenous Struggle and Human Rights in Chiapas

Stanford University Press 2008

This book is an excellent ethnographic investigation of the conflation of different traditions of discourses of human rights in Chiapas, with a focus on the innovative ways in which the Zapatista movement has implemented these traditions in their struggle for autonomy and liberation. From an activist point of view, Speed adopts a decolonial perspective to create an anthropology that advances the critical investigation of topics such as human rights, social movements, and indigenous resistance. Speed starts with a sincere reflection on her

positionality, and highlights her relationship with the research subjects, in which they become theorists and producers of knowledge. Through this decolonial perspective, she claims, anthropology will advance into a more reliable and ethical research practice (Speed, 2008: 7-8).

The analysis revolves around the introduction of human rights discourse in the Mexican context, which obeys the logic of economic globalization and neoliberalization, thereby legitimizing those processes. Zapatistas appropriate and subvert that discourse along with their own notions of human rights, creating a strong base for their resistance and struggle. According to Speed, local appropriations of discourses of human rights in the context of global power relationships may result in a challenge to those same discourses and modify structures of power. From this perspective, Speed manifests the influence of Zapatista movement on other collective struggles around the globe. However, she does not mention other places around the world in which people have applied the Zapatista philosophy. Even though Zapatistas are locally based, as Choudry, et. al (2013) suggest, they have a national and international impact and represent an indigenous struggle that inspires other fights. An excellent example of such inspiration is the El Barrio movement, which is composed mainly of Mexican immigrants in New York City. This movement is fighting against gentrification and neoliberal policies that support displacement of low-income families, utilizing the Zapatista principles of autonomy, self-determination, and participatory democracy (Davis, 2016). To mention this or other examples of the impact of the Zapatista struggle would have made this book even more powerful.

The transition from an interventionist to a neoliberal state explains the way human rights, women's rights, and indigenous rights are an essential part of the practice of Zapatista struggle. Along with the neoliberal change of economy, the Mexican state had to adopt a recognition frame that recognizes the pluricultural character of the Mexican society, shifting to a neoliberal multiculturalism as a new way to govern diversity (Speed, 2008: 119). As Speed argues, Zapatista resistance is powerful nationally and globally precisely because they have mobilized global and neoliberal discourses around a faint recognition of multiculturalism, incorporating them into their political subjectivities, thereby challenging global and state power. An important point that the author analyzes is the notion

of neoliberal multiculturalism in which the state sets the standard for “acceptable” and “unacceptable” indigeneity (Speed, 2008: 30), dividing people by requiring some of them to continually show their supposed authenticity. Granting rights within the framework of neoliberal multiculturalism, the state reinforces its power and at the same time legitimizes the participation of indigenous people in a limited way of self-governance. However, Zapatistas, with their sophisticated ways to resist, have promoted their own versions and practices of human rights, thus confronting state power. As Speed shows, it is clear that human rights for the Zapatistas are related to local identities and subjectivities that in turn reflect indigenous people’s agency. Speed uses throughout the book the Bakhtinian concept of dialogism (Speed, 2008: 32-33) to explain that the mobilization of human rights discourses at the local levels responds to a dialogic interaction with outside actors and discourses as well as with internal ones. In these interactions, Zapatistas creatively formulate and reformulate their engagement with notions of human rights. The author devotes seven chapters to her analysis.

In chapter 2, Speed explores how the concepts and practices of human rights in Chiapas are an entanglement of different perspectives such as that of (1) the Catholic church, with its natural notion of rights and theology of liberation; (2) the legal state and NGO, with their positive law; and (3) the indigenous notion of rights, with its specificity within the Zapatista movement for autonomy. On the one hand, the theology of liberation and Indian theology have had a large impact on indigenous people in Chiapas (Speed, 2008: 40-41). Through their natural orientation toward human rights understood as rights naturally provided, exclusively granted by virtue of human nature, these religious traditions provide a critical understanding of the elements of domination and exploitation. On the other hand, the state, even before the neoliberal reforms during 1990’s, had an individualistic and positive idea of rights that put the state and the law at the front in providing rights to populations (Speed, 2008: 45-46). With the neoliberal reforms, the state did not adjust its position as the sovereign state that brings rights to its citizens, but it did disregard its former responsibility to fulfill conditions for human rights accomplishment. Under this mandate, various NGO’s flourished in Chiapas, filling the mediating role of the state in governing

people (Speed, 2008: 27). This chapter suggests that a result of this historical development was the inclusion of human rights and autonomy within the Zapatista ideology, in part as a response to this failure of the state to provide rights, as well as the failure of the implementation of the San Andres Accords (Speed, 2008: 54). These conditions planted the seeds for Zapatistas to work locally and carry out their autonomous governments, shifting their resistance strategies and putting into practice human rights inside their communities. Moreover, Zapatista ideology and practice of autonomy included their own notions of human rights is what subvert colonized ways of living and thinking into decolonized subjectivities within Zapatista communities.

Chapter 3 focuses on how different actors appropriate human rights discourses to their own purposes and according to their own historical and political subjectivities. EZLN-affiliated communities, paramilitary groups, and ladinos (non-indigenous) use opposing discourses of human rights, resulting in conflict. For instance, Speed describes the ways Zapatista communities envisioned human rights discourse as a powerful tool in their struggle, mainly in the face of low-intensity warfare and the strong militarization of their communities (Speed, 2008: 64). International and national networks of human rights NGOs played an important role in the appropriation of human rights discourse by EZLN and their base communities, whereas the paramilitary groups appropriated the discourse in such a way that helped legitimate the atrocities and violence they and the state committed against EZLN militants and Zapatistas. Through this chapter, the author concludes that people utilize discourses depending on relations of power and dialogic interactions of actors, events, and conjunctures. As this section chiefly concerns the positive impact of human rights NGOs within the Zapatista context, one is left to wonder what the negative impact of such organizations has been, since, as the author suggests, the NGOs came to substitute for the state in the task of administrating diversity. That problem may have been solved if the author had considered what criteria Zapatistas use to accept help from some organizations but not others.

As this ethnographic research concentrates on the Nicola Ruiz community, chapter 4 explores in detail the way this community adhered to the Zapatista resistance, in which their identity as indigenous played a

crucial role. In this chapter, the concept of dialogism once again supports Speed's analysis. Nicolas Ruiz went through the assimilation process guided by the state since Mexico incorporated the liberal ideology of modern states (Speed, 2008: 89). Under that logic, many communities in Mexico abandoned their languages and other external markers of identity such as traditional dress. Such assimilation was carried out by the state through economic and cultural incentives that encouraged indigenous communities to decline their indigeneity and identify as campesinos (peasants). Nicolas Ruiz is one of the communities in which the state succeeded in this assimilationist goal. Nicolas Ruiz people came into conflict with the state as campesinos because of land appropriation within the community. Neoliberal reforms that affected land tenure, privatizing the formerly communal property, accentuated even more Nicolas Ruiz campesino identity. However, Zapatista struggle, philosophy and practice encouraged the people of Nicolas Ruiz to reconfigure their identity once again as indigenous. This chapter shows how identity is a dynamic and dialogic process, in which the principles of the Zapatista struggle, including the emphasis on land rights, made the people of Nicolas Ruiz feel close to this fight and declare their community in resistance alongside the Zapatistas. The chapter also demonstrates that identity is by no means fixed and stable. While the chapter presents a clear analysis of the changing identity of the Nicolas Ruiz people, it fails to more deeply frame this change of identity within the racial project of mestizaje, the hegemonic racial ideology wherein the mixture between Europeans and indigenous is the principal mechanism of forced acculturation and assimilation (Castellanos, 2003; Alonso, 2004). As this book is framed within the decolonial perspective, to include race as an analytical tool to understand the dynamic of indigenous oppression since colonial times would have added a richer explanation of why the Nicolas Ruiz people abandoned their language and identity. Therefore, this would also have helped envision assimilation not only as modern state ideology, but as part of the legacy of colonialism (Alfred, 2005), going deeper into the historical roots of race and racism.

While chapter 4 shows how the Zapatista struggle sowed the seeds of resistance through land rights, chapter 5 shows the impact that Zapatistas have concerning women's rights. Nicolas Ruiz women

appropriated a discourse and practice in which their rights are at the center of their political subjectivities. In this chapter, Speed provides a rich discussion of how individual rights and collective rights are two aspects of Zapatista resistance through which women and the community in general contest hegemonic power relations (Speed, 2008, 119). The separation and supposed contradiction of individual versus collective rights is just another fiction of neoliberal multiculturalism. Through the exploration of how women participate in a collective construction of notions of women's human rights, the author notes that Nicolas Ruiz is a good example to understand the intersections of the Zapatista struggle in which consensus, as the core of the traditions and costumes, is the main tool to advance the practice of human rights. The Zapatista notion of women's rights is a model of the intersection of gender, class, and ethnicity in which individual and collective rights reinforce instead of contradict each other. As the domination that faces indigenous people in Mexico, specifically women, is a result of the intersection of various axes such as gender, class, and ethnicity, their struggle is also based on the same axes (Speed, 2008: 132). The negotiation of the Zapatista women's struggle is then a negotiation of those aspects, challenging the neoliberal multicultural idea of women's rights based on separated notions of oppression. The inclusion of women's rights within the context of the collectivity of Nicolas Ruiz means then that women's rights do not contradict collective rights, but are part of the collective goals of their struggle. Even though the author adopts a somewhat critical perspective around her positionality regarding the main subjects of the book, she fails to meet Alcoff's (1991) suggestion that if we decide to speak about others we should do it in a very self-critical way. In this vein, the chapter does not explore pertinent issues in the Zapatista movement, such as how Zapatistas deal with domestic violence against women, and how indigenous human rights would deal with such problems. Furthermore, while this chapter clearly illuminates the reader on how sophisticated the Zapatista struggle is at including women's rights into their democratic practices, it fails to include a discussion of how land is almost always owned by men. As Rius (2011) indicates, the Zapatista's Revolutionary Law of Women includes the demand that women own land, however the state laws and regulations represent a barrier in this regard.

Chapter 6 examines the constitution of Red de Defensores Comunitarios de Derechos Humanos as another example of re-appropriation of discourse of human rights as one of the Zapatista tools of resistance. This organization subverts legal principles of command-obedience implicit in Western juridical thought and practice by their political and philosophical tenet *mandar obedeciendo* (lead by obeying), flying in the face of what is expected in Western law, which has a sovereign power (the state) as the highest provider of rights. Instead, *mandar obedeciendo* means that people make collective decisions, and authorities only have the responsibility to execute these decisions; otherwise, they are removed from their positions (Speed, 2008: 154). Moreover, unlike NGO's, this community-based constitution does not rely on the classic notions of the middleman role in order to be the intermediary between the state and people, creating a dependency relationship. The Red actually takes in its hands its own processes of defense and search for human rights (Speed, 2008: 143). Because the community is always at the center of every negotiation, the defenders (members of the community) will primarily pursue collective above individual goals. This democratic principle is carried out through their collective practice of political participation, based on consensus decision-making, through which Zapatista communities exercise their autonomy and self-determination. Thus, the Red is an excellent example in which Zapatistas not only empower themselves by learning how human rights work and learning to practice human dignity in their own ways, but also by breaking the classic dependency relationship that is established through outside NGO's and the state as intermediaries and sovereign, respectively. As other literature on the topic has demonstrated (Starr, et. al, 2011), this chapter shows how the principles of the consensus model are powerful democratic alternatives to the ideology of individualistic participation found within the state models of democracy.

Finally, chapter 7 exposes in detail how Juntas de Buen Gobierno, as the materialization of local autonomous ways of governance, are the site in which Zapatista notions of human and indigenous rights are put in practice. Regardless of the state recognition of Zapatismo autonomy, the Juntas de Buen Gobierno structure, mainly based on the consensus decision-making process, demonstrates that on the Zapatista notion of

rights no sovereign grants the rights, but rights exist because they are exercised in practice. Largely based on the principle that the Zapatistas must not ask permission for autonomy, Juntas de Buen Gobierno are the way of social change because of their implied democratic system (Speed, 2008: 166). Speed explains how Juntas de Buen Gobierno work through a power that Negri has conceptualized as the creative force of constitution in opposition to the centralized power of the state (Speed, 2008: 168). That type of power causes Zapatistas to create a more horizontal governance structure because it prioritizes collective over individual decisions and interests, thus setting a different logic of rule. This logic builds on the principle of *mandar obedeciendo*, as well as the constant rotation of authorities (Speed, 2008: 159-160). Therefore, Zapatista philosophy and practice go against the basic stated function of neoliberal regimes.

With this vibrant ethnography and decolonial reading of the phenomenon of Zapatista struggle and resistance, we can, once again, reinforce the idea that a call to learn from grassroots movements from the Global South to challenge capitalism and imperialism has and will come from real struggles and collective efforts of solidarity, cooperation, and dignity. Not as in the classic way of giving voices to the subaltern and dominated, because they have always have the capacity to speak, but by highlighting the fact that Zapatista movement is an inspiring model to follow.

Ten years after the publication of this book, the Zapatistas have maintained their struggle within the communities, mainly by keeping away from state policies and building their autonomy in the daily life practices of self-determination (Chabot & Vinthagen, 2015). Simultaneously, they keep disseminating their philosophy and practice in the outside world. For example, in 2017, along with the CNI (National Indigenous Congress of Mexico), Zapatistas supported an indigenous woman as a presidential candidate in the national election. This action was by no means a way to incorporate Zapatista and indigenous struggles into the logic of the nation-state. It was a way to make a call for the collective organization against the bad government and predatory capitalism that oppress the indigenous, poor people, and women. With this campaign, they tried to bring their principle of leadership by obeying to the national level. Moreover, in March of this year, Zapatistas invited women from all

over the world to attend the first international gathering of politics, art, sport, and culture for women in struggle. With the objective to speak and listen to each other as women that struggle because of patriarchal states, Zapatistas tried to incorporate other subjects into their transformative ways of resistance.

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Traci Brynne Voyles: Wastelanding: Legacies of Uranium Mining in Navajo Country

University of Minnesota Press

Part 1.

Juniper eye's necklaces are a Navajo traditional craft made from the dried pits of blue juniper berries. Small rodents collect these berries, create a small hole from which to extract the edible seed, and discard the outer shells. Young Navajo women then collect these shells and string them into necklaces. This entire process represents *hózhó* - one's spiritual connection to the land - as the necklaces are the product of juniper trees, the rodent scavengers, and the human collectors. In the mid-1960's, as Navajo land was being inundated with uranium prospectors, an American businessman came across these necklaces and had a profitable idea. By 1968 he was in business selling what he termed "Navajo Love Beads," all over the country. His only business concern was the rodent middleman. The corruption of *hózhó*- from beads to nuclear energy- is the premise of *Wastelanding*.

Wastelanding: Legacies of Uranium Mining in Navajo Country (2015) by Dr. Traci Voyles is an ambitious ethnographic attempt to braid the history of uranium mining on Navajo land (*Diné Bikéyah*) with settler-colonialism and feminist theory. Voyles traces the origin of uranium mining on the Colorado Plateau in the four-corners-region of the Southwestern United States from the late 19th century to the present. She relies extensively on Wolfe's (2006) analysis of settler-colonialism in which the ultimate goal of settlement is access to territory. This access is predicated on wastelanding, a form of environmental racism in which the land and human occupants are completely disregarded by settlers who see the land as being 'empty except for Indians' (8). *Wastelanding* offers a compelling account of uranium mining on Navajo land through its discussion of the settler-colonial legacy and Indigenous efforts to resist and maintain sovereignty. These efforts to complicate Euro-American

colonization resonate well with contemporary examples of resource extraction on Indigenous land, such as the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the currently proposed Enbridge Pipeline, as these contestations share a common colonial foundation and urgent obligation to protect land, water, and sacred places

This ethnography is broken up into six chapters. Chapter one focuses on the pre-uranium colonial relations between the Navajo and the United States federal government. In the late 19th century, the United States took particular interest in Navajo country out of a desire to provide space for white settlement and railroad construction. Chapter two is an analysis of the uranium boom between 1950 and 1958. This period is noted for the substantial efforts the United States took to accumulate uranium for Manhattan Project nuclear weapons. Even though the search for uranium was primarily controlled by the United States Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), the search for uranium was presented as an individual, romantic endeavor. These efforts resulted in weekend prospectors “carrying ‘a rifle in one hand, a Geiger counter in the other’” (63). Manifest destiny presented itself through individual prospectors being “the boots on the ground” serving as the face of the American empire seeking to penetrate the “nation’s last ‘frontier’” (66). Chapter three engages with the following binary relationships: past and present, cowboy and Indian, and self and other, which all became ubiquitously understood through Hollywood films. The search for uranium opened Navajo land up to not only prospectors but also tourists and moviemakers who sought to witness the beauty of Navajo country in its openness and in its absence of Indians. Through countless versions, Paddy Martinez became the celebrated Navajo who discovered uranium in 1950. His story of discovery may be seen as just another iteration of the “vanishing Indian” in which he supplied uranium to the civilized world, only to succumb to an advancing white modernity. Chapter four is a discussion of how Navajo gender roles were impacted by colonialism. Contrary to the presented mining rhetoric, radiation from contamination was not limited to the mine. As Navajo miners returned home from the mine, they brought radiation with them. This in turn, affected women, children, and other community members. The government largely denied compensation for adverse radiation health effects by strongly contending that radiation stopped at the boundary of the mine.

The culminating chapters, five and six, discuss more recent resistance strategies centered around the use of the legal system. Western legal practices may be seen as a 'constituent of all social relations of domination' (Biolsi 1995: 543 as referenced by Fenlon and Hall 2008: 1870), yet native peoples still use it to 'to resist incorporation and global capitalism when these systems are available' (1870). This paradox served to be true in the case, *Peshlakai v. Duncan* (1979), in which the organization Friends of the Earth, and seventy-two Navajo plaintiffs filed suit against the Department of Energy in pursuit of halting the Mobil Oil Corporation's uranium mining at Crownpoint, New Mexico. The plaintiffs argued that an environmental impact statement had not been prepared, thus, violating the National Environmental Protection Act. In order to articulate their point, the Navajo plaintiffs attempted to communicate *hózhó* in a way that might resonate with Western legal tradition. The court, however, sided with the oil company, insisting that the area in question was already polluted (wasteland). What separated the court and the Navajo plaintiffs was the 'authority of knowledge' (Berkes 2012: 14) of what it means for land to be sacred.

Part 2.

Voyles' text is well written but at times difficult to work through as it attempts to answer an assortment of questions through particular critical lenses. Specifically, the initial emphasis on feminism, fades in and out of discussion. I agree with Voyles' drive to incorporate feminism into the text to critically engage with the effects of American imperialism on the body, the household, and the community. The realities of radon affecting women disproportionately, the establishment of Women of All Red Nations (WARN), and the use of counter-mapping to delineate tribal lands and radiation risks, are all excellent case studies that highlight the important role Navajo women have in the wastelanding discussion. The depth of analysis, however, varies and lacks consistency through entirety of the text.

Navajo forms of resistance to uranium mining occurred in a variety of forms. An example of a small-scale, local episode occurred when a Navajo couple drove to the Hallelujah Trail (1964) film site to protest the film crew's illegal presence. Perplexed by the situation, the film crew

placed a 19th century covered-wagon in front of the protestor's truck. Even though the truck could not be seen in the film, its hidden presence behind the covered-wagon, served to represent a 'productive fissure' (109) in the settler-colonial narrative. Resistance movements continued and increased in scope in the 1970s, as the Diné formed relationships with other resistance movements, such as anti-nuclear and Red Power. These partnerships served to increase the scope of protest to not only their immediate mining situations, but also larger colonial liberation movements that were occurring throughout the Third World. The combination of small-scale and more globalized decolonization efforts, demonstrates the "multiscalar" approach the Diné took to engage in larger interwoven spheres of resistance.

Voyles' use of settler-colonialism is a powerful theoretical thread. She clearly guides the reader through examples that articulate the structure of settler-colonialism such as the AEC's insistence that uranium is geologically derived from the Jurassic Period and therefore, outside of the scope of Navajo cultural claims. Furthermore, the United States' destruction of Navajo livestock herds to force compliance, the reinforcement of colonial binaries through cinema, and uranium experimentation, demonstrate that Wastelanding abides by settler-colonial logic.

Voyles' use of anecdotal chapter introductions is engaging and her best tool to ground her theory-rich arguments. The beginning of chapter three, for example, introduces Mary Holiday, a Navajo woman who took advantage of colonist's perception of authenticity. In the 1960's, Mary would dress up in traditional Navajo clothing with her baby in a cradleboard on her back to pose for tourists in Monument Valley. As she stood for photos, she received tips "satisfying their craving for an 'authentic' cultural experience" (Alfred 2009: 43). After the tourists were satisfied, she would get into her car that she hid as to not dispel the vanishing-Indian myth, and drive to a new location to repeat her charade.

Bhabha (1994) argues that colonial discourse is 'curiously mixed and split,' resulting, for example, in the colonized being concurrently savage and noble (as referenced by Go 2016: 43). This ambivalence allows for 'colonial authority to be disrupted' (44). Tourists seeking out and paying money to see authentic Indians in Diné country, demonstrates the tourists' colonial ambivalence and the Navajo "model's" 'subtle

resistance to colonial power' (44). This anecdote is an excellent example of resistance as it serves to highlight the complex means by which individuals creatively complicate colonial authority.

After all of this being said, I walk away from reading this ethnography with a better sense of the complexities that surround uranium mining. I found this text fascinating and relevant to anyone who is interested in our current neoliberal, corporate-resource extracting world. This text serves as a powerful ethnographic insight into the continued ramifications of settler-colonialism as it shares so many similarities with other contemporary contestations. The Dakota Access Pipeline, Oak Flat Copper Mine, Enbridge Pipeline, Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Project, and many others, are all examples that demonstrate how Indigenous land is deliberately targeted for resource extraction. *Wastelanding* offers an ethno-historic account of uranium mining which may serve as a model to better understand, critique, and resist similar situations around the country and the world.

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