having the forces of nature bend to their desires than in living in harmony with it, a point LaPier makes emphatically

People from the four confederated tribes of the Blood gathered at the O'Kan (Sun Dance) in late summer for about one month before buffalo hunting. People gave offerings to the sun priests who made appeals to the sun for the well-being of the community. The people also constructed the sacred Medicine Lodge under the direction of a sacred woman. Blackfeet conducted many rituals for the allies in the Medicine Lodge, which included opening the Beaver Bundle and its myriad of sacred objects. It included the famous O'Kan, the self-torture of young warriors who sought a vision during a four-day ordeal of food and water deprivation and the pain of hanging from a central pole on leather lines with hooks stuck into the breasts of the participants. The Sun Dance was a reenactment of a series of stories of the allies. The stories described the relationship between the Blackfeet and the supernatural deities.

Opening my eyes to many Blackfeet beliefs, *Invisible Reality* recalls two other Native-authored books conducting research on their own people. One is a masterpiece by the late Alfonso Ortiz that is invaluable to anthropological literature, *The Tewa World: Space, Time, Being, and Becoming in a Pueblo Society* (1969). Beverly Hungry Wolf's *The Ways of My Grandmothers* (1980) collects traditional stories and accounts of some of the lives and rituals practices of her elder female kin and a friend and complements *Invisible Reality* in many details. The stories and anecdotes reach back to the 1880s, as did LaPier's informants' information.

LaPier also includes a brief but very important summary of the history of the Blackfeet economy from the buffalo days to the present. In the 1960s I researched the economy of Blackfeet households and families using public records from the 1920s as well as conducting house-to-house surveys. I was treated with more politeness than I deserved and I was given a banquet of gentle subtle humor very similar to the manner of LaPier's writing and storytelling. LaPier used many sources I had located. A dedicated scholar, she reported the information contained in them with admirable precision. She conducted research in eleven Blackfeet archives and consulted every other source she could find. In addition, her meticulous use of the observations of the major works on the Blackfeet such as McClintock, Grinnell, Wissler and John Ewers give one great confidence in the validity of her research and findings. I urge everyone interested in the Native Americans of the Great Plains to read this book.

Lynn A. Robbins
Western Washington University

Kuxlejal Politics: Indigenous Autonomy, Race, and Decolonizing Research in Zapatista Communities. By Mariana Mora. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017. 288 pages. $85.00 cloth; $27.95 paper; $15.85 electronic.

Mariana Mora's recognition of her positionality within Zapatista communities as a *kaxlane*, an outsider, and the effects this may have had on her point of view in

researching and writing this book, is refreshing. As an outsider, Mora opened herself up to scrutiny from Zapatista community members and created long-term relationships. These relationships are far from objective; Mora understands that through those relationships with Zapatista communities she can help to free future research praxis from the burdens of objectivity. Rather than mere independent observations, this resistance to the anthropological myth of objectivity allows her to make educated observations steeped in the history and background of Zapatista communities. She critiques previous state-sanctioned anthropological studies that have been used to marginalize Indigenous communities, the methods used, and the implications and impacts the research has on the communities. These critiques, as well as her unapologetic affiliations with Zapatista movements previous to undertaking her research, set her work apart.

The author's decades-long work with Tseltal and Tojolabal communities in Chiapas is an example of anthropological research that serves disenfranchised communities by listening to their needs and wants. While conducting her research, Mora is asked by Zapatista community leaders what her words and pages will do. For her it's simple: she wants them to serve the community. She analyzes her work in one community, The Zapatistas of Chiapas, in order to create a larger understanding of Indigenous politics and autonomy which can be implemented in other communities in the future. She describes her lack of experience within the community as a barrier to her understanding initially, but through community interaction her research question and methods changed. She nurtures and implements the communities' input throughout the entire process, starting from the creation of a research question to the way the research is conducted. In describing her own shifts in focus—often after encounters with Zapatistas—she exemplifies the importance of understanding what racialization *does* in Latin American communities instead of what it is.

Mora's use of Spanish and Indigenous words rather than their English translations to explain political and social concepts is also notable. Giving primacy to heritage languages to describe and understand Indigenous communities avoids the implication that Native languages are inferior. Mora's recognition that place-making in academia includes using Indigenous languages to stand for themselves further exemplifies her respect and understanding for Indigenous culture. She also recognizes the importance of Zapatista members' explanations of the relationships between their problems and their history: knowing the struggle that Zapatistas went through is pivotal to their understanding of politics. Mora acknowledges this by including their explanations of the influence past historical traumas have on current political measures.

Overall, Mora's body of work is a pivotal example of the ways Indigenous epistemologies are important in research and can improve the understanding and continuation of knowledge, in this case Kuxlejal politics. Arguing that knowledge does not reside in the individual or a book, but between people, Mora's goal with this book is to keep the conversation going and continue the movement of liberation. Conveying how the praxis of Zapatista movement has changed through the twenty years that she has been involved, this work exemplifies the ways in which Kuxlejal politics are performed in everyday life and is effective at shifting the understanding of race and

autonomy in Zapatista communities. Mora's refusal to be only an objective observer combines with her use of Indigenous ways of knowing to create a compelling argument for Indigenous activist anthropology to be implemented in other cultural studies.

Angelica Castillo
University of California, Los Angeles

The Lumbee Indians: An American Struggle. By Malinda Maynor Lowery. Chapel Hill: University of North Caroline Press, 2018. 328 pages. $30.00 cloth; $22.99 electronic.

A state-recognized tribal nation whose home borders South and North Carolina, the Lumbee Indians have a relationship to this land that the author of *The Lumbee Indians: An American Struggle* describes as "imagined through layers, as something to be remembered and felt, rather than as a map of places that can only be seen" (4). Malinda Maynor Lowery traces Lumbee history from first contact in 1524 through a number of historical periods into the modern day, including the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, the assimilation and removal era, the civil rights movement, the war on drugs, and Lumbee efforts to articulate and enact a tribal constitution. In a brief, but packed historical analysis, the author utilizes a variety of sources to present a more diverse picture of US history, including newspapers, government documents, and the oral histories of Lumbee families. This review will focus on her exploration of family and kinship, race relations, and tribal self-determination.

The text traces history through family names, underscoring the importance of Lowery's emphasis on family and kinship over tribal affiliation. In order to demonstrate that kinship ties should define Lumbee history and their struggle for self-determination—not tribal affiliation determined by documented proof of historical existence—Lowery lists dozens of diverse, little-known tribal nations that are all intimately tied to Lumbee ancestral history. Lowery's book refers to specific family names, rather than tribal affiliation, providing for Lumbee agency over telling their history and also to best reflect the complex history of the tribe, still rooted and present in the land they call home.

Framing the author's endeavor to relate the history of her tribe in highly personal terms, each chapter opens with a short interlude which recounts personal anecdotes of her own family and experiences, including her struggle to articulate herself as Indian in her youth and tracing her family history, especially that of strong female role models. In that this chapter structure drives home the history of the tribe as told through family and kinship ties, it speaks to an audience who may ascribe historical legitimacy to communities with established tribal affiliations. This is most evident in Lowery's discussion of what tribal name the community should employ as an extension of tribal, state, and federal government relationships. The community revisits this debate at various points in its history, reflecting "a political strategy to achieve autonomy, a difference of opinion, a retelling of history, and a deference to white views on race" (111).