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Policing Indigenous Movements: Dissent and the Security State. By Andrew Crosby and Jeffrey Monaghan. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2018. 218 pages. \$25.00 paper.

Policing Indigenous Movements: Dissent and the Security State is a useful book that offers a compelling analysis of how settler-colonial Canada deploys policing and surveillance against Indigenous movements in order to maintain colonial structures of domination. Andrew Crosby and Jeffrey Monaghan develop their analysis by providing four different case studies of contemporary Indigenous resistance to some of Canada's so-called "critical infrastructure" development projects. The development projects detailed in each chapter all threaten the lives and lands of Indigenous peoples who mobilize to resist the state and assert their sovereignty. Their sites of inquiry are the Algonquins of Barriere Lake, Unist'ot'en territory in British Columbia, the Idle No More movement, and Mi'kmaq resistance at Elsipogtog. Resurgent Indigenous resistance, labeled as "Aboriginal extremism" by the settler state, is targeted for surveillance and policing by multiple agencies, industries, and bureaucracies that work in tandem to prevent threats to Canada's security and interests. Crosby and Monaghan call this apparatus of policing "the security state" (3, 11).

Critical infrastructure, as the authors point out, is a recently developed category for extractive industry deemed essential to the well-being of the state; therefore, an attack on critical infrastructure remakes Indigenous peoples into extremists who are threatening the sovereignty of Canada. Crosby and Monaghan assert that the criminalization and policing of Indigenous resistance is not new, but rather a renewed practice to facilitate ongoing dispossession (4). Criminalizing Aboriginal extremists delegitimizes resistance and justifies the ever-expanding reach of the security state (16). The authors argue that policing, far from being a neutral endeavor, is about reproducing the status quo of the settler-colonial order, "and that status quo is fundamentally threatened by expressions of Indigenous autonomy that disrupt the settler colonial present" (19).

As this book demonstrates, Indigenous movements are criminalized and surveilled because of their resistance to settler colonialism. In their efforts to provide the reader with evidence from four different case studies, however, the authors are unable fully to attend to the complexity of each event. The book, while very useful in many respects, suffers from this. The authors also miss their chance to elaborate on significant themes in the text, such as settler-state anxieties, racist policing, property, the criminalization of Indigenous peoples, and resistance. The first chapter discusses the Algonquins of Barriere Lake and how the refusal of the Algonquin peoples to allow settler-colonial extractive capitalism to consume their territories results in their being criminalized and labeled a threat to Canadian prosperity and security (36, 45). Since the security state is largely informed by the war on terror, Algonquins are also labeled as Aboriginal extremists and threats to national security (40).

The authors use the evidence in this chapter to assert the main claim of their book, which is that resisting settler colonial encroachment on Indigenous lands and interrupting resource extraction results in increasing surveillance and policing of Indigenous sovereignty movements (58). The second chapter builds on the first, as the

authors discuss Unist'ot'en resistance to the proposed Northern Gateway pipeline that, if realized, would cut through their territory and put their hunting grounds and water at serious risk (63). Throughout this chapter Crosby and Monaghan demonstrate the constitutive relationship between settler colonialism, the security state, and extractive capitalism (64). They also emphasize the significance of "critical infrastructure," a more recent mechanism of the settler state wherein extractive development projects like the pipeline are deemed essential to the prosperity of Canada. Any resistance to Canada's critical infrastructure projects is criminalized and Indigenous peoples who resist the devastating impact of extractive capitalism on their lands are depicted as threats to Canada's national security and are subject to increasing security state surveillance (73, 76).

The third chapter discusses the Idle No More movement and how organized Native resistance to critical infrastructure development projects led to the creation of a "fusion centre" intelligence hub that coordinates security state policing and surveillance responses (131). Like the preceding chapters, Crosby and Monaghan discuss how Indigenous activism during the Idle No More Indigenous uprising was perceived as a threat to the security and progress of Canada and was met with increased federal policing and surveillance (126). The final chapter of the book documents Mi'kmaq resistance to prospecting for shale gas in Elsipogtog First Nations' territory in New Brunswick by SWN Resource Canada Inc. Fracking for shale gas, like all of the other extractive settler colonial endeavors detailed throughout the book, decimates the health of land and water. However, for defending their sovereign claim to this territory and safeguarding it for future generations, the Mi'kmaq were depicted as a fringe criminal element that stood in the way of Canada's prosperity (154) and violent Aboriginal extremists that must be met with a concerted effort to eliminate Indigenous dissent via an intensification of policing and criminalization (174).

Briefly summarizing their case studies and how Indigenous dissent has resulted in the state's further entrenchment in critical infrastructure, which normalizes extractive capitalism while criminalizing any opposition to it (180), the authors conclude that if Indigenous sovereignty is to be realized, the security state will have to be reined in (194). Here, Crosby and Monaghan miss an opportunity to say something more forceful about the centrality of abolishing the police and military to a decolonial future. Had the authors emphasized the need for abolition, the now-implicit anti-police analysis would have added dimension to the strength of their contemporary examples of a settler state that reproduces itself through police violence, surveillance, and the criminalization of Indigenous peoples who assert their sovereignty. Crosby and Monaghan also demonstrate that settler colonialism is intricately bound to extractive capitalism and the force of the security state that defends ongoing acts of Indigenous dispossession. These two main points from the text make it a useful resource to those who study settler states, capitalism, and resurgent Indigenous movements.

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