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Therapeutic Nations: Healing in an Age of Indigenous Human Rights. By Dian Million.

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Powered by the <u>California Digital Library</u> University of California relationship is its manifest theme, central to the identity that the weavers managed to maintain as they plied their art in a market that progressed from trader-led to their own. This, of course, is not the place for further exploration of how Wilkins invites readers to place more fully what that means in its proper cultural context according to a storied legacy yet to be fully discovered. But what she writes here paves the way.

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Therapeutic Nations: Healing in an Age of Indigenous Human Rights. By Dian Million. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013. 240 pages. \$50.00 cloth; \$26.95 paper; \$60.00 ebook.

In our current age of human rights and neoliberalism, where trauma becomes the primary ethos through which violence is understood, what does healing look like? Athabascan scholar Dian Million explores this question within the context of indigenous self-determination in Canada. Employing an indigenous feminist methodology and making critical interventions into the fields of indigenous studies, human rights political theory, and affect studies, Million examines the sociopolitical ramifications of the trauma and human rights frameworks within First Nations communities. Focusing in particular on healing projects that ask victims to narrate and witness their truth, Million seeks alternative notions of self-determination that go beyond the self-managing projects of neoliberalism, powerfully illustrating that these alternatives can be found within indigenous women's activisms, narratives, and community work.

Million begins by stating that the space of human rights is neither neutral nor objective, but rather a volatile site that must be contextualized within the current moment of neoliberal multicultural biopolitics. She tracks how the advocacy revolution of therapeutic humanitarianism works through naming and shaming human rights abuses, thus operationalizing shame through an international economy to invoke political pressure. Million insightfully argues that this framework suggests a shift from empowering political agency to victimology, thus posing a dangerous predicament for indigenous peoples, who must define the terms of self-determination even as they witness and identify as trauma victims of state violence.

The healing projects that have come out of indigenous peoples' narratives of trauma often emphasize self-management over self-determination, which Million argues is indicative of a neoliberal ethopolitics that capitalizes life while locating responsibility at the most local level of the polity. For example, chapter 1 examines Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which was formed in response to a 2006 class action suit by Canadian Aboriginal peoples for their intergenerational abuse in residential schools and funded with sixty million dollars to act as a forum for residential school survivors and families to speak their truth. Around the same time, however, powerful recommendations to enact Aboriginal self-determination appeared in the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples' five-volume, 3,500-page report on indigenous and Canadian relations. Significantly, Canada has continuously deferred these recommendations, instead instituting the TRC. Million explicates that this policy limits the dialogue between Canada and indigenous peoples to one of healing, intertwining with "state-determined biopolitical programs for emotional and psychological self-care informed by trauma" (6), and robs self-determination of its imagined political potential. Thus, a pivotal aspect of Million's project examines the ways in which indigenous self-determination operates under neoliberalism, and how indigenous peoples might work towards a more expansive vision of nation.

Throughout, Million historicizes the therapeutic language of trauma that First Nations peoples have used to seek redress. In chapter 4, specifically, Million traces a genealogy from anomie to victimology to current trauma theory in order to explicate the power and compromise of the affective discursive spaces in which First Nations peoples articulate the abuses of colonialism. Because it allowed Canadians an analysis of Indian malady as a natural outcome of their inability to adapt to white settler society, anomie developed as the popular way to frame the "Indian problem" in the 1950s and 1960s without attributing it specifically to Canada's Indian policy, land theft, or decimation of indigenous cultures. Around the 1970s this discourse shifted to one of victimology, where First Nations peoples were now understood as victims of neocolonialism, which finally allowed the Canadian nation-state to be named as a perpetrator. Because anomie and victimhood depend heavily on an individualist framework, historical trauma now allows Native peoples to argue that, as integral wholes, entire communities are traumatized by colonialism.

The discourse of trauma and its subsequent therapeutic ethos of healing, though, have increasingly become medicalized, which the author explores in detail in chapter 5. Million argues that psychological techniques such as self-help and counseling programs that address alcohol and drug abuse have melded with human development philosophies to inform a vision for healing as nation-building. While First Nations peoples have articulated concerns much larger than these therapeutic narratives can address, healing and health have continued to be approached through a single-lens framework that disavows indigenous economic development and political autonomy. Examining Alkali

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Lake, Makah whaling, and the Innu Nation, Million illuminates the ways in which healing and nation-building must be holistic and expansive.

Visions of an alternative self-determination that emphasizes holistic polities can indeed be found, Million argues, within the work that indigenous women have done and continue to do. Million shows how the inclusion of affective, intuited knowledge within indigenous women's narratives is essential to the ways in which they produce alternative truths and historical views that challenge systemic colonial truths. In chapter 2, Million illustrates how Native peoples were ingrained to feel shamed, while Canadian society came to see the dehumanization of Native peoples as a systemic knowledge that felt right. In chapter 3, Million examines how women's narratives of colonial violence illuminate the "domestic secrets" of colonialism and transform this old shame into a site of powerful political experience to speak from, while insisting upon the inclusion of affective, felt experience as real knowledge.

Indigenous women's knowledges have been marginalized both within academia and the realm of indigenous politics and nation building. In chapter 6, Million examines the work of the Native Women's Association of Canada, which argued for the inclusion of Native women in discussions of indigenous politics. By the early 1990s, the Canadian legislative process drew indigenous men in to define their own polities, while Native women were portrayed as divisively arguing for gender equality as individual rights, rather than for their nations' self-determination. Million argues that excluding indigenous women disallowed a polity imagined in indigenous terms, "where everyone genders, sexualities, differently expressed life forms, the animals and plants, the mountains—are already included as the subjects of the polity" (132). Because subjects are already empowered as the polity itself, it moves beyond any need for recognition and representation.

While this polity that indigenous women envisioned has not come to fruition, Million argues that these women's understandings of society have continued to shape the ways in which they engage with their communities, whether through child welfare, education, or health care. Importantly, the author points out that indigenous men continue to dominate the political sphere as indigenous women work toward building emotional, social, and relational infrastructure within their communities. Thus, she argues, "It might be said that 'nation building' appears as segregated labor, where mostly male political leaders lead in conversations and negotiations with the nation-state" (136). While these negotiations have mostly stalled, indigenous women confront what is actually in place in their present-day communities.

Centralizing indigenous women's activisms and narratives in *Therapeutic Nations* is an important and necessary project that aligns with the work of other Native feminists, such as Joanne Barker, Jennifer Denetdale, and Mishuana Goeman. Additionally, Million's emphasis on the political potential of felt knowledges and the role of colonialism as an affective relationship are significant contributions to interdisciplinary theories of affect. Perhaps the most considerable intervention, however, is Million's rigorous critique of neoliberal notions of healing, self-determination, and polity that leave colonial power relations in place. As she insightfully articulates, "The state cannot also be a safe agent in the reconciliation, because it is still constituted through the same nexus of racialization, heteronormativity, and gender violence that it was formed in. Thus, its structural violence is the present and the future state" (162). Million's trenchant call for alternatives is best explored in the final chapter of the text, where she illustrates the ways in which adaptable practices of indigenous epistemologies and cultures in and of themselves carry the potential for polities that pose opposition to capitalism. Toward this end, Million's text situates indigenism with the possibility to imagine notions of self-determination capable of moving nation-states.

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Unsettling America: The Uses of Indianness in the 21st Century. By C. Richard King. Lanham: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2013. 164 pages. \$65.00 cloth; \$64.99 ebook.

A leader in discussions of race and representation in America that focus on American Indian topics, sociologist C. Richard King also is well known as the coeditor, with Charles F. Springwood, of *Team Spirits: The Native American Mascot Controversy*, which helpfully provides national case studies with extensive historical background (See my review of this publication in *AICRJ* 25:3). In three conceptually ordered sections, King's *Unsettling America* presents eight essays on controversial topics related to appropriation, including commercialism, the media, sports mascots, comic art, place names, and fashion. Part I, "Old Battles," deals with "unending appropriation and invention of indigeneity"; part II, "Ongoing Wars," addresses "renewed appropriations and misrepresentations of Indianness"; and part III, "New Fronts," discusses "reclamation projects," or "strategies deployed to foster control and self-definition" (xix).

Clearly King has authored a space for formalizing the often-informal evidence of race-bias in Native representations and he does so in well-crafted prose that is engaging and relevant. The introduction explains that *Unsettling America* seeks to "push conversations about race and racism beyond binary formations of race and culture ... and ask questions about the construction

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