

the Cherokee state to further their preservation and conservation agendas. Hence a synthesis begins to form. Through this case study, then, Carroll achieves his activist goal of knitting a subset of rural community members to their government, thereby both empowering these typically silenced citizens and opening a door to transforming Cherokee state governance to a more sensitive, representational government that includes the indigenous worldview of ordinary citizens.

Carroll's insistence that Western-modeled state structures are necessary and should not be jettisoned altogether stands in contrast to a growing voice among indigenous scholars that any Western-influenced state apparatus has no place among indigenous governments. Carroll presents a thoroughly convincing case to the contrary. For one, he demonstrates that the long history of nation building among the Cherokees was and is a salient and effective response to settler colonialism and not simply another form of colonialism. He carefully details how and why indigenous understandings, over time, were divested from these efforts, but he also offers a compelling model for reincorporating these into indigenous governance. *Roots of Our Renewal* will undoubtedly spark some controversy over these issues, and it remains to be seen if Carroll's synthetic approach sustains in Cherokee country. Still, *Roots of Our Renewal* demonstrates how good activist anthropology, through direct involvement, careful parsing of a problem, and a careful offer of a solution, can make a difference to the people we study, to the discipline, and to conversations taking place on the larger stage of indigenous rights.

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Sovereignty for Survival: American Energy Development and Indian Self-Determination. By James Robert Allison III. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015. 256 pages. \$45.00 cloth.

Mineral development, particularly in the production of energy, is a constant struggle for indigenous communities in North America. For many tribes in the United States and in Canada, extractive industries are profitable and a much-desired form of employment. They provide profound material benefits in the form of jobs and revenues. But they also create significant environmental impacts on the land, displace local residences, and leave long-lasting health threats for impacted communities. *Sovereignty for Survival* takes a unique approach to the old tensions between the perceived need to develop natural resources and preserve the integrity of the land. The author draws our attention to the early history of coal mining for the Crow and Northern Cheyenne. Based on dissertation work, James Robert Allison III expands the geographical and temporal boundaries of previous research on mining and energy development in Indian country to tell a different kind of story—how the contestation of coal in the 1970s led to changes in federal law that ultimately benefited tribes.

His book follows several recent publications in environmental history that pays considerable attention to the role of tribes in postwar energy development in the

United States West. Andrew Needham's *Power Lines* (2014) and Judith Nies's *Unreal City* (2014) focus on Black Mesa coal in the Navajo and Hopi reservations in the construction of a Western energy infrastructure, but they pay more attention to non-Native political actors. Allison's book is focused exclusively on tribal peoples and produces a different kind of history that acknowledges important social complexities not found in other works.

Allison's main point is that tribes learned to exert strong claims over their mineral resources when tribal activists and elected officials pushed back against federal control over them. This was at a time when the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) enforced a narrow framework on mineral leases, establishing low royalty rates that mirrored existing practices on federal lands. Prior to the passage of the Indian Mineral Development Act of 1982 (IMDA), tribes had to conform to these terms and accept bad conditions in their leases that left them with little leverage over the industry after it entered the reservation.

Rich and well-researched, the history presented in this book moves chronologically from the 1960s into the early 1980s. Allison documents how the Crow and Northern Cheyenne sought and negotiated greater control over their coal leases despite the bad frameworks they inherited from the BIA. It becomes clear that federal officials and energy interests took tribes' participation in mining and energy production for granted. But grassroots groups challenged this assumption and produced incisive critiques of mining projects and regional energy schemes that changed the way elected tribal officials thought about these leases, especially among the Northern Cheyenne. Allison does as good a job as anyone in putting the voices of elected tribal officials, anti-coal activists, and everyday community members in conversation. He shows the social complexity among the political divisions in Crow and acknowledges generational differences between activists and coal proponents in Northern Cheyenne. These are important considerations for understanding energy development in reservation communities.

But where the contradictions between coal, development, and sovereignty are greatest is also where Allison leaves the voices of anti-coal activists behind. It is hard for him to square the claims of these activists—that coal is the vehicle for the final destruction of their tribe, as represented in the poster—with the book's larger point that the IMDA, which perpetuates mining, is a realization of the kind of pushback these activists made against their tribal governments and federal governments in the first place. I do not think this impacts the value or insightfulness of the book, but is something to consider.

The final section of the book, "Taking the Campaign National," contains the author's main contribution to considerations of tribal sovereignty. As mentioned, Allison offers the IMDA as an outcome of tribes' resistance to bad coal deals. Building on the resistance documented in the previous section, the author shows how this thinking transformed into a new form of Native nationalism of the late 1970s and early 1980s, which exists today as conservative resource nationalism between tribes, mineral companies, and the federal government.

He discusses in great detail the formation of the supranational tribal organization the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT) in the mid-1970s. It is interesting to consider, as Allison does, the ways in which CERT changed its own politics over this period of time, from an organization infamously described as an “OPEC” for tribes to something of an official lobby for tribal energy interests in Washington, DC. This section runs a bit long and is disjointed from the rest of the book. But it is an important history and one that will serve as a resource for future scholarship on CERT.

The book is a good contribution to the broader conversation on tribal sovereignty. Allison shows convincingly that the passage of the IMDA was the outcome of tribes pushing back against federal authority in their lease negotiations. He also shows that this pushback did not come out of nowhere, but was the outcome of pressure from grassroots groups opposed to mineral development on tribal lands. But this insight contains the central weakness in the book, in that Allison fails to consider how “the national campaign” (CERT, for example) drifted far afield from the sentiment of grassroots groups who opposed the “bad deals” in the first place. What did these activists think of the IMDA and its impact on tribal sovereignty? Readers will leave this book not fully understanding the complexity of opinion of tribal actors that exists in reservation communities today between development and the environment. They also will not understand that many of the grassroots groups opposed to coal do not share the tribal government’s definition of “sovereignty.” But the book is a well-written documentation of an important and underappreciated history that contributes to how we think about tribal sovereignty and development in reservation communities.

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Universities and Indian Country: Case Studies in Tribal-Driven Research. Edited by Dennis K. Norman and Joseph P. Kalt. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2015. 232 pages. \$29.95 paper.

Universities and Indian Country: Case Studies in Tribal-Driven Research looks at opportunities to foster collaborative relationships between universities and tribal communities while acknowledging the sovereignty of tribes. The book presents case studies conducted by graduate students at Harvard University on governance, economic development, health, and education. Tribal involvement is key to these projects, and it is paramount that the tribes address and resolve their own issues. Editors and Harvard professors Dennis Norman and Joseph Kalt have taught nation-building courses, both part I (NBI), focusing on what choices and challenges tribal leaders face in contemporary settings, and part II (NBII), focusing on students gaining practical knowledge of tribes’ needs and issues through fieldwork.

Those who read the book will gain an understanding not only of the significance of nation building to tribes, but also guidance and resources for nation building through community-based research developed by graduate students. More than 120