

it is time to focus on how different ways of being Indigenous lead to different ways of being an Indigenous man. There are real similarities, for example, between a Haudenosaunee way of being male and a Métis way of being male. But there are differences and those differences matter. As the field of Indigenous masculinity studies continues to grow, I would like to see more authors writing book-length studies thinking about Masculinity from a particular First Nation's community perspective with the same kind of care and ethical attention as McKegney has given in *Carrying the Burden of Peace*.

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Anny Morissette, *The Secret Struggles of Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg Leaders: Political Resistance from the Margins*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield (Lexington Books), 2021. 232 pages. ISBN 978-1-7936-4570-8. \$100 hardback.

In the anthropological tradition, Anny Morissette takes the reader through the looking glass and into the history of an Indigenous community struggling to grapple with the processes of colonization. *The Secret Struggles of Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg Leaders* is an exhaustive chronological account of leadership in the Anishinaabe community Kitigan Zibi from the mid-nineteenth century to contemporary times. As a non-Indigenous academic conducting research in Kitigan Zibi, Morissette provides a sympathetic perspective on a struggle that all Indigenous communities face in balancing tradition with modernity. Yet, at times, Morissette's non-indigeneity is apparent, such as when she refers to Anishinaabe ceremonial regalia as a 'costume', which in effect demonstrates the immense challenge all non-Indigenous academics inherit when representing Indigenous history, customs, and values in their research.

As the title suggests, *The Secret Struggles* is about the trials and tribulations of Anishinaabe leadership in the community of Kitigan Zibi. The main premise of the book is that "interstitial leadership emerges from the cracks of a formal system and the crevices of a traditional system under reconstruction." (p. 15) Morissette borrows the concept of interstitial leadership from such scholars as Homi Bhabha and Kimberly Springer and their work on development of identity among Black people and women, respectively. Morissette then builds

upon the work of Earle Waugh who applied the concept to a missionary who worked within a Cree community. By this example Morissette was given the inspiration to apply the concept of interstitial leadership to the field of politics, in a case study of the Anishinaabe community of Kitigan Zibi.

Morissette's research methodology follows a conventional path. She first sought permission from the Kitigan Zibi band council to conduct research within the community. Upon receiving permission, Morissette was given access to several past research studies, "as well as several documents, books, and archival photos". (p. xi) Morissette also supplements the archival literature with personal interviews she conducted with several community members over the course of several years. However, contrary to prevailing schools of thought in the field of Indigenous Studies that insist that Indigenous elders and research participants be named and recognized for their contributions in such research studies, Morissette defers to an anthropological approach which leaves her confidants unnamed.

The *Secret Struggles* is separated into four distinct chapters. Each one provides a different perspective on colonial intrusions and events that have shaped the community of Kitigan Zibi and its values of leadership, which Morissette argues, change from generation to generation. In Chapter 1, Morissette discusses how Anishinaabe sociopolitical organization was based on territory use prior to colonization. She argues that family hunting territories and matrimonial ties "were articulated to form the social base and the territorial anchorage (symbolic and real) to the band." (p. 21) According to Morissette, the chiefs of Kitigan Zibi territory at that time possessed a moral, but less formal authority over its members. Their leadership was selected on the basis of "having charisma, experience, and skills in hunting and speaking" during this period of "semi-nomadism." (p. 24) While informative, this insight could also be extended to many other, if not all, Indigenous communities in Canada and throughout North America at that time. Similarly, the hereditary ties associated with chieftainship at Kitigan Zibi, discussed at length in *The Secret Struggles*, are found in many other Indigenous communities. It just makes sense that community leaders would pass their knowledge and experience on to their children, who are then in an advantageous position to utilize that knowledge for their own and their community's benefit.

With the emergence of colonial administrators and the introduction of the Catholic Church and the Indian Act, Morissette notes that Kitigan Zibi members became divided. While some members "opposed and wanted to abolish the Indian Act, other members of the band, those who followed the precepts of the Catholic Church, wanted to remain faithful to the existing system established by the Act."

(p. 37) This division ushered in a new era of community leadership that rested upon members who were able to interact with a variety of interlocutors such as Canadian government representatives, corporate officials, missionaries, as well as their own community membership. As Morissette notes, however, the increased exposure to Canadian laws and policies, particularly through the residential school system and the Indian Act, took its toll on Kitigan Zibi – as it did in all Indigenous communities throughout Canada – to the point that, since 1976, there have been no elected chiefs who are proficient in the Anishinaabe language.

The loss of traditional ideals in Kitigan Zibi was no accident. Morissette explains that “Canadian authorities used missionaries, Indian agents, and Indian Affairs directives to try and produce and train a Euro-Canadianized First Nation chief – that is, to create a First Nation leadership that suited them and represented the state.” (p. 58) Although the residential school system and Indian Act were largely successful in that regard, Morissette goes on to note that these colonial administrators “did not anticipate that the chiefs and the elite that emerged from the residential schools would instead serve First Nations interests by organizing themselves politically to denounce their situation of subjugation and fight for their rights.” (p. 68) Though altogether reprehensible, the residential school system had a pivotal role in the changing of the guard in Kitigan Zibi, as it did in virtually in all other Indigenous communities. Morissette notes that by the 1970s, education had become an indispensable asset “in the administrative management of a reserve”. (p. 96) With education now being valued over experience, chiefs were being elected at a younger age, such as Jean-Guy Whiteduck who was thirty-one years old when he was elected in 1976.

Although youth brought a fresh voice to the political forum in the 1970s, the community of Kitigan Zibi continued to be encumbered by the bureaucracy of Indian Act band council politics. It is a problem that continues to plague the community to this day. Morissette points out that “the population emphasizes and reproduces the hierarchy of the system (patron-intermediate) even while attempting to repatriate certain local administrative functions.” (p. 101) In addition to the beleaguered bureaucracy, Morissette further points out that the Indian Act system has been a source for misinformation, nepotism, and unethical behaviour among elected officials. Although these weeds of politics exist in all social institutions, Morissette exposes their roots in her book. In an interesting sort of paradox, Morissette notes that “with two months to go before the election, the subject of the election is on everyone’s lips” (p. 112), but after the polls are closed and the votes are tallied, it is soon revealed that “less than one-quarter of voters turned out at the polls or voted in advance by mail.” (p. 114) It is a

phenomenon that Morissette concludes is a result of band members' belief that their personal situation will not be affected whether they participate in band politics or not.

In the concluding chapter, Morissette shifts her attention to the role of women in the community. It is an appropriate conclusion, given the chronological trajectory of Morissette's narrative, and also considering the marginalization of women throughout the colonial era. It is, after all, only recently that women's voices have begun to be heard and listened to. Morissette does an excellent job of situating the role of women in Kitigan Zibi, as working within the political margins of the community over several generations. According to Morissette, women's advocacy efforts began in the 1930s with the establishment of the Indian Homemaker's Club, and carried on into the 1970s at which point Shirley Tolley, a member of Kitigan Zibi, co-founded the Quebec Native Women's Association. These initiatives were followed by the establishment of Waseya House in 1991, a safehouse for women suffering from domestic abuse that also offers health and legal consulting services, as well as training and employment programs. As Morissette notes in her concluding paragraph, the development of these organizations by Anishinaabe women demonstrates "interstitial leadership in social governance, growing autonomy, and a political culture specific to this genre." (p. 152)

In the end, *The Secret Struggles of Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg Leaders* is a worthwhile read for anyone interested in a localized history of Anishinaabe governance and politics. Although Morissette does an admirable job of letting Anishinaabe voices speak for themselves, it would have been nice if those voices could have been named and recognized for their contributions. In a so-called era of reconciliation, it is clear that there is still much work to be done.

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Ed Whitcomb, *Understanding First Nations: The Legacy of Canadian Colonialism*. Ottawa: From Sea to Sea Books, 2019. 200 Pages. ISBN 978-0986596742. \$19.95 paperback.

The history and past policies regarding the Indian people cannot and must not be ignored, for their effects are with us all in the present Indian fact. To deny the past and to refuse to recognise its implications is to distort the present and to distort the present is to take risks with the future that are blatantly irresponsible.