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Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon. By Paul Nadasdy.

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performing" (86), turns into a cocktail waitress, "one of the new *atomu* shrine maidens, an erotic *hosutesu* who arouses the *kami* spirit of hostelry" (89).

It is American popular culture—Mahalia Jackson, gospel music, and Johnny Cash—more lethal than the atomic bomb, that defeats Japanese nationalism. To add insult to injury in a hilarious yet grotesque scene that takes place at Yasukuni Shrine, dedicated to the memory of imperial militarism and those who died for it, Ronin, who considers it a memorial to war criminals, screws the shrine maiden to the full blast of "Stars and Stripes Forever," "From the Halls of Montezuma," "Yankee Doodle," and "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition" after he switches the tape of "Kimigayo," the Japanese national anthem.

The irony of having the Atomic Bomb Dome listed as a site of World Heritage together with wonders of human ingenuity like the Sphinx or the Great Wall of China is not wasted on Vizenor. Humor, ranging from irony and sarcasm to the grotesque and hilarious, is a constant, because we are, after all, talking about the trickster. A combination of wit and intellect, this novel is sure to keep literary critics busy for a while.

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Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon. By Paul Nadasdy. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003. 360 pages. $85.00 cloth; $29.95 paper.

In *Hunters and Bureaucrats* Paul Nadasdy provides a rich portrait of Kluane First Nations (KFN) peoples' hunting in the Yukon as a way of living and knowing their environment, together with a carefully reasoned analysis of ways that state power contests both KFN practices and knowledge. His work resonates with that of other ecological ethnographers like Hugh Brody, Richard Nelson, and Eugene Hunn; this study is also a valuable complement to Catherine McClellan's Yukon studies and her theoretical writing.

In his conclusion Nadasdy states his purpose in analyzing state power: "By exploring the ways in which state power manifests itself . . . through bureaucratic practices like co-management and land claims negotiations, I hope to have dispelled the notion that such processes are necessarily empowering First Nations peoples vis-à-vis a monolithic state" (270). This is a controversial position, in that claims to land and resources in North America have been a principal avenue for the exercise of First Nations peoples' agency since the inception of state rule in Canada and the United States, and the past decades have been a time for reorganization of power that has for the most part benefited Native peoples materially, socially, and spiritually. While Nadasdy does not disparage such benefits, for the KFN or for others, he seeks to complicate the picture of "progress." He never really engages the question of the "monolithic state," but he does illuminate the pervasiveness of state power, pervasiveness that poses as order and that exploits the labor, thought,

energies, and money of KFN people who work with the state on committees and in negotiations. Nadasdy exposes how information-gathering processes can obscure the capacity of research scientists and policy makers to see how their work may exclude critical perspectives and crucial facts from consideration. And he describes how participation with state organization is undermining the ability of some Kluanes to stay involved in the ecological practices they are working to secure.

Nadasdy's contention that institutions contesting state power also reproduce state power is not surprising. What is most valuable and refreshing about Nadasdy's study is that he takes a very close look at the particulars of co-management negotiations, in a case involving Dall mountain sheep, showing how KFN perspectives, knowledge, and authority engage with outside bureaucrats, biologists, and others with interest in the sheep population. Nadasdy details discourses about resource management that are used by these different parties—contrasting the KFN and the biologists in particular—so that disjunctions are starkly apparent. Nadasdy's narrative of the deliberations, research, negotiations, and report writing of a Ruby Range Sheep Conservation Committee (RRSCC) shows how collaboration results in polarization and mutual disrespect rather than expanded knowledge.

The first part of this book includes a description and theorization about the construction of knowledge, presenting the premises of Kluane knowledge in speech and practice. The middle chapters present an extended case study of the RRSCC, in which Nadasdy participated. The third part is a discussion of land claims in which Nadasdy extends his analysis of the impact on state power.

Nadasdy's discussion of Kluane ways engages the reader through detailed explication of the author's progressive involvement in Kluane hunting practices; numerous quotations from his teachers, primarily elders; and thoughtful reflection on concepts like respect for animals, patience, reciprocity, food, and the incommensurability of scientific and experiential knowledge. His stories about learning how to kill a rabbit found live in a snare carry us through the process of experiential learning that characterizes traditional knowledge. Kluane hunters' dislike of the "catch and release" concept of sports fishermen illuminates their view that animals caught by humans have offered themselves as gifts of food and that releasing these animals toys with that generosity, belittling it. Biologists, Nadasdy tells us, see the human-animal relationship as being unidirectional, with animals as the objects of study. In Nadasdy's writing, ideas expand, and his reflections lay the intellectual groundwork for the detailed case study to come.

Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) has gained authority in political and intellectual contexts, and Nadasdy documents how it operates in the RRSCC, where the Kluane have co-management representation. In this case TEK subsumes the set of ideas we learned about in more general terms in the preceding chapters. Regarding the Dall mountain sheep, Kluane hunters have generations of knowledge about the social and behavioral characteristics of the animals. They think of the sheep populations in terms of generations as well, aware of the animals' responses to stressors as they move to different

locations, aggregate in different ways, and form social and reproductive groups differently. A parallel between strategies of human beings and those of animals is evident, without any anthropomorphizing. The RRSCC was formed because the sheep population appears to be at risk. Competing users of their environment include airplanes hunting outfitters who bring tourist hunters into the area. Conservationists are concerned, and so are all the sheep hunters. Nadasdy's description and analysis of the RRSCC deliberations show how different the concepts of biologists, in particular, are from those of the Kluane people, extending the distinctions in kinds of knowledge Nadasdy made earlier. Biologists frame the research of the RRSCC, however, rather than coframing it; they seek statistically significant counts and do not launch a study long enough to gather social and behavioral information. They use observation techniques that are cursory compared to the hunters' wide-ranging and generations-long collective knowledge. Nadasdy reports how both sides here speak disparagingly of the other's knowledge. He shows how different sets of premises conflict and how complicated those conflicts are. This is not a simple science-vs.-experience model; Nadasdy portrays efforts to engage on both sides. Both sides have complex information, analyses, interpretations, and arguments; both sides have barriers to seeing the other's point of view. But the biologists control the process.

Nadasdy points out social forces that exercise power in the RRSCC process, although these are invisible to the policy makers. The boardroom settings, workshop modes of presentation including flipcharts and graphs, timing and locations of meetings, and side conversations all support purportedly neutral, formal conversations, the home ground and contextual languages of policy makers and biologists. The knowledge of the KFN people becomes "compartmentalized" and "distilled" through deliberations, and their recommendations are similarly cut up and thinned out in the process. As Nadasdy's narrative of the process unfolds, we see the KFN input reduced to a few qualifying phrases, a token nod to the value of their "participation."

This thick description is both appalling and familiar to anyone interested in cross-cultural dialogue and to those working to integrate different kinds of knowledge when addressing ecological issues. Nadasdy's critique of co-management in this case is searing though calmly worded. He acknowledges that the process can work elsewhere, but he is suspicious that we hear almost only about "success" stories. His treatment invites comparative analysis and is a welcome contribution to Native studies.

Nadasdy's final ethnographic chapter discusses the impact of involvement in land claims on Kluane people. Here we see first how Western ideas about property have become part of Kluane conceptualizations, and second how bureaucratization has become a central part of the lives of many Kluane people. In the year-round community of forty adults the time required to organize as a government and to interact with state bodies has ironically separated many Kluane from their once pervasive involvement with their land. Office jobs occupy many, especially among the younger, more formally educated people. And the children of office workers, from officials to staff, are growing up without the kind of immersion in which older adults learned the

practice and ideas that made them successful in their environment. An influx of money from land claims, including operating funds, salaries, and compensatory payments, has created income stratification that parallels the different degrees of involvement in work that distinguishes "city Indians" from "bush Indians' in the Kluane village. Nadasdy states that these effects of state power affect the Kluane on a daily basis, undermining prior forms of Kluane human ecology, as well as the interaction between humans and animals. His analysis here relies on summary description, animated by Kluane hunters' observations of the changes. Nadasdy's portrait of bureaucratization is too nuanced to suggest that the Kluane are slipping unconsciously or inevitably into the "white man's" ways, but there are not enough pages here to develop the complexity of his earlier chapters. What kinds of reflection do Kluane officials have about the contractions in the courses of their lives? What examples of social stratification are complicated because different members of the same families are located in different economic strata? What personal and social trajectories are begun and interrupted? What changes appear to be irreversible, and which have implications for the future? How are the Kluane peoples' strategies affected by increased knowledge of the experiences of First Nations peoples elsewhere? These questions are not addressed, but they arise implicitly because of the detailed analysis of negotiated differences that Nadasdy has already given us earlier. We can hope that Nadasdy writes more about Kluane emergent social forms, their dialogues and disagreements, and the generational differences that will shape the future enfolding among this small, distinctive group of people.

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Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities. Edited by Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. 245 pages. $50.00 cloth; 19.95 paper.

In California, where I attend university, budgetary cuts from the Arnold Schwarzenegger administration have threatened academic outreach programs that provide a vital link to communities most underrepresented on campus. In British Columbia, where I grew up, both the referendum on treaty rights and the recent land-use legislation from Gordon Campbell's provincial government have worked to undermine indigenous territorial sovereignty. These are but two of countless instances in which community and academy are linked by ongoing colonialism and the struggle to overthrow it. In *Indigenizing the Academy*, a new collection of essays that pursues themes explored in *Natives and Academics* (ed. Devon A. Mihesuah, 1998), readers are invited into a conversation among indigenous intellectuals that makes clear that campus and community struggles are inseparable.