# UCLA

American Indian Culture and Research Journal

## Title

The Cultivation of Resentment: Treaty Rights and the New Right. By Jeffery R. Dudas.

**Permalink** https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4v38634m

### Journal

American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 32(4)

#### ISSN

0161-6463

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**Publication Date** 

2008-09-01

### DOI

10.17953

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Powered by the <u>California Digital Library</u> University of California Chapter 5 connects knowledge of place with ritual action. It is the shortest of the substantive chapters. Here Thornton links the ways that language, kinship, and production are all emplaced through ritual action, especially through <u>ku.éex</u>', or the potlatch. Again, among Tlingits, place-names, songs, stories, and crests or *shagóon* are *at.óow*. In such rituals, oratory is highly valued, and, like the use of place-names to create an image of specific place and their ancestors, good oratory is said to be a form of "imitating their ancestors" (181). The use of place-names and oratory to evoke ancestors' images seems an especially salient aspect of Tlingit aesthetics (it is also reminiscent of things that Navajos have told me about the aesthetic value of Navajo verbal genres).

Thornton notes that "Tlingit place intelligence cannot be reduced to a set of facts because it is a complex, relational way of knowing" (191). Knowing a place is both a group and an individual experience among the Tlingit. It is also a lived experience. With the shift in language from Tlingit to English, Tlingits are losing an important way of orienting to their world. However, Tlingits are actively engaging with the world through their use of Tlingit names for middle schools, contemporary Tlingit poetry, or the testimony of elders during the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and the various land agreements that have ensued. Thornton is at his best when he is disputing naive views of Tlingit traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), and for that alone this book is to be recommended. His discussion of Tlingit social structure and its relationship with Tlingit place-names is also fascinating and highly readable. One wishes that more attention had been paid to how contemporary Tlingits talk about place and place-names today. Languages, as Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf both noted, are more than abstract systems; they are also habitually used and, as Sapir noted, they become invested with "feelingtones" (Language, 1921, 40). This seems especially important as we attempt to understand the ways that TEK crosses a wide variety of sensory domains. These domains are not limited to, but rather are linked with, languages. Thornton's book is an excellent first step. More, as always, needs to be done.

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**The Cultivation of Resentment: Treaty Rights and the New Right**. By Jeffery R. Dudas. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. 224 pages. \$50.00 cloth.

As Indian gaming has increased in prominence, so have anti-Indian-casino movements and scholarly work tracking related changes in American interethnic relations. Political scientist Jeffery R. Dudas's *The Cultivation of Resentment: Treaty Rights and the New Right* attempts to navigate the rich intersection among race, class, ethnic identity, and national political culture that Indian gaming has created by examining countergaming social movements.

Much previous research focused on Native and non-Native relations. One could safely assume that most Native American studies introductory-level

courses have sections exploring Indian to non-Indian ethnic relations and cross-racial perceptions. Dudas's work is, for a number of reasons, rather unique among this literature. First, Dudas focuses on anticasino groups exclusively and does so with a rare combination of theoretical clarity and intensity. His central claim is that the anti-Indian-casino movement perceives that Indian casinos, and the exercise of treaty rights they employ, are in violation of normative notions of American national identity. By casting Indian casinos as normative violations, anticasino activists attempted to heighten the debate from municipal level to national level and from material envy to cultural transgression. What Dudas terms as "special rights" is not an original observation. However, the direction and depth that Dudas takes by using the special-rights theoretical lens in the American Indian case is original. The most significant part of his work to political scientists is Dudas's use of special rights as a point-of-entry into a more nuanced understanding of late-twentieth-century American conservatism's intellectual architecture. Conservatives, Dudas argues, have augmented the American left's "rights" arguments against the left's own policies in the last two decades. This is a vital insight as it builds on previous work in American political theory that seeks to explain contemporary conservatism as a cultural revolution as much as a policy revolution.

Second, *The Cultivation of Resentment* aptly acknowledges that Indian casino development in the early 1990s coincided with a national political environment which was moving in an opposite direction toward domestic "neo-conservatism." As a result, local anti-Indian-casino movements found ideological articulation and conceptual sorority from growing national political policy trends that successfully sought to remove or modify other perceived forms of ethnic-based special rights, namely affirmative action and, to a somewhat lesser extent, welfare. For some small groups, Indian gaming still represents a policy vestige from a civil rights agenda now codified in the federal and state courts and not resulting from distant treaty rights or centuries-old legal relationships.

Third, whereas previous literature moves with unusual readiness to discount countercasino and treaty-rights groups as reactionary, narrowminded, or bigoted, Dudas makes these groups' social, political, and intellectual organization his central focus—with interesting and crisp theoretical conclusions. Within this vein, Dudas also provides a timely theoretical and empirical account of social movements of the "right." Though grassroots conservative social movements have grown in political importance, American political science has generally been laggard in anything more than documenting these movements, save a flurry of literature on early 1990s ethnic conflict in Eastern Europe. Often political science mistakenly sees social movements as organizational reservations of the social left.

With unusually clear prose for contemporary political theory, *The Cultivation of Resentment* incorporates empirical evidence, social movement, and cultural theory, as well as considerable attention to previous works on Native to non-Native relations in a broader range than most previous works. Dudas correctly argues that the contemporary Native special-rights criticism

took clearest shape in movements against Great Lakes tribes regarding fishing regulation in the 1970s. Dudas updates these arguments and incorporates detailed theoretical work on counter-"rights" groups. Among other works on Native to non-Native relations regarding gaming, the closest contemporary work is Eve Darian-Smith's "Savage Capitalists: Law and Politics Surrounding Indian Casino Operations in California" (Studies in Law, Politics, and Society, 2002). Whereas Darian-Smith focuses on the origin and validity of non-Native attitudes toward recent forms of Indian capitalism, Dudas treats his subjects' attitudes with a seriousness that results in a deeper theoretical understanding of the interplay between race, money, rights, and identity. Though popular in indigenous interethnic relations literature, this central theme-the clash between universal and special rights-could benefit from the conceptual clarity found beyond the American context. Neither Dudas nor other authors on the subject use typologies better suited for the special-rights debate. For instance, if these reserved ethnic rights are "un-American," then what are they? Rarely do American Indian scholars provide a satisfying answer to that question much less attempt to answer it explicitly to its full conclusion. The legal answer is treaty rights. True, yet special rights are proxies for forms of social ordering that Americans find objectionable and passé. Though the protesters on the American right probably would not conceptualize matters in quite these terms, scholarship could seek to make sense of these special rights by being sensitive to conflicting social models other than liberal democracy. For example, we could contrast these social models in more frank terms: particularistic versus universal, individual versus feudal, modern versus premodern, libertarian versus corporatist, or enlightened versus ancien régime. It is understandable, however, that the literature avoids casting these issues within such uncomfortable terms.

The Cultivation of Resentment is not written entirely toward an American Indian studies audience, and further research by American Indian political scholars could bridge certain "gaps" and add to what Dudas has created. The work is not directly about Indians, as the reader does not gain any specific knowledge about tribal, social, or cultural organization around gaming or political conflict. This potential weakness is easily offset by the detailed work on counterrights movements, which are certainly valuable groups to know in contemporary Indian politics. A chapter or section addressing the ideological divisions within and between tribes in regard to gaming, of which there are many, would be an interesting addition. Further research on regional variation in protest could be valuable. For instance, are New Mexican and Connecticut anticasino groups identical in organization and ideology? This is an interesting question. It could provide nuance to the formation, intensity, and functioning of Indian countermovements. If anti-special-rights groups are equally about American political geography, why not make claims about the regional variation of anti-Indian casinos groups? Not answering this question is no shortcoming of Dudas or The Culture of Resentment, as contemporary American political science and political theory has nearly jettisoned its previous interest in explicit studies on subnational or regional politicalculture variations.

Of the many contributions *The Cultivation of Resentment* makes to American Indian political scholarship, the most significant is that the work goes much further than previous works on the contentious relationship between Indians and special-rights detractors. The general trend in American Indian social science at large, and exemplified well in previous American Indian ethnic relations literature, is the grounding of its analysis in court decisions and public opinion about court decisions. *The Cultivation of Resentment* could have followed its predecessors and stayed "within the law," so to speak. It does not, and by abjuring from this standard, *The Cultivation of Resentment* elevates the level of indigenous political scholarship a substantial degree. Dudas breaks this mold and creates something rare: a work of contemporary political theory that is well researched, well written, and useful to political scientists and American Indian political scholars alike.

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**Diabetes among the Pima: Stories of Survival.** By Carolyn Smith-Morris. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006. 210 pages. \$45.00 cloth; \$22.00 paper.

Having worked periodically as an applied medical anthropologist in the Gila River Indian Community (GRIC) since 1993, I was eager to review *Diabetes among the Pima*. My concern, as with Smith-Morris (also a medical anthropologist), is the diabetes epidemic and what is to be done. My work in the GRIC has been either as an employee of, or under the auspices of, the National Institutes of Health. Hers has been in close collaboration with pregnant women of the GRIC. The literature generated by researchers of all kinds among the Pima is voluminous, breathtaking in its breadth and conceptualization. Despite this research, the prevalence rate of diabetes in the GRIC continues to increase. Given the sheer volume of research and publication, it would be unsurprising for a new publication such as *Diabetes among the Pima* to go unnoticed. Smith-Morris offers a refreshing perspective that is part synthesis, part fresh ideas and approach that could perhaps serve as an antidote to the cultural reification embedded in much of earlier anthropological publication on diabetes in Native communities and the genetic reductionism of medical science.

Diabetes with its myriad interrelated health complications presents Native Americans and tribal governments with the single most pressing health concern facing them in the twenty-first century. It is not a new threat, but rather one that has been bubbling during the past sixty years. Its sweeping and tragic health ramifications have been well documented by the medical, public health, and social scientific research communities. Blame for this epidemic, at its broadest, can be leveled at the US political economy. Dependency, commodity foods, forced assimilation, language loss, unemployment, boarding schools, racism; the list is lengthy. Rising out of this milieu one would be remiss to ignore the role of psychological depression and its attendant issues of social discord that contribute to the disease complex.