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Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond. By Renya K. Ramirez.

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the Sheep Eaters and fueled negative stereotypes about their unwillingness to fight. The description of daily life that the authors provide draws on the work of Murphy and Murphy (1960), Hultkranz (1966–67), and Liljeblad (1972) with additional analyses by Dominick (1964) and Nabokov and Loendorf (2004). What sets their work apart, however, is an ability to synthesize this material into a convincing description of precontact subsistence, social organization, and belief.

The description and illustrations of the Sheep Eater use of dogs and of their bow construction techniques are superbly presented. Dogs as a primary means of transportation and as drivers in group hunts are revealed to be an important part of Tukudika life. There are a number of excellent color plates by David Joaquin that illustrate this aspect of daily life. I have seen a bow maker's laborious efforts among the Nez Perce in Lapwai, and I greatly appreciate the precision of the authors' description and illustration with regard to this type of manufacture.

Loendorf and Stone conclude the book with an intriguing analysis of the relationship between archaeology, ethnohistory, and wildland fire in their discussion of the excavation of a Sheep Eater site in the Boulder Ridge area of the Washakie Wilderness. Judson and Chris Finley were able to identify and document a large variety of architectural and material remains on the site once the fire had burned off the ground cover. As I write this review, fires burn throughout Idaho, and state and federal leaders disparage the use of controlled, natural burns in favor of mechanical clearing, logging, and increased grazing on public lands. Ecological and archaeological arguments in favor of "Paiute" burns (slow-moving fires that naturally clear out the understory and reveal portions of the landscape obscured by years of fire suppression) have been dismissed by logging interests as a move to replace economic sustainability with environmental practices that simply appeal to recreational or academic self-interest. I would submit that in addition to its contributions to our knowledge of the Sheep Eater people and their adaptation to a stunning yet forbidding region, we are also provided with an object lesson about the role of fire in our own lives and that of the Tukudika. This is, perhaps, just one lesson we can learn from our knowledge of the Sheep Eaters and the many stereotypes and misconceptions that this book dispels.

*Robert McCarl*

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**Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond.** By Renya K. Ramirez. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007. 207 pages. \$79.95 cloth; \$22.95 paper.

According to recent US Census data and contrary to public belief, the majority of Native Americans live in urban areas. *Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging* is about urban Native people. However, *Native Hubs* is not a typical discourse on urban Indians that describes loss of Native identity and culture,

assimilation, acculturation, forced relocation, and accompanying social problems, although some of these issues emerge. Ramirez's work focuses on Native Americans who reside in urban settings by using locales in the Silicon Valley (Northern California) as a "hub." The book centers on several stimulating concepts of Native hubs and the hub-making process. The hub, according to the author, is a system that supports Native ideas of culture, identity, belonging, and a sense of community. It also is expressed as a conceptualizational frame and as a process whereby differences between tribes and geography are used to come together as a unified community and create a sense of belonging. All of this is achieved far from Native and tribal lands and exercised as a conduit for social change.

Ramirez attributes the idea for this book to Laverne Roberts, a Paiute woman who lives in the Silicon Valley area where she develops the idea of hubs as home spaces rather than alien places. In the process, the author applies these concepts along with others to adrenalize and extend the analysis of urban Native people. Applying and extending diaspora studies to the idea of the Native hub, the author posits the idea of sustaining connections to where one is from and one's current home. Geographic, Native hubs are not the only subjective, conscious connections to homeland through memories, social relations, and imageries, according to Ramirez. Another significant element in the discourse is hub-making. Hub-making is the process urban Native people draw on to bridge tribal differences, which results in a unified community for the purpose of social change. For example, community building and a sense of belonging are part of hubs and hub-making. A central feature of hub-making involves "re-membering," a concept borrowed from Guillermo-Delgado-P (an indigenous scholar and author of *The Makings of a Transnational Movement*), and that is the practice of bringing Native communities destroyed by colonization back together.

Another concept that underpins the author's conceptualization of hub-making is transnationalism. As an alternative to characterizing Native people as pantribal, the term *transnational* is employed to typify the connectedness to tribal nations and Native identity, culture, and a sense of belonging even among those who live in an urban setting. There are "real" Indians that live in cities and flourish, not as marginal people, but as viable communities. Supported by polyvocal narratives (personal narrative, first-person interviews), historical accounts (for example, relocation), and praxis, the author assembles considerable evidence for use of hubs and hub-making as effective ways to understand urban Native people.

Ethnological points from Boas, Kroeber, Deloria, and Medicine and historical background and personal history are described, which gives the reader an appreciation of the complex geometry presented by the presence of Native people in urban locales. We recognize the author's personal connection to the material accompanied by what it is to be Native, be a Native woman, and live in the city. The author goes on to describe several federal Native policies as well as a brief history of California tribes. Moreover, Ramirez describes the genesis of urban Indians who come together for social events, powwows, and the creation of urban Indian centers.

Intriguing information emerges when the author presents the evidence for hubs (sometimes referred to as *home spaces*) and hub-making in “Gathering Together in Hubs: Claiming Home and the Sacred in an Urban Area.” By using social events, powwows, sweat-lodge ceremonies, meetings (for example, American Indian Alliance gatherings), and social activism (as with the Fremont High School mascot issue, Sunnyvale, CA), the author affirms the utility of the hub and hub-making as a viable means for urban Native people to reclaim Indian identity and culture, work together as a community, unlearn oppression, and create a Native community of belonging. The author examines why these social, spiritual, and political events are the foundation for hubs and hub-making in the urban setting. For example, powwows long have been attended by Native people, not only for identity generation and cultural and community renewal but also for spiritual rejuvenation. The sweat lodge, as a hub, is used as a means to connect with the sacred, the spiritual world. In the area that surrounds the San Francisco Bay, there are many “sweats” held that bring Native people closer as a community—spiritually, culturally, and with a sense of belonging to something larger than themselves. Joking and teasing are drawn on to make people comfortable, build community, and create a feeling of cohesion in public meetings. It is, according to Ramirez, a time when Native people come together in solidarity. “Home spaces or hubs provide Indians with a chance to learn how to organize, claim their voices, work together across differences and teach other positive visions for changing the world” (80).

The origin of the idea of hubs and hub-making is chronicled through Laverne Roberts’s relocation story, first in Nevada and then California. Ramirez offers Roberts’s personal narrative as a demonstration for the hub-formation process, as a hub-builder and social activist. The author redefines geographic space (Indians not living on tribal/Native land but living in urban environments) within the hegemonic landscape as well as the notions of Native citizenship amplifying personal and communal belonging.

*Native Hubs* examines the question of who is a “real” Indian and links it with the idea of hubs. The book cites the Muwekma Ohlone tribe’s fight for federal recognition as an example of how governmental definitions, Native perceptions of Indianness, and the federal acknowledgment process intensify the complicated notions of Indian authenticity. The author briefly examines several definitions and perceptions of Indian identity: biological (blood quantum—full-blood, mixed-blood), language retention, Bureau of Indian Affairs/tribal enrollment, and individual Indian disenfranchisement. Through first-person interviews and narratives, Ramirez reminds us of the alienating and disenfranchising nature of individual Indians’ struggle for Native identity and acceptance in the Indian community.

The latter chapters are political, social activist treatments on the utility of hubs and hub-making within the international context and on the roles of indigenous women and Native American youth in this process. The author addresses the ways in which hubs and hub-making are advanced among indigenous peoples across international boundaries (for example, the US–Mexican border), the role of young Native people who live in an urban environment, issues of Native identity development, and finding solutions for these issues.

In the end, Ramirez's conceptualization extends the understanding of urban Native Americans, not as a vanishing, beaten people without culture and homeland but as a vibrant, animating force in the urban milieu.

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**Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-Over Place.** By Coll Thrush with a foreword by William Cronon. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007. 326 pages. \$28.95 cloth.

Finally, a book that undertakes the important work of examining urban history with the perspective that Native people have been continuous, integral, multi-faceted participants in the development of cities has been published. Most city histories either ignore Native people or relegate them to a few pages, where they are usually described as the primitive, hapless victims of progress who were vanquished, vanished, and replaced by modernity. However, as Coll Thrush points out, "Every American city is built on Indian land, but few advertise it like Seattle" (3). Thrush presents Seattle as not just a city built on Indian land but also as one whose existence and identity have been dependent on and interwoven with the experiences (real and imagined) of Native peoples throughout time.

Histories of Native people in urban areas have largely focused on relocated or transitory contemporary communities, which generally emerged after World War II. That literature, begun in the 1960s, has evolved from a focus on Native peoples' success or failure to assimilate into urban life, to more recent sophisticated analyses of the dynamics of Native urban communities. *Native Seattle* adds to this revitalized, innovative body of scholarship by skillfully weaving together histories of the multitribal contemporary Native community, the city of Seattle, and broader Indian history. Thrush argues that "the strands of urban and Indian history have been entwined, and there is very little distance, in either space or time, between the dispossession of local indigenous people, the rise of an urban pan-Indian community, and the development of urban narratives populated with Indian metaphors" (13).

Thrush's simultaneous deconstruction and interlacing of a series of complex, competing, overlapping, and layered histories of the city is lucid and compelling. He subtly threads these histories together through the concept of *yiq*, which in the Whulshootseed language refers to a Duwamish, Lake, and Shilshole basketry design technique, or, as anthropologists term it, imbrication. Thrush explains that *yiq* is naturally a forceful process of working, or more precisely as one elder put it, "worrying" something into a tight place. The concept thus correlates with the ways in which "the urban and indigenous worlds interacted" as the landscape became increasingly urbanized (68–69). Thrush integrates indigenous peoples' complex sense of living with the landscape as an element that persists through time, in relation to, but also in tension with, pioneers' struggles to tame what they perceived as *terra nullius*