

and aboriginal government provides a strong argument that there may be a continuation of the exclusion of native women's interests in favor of the political interests of First Nations. Margaret A. Jackson follows Green and raising the question of equality for aboriginal women given the return to traditional ways.

David R. Newhouse's piece on the development of modern aboriginal societies is, arguable, the strongest contribution in the volume. It appears in the section on looking to the future and stands out for its strength of analysis and focus on the future. The work by F. Laurie Barron and Joseph Garels which highlights the history of urban satellite reserves is timely. This social experiment is not widely recognized nor well documented and this thoughtful piece is an important contribution. The story about how the sun and moon came into being by Karla Jessen Williamson is a powerful blend of storytelling with something important to say about the future. This piece is a model for interdisciplinary analysis and deserves wide-spread classroom exposure.

This volume also includes a number of maps, historical documents and guides to critical reading and writing, which are useful references. In addition, contributions also include an Ojibway creation story by Edward Benton-Bavai; some humorous commentaries on topics such as "looking native" and "who should date who", or "is the erotic Indian a contradiction in terms". They are interesting and entertaining but fall short of the editor's intention to balance the scholarly literature with important works from aboriginal writers that reflect the state of the field.

Expressions In Canadian Native Studies deserves your attention and some selected use in the classroom. Had the 588 pages been pared down to 350 more focused and carefully chosen works the book would have more closely realized the editor's goals and been more useful as a college text.

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Kathleen Ann Pickering. *Lakota Culture, World Economy*. University of Nebraska Press, 2000.

Reviewed by Robert L. Bee, University of Connecticut

This is an excellent study of Lakota economic attitudes and strategies,

set on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations in South Dakota. Pickering asks two basic questions: 1) How can Lakota culture be sustained despite the people's incorporation into the world economy; and 2) given their "cultural resistance," how are Lakotas being drawn into the world economy (p. xii)? The answers are pursued mainly through interviews with 100 Lakota individuals, plus her own observations and documentary research. Her interviews included almost twice as many women as men. She did not employ detailed financial records or reports or make extensive use of other sorts of quantitative data.

Yet the statistics she invokes emphasize the dismal economic peripherality of the two reservations, a condition shared by many other indigenous land areas. For example, Bureau of Indian Affairs data for 1989 showed unemployment on Pine Ridge at 73% and on Rosebud at 86% (p. 15). In 1992, unemployment was at 3% in South Dakota and 7.5% in the U.S. as a whole (p. 97). The Indian household median income in 1990 was \$10,513 in Pine Ridge and \$10,211 in Rosebud (p. 62).

What emerges from the Dakota's reflections is the importance of the household as an economic unit of production and consumption. It is also a fundamental structural basis for maintaining Lakota culture, demanding loyalty to the Lakota tenets of cooperation and sharing as a price for its continuing economic advantages.

The household is a safety net in the perpetual hard times of reservation economy. Individuals suddenly out of a job can rely on the household for support. Various forms of public assistance and pensions coming to individual members are pooled for the benefit of all. Elderly members provide child care; living rooms become tiny factories for beadwork or quilts, and often serve simultaneously as hands-on vocational training sites. Because job opportunities are so severely limited on the reservations, household members typically supplement the income pool with microenterprises such as quilting, beadwork, or various kinds of repair work. They also continue to hunt and gather. The ideology and structure of the household unit enable the alternative economic coping strategies that sustain the individual tribal members. Wage work alone cannot meet even minimal needs.

Fundamental incongruities and incompatibilities beset reservation economic behavior at every turn. Perhaps the most fundamental is the continuing absence of anything resembling economic development on

the reservations, while the nation as a whole at the same time has enjoyed almost unprecedented prosperity. Pickering and the Lakotas argue that in fact their continuing poverty has helped to generate some of the prosperity among non-Indians: surplus food commodities, for example, feed the Lakotas but pour federal money into agricultural interests who otherwise could not sell the products; Indian land allotments provide relatively low-cost and low-risk range mostly for non-Indian cattle ranchers; reservation program contracts awarded to both Indian and non-Indian contractors inevitably benefit primarily the non-Indian administrators and experts. Federal government attempts to offer economic incentives to Indians are smothered by a spreading bureaucratic goo of stringent eligibility criteria, application delays, and finicky record-keeping demands. "Indian preference" continues to be a frustrating oxymoron. (Perhaps the most tragically silly of the Catch-22s is the Temporary Aid to Needy Families [TANF] program as implemented among the Lakota: Recipients must find a job within a specified time, then the benefits cease. The aim is to get people off welfare and into the job market. But there is virtually no attractive job market on the reservations.)

These and similar situations are seen by Pickering as examples of how Lakota "social identity" is controlled and manipulated by outsiders for the outsiders' benefit. The social identity she refers to in this context evidently is their historical and legal status as "Indians."

Then there is the basic incompatibility between capitalism and Lakota culture. Pickering offers numerous examples of the tension this produces in the community. Often it boils down to the question of whether to share and thus bolster the social networks of family and community, or to save and budget for the future and thereby jettison the social networks. The latter may entail leaving the reservation. Yet often the level of education or other training received by individuals on the reservation does not offer them much hope for a more rosy economic future off-reservation and away from friends and relatives. So they stay, increasingly offering cash instead of lovingly-wrought articles at giveaways, and, for too many, turning to substance abuse to avoid the tension. (A new ideology is emerging as a possible deterrent to abuse: "Sobriety is increasingly being regarded by Lakotas as an assertion of their identity" [p. 104].) In this economic context, sharing becomes a form of "Indian insurance" against future downturns.

One wonders whether this tension would be as high if the Lakotas

were relatively more prosperous, and if there were some real and widespread local economic opportunities for individuals. Then perhaps the issue would not involve either-or decisions by tribal members, but rather a positive and creative mutual reconfiguration of both capitalism and Lakota culture. Possibly the few "casino tribes" entering into unprecedented prosperity could offer some important insights into this possibility. But clearly such a hypothesis is presently irrelevant for the Lakotas and thousands of other Native Americans on reservations.

For surely the conditions described and analysed by Pickering exist on other reservations. In fact they have existed with startling detailed similarity since the 1960s, and in general for at least a century before that. (Pickering helpfully provides some brief Lakota historical overviews to create a context for the present.) As useful as her insights into Lakota are, some readers will be reminded that they are another local instance of a distressing sameness despite and because of the actions of the larger system that has incorporated them.

I wish Pickering had explored the nature and dynamics of Lakota identity more systematically and thoroughly. For example, granting that the persistence of the giveaway ritual is one key feature of what it is to be Lakota, how has the increasing use of cash in lieu of materials affected notions of Lakota-ness? How has the increasingly problematic economic position of the elderly affected the fundamental Lakota tenet of respect for them? How have the teachings of White Buffalo Calf Woman been reconfigured ñ if they have been reconfigured by Lakota incorporation into the world economy? (Brief anecdotal passages recount changing Lakota behavior in specific instances, but the more abstract ideology issue is not fully addressed.) "Social identity" at times becomes ambiguous, referring both to the identity constructed and applied by non-Indians to the Lakotas, and the Lakota's own construction. To be sure, the two constructions are interactive; but some more consistent conceptual distinction would have helped. "Racism" as both an explanation and a type of behavior could also use more extensive analysis. The concept could be more insightfully interwoven with the discussion of the "mixed-blood/flubbed" division among the people.

The study is well-organized and well-written, useful to both scholars and students. It is also an important work for those actively involved in Native American economic "development" if only they will read it as a prelude to more empathic and effective action.