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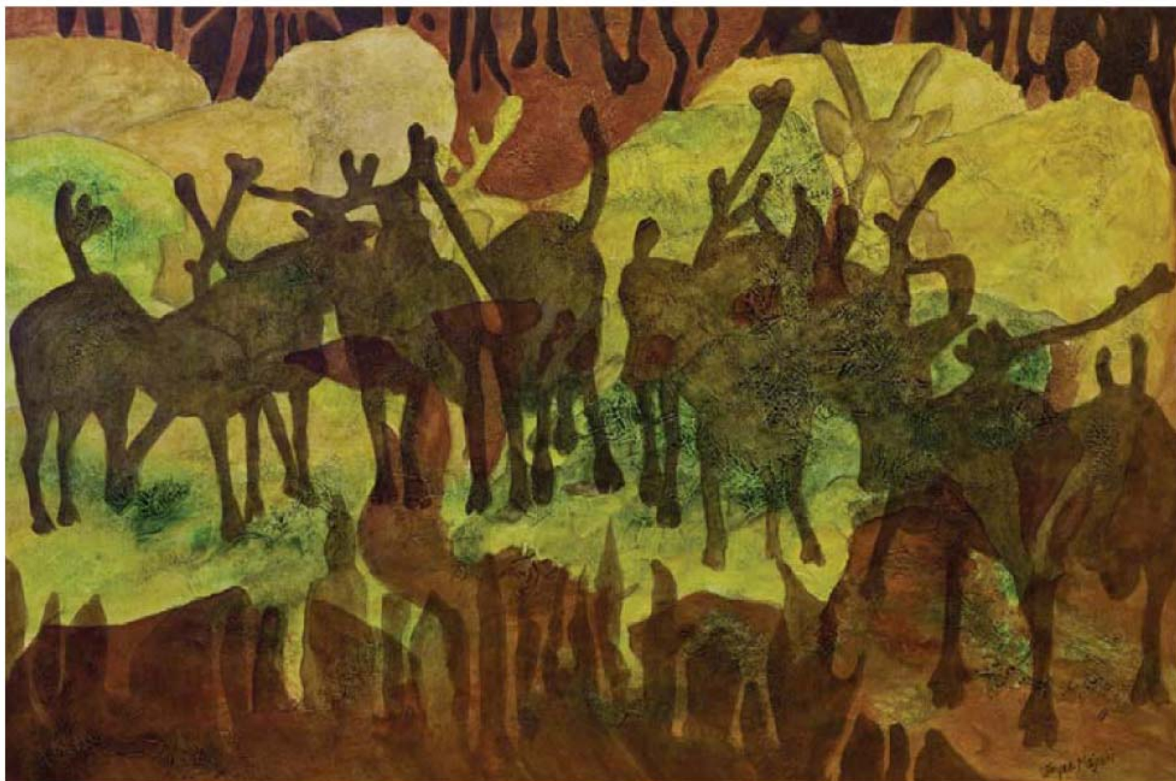

Canada's Role in the Circumpolar World

Exploring human experience in the North

The Northern Review

Number 33 (Spring 2011)

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Call for Papers
Special Issue: Tourism and Travel in the Circumpolar North

The *Northern Review* is interested in receiving previously unpublished manuscripts about tourism and travel in the Circumpolar North. Papers from a variety of disciplines, and from international perspectives on circumpolar tourism, are welcome.

We are interested in submissions that examine issues and present discussions about tourism and travel in the North including but not limited to how tourism engages with:

- Economic, regional, community, and sustainable development
- Business, entrepreneurial, and product development
- Place-based and other planning approaches
- Identity (e.g., place making, tourism marketing)
- Climate change
- Northern and Indigenous cultures and communities
- The social economy and creative economies
- Gender
- Methodological innovation

Manuscripts received before midnight August 15, 2011 will be considered for publication in Number 36 (Spring 2012). Queries to Managing Editor, Deanna McLeod, at dmcleod@yukoncollege.yk.ca.

Please refer to the journal's website <www.yukoncollege.yk.ca/review> for submission details and the full text of this call for papers.

Book Reviews

***People of the Lakes: Stories of Our Van Tat Gwich'in Elders / Googwandak Nakhwach'ànjòo Van Tat Gwich'in.* By Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation and Shirleen Smith. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2009. lxii + 391pp. Illustrations, maps, index, bibliography.**

People of the Lakes: Stories of Our Van Tat Gwich'in Elders / Googwandak Nakhwach'ànjòo Van Tat Gwich'in is a rich collection of stories and oral accounts of Gwich'in elders that have shaped their lives and culture for generations. Some stories are thought to span millennia and provide the last remaining links to times long ago. The book begins with a brief history of the Gwich'in people and a review of the key objectives and drivers of this research effort. This is followed by stories from long ago, or *Yeenoo dài' googwandak*, stories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The book ends with the oral history of today. Each section is divided into principal themes. For instance, long ago stories include fascinating and often colourful stories of the origins of the natural world, of mythical figures, and of historical events, such as first contact with Europeans. These accounts are accompanied by numerous remarkable photographs and sketches dating back to the mid-nineteenth century. Also provided is a useful glossary for the pronunciation of Gwich'in words, as well as the translation of Gwich'in into English and vice versa. An index allows for fast and effective searching of key words, places, and people's names. These tools allow the book to be more than a collection of stories, but also a useful educational tool for all readers, young and old.

What is immediately striking about the book is the level of community involvement in it and the local enthusiasm for the project. This was truly a community effort. It is the outcome of a ten year collaboration between anthropologist Shirleen Smith and the Vuntut Gwich'in First Nation, a rare example of a true research partnership between academic and non-academic partners in the North. This spirit of partnership is infused in every aspect of the book from its methodology to its organization and presentation of materials. This is a monumental achievement.

The focus and intent of the book is the transmission of local traditional knowledge to future generations, not the interpretation of the stories, which is often left to the reader. The emphasis is therefore on the unaltered words of the elders, collected through interviews and research on oral and written accounts from well over a century. A number of texts are directly translated from Gwich'in into English and in many ways remain in the voice of the speaker, which adds an element of richness, a soul to the stories of these remarkable people. One can almost hear their voices when reading the raw text (which is clearly indicated in red lettering). The book is chronologically structured, making it simple to understand. Short passages of text that accompany oral accounts provide the reader with basic contextual information. They are especially useful for outsiders trying to interpret the stories. These passages, although rich in detail, are not overrun with academic jargon.

Much care was given to the methods used in the collection of information for this book. Interviews were conducted on the land in various locations of special significance for interviewees and in the language of their choice. As such, about 80 percent of the interviews were done in Gwich'in, with skilled translators transcribing them into English. The interviews themselves were conducted by local people and involved a number of local youth. These opportunities provided innumerable benefits to the community, including technical training and the possibility of visiting sites of spiritual and cultural significance throughout traditional Vuntut Gwich'in lands—sites which were no longer accessible to many elders due to health and cost considerations. The emotional and spiritual connections of elders to these places were often revived during the project, an outcome that is evident throughout the book.

As an academic researcher interested in Vuntut Gwich'in culture and the meaning of First Nations stories, I sometimes felt ill-equipped to interpret the significance of the stories in the book, given the lack of contextual information. Readers may benefit from the inclusion of some commentary on the stories or a summary of previous works from which some traditional knowledge was collected. Such information would provide useful details for understanding the significance of the stories and add to their depth. Academic interpretations of the stories would have been an interesting addition to the book, although it is recognized that such perspectives were not the intended focus here.

In conclusion, the principal objective of *People of the Lakes* was to document Vuntut Gwich'in history on their traditional lands and to pass the knowledge of the elders, across barriers of language and changing

lifestyles, to future generations. The book does this and more. With this research, the Vuntut Gwich'in First Nation and Shirleen Smith have shown that community-based research can generate useful, deep knowledge that is relevant to a wide audience. Indeed, the book is a treasure, especially because a great number of the elders who participated in its production have passed away in recent years. Their stories might have been lost forever if not for this community-driven effort.

Nicolas Brunet, Department of Natural Resource Sciences, McGill University

***Russia and the North*. Edited by Elana Wilson Rowe. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2009. 232 pp. Index, maps.**

Over the past decade, Russia, the largest Arctic state in geographic terms, has baffled the world with what has often been portrayed as a contradictory, protean strategy towards the North. One of the most controversial Russian actions involved the planting of a national flag on the seabed near the North Pole in 2007. The resumption of strategic bomber flights by Russia in the same year added to an international furor over re-emerging Arctic geopolitics that continues to echo today. Against this backdrop, not a few commentators have been moved to wonder if Moscow's assertive stance will elicit a "New Cold War" as climate change and technological advances increase access to arctic resources and territory. Other observers, however, insist that such febrile rhetoric is misleading, at best scaremongering, at worst verging on politically irresponsible. From their standpoint, Moscow's initiatives are in keeping with the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), the most relevant regime for governing ocean space. These seeming inconsistencies—confrontational posturing on the one hand and commitment to international law on the other—inevitably bring up questions about which path modern-day Russia will choose for governing its changing northern spaces.

Those interested in unveiling the masks of Proteus are well served by Elana Wilson Rowe's collection of essays, *Russia and the North*. As its title tells us, the book is about key aspects of Russian ambitions in the area and how they are spelled out both domestically and on the international stage. Included are brief treatments of geopolitical interests pursued by other Arctic states such as Norway; but the book's major emphasis is on how Russia defines and deals with northern territories. The book begins with a synoptic overview of relevant strategic issues, including maritime claims and petroleum. Wilson Rowe seeks to understand Russia's kaleidoscopic

approach to these issues through a study of what she refers to as a tension between the "open" and "closed" North. Readers will find it easy to agree that Moscow frequently vacillates between outward-looking inclinations based on market-driven orientations (open) and inward-looking tendencies marked by a securitization of northern spaces (closed). Using this broad framework, the eight following chapters focus on two sets of questions. The first set is about the context, nature, and ramifications of Arctic challenges and opportunities. The other set of questions relates to continuity and change in the responses of state and private actors. The authors of these chapters describe Russia's engagement in the region during and after the Soviet era and explore policy trajectories in the areas of security, cooperation, climate change, fisheries, energy, migration, and Indigenous rights. Given the book's wide thematic scope, its main contribution involves the breadth of its offerings rather than the detail of its analyses.

The rich case study material suggests that the North has once again become a key factor in Russia's national security and economy. In the first chapter of the book, Pavel Baev examines Moscow's efforts to restore its military complex, showing how militarization and energy development go hand in hand. While tales of an "armed mad dash" for oil and gas receive little attention from Russian authorities (as do more sober assessments of probable reserves), many believe that an increase in military presence is necessary to protect the country's northern possessions. Geir Hønneland, in his essay on cross-border co-operation, highlights how poor implementation and unstable structures continue to hamper Russia's effective participation in multilateral and bilateral initiatives. In the third chapter, Craig ZumBrunnen addresses climate change and Russia's decisive role in the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol. His contribution serves as a reminder that climate change is not uncommonly considered as peripheral or even beneficial by Russian climate skeptics. Anne-Kristin Jørgensen, in her discussion of fisheries in Chapter 4, is adept at laying bare the implications of countless sectoral reorganizations in Russia since the demise of the Soviet Union. This development led to a "vicious cycle of reform" in which short-sighted business practices and a lack of clear rules provided business people and bureaucrats with incentives to ensure the market remained out of control. Arild Moe and Elana Wilson Rowe, in Chapter 5, explore offshore drilling from both a federal and corporate perspective. While offshore resources have recently gained a higher profile in Moscow's energy calculus, financial, technological, and other obstacles continue to hinder the emergence of a coherent set of policies. At

the company level, the authors point to Rosneft and Gazprom, two state-controlled actors, whose relationship is of "relevance to understanding how an offshore regime might develop" (116). Next, Timothy Heleniak's lengthy study of "growth poles and ghost towns" reveals that migration patterns between the North and the rest of Russia are not unidirectional and that, while some northern regions continue to attract workers, others face the spread of poverty pockets. This analysis of population change and northern labor policy is followed by Indra Øverland's discussion of Indigenous rights. Øverland points to the gap that exists between *de jure* and *de facto* protection of rights in (northern) Russia. Finally, in the last chapter, Anna Sirina presents a similar reality check regarding the relationship between Indigenous peoples, resource developers, and government. She argues that, although more weight has been given to traditional nature-use in Russia in recent years, "federal authorities have not yet been prepared to follow the adopted Indigenous rights laws consistently a nd purposefully" (193).

The book's findings are valuable even if they are not always surprising. The editor concludes that Russia's northern politics have been shaped by the political and economic reforms ushered in by Vladimir Putin, such as economic modernization, pragmatism, and recentralization. While its criticism of the lack of a unified northern strategy in Russia has been blunted somewhat by the publication of that country's Arctic policy in 2009, the book is still informative. Indeed, its central argument about the need to bring together the dispersed elements of Russia's northern strategy in order to understand the country's contradictory involvement in the region remains crucial.

But there are shortcomings. The discussion by the editor of the tension between the open and the closed North would benefit from further elaboration that highlights more clearly the reasoning behind Russia's diverging approaches. One possibility would be to explore in depth the re-emerging linkages between northern politics and Russia's identity crisis. One also wishes that more space had been devoted to definitional questions and counter-arguments. Three examples should suffice. First, some contributors to the collection make use of securitization theory (18, 206) without explaining *how* the North is securitized—that is, how it is introduced into the realm of emergency politics as an issue of supreme priority. Second, if one agrees that terminology determines to a large extent what and who is involved in many of the issues discussed in the volume, the choice and meaning of the term "North" (as opposed, for example, to "Far North") deserves sustained attention. Third, some authors point

to Putin's recentralization efforts but do not relate their findings about powerful regional actors to counterarguments about how recentralization has failed. In a similar vein, it would have been interesting to consider the effects of the recent global economic downturn on Russia's northern strategy. Finally, a collection of maps on both the circumpolar and the Russian North would add to the book's usefulness.

The above shortcomings notwithstanding, *Russia and the North* is a valuable contribution to ongoing debates about Arctic geopolitics. Its broad coverage of pertinent subjects makes the book a comprehensive and well-informed introduction to one of the most important actors in and beyond the Arctic. Perhaps most significantly, it dispels preconceptions about Russia's role as an Arctic state. Wilson Rowe's *Russia and the North* is a timely book that any student of Arctic social science will want to consult.

Elisa Burchert, Department of Political Science, Heidelberg University

***Natural Resources and Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: Readings, Cases, and Commentary*, 2nd edition. Edited by Robert B. Anderson and Robert M. Bone. Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2009. 586 pp.**

The management of natural resources in Canada has taken a strong turn toward Aboriginal peoples' direct participation over the past forty years. Key political decisions and the development of new economic and political tools, including comprehensive land claims and self-government agreements and negotiated agreements between Aboriginal groups and industry, necessitate new approaches to understanding natural resource management. Perhaps most striking among these developments is the suggestion that pressing issues of governance and poverty in Aboriginal communities can be addressed through business ventures. Robert Anderson and Robert Bone's newly revised edition of *Natural Resources and Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: Readings, Cases, and Commentary* suggests that an important ideological crossroads has been left behind. For many Aboriginal communities, the new road involves efforts to achieve economic prosperity through natural resource development.

The new edition of this book builds on a sub-theme in the 2003 edition: it explores what a blending of traditional land use and capitalist utilization of natural resources might look like. The result is a much-expanded volume of previously published articles and unpublished papers examining in great detail the importance of the economic development of natural resources

for Aboriginal peoples. The book contains thirty-five essays organized in three sections. These sections examine Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian world views as they relate to natural resources, experiences of the use and management of renewable resources, and the utilization of non-renewable resources. Each chapter explores a different resource or issue. For readers looking for a quick overview of the underlying theme of the book, the preface is instructive. Here, the authors suggest that the logical step for entrance into the market economy is through locally initiated Aboriginal business ventures, or "community capitalism" (vii). They argue that such ventures take advantage of the recent gains that Aboriginal peoples have made in governance and control of their lands.

Section One, "Two World Views: Conflict, Accommodation and Synthesis," consists of eight essays that situate cosmological, cultural, and political considerations within an environmental governance framework. For students interested in how theory informs practice, this section will be challenging, but rewarding. The opening four essays demand that we consider how land is understood, the importance of language, and the ways that different knowledges are used and misused when trying to direct the sustainable use of natural resources. Not wanting to leave the impression that conflict is a natural and negative outcome of development debates, the editors follow these opening chapters with four others that attempt to convince the reader that a new approach to understanding and utilizing natural resources is emerging within Indigenous communities.

The subsequent two sections are bolstered by fourteen additional essays that accentuate the importance of economic development in this new approach. For example, Section Two, "Land Use and Renewable Resources," includes three essays that illustrate significant recent policy shifts in northern Canada. The section presents several fascinating cases of supra-regulatory agreements, including impact and benefit agreements in the Northwest Territories, climate change policy in Nunavut, and Nunavut land claim organizations operating on a corporate model. Anderson and Bone maintain the structure of the 2003 edition by following these essays with chapters on hunting, trapping, and country food; forestry; water; and fisheries. Each of these essays highlights the process of community decision making in the natural resource arena. While the previous edition offered a broad survey of socio-political issues related to natural resource development, this revised edition takes a less critical look at land use and gives primacy to understanding the potential for local natural resource management.

Section Three, "Non-Renewable Resources," is divided into two chapters on mining and oil and gas. Surprisingly, given the intense political and media focus on large-scale industrial development in Canada, fewer essays are presented in this section than in the previous edition. Fortunately, these essays concentrate on key issues: diamond mines, mineral exploration, the Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline, and remediation of past industrial developments.

As a work that attempts to encompass the diverse and complex relationships between natural resource management and Aboriginal peoples in Canada, this collection is quite effective. A key strength of the volume is that it surpasses earlier related publications by examining natural resources in light of significant social change, particularly change related to land claim agreements, self-government, hybrid management, and, most importantly, efforts to implement culturally-appropriate economic development. The inclusion of sections on theoretical considerations, land use and renewable resources, and non-renewable resources will appeal to both those who seek a broad overview of these topics as well as to those who are more discerning in their interests. The introductions to the sections are well written and extremely valuable for linking various chapters and essays. However, the book would have been stronger if a general introduction and conclusion discussing the main themes of the volume had been included. Instead, for example, the preface merely introduces the intriguing concept of a "road map for Aboriginal business success" (vii). One might have hoped for further explanation of this idea, and of important thematic shifts from the 2003 edition. The essay by Anderson, MacAulay, Kayseas, and Hindle, "Indigenous Communities, Development and the New Economy" begins to fit this bill, but unfortunately it does not show up until well into the volume.

Unlike other edited volumes of previously published materials, this book successfully taps into a valuable body of "grey literature," including symposium reports, discussion papers, and conference papers. This literature is used along with academic publications to underpin a very readable series of essays that supports the book's overarching premise. However, the thematic trajectory of the book is uneven. The book's first four essays—on the philosophy of land ownership, the politics of co-management, and the misuse and potential practical use of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) in environmental assessment of industrial development—adopt a critical perspective that is lacking elsewhere in the volume. Following these initial contributions, the essays become less introspective and tend to highlight positive outcomes. Whereas

the previous edition balanced criticism and expressions of concern with positive discussions of adaptation and potential, the emphasis on modernization through capitalism in the newer edition makes it appear more biased toward the economy without critique. Nowhere is this more evident than in the differences between the third sections of the 2009 edition and the 2003 edition. Essays from the 2003 edition were dominated by issues of transnational re-branding, indigenous resistance, and "bitter relations" between development proponents and local people, while essays from the latter edition propose the way forward as, in essence, ecological modernization, decolonizing power shifts, and Aboriginal partnerships in business ventures. This weakness can be explained quite simply. Revised edited volumes are often perceived as improved, amended, and thus superior in many ways to the original publication. This book, however, may be more profitably viewed as a second volume rather than a second edition. The first edition (volume) contains many excellent essays that provide critical counterpoints to the essays presented in the later edition. Indeed, for those seeking a balanced perspective, it would be well worthwhile to explore both volumes for their wealth of discussion and diversity of approach.

A more unsettling concern arises from the book's fervent emphasis on economic development. In the essay mentioned above, Anderson and his co-authors attempt to lay out how evolving approaches to Aboriginal economic development "[include] an effective mode of social regulation that permits the OIB [Osoyoos Indian Band] to participate successfully, and on their own terms, in the global regime of accumulation…" (144). This statement points to a key concern for those interested in the political economy of natural resources: how is this form of economy different from that which is often regarded as problematic for Aboriginal communities striving to protect their societies and cultures? Douglas Daniels, writing in the *Native Studies Review* in 1986 regarding a concern with increasing neo-colonialism in the midst of Aboriginal land claims and self-government in the early 1980s, expressed grave concern with the liberal project's expectation of mass upward mobility through resource megaprojects and the promotion of an Aboriginal entrepreneurial spirit. The past twenty-five years have demonstrated that the socio-cultural problems associated with economic development in Aboriginal communities and the potential commodification of Aboriginal social relations have not been resolved. As such, this collection could have been improved by including more discussion of the benefits of alternative approaches to development—including alternative conceptions of development, conservation, and

land use planning—in order to counterbalance its view of sustainable development as solely driven by business ventures.

This book has much to offer those looking for practical examples of how Aboriginal groups might address natural resource use and management in a contemporary context. Its functional perspective on the intersection of socio-economics, sustainable development policy, and business opportunity opens the door for discussion on how Aboriginal communities can improve economic conditions. With such a business-focused gaze, who might this volume interest? Because of its case-based nature and its mixture of writing levels and styles, it will likely appeal to senior undergraduate and graduate students in college and university programs, especially those interested in environmental studies, business, native studies, and interdisciplinary studies. Overall, this is a fascinating collection that provides a new lens through which to understand the ways natural resources are perceived by Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Editors Bone and Anderson skilfully incorporate a diversity of Aboriginal groups, interests, and geographic locations in the volume in order to show the multiplicity of experiences of culturally-relevant economic development across Canada.

Ken J. Caine, Department of Rural Economy, University of Alberta

***Arctic Labyrinth: The Quest for the Northwest Passage*. By Glyn Williams. Toronto: Viking Canada, 2009. xix +439 pp. Illustrations, maps, index.**

In his preface to *Arctic Labyrinth*, Glyn Williams calls it "a sobering thought that my first research notes on the northwest passage, made in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in the days when they were held in Beaver House, London, are dated October 1956" (p. xviii). Williams himself may find the thought sobering, but readers can only be impressed by the published work that has resulted from his decades of research. Williams is among the most distinguished historians of exploration, and *Arctic Labyrinth* is one of his best books. It begins with the voyages of Martin Frobisher and ends with the current disputes over Canada's claim to the Northwest Passage. In both its scope and the level of detail provided along the way, it is a work of great distinction. Williams knows his primary sources, both published and archival, as well as or better than any other scholar in the field. His discussion of the plans for Sir John Franklin's last expedition is particularly illuminating (268–76).

However, the fact that Williams's work has its roots in the 1950s does pose one major drawback—a drawback which he himself does not discuss or even acknowledge. He has clearly kept rigorously up-to-date with the most recent Arctic scholarship over the years, and his work on Pacific exploration has dealt sensitively with the subject of cultural contact. But in *Arctic Labyrinth* Williams demonstrates little interest in postmodern or post-colonial approaches to northern exploration history. Whatever its flaws, postcolonial scholarship has opened up important new perspectives. *Arctic Labyrinth* is old-style empirical history at its very best, but it is impossible to read it without dismay at the cursory treatment of Aboriginal peoples and their interactions with the various exploring expeditions. Such famous figures as Thanadelthur, Matonnabee, and Akaitcho simply appear, provide information or assistance to the "white men," then disappear again without further comment from Williams.

For Williams, the centuries-long quest for the Northwest Passage is a story of illusions repeatedly shattered by brutal reality. More than once, he compares it to the trench warfare of the First World War. Armchair explorers in Britain, he says, were like the deluded generals who sent millions of men out to die, always hoping "that the next 'Push' would overcome the last remaining obstacles and reach its objective" (p. xvi). The major theme running through the book is the conflict between geographical theorizers and their misleading maps on one side and pragmatic explorers with actual experience of new lands on the other. Williams evaluates maps purely in terms of their correspondence (or lack of correspondence) with physical reality. Bad maps were produced by ambitious promoters of exploration in Europe; good maps were produced by careful observers like Captain James Cook. According to Williams, it is a measure of the passage's false glamour that even Cook was seduced into seeking it on his third and fatal voyage (Chapter 8).

On a purely empirical level, Williams's account of these developments is cogent and often fascinating. The chapter on Cook's third expedition is among the most interesting in the volume. However, surely Williams should have made some use of the insights contained in J.B. Harley's famous essay "Maps, Knowledge, and Power" and in the work of such writers as Felix Driver and David N. Livingstone. Even the most accurate map, as these scholars have shown, is always much more than an innocent, straightforward representation of geographical reality. Instead, like literary texts, all maps are culturally and socially constructed.

From another point of view, the emphasis on illusion versus reality is open to objection. In hindsight, it is obvious that the great majority of

Arctic expeditions were foredoomed to failure. As a result, both writers and readers today can easily fall into the presentist trap of ridiculing the explorers for their false hopes. A strain of derision can certainly be detected in Williams's work, though for the most part he keeps it reasonably well in check. He makes little effort to understand the social and cultural backgrounds and the motives of either the explorers or the expedition promoters. From the explorers' point of view, what they were doing made sense, but Williams does not try to recapture their world view. Instead, he looks at them from the outside, mainly in the isolated context of their expeditions and not against the broader background of their times. There are occasional flashes of deeper understanding, for example when he remarks on Cook's situation as a man from a lower-class background with limited financial means whose success as an explorer had permitted him to mingle in exalted social circles. Perhaps, Williams convincingly suggests, these circumstances made Cook more susceptible to the lure of the Northwest Passage and the financial reward offered by the British government for its discovery.

Williams's schematic dichotomy between theorizers and empirical observers does not always fit with the facts, but he avoids acknowledging such problems. For example, he criticizes Samuel Purchas for printing Henry Briggs's map of northern America instead of the chart by William Baffin, downplaying the mistake made by Baffin when he concluded that Smith, Jones, and Lancaster Sounds were all dead ends (44). In his discussion of early nineteenth-century exploration, Williams evades the inconvenient fact that John Barrow—the quintessential armchair explorer—was right when he speculated that Lancaster Sound might be the gateway to the Northwest Passage, while John Ross (like Baffin) incorrectly described it as a bay (172, 178).

As is inevitable in a book of such ambitious scope, there are a few small factual errors and occasionally Williams has missed an important piece of evidence. For example, he identifies the Native people encountered by Martin Frobisher in Greenland as Inughuit (33). In fact, the Inughuit live far to the north of the areas visited by Frobisher; the first European to meet them was John Ross in 1818. Edward Parry's first narrative was not, as Williams claims, the only such volume to be officially sanctioned by the Admiralty (191). The discussion of Richard King's letters to the government in 1847 and the official response to them (281-82) could have been improved by reference to a letter from Alexander Kennedy Isbister to the editor of the *Athenaeum*, in which Isbister sharply criticized King's plan for an overland Franklin search expedition.

However, it is probably better to appreciate this book for what it does well than to criticize it for what it does poorly. When it comes to producing a vividly written account of explorers struggling over the centuries to make sense of a vast geographical puzzle, Williams has few rivals. He has made excellent use of both published narratives and unpublished diaries and letters, skillfully selecting the most telling details and anecdotes. Someday perhaps someone will write a similar volume that incorporates Aboriginal oral history. Until then, *Arctic Labyrinth* is among the best books available, either for general readers who simply want to enjoy a good story based on solid historical research or for students and academics in search of a comprehensive, accurate account of the various northern expeditions.

Janice Cavell, historian, Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada; adjunct research professor, Carleton University

***Baychimo: Arctic Ghost Ship*. By Anthony Dalton. Surrey, BC: Heritage House Publishing Co. Ltd., 2006. 255 pp.**

In the annals of polar literature, one story is especially well-known about a vessel trapped in sea ice—its leader determined to save his men, the crew fighting to survive, its boards eventually crushed to splinters by pack ice pressure. The story in question, of course, concerns the Endurance's ill-fated voyage and 1915 destruction during Sir Ernest Shackleton's Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition. Receiving less literary fanfare is the topic of pack ice itself, and how it often becomes the determining factor in the success or failure of a ship's expedition. Anthony Dalton's book *Baychimo: Arctic Ghost Ship* provides a welcome corrective with its account of *Baychimo*, a Hudson's Bay Company steamship that supplied Arctic trading posts and settlements from April 1921 to October 1931 when the crew abandoned ship after being stuck in an ice floe as winter approached. Rather than sink, though, the empty ship drifted away, and for almost forty years afterwards was spotted periodically in northern waters, thus earning the moniker "ghost ship."

Based in London, Baychimo was a 1,322-ton coal-fired ship that transported cargo and passengers from Siberia to Alaska and across northern Canada. Dalton's narrative provides a detailed look at both mundane and epic aspects of *Baychimo's* travels. It describes quotidian elements such as cargo items (ranging from pickled cabbage to chamber pots to sealskins), types of passengers (including missionaries, trappers, HBC employees, and sled dogs), ship chores (such as shifting coal to keep

the boat on an even keel), and the trick of off-loading cargo by boat in natural bays and inlets (given the absence of man-made harbours for the ship to dock at). *Baychimo's* adventures included circumnavigating the globe in 1924 and attempting an east-west crossing of the Northwest Passage—a plan thwarted by broken propeller blades while the ship worked its way through thick ice.

Other than the ship itself, it is ice that plays the most prominent role in Baychimo: Arctic Ghost Ship. For nine of its eleven Arctic seasons, the ship was captained by Sydney Cornwell, an abrasive but capable and experienced seaman and navigator who guided the steel-hulled ship with its sturdy bow through fierce gales, dense fog, rough seas, and—especially—treacherous ice. The ship ran aground on mud banks while moving through grounded ice. Impenetrable ice kept *Baychimo* stuck for a month in September in Thetis Bay, off Herschel Island. Cornwell's men sometimes used blasting powder to break the ship free of ice. At the end of most seasons, the ship underwent repairs for ice-induced damage to the propeller, rudder, and stern plates.

And ice proved to be *Baychimo's* undoing. In the fall of 1931, the ship—loaded with furs and other cargo—became stuck in a huge ice pan south of Point Barrow near Wainwright, Alaska. Cornwell and his crew decided to spend winter ashore and monitor the ship until spring. But following a November blizzard, the ship disappeared from sight. Eerily, from then until 1969, it was periodically spotted drifting on ocean currents and winds in the Beaufort Sea and the northern Chukchi Sea, "probably caught in a part of the Beaufort Gyre far from land," (238) Dalton wrote.

Among the book's many strengths are its painstaking research and detail. Dalton combed the extensive Hudson's Bay Company archives in Winnipeg and many other sources, and often cites excerpts from logbooks, correspondence, and other primary documents. A glossary explains Arctic ice navigation terms and defines obscure kinds of ice such as "growlers," "frazil," and "bergy bits." An extensive bibliography and index, along with numerous captioned photographs, are also useful. Throughout, Dalton conveys his expertise regarding all things nautical, which makes the book ideal for boating fans. And in many places the book has an artful, almost novelistic style of writing, as when the author introduces an image of *Baychimo* during her ghostly period by writing, "Slowly, almost imperceptibly, the floe revolves, responding to the wind and current, turning the ghostly ship in a lazy pirouette, displaying her once proud lines from all angles" (p. 18).

At times, though, extensive detail bogs down the narrative with too much day-to-day minutiae. Also, while the book includes several bare-bones maps to orient the reader, it could have used one solid, comprehensive map. And while James Delgado's Foreward notes that "*Baychimo's* fame rests on her decades of being occasionally sighted as she drifted with the ice long after she was abandoned, apparently at the brink of disaster, in 1931" (12), the chronological narrative devotes only the last thirty-three pages to *Baychimo's* "ghost ship" reputation; the rest of the story is devoted to the ship's annual Arctic voyages.

Perhaps that's as it should be, because overall Baychimo: Arctic Ghost Ship is very engaging as a cultural history of the Arctic region during the early twentieth century. Indeed, while Dalton never conclusively determines what befell Baychimo after it drifted away in 1931, he establishes the overall context in which the ship operated in the Arctic. He shows how the Inuit hunting and fishing way of life gave way as outside traders entered the region—for instance, by depicting how whalers set up winter quarters on Herschel Island by 1890 but then left by 1907 after the whale population there was depleted. The ship's voyages are shown amidst the backdrop of larger social changes and events, such as Prohibition and the Russian Revolution. Ultimately, while the book might appeal most to fans of polar literature and nautical tales, it touches on enough larger cultural backdrops that the general reader can enjoy it as well.

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***This Vanishing Land: A Woman's Journey to the Canadian Arctic*. By Dianne Whelan. Halfmoon Bay, BC: Caitlin Press Inc., 2009. 175 pp. Colour photos.**

In March 2007, Canadian photographer and filmmaker Dianne Whelan joined a seven person Canadian Ranger sovereignty patrol on a historic 2,000 km (1,243 mile) snowmobile trip from Resolute to Alert, Nunavut. The group's goal was to plant a titanium Canadian flag on Ward Hunt Island, at the country's northernmost tip, where expedition parties set out for the North Pole just 684 km (425 miles) away.

This symbolic—and successful—flag-raising was "all part of a game of show and tell, the whole point being to make sure the world knows that Canadians are up North protecting their land" (19), Whelan writes in *This Vanishing Land: A Woman's Journey to the Canadian Arctic*, an engaging and

visually stunning book recounting her three-week journey. The Rangers, formed in 1947, patrol uninhabited areas of the country's high Arctic each year, establishing a Canadian presence and serving as "the eyes and the ears of Canada's North" (45). On this particular trip, the Rangers made history by patrolling the northwest coast of Ellesmere Island, which previously had only been partially travelled in 1906 by American explorer Robert Peary.

Whelan, who also filmed the trip for a companion documentary titled *This Land*, was the first woman to accompany the Rangers on such a patrol. In a breezy, informal narrative style, she describes the patrol's adventures, interspersing her day-to-day reporting with historical anecdotes about the High Arctic, and musings about the region's future as its warming climate attracts the attention of foreign countries interested in navigating the Northwest Passage and extracting minerals from beneath the melting ice.

Especially vivid are Whelan's matter-of-fact descriptions of the hassles and hazards facing patrol members, each of whom drove a snowmobile that pulled a *komatik*—a one ton, 1.2 metre by 5.5 metre (4 foot by 18 foot) wooden sled used for carrying food, fuel, tools, tents, and other supplies. Whelan was told early on that "the *komatik* is not your friend" (23), a warning that later proved prophetic when she and other patrol members were slammed by the sleds, suffering bruises and sprains, but miraculously avoiding death or broken bones. On another occasion, Whelan and others were flipped off their snowmobiles when they hit crush ice and other rough terrain, then treated their injuries with painkillers dubbed "Arctic candy." She also heard of a Ranger who lost part of his leg to a polar bear, and was unnerved to find polar bear prints outside her tent one morning. She moved slowly in her eighty pounds of gear—including a goose-down jacket, Sorel boots, and a facemask—since sweating in arctic winter temperatures can be fatal. She dined mostly on lukewarm water, noodles, dried caribou, and a flat bread called bannock. She writes, dryly, "In the High Arctic everyday occurrences are an adventure" (65).

This Vanishing Land chronicles how the Rangers combine old-school intuition with new technology such as radios and airplane support to survive in the harsh environment, where at one point on Whelan's journey the temperature (with wind chill) dipped to minus 100 degrees Fahrenheit (minus 73 degrees Celsius). The snowmobiles, GPS devices, and aerial maps all helped the team navigate the terrain, but when they reached difficult areas, they still relied on someone to "read the ice and tell us where to go" (110). One ingenious Ranger plugged a leak in his

snowmobile crank case using rubber from the sole of a boot. Whelan notes that the Inuit Rangers in particular "can build an igloo, kill a seal for food or sense their way out of a blizzard" (46).

The book's title works on two levels, one referencing the literal melting of ice and snow in the region due to warming oceans. As Whelan recounts, the thickness of the sea ice of Jones Sound was only one metre (three feet, three inches) when the patrol crossed over it, while it used to be four times thicker. The patrol also passed by the area where the sixty-six square kilometre (twenty-five square mile) Ayles Ice Shelf broke off in 2005. Whelan describes how the seasons in the Arctic are shifting. "Today everything is changing," notes Ranger Roger Hitkolok. "From where I am now, we are starting to have long summers and short winters. We used to have a breakup on July first, but today it's earlier, maybe June first and we don't have any more ice left in the ocean by the fifteenth. But years ago I used to travel on a dog team in July" (101).

The title's second level refers to the impending changes in the way of life in the High Arctic as a result of such melting. Whelan makes the point that the warming of the Northwest Passage and its opening as a shipping route threatens the very national sovereignty that the Canadian Patrol is trying to protect. While the Canadian government says the passage is part of Canada's domestic waters, the United States and other countries insist that the passage, once navigable, will constitute international waters. Whelan also notes that throughout Arctic history, "every visiting nation came here to take something away. In the 1600s, it was the whaling industry, then land for empires and now resources for exploitation" (27–28). Whelan sums up the ongoing environmental-economic turf battle by writing that "while some relish the prospect of the riches to be made off the billions of barrels of oil hidden under the ice, others see the developments up there as an ecological crisis in the making" (15).

This Vanishing Land works well as a first-person travelogue of a trip through the High Arctic. Whelan does an especially nice job of inserting historical anecdotes and oral history sidebars into the narrative. She excels at describing the daily hardships of travelling in the Arctic and bluntly details her own struggles and triumphs on the journey. Considering that the locals bet 23-to-1 that she wouldn't finish the trip, she takes great pride in reaching Alert, the world's most northerly human habitat. The book is handsomely printed on slick, glossy paper with more than 100 colour photographs documenting Whelan's journey. Its drawbacks—typographical errors and the occasional jarringly colloquial remark—could have been fixed with closer editing. A more detailed map of the patrol's

route would also have been helpful. But these are minor details in view of Whelan's overall success in providing the armchair explorer, or anyone interested in the future of the Arctic, with a vivid travelogue that doubles as both a valentine and a lament to a harsh, beautiful place on the cusp of change.

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***Face to Face: Polar Portraits*. By Huw Lewis-Jones. Photography by Martin Hartley. Cambridge: Scott Polar Research Institute, 2008. 288 pp. b&w and colour illus., further reading, index.**

Though Scott wrote upon reaching the South Pole in 1912, "[A]ll the day dreams must go … Great God! This is an awful place," the regularity of expeditions both north and south attest to the tenacity of the polar dream (14). His death, like the death of Franklin and his men in the Far North, seems to have in fact spurred adventurers, pioneers, and tourists—in addition to the nations and institutions that have established scientific bases near the poles—to seek out the ends of the earth today. Huw Lewis-Jones, art curator at the Scott Polar Research Institute, has compiled and written *Face to Face: Polar Portraits*, a collection of portraits both old and new "featuring men and women of many nations, exploring, working and living in the polar regions" (47). Specifically, the book offers sizable (and technically perfect) photographs of 100 historical and contemporary polar scientists, travellers, and residents as a means to "recover and to celebrate the range of contributions within this modern landscape—and to reflect upon the memory and the legacies of exploration and survival in the polar world" (47).

The book includes a foreword by the celebrated adventurer Sir Ranulph Fiennes on "The Changing Face of Exploration"; an essay by Lewis-Jones on the history and roles of photography and the portrait in shaping public awareness of the polar regions; a refreshing discussion between Lewis-Jones and Martin Hartley, the photographer of many of the contemporary portrait; and a powerful afterword by anthropologist Hugh Brody. As Lewis-Jones states, the book makes a claim for expanding our understanding of life at the poles, and many of the photographs included offer a new view on human experience and endeavour there. The faces of Scott, Shackleton, Henson, Peary, Franklin, Fiennes, Amundsen, and Messner are familiar; the more fascinating portraits are those of the

people who lived (and live) behind the scenes: mechanics, cooks, kayaking teachers. These people, so essential to the historical and continued success of polar travel (whether nationalist, scientific, or adventurous), deserve the recognition they receive in this book, and it is a pleasure to see them celebrated here alongside the public icons.

At first read, the organization of the photographs is somewhat baffling: the collection is based neither on chronology nor expedition, and Lewis-Jones provides no prefatory explanation for his choice of order. Almost in spite of the variety of images, however, a narrative thread emerges. Looking only at the portraits, the images appear to have little in common, other than the climate in which they were taken, and even this connection is spurious, as several portraits are studio shots. Within the commentary, however, subtle connections appear, and often ones of character, rather than accomplishment. The delicate connections between these portraits and the stories behind their subjects reveal Lewis-Jones's skill as an artistic director; the development of the narrative path from photograph to photograph is impressive in its subtlety. Because expedition members are not grouped together, occasionally the commentary is repetitive, but this infraction is minor compared to the satisfaction the reader enjoys in making the connections between portraits and personalities.

Though the photographs are the core of the book, the conversation between Lewis-Jones and Hartley that is included after the portraits is perhaps the most enlightening part of it since, as curator and photographer respectively, the two of them discuss the tensions between reality and representation, client desires and sponsor requirements, and what in fact makes a person an explorer. Hartley points to a contemporary "PR fog" surrounding human activity at the poles, arguing that "the word 'explorer' has been abused to the extent that the media employ the word openly to describe anyone that is not going on a package holiday" (258). While the interconnected commentary and the placement of the portraits does not dispel this fog, the discussion does, with Hartley stating unequivocally that his own understanding of what historically constituted an explorer was a person "who left the shores of [his or her] own country and ventured into an unknown to discover new things and bring knowledge back home for everyone to benefit from" (258). Interestingly, many of the people Hartley himself has photographed for the book fall outside this definition.

Indeed, though in his essay "Photography Then" Lewis-Jones sees "something essential that unites the old with the new" (43), in reading the narratives that accompany the photographs, it feels as if something has been lost between the heroic age of exploration and today's push for "first

attainment," even though the sense of competition remains the same. Perhaps this narrative break is best summed up by the comment offered by Dominick Arduin, a French woman who died on her solo (supported) crossing to the North Pole in 2004. Upon observing a group of fellow trekkers being airlifted over an expanse of thin ice, Arduin opined, "I want a real expedition, not that f**king bulls**t" (138). The "real expedition" Arduin and her contemporaries strive for is basically the opposite of what the explorers of old planned for themselves. Indeed, as Franklin's own expedition (and those of others who went after him both to the North and the South) show, the explorers of the "heroic age" tried to recreate as much as possible the comforts of home, not to abandon them. The picture of Scott in his cabin writing letters at a wooden desk, surrounded by his books and photographs of loved ones, is a testament to the explorer's efforts to bring a patina of normalcy to life on the ice (278). And, as the historical narratives of many narrow escapes reveal, an expedition in the "heroic age" would not have been abandoned over a broken binding.

The question Lewis-Jones asks concerning explorer aesthetics encourages his readers to interrogate their own definitions of what an explorer is: "Does an explorer need to appear frostbitten and adventurous to be seen as heroic and do we require faces like these to imagine their achievement?" (22). While the vast majority of contemporary polar travellers appear coated in rime and encased in technologically enhanced outerwear, the answer offered by the older portraits is "no." More than the contemporary portraits, in which, in Hartley's words, the "polar gladiator" looks directly at the camera, the older photographs show men much more at ease in their environment. Admittedly, many of the photographs were taken in the studio—the fake snow gracing John Cheyne's fur cap and coat is particularly endearing—but even those that were not, show individuals actually involved in the work of exploration: looking through binoculars, holding penguins bound for the cooking pot, or smoking a pipe, rather than looking back at the viewer. The older portraits, more than conveying a sense of nostalgia, reveal both the chivalry and the realism that helped define the heroic age of exploration in spite of its ruthless competition.

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***Isuma: Inuit Video Art.* By Michael Robert Evans. London & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008. xiv + 242 pp. References, index.**

This is a good book. I strongly agree with the author's initial statement: "Just as Inuit art should take its place among the great arts of the world, Inuit videography should take its place among the great Inuit arts" (3).

The work is based on over 400 interviews, mostly using an Inuktitut-speaking interpreter, conducted during nine months of field research in Igloolik in 1999. The author is an experienced journalist-turned-folklorist who pursued his PhD with the famed folklorist Henry Glassie. The weakest section of the book, Chapter 3, considers video as folklore—referencing the narrator-source, the nature and size of the audience, and the methods of transmission and feedback.

The book focuses on three institutions in the Canadian Arctic community of Igloolik (population 1,100) that make videos (movies and TV programs). The first is the local studio of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC), a network funded and directed from Ottawa where most local video makers, including Zacharias Kunuk, were trained and have worked. The second, Igloolik Isuma Productions, a video collective started by Kunuk that has produced many famous videos of the Arctic (see below), is the main focus of the book. The third, Tariagsuk Video Centre, is a community video maker, the umbrella organization for the women's video collective Arnait Ikajurtigiit, led by Montrealer Marie-Hélèn Cousineau.

The author, following the guiding principles at Isuma, has a strong ideological objective, which one may summarize as the decolonization of Inuit video making. Kunuk, his collaborator and cameraman Norman Cohn, and others believe that IBC, although it initiated and trained Inuit to make films and television programs while pursuing the worthwhile goal of enabling Inuit to make their own television in the Inuktitut language, is a treacherous institution which still works under *Qallunaat* (non-Inuit, especially white) imperatives typified by an Ottawa-controlled budgeting system, rigid deadlines, and the practice of filming pre-scripted stories. Isuma, on the other hand, follows flexible schedules, depending as much on funding as on weather, allows stories to unfold "naturally," and provides semi-scripted guidelines which the actors interpret in their own way. Second, Isuma makes films to present an insider's perspective, countering the long history of films made by outsiders, especially Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* and Asen Balikci's *Netsilik* series. Evans rightly points out that Isuma does not present the Inuit point of view but, rather, a personal and strongly principled one.

The main chapters of the book give accounts of the filmmaking and films made by Isuma. While working for IBC, Kunuk made his non-narrative "collage," *From Inuk Point of View* (1985), prior to Isuma's incorporation in 1990. Producer/director Kunuk, working with cameraman Cohn, writer and editor Paul Apak, and cultural narrator Pauloosie Quliktalik, then made a series of videos recreating Inuit life in the 1930s, recalling the Inuit world experienced by their parents, a world dependent on trading with white agents but still nomadic—before schools, wooden housing, compulsory education, and the sedentarization of the 1960s. These films present a viable and admirable Inuit life, one in accord with Kunuk's desire to capture and represent traditional Inuit knowledge and skills both to younger Inuit and to the outside world. They include *Qaggiq* [Meeting House] (1989), about the community igloo, scenes of rituals and games cementing local solidarity; *Nunaqpa* [Going on the Land] (1991), about co-operative caribou hunting as a necessary and ordinary part of life; and *Saputi* [the Weir] (1993), in which three Inuit families construct a fishing weir to which fish never come, an unexceptional Inuit life experience.

Evans then turns to contemporary documentaries, starting with *Sananguakti* [The Carvers] (1995), which depicts an economically and culturally important Inuit occupation, followed by the opportunistic *Arvik!* [Bowhead Whale] (1998), about an unplanned "illegal" whale hunt by untrained hunters who relied on the knowledge of a few elders. This latter film upholds the Isuma ideal of handing on traditional knowledge while in this case working to secure the Inuit right to hunt a whale every two years. The next film that Evans discusses, *Nipi (Voice)* [Sound] (1999) examines changes in power, wealth, and the transmission of information in 1999, the year that Nunavut was officially created.

Following the completion of these early films, Isuma embarked on its most ambitious project, the production of a full-scale feature film, *Atanarjuat: the Faster Runner* (2001), a story of jealousy, shamanism, murder, and revenge based on a centuries-old Igloolik *unikatuak* [myth-story]. In 2001, *Atanarjuat* won the Camera d'Or Prize at the Cannes Film Festival and brought Isuma worldwide fame. Nevertheless, Isuma has always suffered from funding problems because, unlike IBC or CBC, it is a private entity and because of its unorthodox organization and production methods (128–133). The author witnessed the making of *Atanarjuat* and the publication of his new book on this topic is imminent. Interestingly, he shows that the film has an ending entirely different from the three oral versions of the *unikatuak*, suggesting that Isuma wanted to stress the traditional Inuit value of community order, though personally I think

the benign conclusion reflects half a century of Christianity. Evans goes on to discuss Isuma's next feature film, *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* (2006), a nostalgic story about the victory of Christianity over the world of animism and shamanism, made after the author left Igloolik. He notes its mixed reception in the South which exemplifies the difficulty Isuma has in pleasing its multiple audiences while sticking to its principles.

Perhaps the most interesting information in the book concerns the personnel of Isuma. Zacharias Kunuk was born in 1957 near Igloolik, and was perhaps reared as a *sipiniq* (a boy raised as a girl, often creative individuals). He took to video as a teenager. Norman Cohn is an American experimental videomaker who met Kunuk at a workshop in Iqaluit, where he also met Marie-Hélèn Cousineau, a Montreal artist, with whom he shares a house in Igloolik; they have a son in Montreal. Paul Apak was a writer and editor who died young while making *Atanarjuat*. And Paulossie Qulitalik, also a founder of Isuma who has worked for IBC, is an authority on Inuit culture and wants to promote it through film.

There are two surprising omissions in the book: references to the important Inuit-made film, *Starting Fire With Gunpowder* (1991), about the origins, growth, and programming of IBC itself (and which features Paul Apak), and Saladin d'Anglure's very thorough book *Atanarjuat, la légende de l'homme rapid* (2002). There are also two minor errors of translation. The first (xii) repeats the erroneous belief that "Eskimo" means "eaters of raw flesh," whereas we have long known that it derives from an Algonkian word for 'stranger' or 'enemy'. Secondly, *piujuq* (179) does not mean "pretty face," but merely "good" or "beautiful."

This is an outstanding book, not only for its accounts of Isuma, but for its discussion of rapid changes in the Canadian North and the creation of Nunavut.

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***Tukiliit: The Stone People Who Live in the Wind. An Introduction to Inuksuit and Other Stone Figures of the North*. By Norman Hallendy. Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 2009. 128 pp. 90 colour photographs.**

Norman Hallendy, who has already gained acclaim as an expert on *inuksuit*, has produced yet another book on the subject, this one illustrated with a truly exceptional array of his own photographs. *Tukiliit: The Stone People Who Live in the Wind* goes far beyond a description of the various forms of these unique stone markers to compare their use in ancient times through to the present. And whereas inuksuit means "to act in the capacity of a human," Hallendy uses the broader term *tukiliit* (have meaning), in his title to signal the wider scope of his most recent work

At the outset, Hallendy attempts to place tukiliit in context by comparing them with other stone figures found in Greenland, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands, suggesting that they might represent links to the Viking colony on Greenland dating back to 1000 BCE. But then he points to other ancient stone cairns built in Tibet and Mongolia, honoured even today by Buddhists, and a stone figure that resembles a human at Lake Baikal in Siberia. He also photographs a large pile of stones built by the Moapi Indians in the Nevada desert, one of the many markers along the Palute trails that extended from Oregon to California. The use of stones in ancient times to act as navigational aids or to mark sacred places appears to be a widespread practice among cultures with no written language. Hallendy then documents nature's own masterpieces of stone carved into dramatic forms by receding glaciers. To suggest that these formations are thought provoking is an understatement.

For the most part, however, the book focuses on the tukiliit of the Canadian Arctic to provide insight into the material culture of the remarkable people who made them. These "silent messengers" have multiple purposes, ranging from navigation to marking danger, favourite hunting grounds, or wind direction. Some even point to the pole star or mid-winter moon. Others have spiritual meaning, marking a sacred place or standing as memorials to a tragic event, perhaps honouring the death of a loved one. Some are said to contain a spirit and must never be touched. Then there are those in the form of a doorway through which shamans pass into the spirit world.

Hallendy also describes in words and photographs the largest and most impressive site for viewing tukiliit in the Canadian Arctic, a place called Inuksugulait on the southwest Baffin coast. Here an estimated 200

stone figures are found in all shapes and sizes—some over two meters high—and no two alike.

This is a striking book of lasting significance, a must-read for any hiker planning a trip across the Arctic tundra; it might even be carried in one's backpack as a guide. The singular importance of *Tukiliit: The Stone People Who Live in the Wind*, however, is the inspiration it imparts. For the casual visitor to the Arctic, it may simply trigger the impulse to take a second look at that mound of stone on the horizon. For the photographer, it is a reminder of the endless opportunities to seek deeper meaning beyond the landscape.

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***After the Ice: Life, Death, and Geopolitics in the New Arctic*. By Alun Anderson. New York: Smithsonian Books, 2009. 298 pp.**

According to Alun Anderson, the aim of his book, *After the Ice: Life, Death, and Geopolitics in the New Arctic*, is to provide a broad sketch of political developments across the entire Arctic. His reason for taking on this project is that even though there are numerous academic experts in a variety of disciplines who deal with a tiny region of the Arctic (or a narrow topical area related to it) there are no experts on the entire Arctic who have a vision of the whole region. He admits that his goal is ambitious. He began his career as a research biologist but has more recently become a science journalist and editor, making him well positioned to take on the task of drawing together scientific findings about the Arctic from a wide variety of human and physical science disciplines. Anderson does an excellent job of giving voice to experts in these disciplines.

A strength of the book is that it is well written and quite readable. Its style is accessible, journalistic, in parts almost lyrical. Anderson is a keen observer who has travelled extensively throughout the Arctic and has spoken at length with numerous experts on the region—or at least parts or aspects of the region. He does not have an agenda other than to lay out the basic facts about climate change and its impacts on the Arctic. He admirably admits gaps in his knowledge and draws rather extensively on the research of those who have dedicated their careers to understanding the region. He has attended a number of key conferences where Arctic researchers have presented their work He successfully integrates findings

from the social and natural sciences and highlights the human-nature interactions that are so crucial to understanding the Arctic.

While he gets many of the basic facts correct, he makes a few errors. For example, when discussing Chukotka, he mentions only recent government plans to depopulate the region by encouraging out-migration, leaving just a small Indigenous core. This discussion neglects other out-migration schemes developed in Chukotka and other northern regions since the breakup of the Soviet Union, as well as the massive voluntary out-migration from the North that has taken place in recent decades. Also, the Arctic Marine Shipping Assessment (AMSA), released by the Arctic Council in April 2009, was not, as described by the author, an "Executive Summary" (210), but was the entire negotiated report of nearly two hundred pages. AMSA began in 2004, and during 2005 Arctic shipping data was requested from the Arctic states. These data are not out of date in 2010, as suggested by the author. Only a handful of additional ships have sailed the Northern Sea Route since AMSA began, and a similarly small number of cruise ships have sailed recently in Greenlandic waters. Finally, the simple maps in the book are well drawn and helpful, but it would have been beneficial if they had been numbered and cited in the text.

In addition to an introduction and "finale," the book is organized into five sections: "People," "Ice," "Borders," "Animals," and "Oil and Ships." The geographic focus of the book is on the Arctic Ocean and the Arctic coast; less attention is paid to the Subarctic. This focus is particularly apparent in the section on people, which deals with the Inuit of Nunavut and the high Arctic relocations that have taken place in that territory. A second chapter focuses on the nomads of the Yamal Peninsula in Russia and the impact that oil and gas development is having on their lifestyles. Anderson does well here to differentiate reindeer herding on Yamal, where herd sizes have stayed steady during the post-Soviet period in part because of subsidies from oil and gas companies), from the same practice in Chukotka in post-Soviet times when herd sizes have plummeted. The section on ice starts with a visit to the Fram Museum in Olso, then discusses the 2006 voyage of the *Tara*, which sought to retrace the journey of Norwegian explorer Fridtjof Wedel-Jarlsberg Nansen more than a century earlier. It then moves onto a discussion of sea-ice monitoring and the many scientists who are involved in this effort through a variety of methods. This section then segues into the next, "Borders," which analyzes the implications of melting sea ice on geopolitical claims. It starts with a discussion of the well-known episode involving the planting of the Russian flag on the seabed at the North Pole in 2007, before moving onto a discussion of the Law of the

Sea Treaty, Svalbard, and Arctic tourism. Polar bears, seals, walruses, and invasive species from the South, and their impact on the Arctic ecosystem, are covered in the section on animals. The next section, "Oil and Ships," focuses on the high stakes battle for Arctic oil and the effects of sea-ice change on shipping. It ends on a gloomy note by arguing that current international treaties are likely to be insufficient. Each of these sections can only cover a few of the major issues causing change in the Arctic, and, while neglecting some important matters, they provide a helpful overview of the people, institutions, and issues influenced by such change.

Anderson's ambitious goal is to provide a broad sketch of significant recent developments in the Arctic. He has accomplished this objective without being encyclopedic. In his conclusion, the author, like many of us who study the Arctic, affirms that great change is coming to the region but remains uncertain about the exact contours of this change. Minor flaws aside, the book is well worth reading—for both scholars of the Arctic and, especially, lay people or students who wish a short, readable introduction to this important region.

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***Anthropology and Climate Change: From Encounters to Actions*. Edited by Susan A. Crate and Mark Nuttall. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2009. 416 pp.**

There are many books, articles, and journal issues appearing these days addressing climate change, and with only so much time in the day, why read this one? This collection is one of a still small number of monographs devoted to anthropology and climate change (see also Strauss and Orlove, eds. *Weather, Climate, Culture* [2003] or Cruikshank, *Do Glaciers Listen?* [2005]). It is an important addition to the literature on the human dimensions of climate change in its scope, contributions, and theme. Crate and Nuttall have successfully brought the local to bear upon the global with their selection of essays; the research and questions are timely and abreast of the most recent theoretical and interdisciplinary literature; and the collection takes as a central theme the possibilities for anthropologists to not only investigate the human dimensions of climate change, but also to act.

The collection is structured into three parts. The chapters in Part One, "Climate and Culture," survey the existing literature, examine the opportunities provided by anthropological research to recognize

how different cultures understand, value, and interact with weather and climate, and assess the significance of displacement as central to the social experience of climate change. Part Two, "Anthropological Encounters," presents eleven case studies of the past, present, and anticipated impacts of climate change upon vulnerable communities across the globe (found in Tuvalu, Papua New Guinea, the United States, Botswana, Australia, Bangladesh, the Arctic, the Andes, and the Alps). Part Three, "Anthropological Actions," offers examples of and reflections upon interventions in policy and climate change responses undertaken by anthropologists. For those interested in northern studies, it is worth pointing out that six of the twenty chapters in Parts Two and Three draw on examples from the Circumpolar North.

Overall, the structure of the book is intelligently conceived and comprehensive. The editors have assembled all the right pieces and ordered them in a very effective fashion. The conceptual groundwork laid in Part One introduces the themes necessary for a sophisticated reading of the case studies and anthropological actions. The case studies show the breadth of impacts upon subsistence, spirituality, and political engagement for diverse communities across the globe. The actions offer opportunities to assess and learn from the concrete impacts of anthropological research.

The real intellectual contributions of this collection lie in the synthetic work that it performs in presenting the depth of our understanding of the recent human experience of climate change. As a historian reading this collection in its entirety, it became clear to me that we have a history of anthropogenic climate change dating back to the 1970s. Bolin describes over a decade of "climatic extremes here and elsewhere in the Andes [which] have contributed to floods, catastrophic droughts, heat waves, and cold spells" (235). Jacka began his fieldwork in Papua New Guinea in the late 1990s, in the immediate aftermath of massive fires in the tropical rain forests of Indonesia. As several of the authors in this collection acknowledge, there is also a much longer history of human relations with weather and climatic variability (ancient, for example, or from the Little Ice Age). Typically, however, contemporary discourse is marked by scepticism about the relevance of distant examples when dealing with the exceptional scale and pace of, and the role of human responsibility for, the climatic changes presently underway. This collection dispels such wilful ignorance by demonstrating that the disasters of contemporary climate change lie not in some ambiguous, uncertain future, but in the past and the present.

What, then, can we learn from the anthropological encounters of the last quarter century with climate change? First, the essays in this collection apply and elaborate upon the key concepts—most notably *adaptation*, *vulnerability*, and *resiliency*—necessary to assess how communities deal with and could foresee a future in a changing climate. When it comes to questions of adaptation, the collected essays demonstrate that a key issue is not just realizing what communities can do, but also how they understand the changes they face. This is a point raised most provocatively by Marino and Schweitzer, who highlight the divergent responses elicited from Inupiaq in northwestern Alaska, depending on whether they were asked about changes in the local environment rather than "climate change" and "global warming." Such divergence led these authors to conclude that "perhaps anthropology's best contribution to understanding global climate change will come when, as anthropologists, we stop talking about it" (216). The point here is twofold: first, contemporary climate change comes with its own conceptual framework, which is distinct from climate changes in the longer course of human history. The two need to be investigated separately. Second, climate change is not just about climate, but is tied up with broader environmental changes and the global transformations of place.

Contributors make this latter point, regarding the broader environmental character of climate change and its impacts, seem at once obvious and overwhelming. Most striking is the significance of water impacts—drought, flooding, storm surges, and scarcity—upon human communities. These impacts demonstrate how climate change is ultimately indivisible from the wider context of late twentieth and early twenty-first century ecological decline. Such connections are made explicit, as in Button and Peterson's examination of a participatory research action project underway in Grand Bayou, Louisiana. Here, the destruction of freshwater marshes, combined with the sinking of coastal Louisiana, has undermined natural defences against destructive storms, such as Hurricane Katrina (331–2). The fact that climate change and its impacts will not be confined to experiencing colder or warmer weather, but will rather reverberate through all aspects of local and regional environments, highlights the importance of anthropological research, which has long provided theoretical concepts and methodologies that focus on the "dynamic interface of natural and human systems under change" (176).

Similarly, the anthropological emphasis upon place is central to the discipline's perspective on climate change. This collection resonates with the significance of the loss of places, as well as life, resulting from climate

change (see chapters by Oliver-Smith, Crate, Colombi, and Bartlett and Stewart). Crate emphasizes the transformation of "spaces, symbolic forms, and places" as a consequence of global climate change. "It follows that the result will be great loss … of the very human-environment interactions that are a culture's core" (148). With this emphasis in mind, it was disappointing that several chapters in Part Three, both from the United States and the Arctic, did not give adequate attention to the fact that their analyses were indeed situated in very specific places and that the peculiarities of those places "that affect global climate change" are as important as the uniqueness of "the affected" (399).

The concluding chapter, by editors Crate and Nuttall, makes a strong case for the importance of interdisciplinarity between the natural and social sciences. Anticipating and dealing with global climate change and its impacts demands not only understanding the complex details of local and regional climates, but also understanding regional lifeways and socio-economic circumstance (397). Anthropologists and others from the social sciences and humanities need to be much more involved in conversations about policy and responses. Does interdisciplinary collaboration then follow? The very strengths of this collection suggest the answer is "not necessarily." At the level of larger syntheses, or policy documents, the case for anthropological (and other social science) contributions is clear. But the chapters in this collection do not make the case for interdisciplinary research collaboration. Rather, they highlight the particular strengths of an anthropological approach, which, with its attention to human interrelationships with the environment and its emphasis upon advocacy and politics in the present, has much to teach us about contextualizing the human experience of climate change.

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***Aleut Identities: Tradition and Modernity in an Indigenous Fishery*. By Katherine L. Reedy-Maschner. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010. xxii + 314 pp. Bibliography, index.**

This is a timely book on a relatively neglected group and economy within the anthropological literature: the Aleuts of Alaska and their fisheries livelihoods. Katherine L. Reedy-Maschner takes early issue with the tired stereotype of Alaska Natives as timeless indigenes practising a "traditional" subsistence culture. In contrast to "subsistence absolutism," the Aleuts have been part of the modern global economy since the Russians arrived

in Alaska in the eighteenth century to pursue the sea otter trade. Thus they pursue subsistence in a way that is "inextricably tangled with commercial fishing, and their identity and relationships are negotiated and affirmed in the process of pursuing both" (3).

The book is organized to analyze these processes of identity development and maintenance amid significant changes in the fishing economy. Chapter 1 outlines the historical development and contemporary nature of Eastern Aleut participation in commercial fishing with limited comparisons to other Native and non-Native groups. Chapter 2 evaluates the evolution of Aleut identity in terms of social status, inequality, and hierarchy amid historical changes. Chapter 3 analyzes the processes and constraints that define modern Aleut as fishermen and fishing communities, particularly the complex regulatory and limited entry requirements which have shaped modern engagement with fish in terms of space, time, technology, and the organization of labour, with the author giving due consideration to Aleut responses (not necessarily adaptations) to changing conditions in both the regulatory and physical environments. A more conventional ethnographic chapter on Eastern Aleut social and gender construction follows, which, as the author makes clear, cannot be divorced from the fishing economy. Next, Chapters 5 and 6 chart the marginalization and disenfranchisement of Aleuts in "Area M" (the hopelessly alienated managers' name for their fishing region) through their subordinating links to dominant global and state economic, environmental, and sociocultural structures and concerns, including conservation and subsistence. Finally, in Chapter 7, the commercial fishing lens is used to draw conclusions about Aleut efforts to "fish" for status and identity in particular, and how the messiness of their ethnic (mixed Aleut, Russian, Scandinavian), livelihood (commercial fishing, subsistence hunting, fishing, gathering, and other wage work), and cultural (hybrid forms) identities creates conflicts both from within (limited fishing roles) and without (perceptions as not traditional Alaska Natives, etc.).

In contrast to their Yup'ik Eskimo neighbours, the Eastern Aleut do not identify themselves primarily as subsistence hunters and fishers, but rather have strong historical investment in commercial fisheries that are vital not only to their occupational and cultural identity but constrain their very participation in the subsistence economy in fundamental ways. This pattern is perhaps best exemplified by the fact that the lion's share of subsistence harvests are those retained for household use from commercial fishing. Thus, according to Alaska Department of Fish and Game statistics for King Cove, the author's primary field site, 38 percent of wild resources

retained for subsistence were taken by commercial fishermen, a figure Reedy-Maschner expects is "probably low" since it does not include all species collected and processed as "by-products" of commercial fishing (95). From this, it is obvious that without commercial fishing the Aleut subsistence economy would be radically transformed, if not diminished. More than "subsistence," the phrase "indigenous commercial economies" captures the reality of twenty-first century Aleuts, complete with the vulnerabilities of overcapitalization, local and global competition, and conservation and allocation politics. These pressures are manifest in a variety of conflicts and challenges both within Aleut communities and between Aleuts and more "traditional" (read less commercial) Alaska Natives like the Yupiit.

The Aleut themselves are acutely aware of these contingencies and seek the Weberian dimensions of status—wealth, power, and prestige—accordingly. Hence, "being a capable [commercial] fisherman is the essence of being an Aleut man," and "women support their activities by providing supplies on the boat and taking care of in-home responsibilities" and also by supplementing family incomes through their own employment either directly in the fishing enterprise or in complementary wage work (139–140). Reedy-Maschner combines statistics on commercial and subsistence fish and wildlife harvests with demographic and socio-economic data (including crime statistics) to bolster her arguments and impressions based on approximately twenty months of fieldwork in King Cove and close contacts with a number of King Cove Aleut families. She does not gloss over social problems but rather argues, perhaps too speculatively, that "access to alcohol, sex, and violence are the only means that some individuals have to stand out among their contemporaries" (240), since opportunities for prestige within contemporary Indigenous commercial economies are quite limited.

Aleut Identities is a welcome addition to the small contemporary ethnographic literature on this relatively neglected group and the nature of commercial fishing in rural Alaska. There are some minor shortcomings, however. While Reedy-Maschner rightly emphasizes the exceptional nature of Aleut communities in the history of Alaska, this is overdrawn at times. All Alaska Natives function in mixed (subsistence and wage or commercial) economies and have for a long time, and to say that Aleut have participated in a monetary economy for "much longer" than other Alaska Natives is to ignore the history of commercial hunting and fishing in places like Southeast Alaska. At times a more comparative framework for analyzing both ethnic processes and the

balance of commercial and subsistence economies among Alaska Natives (and perhaps similar communities) would have been helpful. In addition, the author's conclusions are rather tepid, and statements such as "Socio-economic change will not be detrimental if it enables identity to expand around core principles that are maintained. Nothing is static; internal and external factors have an impact on identity," border on the facile, given the dynamism and complexity of ethnic identity politics and mobilization among northern Indigenous peoples today. The author also could have delved deeper into what kind of fishing economy might be developed to better serve Aleut "core principles," perhaps drawing on the work of others, such as Courtenay Carothers, who have examined "rationalization" of the Alaskan fisheries and their impacts on fishing communities. Despite these limitations, this deftly-written and moving ethnography should become standard for those seeking to understand Alaskan Aleut communities, fisheries, and identities today.

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***The Radio Eye: Cinema of the North Atlantic*, 1958–1988. By Jerry White. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009. 285 pp. Illustrations, index.**

Jerry White's *The Radio Eye: Cinema of the North Atlantic, 1958–1988* is the most recent addition to the prolific Wilfrid Laurier University Press Film and Media Studies Series. While the series was only launched in 2006, it already includes six texts (including White's), and two more are scheduled to be released by 2011. *The Radio Eye* is not only a welcome addition to the series, but also to the canon of media scholarship on the North Atlantic region.

The title and thesis of the book are derived from a concept developed in the theoretical writings of Russian filmmaker Dziga Vertov (1896–1954). Readers unfamiliar with Vertov and the application of his theories in contemporary media studies need not be put off by what might appear to be a discourse-specific focus here. In his introduction, White succinctly lays out Vertov's theories of the radio-eye and its parent concept, the kino-eye, before sketching out the status of these concepts in contemporary media theory and establishing their relevance for his own work. This is all done in accessible and jargon-free language. For those unfamiliar with Vertov's work, the radio-eye and its related concept of *radiopravda* (radio

truth) are derived from kino-eye and *kinopravda* (film truth), which Vertov defined in his essay, "The Birth of Kino-Eye," as filming "in order to show people without masks, without makeup, to catch them through the eye of the camera in a moment when they are not acting, to read their thoughts, laid bare by the camera." The abstract, community-building potential embedded within the concept of the radio-eye is what interests White most. This potential inspires his close reading of regionalism/minority nationalism and language politics in the four case studies that make up his text. The radio-eye is not rigorously applied as a methodological apparatus in the book; rather it is present as a concept with which White is in constant negotiation.

After establishing his relationship with his conceptual interlocutor, White devotes the remainder of his introduction to examining the remaining two concepts upon which his title and thesis are constructed—cinema and the North Atlantic—as well as areas excluded by his study. These sections will be useful to both the general reader and the specialist; they provide fresh contexts for understanding these concepts and describe key works that have informed White's contextualisation of them. One thing missing from the introduction, however, is an explanation of the time period *The Radio Eye* focuses on. While the book's acknowledgments clearly explain the diasporic intellectual beginnings of the project—particularly how the text arose out of related but not immediately connected areas of interest—it is uncertain whether or not the time span of 1958–1988 has any other significance than signalling the beginning and ending of the media projects considered in the text. In this sense, the date range that appears in the book's title functions similarly to the idea of the radio-eye itself: they are both conceptual placeholders rather than rigid denotations. While unclear in this instance, *The Radio Eye's* ability to avoid conceptual confusion is one of its strengths.

The four case studies that comprise the bulk of the main body of the text are split between two sections. The first section, "The Islands," contains three case studies: the work of the Québécois film and radio artist Pierre Perrault (Chapter 1); the National Film Board of Canada's Newfoundland Project (Chapter 2); and Sjónvarp Felagíð í Havn (the Faroe Islands' Tórshavn Television Association) (Chapter 3). The second section, "The Gaeltacht" (referring here to the Irish-speaking regions of Ireland), is somewhat idiosyncratic by comparison. Beginning with a case study that outlines the uses of media by Gaeltacht activists, the subsequent three chapters in this section compare Gaeltacht media activists and programs with the case studies from the first section of the book. Chapter 4 pairs

Desmond Fennell (former ideologue among the Gaeltacht media activists) with Pierre Perrault; Chapter 5 compares Cinegael (the Gaeltacht-based film production group helmed by Bob Quinn) with the Newfoundland Project; and Chapter 6 pairs Telefís na Gaeltachta (Gaeltacht Television) with developments in the Faroe Islands. This unique methodological approach proves extremely rich. While White's case studies are presented in a chronological fashion that moves the reader in an eastward direction, the placement and centrality of the Gaeltacht media experiments in his argument works to strengthen the connections with the preceding case studies, thereby solidifying the importance of the concept of the radio-eye within this geographical context.

White's novel methodological strategies aside, the book functions extremely well as a series of stand-alone case studies for readers looking to broaden their knowledge of the range of audio-visual media initiatives undertaken throughout the North Atlantic region during the second half of the twentieth century and of the politics that have informed them. With the exception of the Newfoundland Project, none of the case studies has received any degree of attention from English-speaking critics. Moreover, as White points out in his discussions of Sjónvarp Felagíð í Havn and the Gaeltacht media experiments, these programs have not received serious attention from critics working in other languages either. Therefore, White's study opens up new geographical areas for scholarship and makes an excellent case for building a new kind of relationship between scholars and media producers in the North Atlantic region.

Given the novelty of some of the subject matter it contains, two problems with the book stand out. The first is the absence of any kind of filmography, comprehensive or otherwise. While White supplies an informative note on his sources and language at the beginning of the text that includes contacts and URLs that can be used to inquire about and order many of the films he discusses, his book contains no textual inventory of the media he discusses. Neither is this media accounted for in the bibliography. This could easily have been done in an appendix. The second problem involves the book's lack of visuals. Of the eight images that are included in the main body of the text, none is a production still. While it is understood that many of the films examined were not available for duplication and therefore could not have production stills excerpted from them, this was not the case with all the films. The omission of visuals is most noticeable in White's discussion of the films of the Newfoundland Project (76–86). Many of these films, as he suggests in his note on sources, have been available through the National Film Board of Canada for some

time. It is unclear why, particularly since White argues so vigorously for the aesthetic vitality of these films, he would make this argument solely using text.

These issues, however, are not significant flaws in the text. Rather, they are two areas in need of improvement in a study that is otherwise inventive and fresh. *The Radio Eye* is necessary reading for anyone with an interest in the development of media in the North Atlantic region in the second half of the twentieth century.

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***The Sea Woman: Sedna in Inuit Shamanism and Art in the Eastern Arctic*. By Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2008. 152 pp. 53 colour photographs and plates.**

Laugrand and Oosten have long been keepers of traditional Inuit oral storytelling and history and have an impressive resume of publications, including their well-known work *Inuit Shamanism and Christianity*. In *The Sea Woman*, they present us with an in-depth look at the role of Sedna in Inuit shamanism and art, with a focus on the Inuit of Nunavut, Canada.

The authors settle comfortably into their topic in the first two chapters, which deal with the mythology concerning the origins of Sedna and the origins of human beings and sea mammals. They explore how Sedna and Sedna-like entities, such as Nuliajuk, vary across regions often shifting in their definitions. The authors then turn to the creation of human beings. They explore origin stories of Inuit, *Qallunaat* (white people), and Natives, as well as the sea mammals, and the linkages between them.

In Chapters 3–5, we travel with the authors and their sources first down to Sedna's undersea dwelling, then through the veil which separates life and death, and finally back up—this time on Sedna's back as she ascends from her home. In these chapters, Laugrand and Oosten explore in great detail the shamanistic rituals associated with these journeys, the roles that they played, and the belief structures that contextualize Sedna and shamanism. The relationship of *tirigusuusiit* (things people had to abstain from) to Sedna and the rituals involved with shamanistic appeasement are addressed throughout this section of the book and tie the other themes together nicely.

A further exploration of shifting boundaries, chapter six pulls together representations of half-human, half-animal beings and examines the nature of transformations in Inuit oral and artistic traditions. This section examines the details in artistic presentations of Sedna, including her clothing—or lack of it—and the common emphasis on her hair. The authors' concluding comments in Chapter 7 bring us to the end of the book too soon.

This is a fine book, but it would have been even better if it had stayed closer to its main purpose. The book does not quite meet its objectives. For example, at times the art work, while beautiful, seems superfluous to the text and not entirely integrated. It is also quite difficult to gather knowledge about contemporary Inuit belief structures and practices from a select population of elders in a culture which has undergone such dramatic and swift change in recent decades. A significant cultural gap exists between elders and youth in Inuit communities and the authors would have done well to keep this in mind when exploring contemporary issues. Lastly, in any study of a large geographical area, even when those in question are from the same ethnic group, regional diversity is a challenge. The authors had the privilege of using material from areas which are deeply traditional as well as from areas which have been in contact with Western culture for longer periods of time. More caution might have been exercised in making claims concerning contemporary culture. Elders from the Qivalliq region, for example, have had very different life experiences from Baffin Island elders and they may differ in what they pass on to the next generation (or to researchers, for that matter).

Laugrand and Oosten have done an admirable job, however, in finding a balance in their presentation of various local versions of these stories and in the overall compilation of local knowledge. The authors explore each local variation and then embed it in the larger context of the other stories in the book and in the larger body of literature on the topic. This is no easy feat.

There are two particular strengths of this book which must not go unacknowledged. Often the appeal of categorization, strict boundary definitions, and disciplined organization sway even the best scholars as they try to make sense of the traditional Inuit world. Laugrand and Oosten have resisted this appeal. Sedna is a complex idea to pin down. It would be all too easy to box her up in rigid categories and to present her along with a few pretty pictures as a tidy package. Instead, here we have Sedna in all her complex glory, presented to us complete with her nuances, her indistinct and convoluted history, and subtle shades, which make her what

she is and help explain the role she played in traditional shamanism and contemporary art. In this way, we come to know Sedna. Inuit traditions are too frequently relegated to the narrow confines of Western belief systems. Sedna and other spiritual beings, as the authors assert, are not, however, comparable to concepts of deities, God, or Mother Nature. The Inuit world is inhabited by different beings—animals, humans, and spiritual beings, all of which are interconnected. It is these interconnections—and their ephemeral qualities—which require our investigation. Fortunately, it is to this that the authors turn their attention. This is an approach both academic and respectful of Inuit traditions.

This respectful approach extends to include acknowledgment of the very real effects of the interplay between Inuit and Qallunaat on the representation of Sedna in contemporary art—art often no longer created by the elders with whom the authors conducted interviews, but by their children (now adults) who have strong beliefs of their own and who attempt to balance these beliefs with knowing the art market. In the introductory section we find the book's second notable strength: an honest discussion of the impact of colonization on the art work of contemporary Inuit.

The Sea Woman is well-organized and presented with beautiful and interesting slides. This is an excellent book for historians and anthropologists as well as for the non-specialists interested in Inuit studies. It is written in a scholarly fashion, yet remains accessible to all and includes engaging stories and explorations of the mysterious and multifaceted Sedna.

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***Navigating Neoliberalism: Self-Determination and the Mikisew Cree First Nation*. By Gabrielle Slowey. Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2008. 98 pages.**

In *Navigating Neoliberalism*, Gabrielle Slowey analyzes political and economic decisions facing the Mikisew Cree First Nation (MCFN) around Fort Chipewyan, Alberta in the context of global neo-liberalism. Largely focused on developments since the settlement of a specific land claim in 1986, her book includes sections on the social characteristics of the MCFN community, theories of neoliberal globalization, historical trajectories of Aboriginal self-determination, politics and economy in northern Alberta,

and MCFN governance. Unfortunately, the brevity of the book does not allow Slowey to do justice to all these topics. She could have improved the work by including more interview and policy data, more critical evaluation and triangulation of existing primary and secondary sources, more historical context, and more in-depth discussion of theory. While the book contains some provocative arguments and interesting information (particularly on MCFN governance and corporate relations), it sometimes reads like a narrow case study. Nevertheless, its concise discussion of the successes of this geographically isolated First Nation will be of interest to non-academic readers with backgrounds in government and business, as well as to scholars working on Aboriginal economic development.

The author bases her study on experiences gained during a summer work term at Fort Chipewyan in 1997, and on her subsequent policy analysis and follow-up visits. A minority of the 2,400 MCFN members reside around Fort Chipewyan, a fly-in community on the north shore of Lake Athabasca, which is also home to non-Aboriginals, Métis, and members of the Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation. In spite of this blending of ethnostatus groups, arguably facing similar challenges within a single community, the MCFN remains the focus of Slowey's analysis. Similarly, the author largely eschews comparative consideration of other First Nations outside of Fort Chipewyan, even those in Alberta facing similar issues such as specific claims implementation and oil sands development.

Neoliberal globalization is characterized by a scaling back of state economic activism and state support for marginalized groups in favour of market solutions and competitiveness. Slowey contends that neoliberal globalization may have positive consequences for some First Nations communities because it can help get government out of their hair and foster greater prosperity through participation in the market. Although neoliberal globalization is a central concept in the book, Slowey's arguments about it remain rather preliminary. As such, the more theoretical parts of the book seem out of step with her largely empirical analysis. Somewhat contingent localized phenomena (such as land claim negotiations or oil sands development) are deployed as evidence for a grand march towards neoliberal globalization. Diverse actions of Liberal and Conservative governments at the federal and provincial levels and over a period of decades are arbitrarily cited as examples of neoliberal policies. Neoliberal globalization itself sometimes seems to have been personified by the author. In this book, it becomes a causative agent, apparently driving individual, corporate, and state actors in their interventions.

While the author presents some useful information in an accessible format, occasionally her data is a bit thin. This is the case even when she is discussing policy documents and political shifts, including the specific claim that is central to her analysis. Furthermore, although Slowey draws on her field time to offer insights about the MCFN community, there is no discussion of ethnographic methods, reflexive considerations of the researcher's role, or research ethics. Rarely are MCFN members quoted at length, although interviews appear to have been central to Slowey's methodology. Indeed, much of her data comes from anonymous interviews with representatives of government or industry. Slowey seldom critically evaluates these interview excerpts, seemingly accepting at face value informants' claims regarding state and corporate munificence, as well as their simplistic and occasionally distasteful statements about First Nations people and communities. A more hard-hitting analysis of state and corporate discourse—an important part of the echo chamber supporting a seemingly inevitable shift to global neo-liberalism—would have been preferable. Unfortunately, it appears Slowey has conceded this inevitability, to the detriment of her analysis.

The author does not do enough to analyze status differentials, disagreements, or transitional figures within MCFN. The resulting discussion of a seemingly neoliberal First Nation is too neat. It is not clear whether Slowey believes that neoliberal globalization is a largely negative phenomenon, which First Nations must pragmatically accept, or a largely positive one, which First Nations should embrace and even promote. Thus, she sidesteps questions of First Nations' agency and of the possibility of radical solutions. Ultimately, her theoretical argument is quite tentative. A more ideologically driven book that took a clear position for or against neoliberal globalization, and which contained a more critical approach to political economy, theory, and history, would have been stronger.

In her historical argument (which does not include any new data), Slowey reproduces static models by suggesting in passing that Western Cree occupancy is a product of the fur trade and that northern subsistence economies collapsed utterly in the 1970s. Such highly contentious statements are outside the author's expertise, have nothing to do with her argument, and may be prejudicial to First Nations' legal claims. While historical sections draw lightly on Patricia McCormack's work examining Fort Chipewyan, a fuller integration of the work of McCormack and other anthropologists of the World-System, including Immanuel Wallerstein and Eric Wolf, would have improved the book. Such an approach would

have provided a more interdisciplinary critical framework for Slowey's discussion of globalization.

Slowey sometimes neglects to provide adequate contextual information about MCFN politics. She does not extensively discuss historical elements of the specific claim or of its negotiation and implementation. A discussion of specific claims in relation to policy alternatives, such as comprehensive claims, would have been quite useful. This does not appear, even though a comprehensive claim likely would have better supported the author's argument about land claims as a means of self-determination. Slowey contends that MCFN's relatively small specific claim, a treaty land entitlement setting aside lands and monetary compensation, has given MCFN a somewhat unique ability to work with government and corporations in its efforts to become self-determining. Problematically, Slowey thus sees land claims as part of a neo-liberal policy agenda, rather than as a vestige of state activism.

Slowey mentions, but largely ignores, details that are inconvenient to her argument about neo-liberalism aiding MCFN's self-determination. These include MCFN's increasingly militant stance against development of the oil sands, its legal disputes over land claim and treaty implementation, and the fact that MCFN is *not* self-governing but remains subject to federal legislation and financing. Slowey avoids these difficulties by redefining self-determination in a liberal fashion as an aggregated form of soft power with intangible elements.

Overall, this book's line of argument may not convince a skeptical reader that neo-liberalism has much to offer Aboriginal people, whether at Fort Chipewyan or elsewhere. Despite some successes, the author risks becoming a cheerleader, not for Fort Chipewyan (as she suggests), but for neoliberalism. The book is accessible, and therefore suitable, for undergraduates. However, it may not be sufficiently general, and its theoretical arguments may be too imprecise, to allow students at this level to draw connections to broader issues without a substantial amount of comparative reading or classroom discussion. The book would likely work better in a graduate seminar on Aboriginal political issues, a forum where its specificity and brevity would allow it to complement more canonical works.

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