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touching biographies of her Plains Apache consultants, and the repeated use of quotations from her consultants creates a readable and personal work. For those reasons alone, this is a welcome book.

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Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development. Edited by Miriam Jorgensen. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007. 384 pages. $40.00 cloth; $20.00 paper.

In the past twenty years, the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development and its affiliate program, the Native Nations Institute at the University of Arizona, have undertaken the most systematic work in the area of economic development and governance focused on American Indian and Alaska Native nations in the United States and Canada. This collection of essays, by many of the primary researchers and scholars affiliated with those two programs, represents an effort to synthesize that research and its findings into a set of useful strategies to guide Native nations in the process of governance, community, and economic development. The publisher's press release describes the work as "part report, part analysis, part how-to manual for Native leaders" and as "an essential guide for understanding Native nation building" (13 December 2007). True to that promise, this is a unique resource that draws on the scholarly literature about Native self-determination but is primarily intended to provide a descriptive account of governance and a directed critique of what works and what doesn't.

According to the authors, what works is nation building by Indian nations and what does not work is federal management of tribes and their resources. The Harvard Project originated as the brainchild of Stephen Cornell and Joseph Kalt, who aptly coauthored the initial chapter, presenting two approaches to the development of Native nations. The standard approach represents the federal government's attempts, over many years, to "develop" Indian nations according to its own policies. Under this approach, the federal government develops the policies according to a short-term model focused on the economic needs of the Indian nation and disregards the need to support tribal governments as the primary entities to guide the community's future. The authors maintain that this model perpetuates the dependency that has crippled Indian nations since the United States assumed political dominance, encouraging tribal leaders to pursue federal grants in order to secure dollars and not because the programs are "good" for Indian country, and placing tribal leaders in the primary role of distributing resources.

In comparison, the nation-building approach situates the decision-making power with Native nations, which develop effective governing institutions that are culturally compatible with the tribe's norms and empower the tribe to facilitate its own goals. The authors maintain that this approach to development focuses on "practical sovereignty," which is a hands-on application

of the inherent sovereignty that tribes have always had and which is legally and politically recognized by the United States. This approach is the "key to sustainable development" for two reasons: "it puts the development agenda in Native hands" and requires "accountability" because it "marries decisions and their consequences." Under this model, "tribes bear the costs of their own mistakes, and they reap the benefits of their own successes" (21).

The authors present case studies to illustrate their points and allude to various research projects undertaken in tribal communities over the years in support of the argument. The authors demarcate the steps of the development process under both approaches and broadly summarize the results of each approach with helpful charts and diagrams. For example, the results of the standard approach are "a failed enterprise," a "politics of spoils," and "continued poverty and cultural stress" (17). In comparison, the results of the nation-building approach are "more effective access to and use of resources," "more effective defense of sovereignty," and "societies that work" (30). Given these "findings," the case is made for the nation-building approach.

But what does it mean to build a nation? This is a vitally important issue in many national and global debates involving indigenous peoples, including in Hawaii, where many Native Hawaiians continue to think of themselves as members of a sovereign and independent nation that has been under military control by the United States since the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893. The United States, however, continues to vacillate between the position that Native Hawaiians are "multicultural citizens" of the state of Hawaii and the notion that they are eligible for some sort of political recognition as a self-governing entity. Senator Akaka's bill to grant Native Hawaiians the right to form a self-governing entity eligible for federal recognition, introduced nearly ten years ago, still has not been endorsed by Congress.

Rebuilding Native Nations's focus, however, is not on the political contours of self-determination for Native peoples but on the expression of practical sovereignty by federally recognized Native nations. In chapter 2, the coauthors distill the complexities of this discussion into a concise description of three key terms: *development*, *governance*, and *culture*. For purposes of this work, *economic development* is defined as "the process by which a community or nation improves its economic ability to sustain its citizens, achieve its sociocultural goals, and support its sovereignty and governing processes" (36). Importantly, the authors present this process as purely the product of choice by a particular Native government. There is no attempt to distinguish "good" choices from "bad" choices. Under the process of nation building, each tribe makes its own choices according to its own criteria.

But how is an Indian nation to distinguish "its" choices from those of the federal government given the vast number of federal grant programs operating in Indian country and the administrative control of agencies such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service over the "choices" of tribes? The authors suggest that the concept of governance must be broad enough to encompass traditional notions of what is an acceptable use of power, what relationships must be honored to "make it possible for human beings to live and work together," and what "rights" are needed to make this governance a reality

(42). Drawing on the work of Navajo and Hualapai jurists, the authors identify the contours of governance and then offer a series of questions to guide Native nations as they make their choices. These questions posit that there are two tests for "good" Native governance: whether it is "effective" and whether it has "cultural match" with the tribe. This inquiry is based on an analysis of culture as embracing three distinct aspects: cognitive (how people think), behavioral (what people do), and material (what tangible objects people use in their daily lives). The authors posit that all societies change and that change occurs on all three levels. Cultural match, however, is reached only when the formal institutions of governance match the political culture of the society being governed. In such a society, citizens share a mutual sense of who properly holds governing authority, how those leaders appropriately gain their authority, what range of affairs may permissibly be governed, and where in the community's structure the governing authority resides.

This analysis will prove helpful to readers who struggle to understand why some tribal governments are quite functional and successful as sovereigns and why some tribal governments continue to suffer from endless recall elections, removal of judges, and, in some cases, an inability to convene the council to take political action. The authors build on a rich literature by sociologists such as Duane Champagne, as well as their own research, to discuss the legacy of the federal government's attempt to impose a Western-style mode of governance upon Indian nations through the Indian Reorganization Act and other policy initiatives. Native nations responded differently to these movements, with some, such as the Navajo Nation, refusing to organize under this structure, and others, such as the Hopi tribe, getting the structure by default rather than conscious choice. The author's conclusion is that there are multiple pathways to Native nation building and that the diversity of governance found within Indian country is a testament to this fact.

The "foundations" for nation building are the institutional structures on which Native nations are built, or "rebuilt," as the case may be. After surveying some of the more devastating federal policies of the past two centuries that focused on dismantling traditional Native governance systems, the book's second part provides a detailed analysis of the contemporary role of tribal legal, judicial, and administrative institutions. The authors posit that the prerequisite for any discussion of institutional structures of governance is "the right of self-determination," which entails federal recognition of the tribe's decision-making control over its "lands, resources, affairs and future" (57). Once this is in place—as it is for federally recognized Native nations in the United States—the primary responsibility for self-determination rests with the tribe, and thus, this section's focus is on what the tribe can do and not on what the federal government should do.

The primary comparison for what works and what doesn't work is between a model of self-administration, in which the tribe's central function is to manage programs, administer revenue, and respond to the federal and state governments, and the self-government model, which requires the Native nation to take an active role in designing its governmental institutions and articulating the operative legal, judicial, and administrative structures to carry

out the complex functions of any government exercising legal authority over its territory. Every government must have legal, judicial, and administrative functions, but "empowerment" arises through the self-government model. Under a self-government model, Native nations actively participate in the creation of structures to ensure effective delivery of service programs, and they are coequal participants in the cooperative federalism that has led to a proliferation of intergovernmental agreements (among the federal, tribal, and state governments) in the modern era to govern issues such as law enforcement and pollution regulation, which cut across jurisdictional boundaries.

The authors touch on many aspects of administrative efficiency in the delivery of services and on the key elements of successful intergovernmental agreements. However, the book's clear emphasis is upon the development of the tribe's legal and judicial institutions. There is a fascinating discussion of the role of a tribal constitution—written or unwritten—as "the fundamental framework that empowers the people to state who they are, define how they will make community decisions, choose their direction, solve their disputes, and stay a *people*" (79). By examining the constitutions of several Native nations, the authors give examples of the decisions that can be made about self-rule. As in other parts of the book, the discussion highlights the differences among Native nations, as well as pointing out consistencies, in order to describe the diversity in Indian country as well as the "best practices." A significant diversity, for example, exists in tribal judicial institutions, both in terms of form (for example, Western-style courts, traditional justice systems, or hybrid systems) and the accountability of the tribal judiciary to the legislative or executive branches.

The authors advocate separation of powers as a best practice in order to facilitate good governance, pointing out that many highly traditional forms of governance, such as the Cochiti Pueblo in New Mexico and the Haudenosaunee nations, employed such a concept. According to the authors, "when a Native nation develops its own laws, interprets them according to culturally distinct traditions and customs, and uses tribally determined practices and institutions to mediate this process, it advances its *own* agenda for the future" (117). Thus tribal law (whether codified, customary, or judicially created) is an important expression of self-determination, and tribal courts are essential institutions of tribal sovereignty. This chapter describes the normative issues with the development of tribal law and judicial systems, such as the focus on "restorative and reparative justice practices" in comparison with "Western-style, adversarial dispute resolution," and concludes with a concise and pointed set of key questions and issues to assist Native nations in empowering their judicial institutions (123).

Although the material on the institutional foundations for governance is fairly broad and wide-ranging, the material on functional strategies for governance in the third part of the book is presented through various case studies of tribal economic development, service delivery, and intergovernmental relationships. The authors situate the discussion of tribal economic development within overarching themes common to global development, such as government ownership of business and citizen entrepreneurship. The case

studies show how different tribal communities respond to such movements and what needs to occur before tribal governments can maximize their use of particular resources. Tribal governments often own and control tribal lands and resources, and the natural assumption may arise that the tribe should also control its corporations, leading to concerns about efficiency. However, the authors point to specific instances in which alternate structures were created to promote a successful enterprise. For example, Ho Chunk, Inc. (HCI) is a corporation owned by the Winnebago tribe of Nebraska but was established under a board of directors with an express mission to maximize profit. HCI has widely been recognized as one of the most successful tribal corporations in the nation. The discussion in this section is interesting because parts seem consistent with dominant economic models on development, yet the section is clearly supported by case studies of innovative development by Native nations that create alternative structures to promote economic development.

Finally, the actual implementation of nation building requires a focus on the role of tribal leadership and on community motivation. The authors observe that tribal leaders are commonly the focus of community criticism when things are not going well, when in fact the variables are much more complex and enduring. In one of the most powerful passages within this work the authors state: "Before effective nation building can happen in reality, it has to happen in the imagination. People have to imagine a new situation. They have to believe, first that things *can* be different, and second, that with energy, intelligence, and time, *they* can make things different." Consequently, one of the most important roles for tribal leaders is to change the "usual conversation that a nation's citizens have about governance, development, and the future of the nation" (279). The authors present innovative strategies for this, including storytelling (both within and among Native communities) and the creation of an Elders' Advisory Council, and then they provide a helpful discussion of the key attributes of effective leadership and the questions that might be asked when conducting an internal assessment of tribal governance.

In the book's culminating chapter, the authors provide a "model of action and inaction" to explain why some Native nations engage in foundational change and some do not (299). The model presents three primary components for change: (1) the external situation of the nation, which focuses on the legal, economic, and political relationships that make some change possible (that is, whether the tribe has standing to bring a lawsuit, has rights under a federal statute such as the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, and is recognized by the federal government); (2) the internal situation of the nation (that is, the stability of the government and degree to which the nation possesses the human resources and natural resources needed to engage certain forms of development); and (3) the interpretations people make of the situation in which they find themselves (that is, what are the community's beliefs about why the situation is this way and what is possible for the future). The authors correctly note that there may be many variables operating at the external and internal level, but the primary lever for action is at the level of "interpretation." That is, people change their behavior only when they *believe* that things can be different and that *they* can do things to make a difference.

Rebuilding Native Nations provides many fascinating lessons about tribal self-determination and valuable strategies to consider. In the end, it turns out that the future of a nation is intimately tied to the capacity of its members to envision a different future and promote changes that will allow this to take shape. The book provides a positive and directed account of tribal self-determination that is primarily rooted in the actions of Native nations but is situated within an emergent framework of domestic and international policy. The emphasis on tribal agency must not be underestimated. As Satsan (Herb George), the Hereditary Chief of the Wet'suet'en Nation, observes in the afterword, this book is "about making our own new stories" and "putting a new memory in the minds of our children" (321–22).

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[Re]inventing the Wheel: Advancing the Dialogue on Contemporary American Indian Art. Edited by Nancy J. Blomberg. Denver, CO: Denver Art Museum, 2008. 172 pages. $25.00 hardcover.

What is contemporary Native art? What are the differences between traditional and contemporary art? Do group exhibitions hurt Native artists? Is someone an Indian artist or an artist who happens to be Indian? These questions and others have persisted in the Native art world for decades. *[Re]inventing the Wheel: Advancing the Dialogue on Contemporary American Indian Art* continues these conversations through six essays written by curators, art historians, and artists. The essays were presented during a daylong symposium of the same name at the Denver Art Museum (DAM) in January 2006.

The symposium and book title reference the DAM's outdoor sculpture, *Wheel*, by artist Hock E Aye Vi Edgar Heap of Birds, a competitive commission started in 1996 and completed in 2005. Actually, the book's first half focuses on Heap of Birds: an essay by the artist, an analysis of *Wheel*, and full-page color-art images of his work dating from 1974 to 2005. *Wheel* consists of ten red "tree" forms covered in porcelain enamel with a steel frame and arranged in a circle. Each form is twelve-feet tall with a Y-shape at the top. Various text and images are on each side, referencing family, land, and continuance.

Heap of Birds moves chronologically in his essay, beginning with early works, highlighting important pieces, and ending with the making of *Wheel*. Each section heading lists places he had visited or lived around the world, because much of his art is connected to land and memory. For his site-specific works, Heap of Birds discusses his time spent on research uncovering events, massacres, and people all but forgotten. Often his own ancestors, especially the Cheyenne warriors sent to Fort Marion in 1875, reappear.

Heap of Birds spent a year researching *Wheel*, drawing from earth lodges, earth renewal circular sites, and, specifically, the Big Horn Medicine Wheel in Wyoming. Each tree contains various text and images, some about painful events for indigenous people. Like its predecessors, Heap of Birds's work reminds