

saltwater—and freshwater for that matter—networks and travel of Algonquian mariners may have been.

Additionally, at several points Lipman's links between events and the maritime seems overly forced. Coincidental or banal happenings on the water are highlighted that do not always speak to the centrality of the saltwater frontier to these events. For example, Lipman takes the time in the chapter on King Philip's War to state that in 1676 Benjamin Church engaged in "canoe-borne diplomacy that helped seal Philip's fate" comprised of "several weeks of back-and-forth in boats and canoes" (214–215). Lipman includes details of the fish and shellfish they dined on and notes that they met at a "seaside" home. In such discussions, Lipman does not fully explain why it was important that the diplomacy was canoe-borne or that events took place on the coast.

Still, Lipman's vital work reminds us that, even while continental histories may be refocusing American history inward, the ocean should not be ignored. Water was critical to Algonquians, and they played decisive roles in the Atlantic World. Like other works from the past fifteen years, including Jace Weaver's *Red Atlantic* (2014) and Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh's *The Many-Headed Hydra* (2000), *The Saltwater Frontier* helps to reframe historians' understanding of who possessed agency in the Atlantic World. Algonquian mariners dominated the New England coast, while also traveling afar in a number of crucial roles, including as guides, captives, and whalers. Their maritime knowledge and skill resonated for centuries.

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So How Long Have You Been Native? Life as an Alaska Native Tour Guide. By Alexis C. Bunten. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015. 272 pages. \$26.95 cloth; \$26.95 electronic.

So How Long Have You Been Native? has an engaging, accessible style that clearly appeals to the nonacademic reader, but nonetheless it should be required reading for scholars and researchers of indigenous studies, anthropology, cultural studies, labor studies, and heritage tourism. Those interested in interdisciplinary approaches to Native tourism, cultural heritage, and indigenous intellectual property will find useful theoretical and methodological insights in this work as well. Author Alexis Bunten's Alaskan Native heritage and previous work experience in Native tourism informs her research on Native tour guides and critical perspective on cultural commodification and self-branding. Bunten worked as a guide with Tribal Tours in Sitka, Alaska, which served as fieldwork for her doctoral dissertation in cultural anthropology. The resulting book is thoroughly informed by current theory in anthropology as well as related research from a number of different disciplines. The author uses these current theoretical perspectives to tell a compelling story. Some of this scholarship is integrated into the text, with the endnotes serving as a non-intrusive, parallel manuscript that synthesizes key concepts in the history of colonialism, indigenous cultural persistence, tribal economic development, and political resurgence.

Bunten's purpose in writing this book is to "unpack the production of ethnic experience for touristic consumption" (xv). She is less interested in the interior processes of personal identity construction, but instead develops an explicit focus on "cultural labor," drawing extensively on relevant existing literature in cultural anthropology and on her interactions with other tour guides at Tribal Tours. Imaginatively organized as "a day in the life," the book guides the reader through the tasks that shape a typical summer season for an Alaska Native tour guide. Bunten immerses readers in how it feels to be a Native tour guide and explores the conflicting ideas and emotions that arise from her daily encounter with tourists. The book's humorous title gently mocks the uninformed, awkward, and insensitive questions that come from the visitors. Her auto-ethnographic approach and perceptive observations and interpretations of both sides of the tourist experience make this book powerful reading. With unflinching honesty, the author describes the strategies of self-branding that allow her to affirm her Native identity and celebrate the local community and its heritage, while at the same time, succeed at her job and generate tips and ticket sales. Bunten offers an incisive look at the forms of cultural negotiation performed by Native tour guides along with an implicit critique of how the Alaskan tourist industry may sustain, rather than reduce, imbalances of power between tourists and Natives. However, at times the contradictions and tensions that Bunten experienced might have been used to reinforce her larger argument about some of the risks and drawbacks of tribal tourism and to articulate her critique more forcefully.

The story begins with Bunten's application and interview for a position at Tribal Tours, a guided tour and dance performance company owned and operated by the Tlingit tribe in the community of Sitka. She gives a brief history of the community and the tour company, carefully situated within accounts of early Russian and later American colonization, resource extraction, settlement, and the rise of the Alaskan tourist industry. In the opening chapter the author explains why she decided to carry out research on the Native tourism industry, describing her desire that her research could have an impact on policy and help counter the history of racism, assimilation, discrimination, cultural stereotypes, and anthropological exploitation experienced by Alaska Natives. When she succeeds in obtaining a summer position at Tribal Tours and is on her way to Sitka, Bunten asks herself the recurring questions of anthropologists undertaking ethnographic field work: "What makes someone an insider?" (16). How will she manage the dual roles of anthropologist and tourism worker? How will she navigate between the two worlds of ethnographer and Native subject? In answering these questions, the author introduces the concept of "cultural co-construction" and argues that places where visitors and hosts meet, at the intersection of the local and global, are a "co-construction of reality forged between guides and their audiences" (17).

In her composite account of the various activities that make up the Alaska tour guide's repertoire, Bunten provides thumbnail sketches of the lives, experiences, challenges, and successes of her coworkers at Tribal Tours. All are indigenous people like herself; most are Tlingit, ranging in age from high school students to grandparents. The reader gains valuable insight into the cultural knowledge that Tlingit guides bring to their work, while also understanding how their employee training emphasizes

customer service, interpersonal communication, empathy, and hospitality, grouped together within the notion of “emotional labor” (50). Bunten argues that the tour guide’s emotional behavior and performative practices are ultimately under the control of the employer.

By May, tourists begin to arrive on massive cruise ships and are ferried into Sitka’s town dock, where multiple tour companies and vendors compete for their business. At the time of Bunten’s research, 240,000 tourists came to Sitka each year and the cruise ship industry helped alleviate the decline of the local pulp industry. By 2004 tourism was Sitka’s third-largest employer (71). The author describes the predatory nature of the cruise ship companies in evading local efforts to impose taxes on their operations and argues that “tourism is not the cure-all that policymakers purport it to be for small isolated communities like Sitka” (71). Within this competitive and volatile industry, Tlingit-owned Tribal Tours was effectively excluded from exclusive contracts with cruise lines and from the social and political networks that gave commercial advantages to the white owners of rival Sitka Tours. Here, Bunten exposes the moral economy underpinning historical interactions between Natives and non-Natives in the region.

In the fifth chapter, “Meeting the Tourist Gaze,” the author explores the cultural history of “primitivism” as motivating the tourist’s desire to place the local Native population in an idealized and unchanging past. Bunten demonstrates how tour guides use humor and irony to help contain tourists’ clichéd expectations of the Native experience and to describe violent and racist aspects of the colonial past, thus deflecting potentially uncomfortable situations for both tourists and guides. This chapter illuminates the tourists’ liminal experience of both fear and desire as these feelings are structured within a complex relationship of domination, resistance, and residual “white guilt” (151).

The book concludes at the end of the tourist season, offering a brief account of the author’s attendance at a Native tourism industry conference during which the author transitions from her role as tour guide to that of an academic by exploring the economic and cultural contradictions of Native tourism. On the one hand, Native tourism companies often depend upon establishing cultural legitimacy according to the dominant majority’s definitions; indeed, Native political sovereignty is linked to these demonstrable performances of cultural authenticity. On the other hand, as the author puts it, “Tribal tourism proves to the world that Native peoples are not fourth-class citizens relegated to government handouts, but self-determined peoples willing to heal the wounds inflicted through the colonialist enterprise through the simple act of sharing their lives” (217).

This is a well-organized, beautifully written, and thoughtful book that provides valuable insider perspectives from cultural workers and emotional laborers in Native tourism. While it is sometimes unfortunate that the author chose to restrict much of the theoretical context and discursive critique to the notes, this does not substantively detract from the scholarly contribution made by Bunten’s research.

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