

picture of Latino panethnicity as both unconscious everyday production and as conscious political acts and sees the linkages between the two. However, we do not get far beyond this realization, as many questions remain unanswered such as: why are women more involved as leaders of panethnic organizations while male leaders predominate in single-nationality associations; what are Corona's Latino men doing while the women engage in *convivencia diaria*; how does women's participation in Latino organizations and formal politics affect gender relations overall; and, how does the Latino panethnic movement in the United States compare to identity politics in panethnic movements elsewhere (such as the Central American pan-Maya movement which has taken off in the globalization era as international, national and local factors have opened up new venues of ethnic expression)?

Nonetheless, *Hispanas de Queens* is an important contribution to studies of the intersections of ethnicity and gender in particular, as well as to Latino Studies in general. It stands as a methodological model for highly positioned and well-triangulated ethnography and paves the way for more comparative work on what fosters or impedes the creation of Latino panethnicity in other North American cities.

Owain Jones and Paul Cloke, *The Place of Trees and Trees in Their Place*, Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002, xii + 252 pages (paper).

Reviewer: Wayne Fife
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I originally encountered this book as part of a reading group at Memorial University. I took extensive notes on it before we met and what follows is to be taken as my own opinion, but that opinion has inevitably been influenced by the lively discussion that this work engendered among our group. Reaction to the book ranged from not liking it very much at all to deciding that it usefully considered a number of issues related to human and non-human agency, questions about re-conceptualizing "nature," and why human beings have such an attachment to "place." One thing that we discovered in our discussion was that the differences in our perceptions of the book were partially related to why each of us was reading it. Those who read it more as "just another book" and compared it to other theoretical works concerning poststructuralism, network theory, and/or political ecology tended to be least satisfied with it; while those who read it as a work that pertained more directly to research problems that they were currently engaging with tended to feel that they gained far more from it. As I am currently involved in research associated with national parks and other issues relating to nature tourism, I was the member of the group who most found *Tree Cultures* to be useful, as it helped me think through a number of important issues related to political ecology in general and national

parks in particular (although national parks are not part of the book's overt agenda). I would, therefore, recommend this book primarily to researchers struggling first hand with issues involving relationships between humans and the non-human world, especially those that revolve around organic entities such as trees or other non-conscious beings.

Tree Cultures can be divided into two main parts. Part 1 is entitled "Placing Trees in Cultural Theory" and Part 2 "Trees in their Place." In the second part, four case studies from England (involving an orchard, a cemetery, a heritage trail, and a town square) are used to illustrate how some of the concepts discussed in Part 1 can be put into practice in actual research situations.

So many concepts are discussed in Part 1 that only a few of them can be considered here. Primarily, the authors are interested in the issue of non-human agency and whether other organic and non-organic entities can be considered to have agency in the world. Their clear answer to this question is yes. "Nature 'pushes back' and injects its own materiality and dynamism into what [David] Harvey terms 'socio-ecological processes'" (p. 30). In explaining why and how they have arrived at this answer, Jones and Cloke are careful to steer away from anthropomorphic romanticism or suggestions that trees, or other similar elements of nature, are "just like humans" in their agency. Instead they make the case that the key feature of "intentionality" in human agency needs to be replaced with the notion of "purposefulness" in the case of non-human agency. Purposefulness in relation to trees, for example, has to do with "fulfillment of their embodied tendencies to grow in certain ways and to reproduce" (p. 7). As an illustration of this principle, in a case study chapter on Arnos Vale Cemetery (a Victorian cemetery in Bristol), they show that a variety of tree species that were originally planted as an adjunct to the human enjoyment of the cemetery (which was used extensively for walking) became "wild" over time and self-seeded new trees to such an extent that by the contemporary period thousands of gravesites had been destroyed or altered by trees and the overall character of the cemetery irrevocably changed. This leads the authors to state: "The agency of trees in Arnos Vale has clearly been an active co-constituent in the changing nature and contested cultures of the place" (p. 152).

One of the points Jones and Cloke make is that such non-human entities as trees have been largely overlooked when we consider agency because of the limited notions we normally apply to both scale and time when considering the effects of agents. They point out, for example, "On the cosmic scale, and in geological time, human activity and agency produce little by way of transformative or creative agency" (p. 55). On this scale of activity, or even over a few hundred or a few thousand years, non-human agency can often be of equal or greater significance than human agency in a specific geographical area.

Not all of the core concepts are dealt with as adequately in the book (i.e. are as clearly stated and illustrated through

the use of apposite examples). All the members of our reading group, for example, agreed that we could not figure out the difference between what the authors meant by the term “place” versus what they meant by the term “dwelling”—despite the substantial amounts of space each concept took up in the book. In addition, anthropologists all, we were equally disenchanted with the authors’ rather shallow usage of the concept of culture.

However, I found so many useful and interesting ideas and case material in the book that I “forgave” these weaknesses (though some of my fellow literary travellers did not). To use one illustration, I was fascinated by discussions about how individual trees took on public identities and became “personalities” in their own right, the way many people in Britain categorize “alien” trees versus “native” trees (partially related to racism and other forms of human stereotyping—e.g., “conifers as communists”), and how the authors differentiated between “working trees” and “wild trees.” In the latter case, Jones and Cloke inform us that “working trees,” such as fruit-bearing orchard trees or trees planted for industrial or other human purposes, face much greater dangers and have substantially shorter life spans than “wild” trees. There are also great differences between urban and rural trees and they cite studies (p. 202) that tell us, for example, that urban trees live an average of only 32 years compared to 150 years for rural trees, and that 50% of newly planted trees in urban areas die within their first year because of traffic pollution, road-clearing salt, soil compaction from roadways, and other causes. Clearly, human beings are not the only living entities that are subjected to extreme inequities among their own kind due to forces entirely beyond individualized control.

The thinking of Jones and Cloke is very much informed by the historical geography of David Harvey, cyborg theory of Donna Haraway, network theory of Bruno Latour and ecological anthropology of Tim Ingold. These influences are key for understanding the authors’ viewpoints about relational agency. “In these approaches, the view of the individual as separate and autonomous is unsustainable, and therefore the notion of separate autonomous creativity is equally so. Creative agency is to be found collectively and relationally embedded” (p. 56). This idea is important for Jones and Cloke because of their desire to destabilize not only liberal humanistic notions of individual human agency, but also assumptions about the superiority of human versus non-human agency. In this sense, trees are merely their excuse for taking on numerous scientific and philosophical sacred cows in regard to human/non-human relationships, culminating in a whole chapter that is devoted to the topic of a “new deal” for the ethical treatment of non-human agents such as trees.

Despite its imperfections, in my opinion this book is a very useful “introduction” to a large number of issues important for understanding the political ecology of human/non-human relationships and should be read by researchers

interested in such topics as rural vs. urban control over natural resources, issues of production and consumption related to nature tourism, and the creation of “natural” areas in both urban and rural spaces.

Ellen Bielawski, *Rogue Diamonds: The Search for Northern Riches on Dene Land*, Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2003, 256 pages.

Reviewer: *Sally Cole*
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Ellen Bielawski builds on early classic experiments in reflexive anthropological writing on the Canadian north in *Rogue Diamonds*, a critical and personal account of her years working as anthropologist, researcher and treaty negotiator with the Akaitcho Treaty 8 Dene of Lutsëlk’e. Following on Hugh Brody’s one-man tradition of writing the political landscape of the Canadian north in *The People’s Land* (1975) and *Maps and Dreams* (1981), on Jean Briggs’ writing of the emotional landscapes of northern family and community life in *Never in Anger* (1970) and Frederica de Laguna’s personal response to the northern land itself in *Voyage to Greenland* (1977), Bielawski crafts a reflexive ethnography around the meeting of miners, bureaucrats, Dene, and non-Native consultants during the events surrounding the development of Canada’s first diamond mine. She compresses a narrative of greed and spirituality, of bad faith and good faith—the Janus face of the human condition—into the time line of the sixty-day “countdown” from August 6, 1996, when Indian Affairs Minister Ron Irwin gave conditional approval to the Ekati diamond mine. The approval was subject to “significant progress” in reaching agreements between Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd. of Australia (BHP, the mining company), the First Nations, the Inuit and the Northwest Territories government—in 60 days. In the book, chapters that closely follow the events of those 60 days alternate with essays on Dene history and culture.

The Dene of Lutsëlk’e are no strangers to development. The 300 speakers of Dëne Sùlin yati (called Chipewyan in English) who live on a granite point on the east arm of Great Slave Lake 180 kilometres east of Yellowknife worked in the fur trade as “the migrant workers of their hunting grounds” (p. 37) from the early 1700s until the most recent collapse of the fur market in the 1990s. For more than a century, Dene have worked as stakers for prospectors “large and small [who] have long relied on local labour to carry out the unskilled parts of the mineral exploration business” (p. 27). Dene witnessed the gold rush in the 1930s which led to the founding of the city of Yellowknife itself on Dene land. Oil extraction began shortly after 1930 at Norman Wells on the Mackenzie River as did uranium mining at points all along the Mackenzie River drainage in which “Dene went to work