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Yaqui Homeland and Homeplace: The Everyday Production of Ethnic Identity. By Kristin C. Erickson.

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destruction and violence that attended raiding south of the border. DeLay argues that in the Mexico raids, the classical distinction between economic and vengeance raiding is overdrawn. Vengeance “folded plunder into war” and was a “devastatingly effective organization tool” (134).

In recent years, research on both the US-Mexican War and borderlands studies have seen revivals. This book represents the nexus of these two overlapping but not synonymous developments. DeLay combines the attention to Native peoples as political actors and the contingencies of control at the border reminiscent of Juliana Barr and Hämäläinen’s recent work, with the attention to Mexican archives and motives that is representative of the best borderlands work of people like Andrés Reséndez and Samuel Truett. DeLay’s emphasis on American confidence that they would have better luck than the Spanish or Mexican government in vanquishing Native peoples adds nuance to the latest studies of manifest destiny (Amy Greenberg’s, for example) but also reflects the older insights of Reginald Horsman and even Frederick Merk.

There is more in this book: the machinations of presidents from Adams to Taylor; an intriguing proposition that Mexicans did not use race to demonize Indians as Americans were inclined to do; and a detailed dissection of diplomatic debates regarding the fate of independent Texas. DeLay does a lot here—sometimes exhaustingly so—but almost always convincingly.

The book is not flawless. It has many fine maps but none at the beginning. Unless the reader is deeply steeped in the history of northern Mexico, the litany of names and places can easily overwhelm. The book is aimed most directly at Indian scholars and nineteenth-century US diplomatic scholars, although Mexican historians might find the book the easiest to follow. Some names and details might have been omitted, especially because the appendix lists the raids under discussion. To be fair, DeLay walks a fine line here: to say that something is complicated often means *showing* it is complicated. And even where the book feels bogged down in detail, there is the argument, strong, clear, easy to grasp—and compelling, even irrefutable. This book will be required reading for many fields for many years to come. How many first books can claim the same?

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**Yaqui Homeland and Homeplace: The Everyday Production of Ethnic Identity.** By Kristin C. Erickson. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2008. 208 pages. \$50.00 cloth; \$24.95 paper.

Anthropologist Kristin Erickson contends that through the details of everyday life—particularly women’s lives—we see the interrelatedness of ethnicity, place making, and gender identity in the Yaqui community of northern Mexico. The book’s first part discusses Yaqui constructions of physical places that include traditional territory and borders, migration, oral traditions, and places with spiritual power. Part 2 focuses on how Yaqui ethnicity influences

ideas about female gender identity, with special emphasis on ordinary activities: wage and household work, birth practices, dress, altar building, and other devotional labor. Erickson ties both investigations together with a concluding chapter on *lutu'uria*, the Yaqui concept of being true to one's obligations and relationships, fulfilling one's promises, and always being ready "to shoulder responsibility, to labor with good heart, [and] to cooperate" (142).

As Erickson shows, much of this activity occurs in dialogue with places in the landscape, as well as with historical experiences of place that are honored through storytelling. But *lutu'uria* is also seen daily in homes, plazas, churches, and the other spaces of ordinary life. *Lutu'uria* is a behavior that Yaquis hold in highest esteem, but Erickson also convincingly demonstrates how it is an emblem of ethnic and gender identity that holds the community in place, keeping it socially, geographically, and spiritually stable. Both through invoking *lutu'uria* and her ethnographic examples and analysis, Erickson provides more than a catalog of Yaqui identity markers and more than an overview of Yaqui ideas about place; in large measure, she accomplishes her goal of conveying a Yaqui perspective on their homeland and home places that effectively weaves people and their cosmos together.

One of the most engaging parts of this well-written book is Erickson's reflection on how she attempted to conform to *lutu'uria* in her fieldwork. Whether it was making tortillas, decorating a cemetery, or cooking for the fiesta, Erickson becomes something more than a guest who is kept at a distance from the internal spaces that mark women's lives. She is welcomed into those spaces, sometimes teased and other times lectured to, but always, as she writes, "fieldworking alongside Yaquis" (141). She is also not a Yori, a label that Yaquis use to describe "white" outsiders and to draw a boundary between themselves and others whose behavior Yaquis reject. Rather, the author was "the one from *el otro lado*," from the other side of the border, a person untainted by the complicated and painful history that Yaquis have with Mexicans (13). Erickson attempts to know the Yaqui community not as a distant other but through her practical relationships with Yaqui people.

Yaquis configure themselves as agents in this difficult history by retelling their ethnic origin story, the Talking Tree history. The Talking Tree foretells the arrival of outsiders (the Spanish Yoris) and a new religion (Catholicism); the prophecy causes some of the Yaquis' ancestors (a magical people called the Surem) to move away or go underground. Those Surem that stayed behind became the Yaqui, the "Baptized Ones" (33). The narrative portrays ethnogenesis not as a response to invasion "but rather as a preparation, an informed anticipation" (37). By remembering the Talking Tree, Yaquis explicate their cultural logic while also establishing their claim to their homeland, against the claims of Yoris.

Erickson goes on to present evidence that this claim to a homeland is not merely a remnant from the deep past. In another chapter on forced migrations and slavery, Yaquis recount remembered abuses under Mexican colonization in the 1890s, as well as unfair economic practices that occur on Yaqui land today. Yaquis connect these events in a seamless, informal narrative tradition that constitutes place "by tracing a history of exile and return" (43).

To be Yaqui is to be displaced and dispossessed; yet that movement socializes space and creates a struggle to return. That process of return—and the cycle of stories that accompanies it—regenerates the reciprocal ethic that stabilizes the Yaqui homeland and the community.

Just as Yaqui historical narratives contain dualities that explain the coexistence of contradictory emotions and experiences, dualities also imbue Yaqui sacred places. These caves, springs, mountains, or sierras are alternately enchanted or haunted. Sounds of weeping emerge from some places, while other sites can provide knowledge or are blessed by the Surem, who still live in a parallel world in the Yaqui homeland. These stories of haunting or enchantment are another way that Yaquis confirm their attachment to and knowledge of their homeland, a practice that forms an integral part of their identity.

Following these ethnographies of place, Erickson turns her attention to the relationship between gender and ethnicity. The author's quest in this section is ambitious—she hopes to understand why Yaqui women invariably positioned themselves first as Yaquis and secondly as women. Calling on theoretical work by Stuart Hall, Chantal Mouffe, and others, Erickson shows how elements of one's identity do not coexist so much as they shift positions, subverting one another in different environments (74–75). For Yaqui women, Erickson argues, gender and ethnicity influence one another and trade places in dominance, but both are marked by relationships to place.

Central to this discussion is the notion of difference, and how Yaqui women articulate their difference from Yoris. In so doing, Yaqui women perform their gender and their ethnicity for Yaquis and non-Yaquis. Dress is one way to articulate difference; Erickson focuses on the embroidered flowers so prominent in Yaqui female clothing and in religious symbolism. The flowers signify specialized skill and disciplined labor, two qualities that are highly valued among women, but they also represent Jesus' blood and an important character in the Talking Tree story. To outsiders, Erickson writes, the flowers "bespeak ethnic alterity, but to insiders [they call] forth a key symbol specific to Yaquiness itself" (78).

Although dress is an ethnic "assertion," women's wage labor in the capitalist marketplace voices more subtle markers of ethnicity and gender (83). Some of this economic activity speaks specifically to Yaqui values, and some of it speaks to the circumstances in which any woman might find herself. Here Erickson's tightly woven analysis of gender and ethnicity unravels a bit, as I found it difficult to understand what role ethnic difference played in the lives of Yaqui women who travel to *maquiladoras* (the border factories) to find work or who endure the *doble jornada*, the double workday of wage-laboring mothers; many Yori women do these things as well. Perhaps a link exists between the historical narratives of displacement and this newer form of migration that could demonstrate the relationship between Yaqui women's ethnicity and their gender. Or perhaps women's economic activity need not rely on difference for its salience to Yaqui identity. Yaqui women's wage work strikes me as another example of how indigenous and Western economic activities are interdependent; perhaps wage work can play the role in Yaqui identity that Catholicism played in the Talking Tree history—it is an example of Yori influence that must

be strategically embraced for Yaqui women to maintain their place and their authority within their community, and therefore to maintain Yaquiness.

Erickson makes it very clear that the Yaqui home is where Yaquiness is maintained, largely through place-making activities such as altar building and celebrations of important religious and life events, as well as everyday work. Activities like the *Día de los Difuntos* (Day of the Dead) rituals and the year-long preparations for a fiesta clearly mark ethnic difference, although other activities like cooking, child rearing, and cleaning do not. Erickson skillfully deploys this evidence of women's everyday activities into a useful analysis of ethnicity by demonstrating how all women's activities are mutually dependent, and further, how Yaqui women depend on one another to complete these tasks. For example, Erickson describes a ceremony to fulfill a promise to the Virgin of Guadalupe in which several female singers, participants in the ritual, left the *petate*, the reed mat on which the singing and prayers took place, to help make tortillas for the meal afterward. "Both aspects [the meal and the singing] were necessary for a successful event," Erickson writes. "As the cantoras moved with ease from the petate to the cooking area, that movement erased any supposed boundary between frontstage and backstage, indicating the importance of the dinner to the completion of the ceremony" (132).

This ethic of reciprocity in ordinary work and devotional labor marks the house and village, the home places, just as the reciprocity conveyed through the historical and sacred narratives mark the territory, the homeland. In home place and homeland, women's work offers "emplacement," which "stands as an answer to historic efforts to displace, even eradicate, the Yaqui people" (123). Women are active agents in the production of Yaqui ethnicity, an identity that is inextricable from places and spaces that women define through their work and their *lutu'uria*.

Although Erickson's work satisfies some significant questions in the study of identity formation and maintenance, it also prompts more questions that might be answered by further research in this and other indigenous communities. Most of these questions are subjects for another book and are beyond Erickson's own scope of research. For example, how far and in what ways have Catholic constructions of gender filtered into Yaqui identity? Yaquis' consistent Catholic faith is apparent throughout the book, but Erickson offers little analysis of Christianity's own overt and typically dominating constructions of female gender. What of sexuality? Erickson alludes to some taboos concerning associations between men and women and discusses the complementary household roles of men and women, but sexuality and sexual relations are subjects that beg exploration in an analysis of gender identity. Finally, this work deals exclusively with the Yaquis in northern Mexico—how does their experience compare with other groups whose constructions of place are equally significant to their identities?

*Yaqui Homeland and Homeplace* is an admirable book. Beautifully written, it engages a variety of analyses and texts to convey an important interpretation of indigenous identity production.