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the Mt. Graham case illustrates the ethical distinction between good science and bad science, the difference between science and "scientism."

Oren Lyons, faith keeper of the Onondaga Nation, heads up the Native American studies program at the State University of New York at Buffalo. Chief Lyons described his people's ceremonies as a way of life that is very old. "Our first duty," he emphasized, "was to see that the ceremonies were carried on at the proper time, and in the proper way, and in the proper places." The second duty "is to sit in council for the welfare of the people" (167). Spiritual law is primary for traditional Haudenosaunee government.

Throughout the book, Huston Smith carries on a dialogue with the Indian participants reflective of his vast knowledge of comparative religion and the important contributions of indigenous spirituality on the world stage. At one point, he stated that "the historical religions are only six thousand years old, whereas the primal [indigenous] religions stretch back to the misty human origins on this planet" (164).

In the book's closing section, Vine Deloria concludes his conversation with Professor Smith by pinpointing "several profound themes at the heart of the Indian struggle for religious freedom" (185). Among these are Native epistemology, the Seven Generations concept, Indians and Christianity, and Indian icons (stereotypes). Deloria emphasized that the healing of Indian Country will occur through spirituality, observing kinship and clan responsibilities, and a return and redevelopment of Indian oratory.

Although most of the information contained in this work will not be new to many Native Americans, it is nevertheless a worthwhile "read." More importantly, it can serve as an important resource for non–Native Americans who wish to become informed about indigenous spiritual concerns, and who are seeking answers to the spiritual malaise of the contemporary Christian world.

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Something New in the Air: The Story of First Peoples Television Broadcasting in Canada. By Lorna Roth. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005. 300 pages. \$29.95 paper.

Near Jerry Mander's desk where he wrote the popular work, *Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television*, hangs a compelling photo of a performance piece. A big-finned Cadillac rams a console television pyramid that looks like a squad of cyborg cheerleaders. The spectacular crash is a hilarious representation of the combustibility of two of the most stalwart status symbols of the West. Are they merely disposable artifacts of occidental culture; are their combined properties the end of culture; or are they the Big Bang all over again with all of its unimaginable possibilities? If it is the Big Bang initiated by the artist's anarchist gesture, you get a sense of the space that Lorna Roth's fine work traverses. Her multidisciplinary study of the development of First Peoples broadcasting in Canada is a compelling story of Native perseverance, innovation, will, and

the vision to see the immense possibilities that communication technology could have for Native people. Her thirty-year involvement as an anthropologist doing fieldwork, government employee, consultant, advocate, and activist for Native broadcasting gives her keen insights into a process that is still unfolding in Canada. Although Roth acknowledges participation in the development of First Peoples communications, she focuses on the Inuit and Yukon Indian communities with whom she is most familiar. Roth's study reveals the complex workings that have made Canadian Aboriginal people leaders in global indigenous communications who have consistently set the standards.

Roth's book is a valuable addition to an emerging body of literature on indigenous peoples and the media. It speaks to academics across disciplinary boundaries, but perhaps more importantly it can be read as a handbook for indigenous people who are engaged in struggles to protect their communities and self-determination and to build communications infrastructures that are increasingly important for cultural and political maintenance. Roth makes it clear that First Peoples have to be adept at organizing and negotiating on multiple, and at times what seem like diffuse, levels to bring a project successfully to fruition. In the words of Winnebago sage Reuben Snake, we also have to "find good friends along the way." Certainly, at crucial times, Aboriginal people of Northern Canada found friends in the most unlikely places, and it was their particular organizational genius that enabled them to marshal the human and technical resources necessary to their success.

Roth points out that the original impetus for television broadcasting in Northern Canada was a top-down developmental effort based on an integrationist model that rested on old notions of the necessity of "civilizing Natives" to make them good candidates for citizenship. This top-down model is akin to Indian education whose stated goal was to prepare students for Canadian national citizenship rather than citizenship in First Nations. According to Roth, many researchers saw the development of television broadcasting in Northern Canada as the perfect opportunity to study a transitional stage in communications, the postmodern counterpart of studies that track populations as they change from preliterate to literate peoples. The questions that they asked focused on television's cultural displacement effects that research suggested were much more intense than that of radio. Roth does justice to the debates of these same issues in Native communities, and the countermodels and practical problem solving done on the grassroots level. Some researchers described Aboriginal people as going from "media isolated" to "media connected," which has a celebratory edge but hides some strongly held notions about Native peoples that Roth sets out to overturn. Other researchers reminiscent of the Frankfurt School argue that telecommunications would be the last colonial assault on indigenous peoples.

What seems to be lost in the discussion by these same theorists is the sophistication and media savvy of indigenous peoples. Community radio represents much more than simple media isolates. Although community radio was activated in remote communities, there is a theoretical clash between the framework of isolation and connectivity that non-Native theorists worked within and the theory and praxis of First Peoples. People in the vast

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Northern Canada territory had compelling needs that could be served by a decentralized system; however, it does not appear as just a step in a transitional process. Decentralized community radio is a study of the organizing and theoretical concerns of Aboriginal communities. Roth is able to convey the lessons learned and the fine-tuning of theory within Aboriginal communities. Aboriginal peoples already had created media strategies for radio that had been in use for years. Communities had well-defined goals for communications that included community empowerment and political development. Native radio was a decentralized model that was effective in delivering the content that communities wanted and needed. It was an alternative to the homogenizing effects of mainstream communications from its inception. Native-language radio proved to be a potent force for family and community cohesion and cultural vibrancy, even though language alone did not constitute cultural dynamism.

An important intervention of *Something New in the Air* is Roth's knowledge of indigenous claims to community, nationhood, and belonging. Rather than being subsumed by the Canadian national project, Aboriginal peoples wanted to foment cultural and political understanding of Aboriginal Canada, and television promised to be a powerful tool to do this. She coins the term *full national media citizenship* to describe First Peoples' insistence on having their nationhood. Rather than accepting the categorization of just another cultural constituency within Canada fighting for a piece of the pie, Aboriginal peoples steadily pressed their claims as nations. Roth captures the unique position of indigenous peoples in a time of rapid globalization that necessitates holding in tension cultural innovation and conservation, participating in the national life of Canada, and forging connections with other indigenous people and media organizations throughout the world.

One of the threads in current film theory is the "disappearance" of the director, which may have curious antecedents in development theory as conceived by the many governmental and nongovernmental organizations working in media in the 1970s and beyond. Roth discusses the ways in which media was construed by the National Film Board of Canada's program of Challenge for Change in the 1960s as process oriented rather than director and artistically driven. Similarly, many of the media programs that were being created and deployed in developing countries are based on these same principles. These programs have specific social goals to accomplish, such as the end of violence against women, AIDS education, or sex education for adults and young adults, by creating the possibility for community dialogue. However, the creative process is alive and well in the examples of broadcast programming that Roth cites. First Nations broadcast programming lends itself to cultural renovation and innovation.

In these first years of the twenty-first century, it is hard to fathom a world without satellite communications. Although the launch of Sputnik may have heralded the space race during the Cold War years and its concomitant military overtones, the launching of Canadian domestic satellites had far-reaching connective effects for advanced communications for Inuit and First Peoples communities in Northern Canada. Roth simplifies a field that is specific to

satellite technology so the lay reader can understand the possibilities and limitations of each kind of communications technology and how legislation can effect what its actual use will be. For instance, satellite technology can "facilitate two-way interactive communications for both telephone and broadcasting purposes." However, a decision made by the Canadian Broadcasting Act S.3(c) legislated that people only had the right to receive broadcasts, not the right to broadcast. It is stunning to see the metaphoric penetration of "virgin/naïve" Native communities reenacted in the legislation of invisible airwaves. It is difficult to separate the economic arguments for receive-only legislation from a national ideological, political project of Canadian nation building. The Native public interest was also suborned to private economic-development interests during this period.

Against this grain were those who saw the democratic potentialities of a northern broadcasting system that would involve ongoing dialogues between Native and non-Native constituencies in the north. Analysts such as G. I. Kenney proposed regional and local radio and television broadcasting stations that appealed to Native groups. However, the federal government was more interested in broadcasting from the southern "center" to the northern periphery. It is not surprising that the federal government allocated money for hardware and distribution systems to support centralized broadcasting. There was no funding for northern production to speak directly to local and regional concerns. This debate and the resulting policies are present in slightly different form in the United States, as large communications corporations buy local radio stations and completely do away with local programming, at times with dire results. In Canada, broadcasting policy was a wild beast that had to be tamed by finding and exploiting the gaps that allowed a discussion of northern broadcasting rights.

Roth's chapter on policy is a perceptive and useful social history. It deserves special attention here. She identifies five stages that led to the Broadcasting Act of 1991, which was the instrument for the establishment of the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN). The first two stages delineated the places where First Peoples' right to adequate service had already been established. The second stage was critical in inserting Native leadership into policy decisions, with the appointment of John Amagoalik to the Therrien Committee that was to report on the best way to increase television broadcasting in northern and remote communities. Amagoalik was a seasoned leader within the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) program that had already developed a set of requirements for television broadcasting in their territories. Like the two-way broadcasting model articulated earlier, the work of the Therrien Committee was an interactive project that brought committee members into close contact with community members in a real dialogue. In a proposal presented at Baker Lake in 1980, the ITC called for special programming funds, distribution of Inuit productions, and uplinks. Their proposal also included the sociocultural aspect that had been lacking in initial south-to-north broadcasting flow. They requested videotape to be used for education and development and called for the extension of service to all communities and community control.

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In stage three, the ITC applied for a license for an Inuit television service that led to the incorporation of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) in 1980. Through the IBC, Inuit people were able to begin broadcasting for a few hours a week. Roth writes about the programming that included high-quality children's shows, such as *Super Shamou*, which starred Peter Tapatai. Takuginai is another program that was produced in these early years and is still broadcast on APTN. Roth gives a detailed account of the debates that were raging as Native broadcasters and their audiences sought to actualize "full national media citizenship." During this period one of the debates centered on the question, What is culture? First Peoples reserved the right to define culture, noting that they could be confined to an "electronic reservation" if preservation meant stasis or a salvage anthropology mentality.

Stages four and five focus on the legislation that would clarify and enshrine Aboriginal broadcasting rights. This discussion amplifies a national discussion of multiculturalism that is raging globally and has strong implications for notions of nation. It is the contention of indigenous people globally that they are not merely ethnic groups among many that reside in any given state, but people who have inherent rights and special status as First Nations. By the end of the chapter it is abundantly clear that First Peoples worked with the government, agitating throughout the process toward a more democratic system.

In the years covered by Roth, Aboriginal peoples were keenly aware of the necessity to serve their own communities, make connections between one another, and reach out to non-Native Canadians in a real effort for continuous interactive dialogue. People from the north were well aware that they were absent from Canadian consciousness, even though this resource-rich area is crucial to southerners. Roth presents some of this era's community-produced posters that were designed to begin to bridge the gap. One poster portrays the dominant view of southerners through a 1953 quote by Louis St.-Laurent: "Apparently we have administered these vast territories of the North in an almost continuing state of absence of mind," which is answered by the proactive intervention of First Peoples, "A Project: To Make the North Present in the Canadian Consciousness."

As a Native viewer of APTN from the United States, the rich history of the development of First Peoples communications presented by Roth reminds me that television and other electronic media are only as good as we make them. The powerful legacy of Aboriginal communications demonstrates that people must actualize that potentiality to avoid "electronic reservations" that defeat the crucial need for productive critical thinking about issues that concern us all. The electronic reservation that First Peoples identified as a dead end for any Native communications system is not only applicable to Aboriginal people. It also applies to today's atmosphere of controlled media that short circuits global dialogues on the myriad of complex issues confronting the people of our small planet. Roth's study illuminates the processes that First Peoples energetically undertook in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds to navigate toward a new phase of "full national media citizenship," at the same time claiming their place as global citizens. Television, which can

be at its worst as bad as the intruding eye of the state, as First Peoples amply demonstrate, is the technology that facilitates interaction, creativity, and full participation in the world in which we live.

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Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination. Edited by Joanne Barker. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2006. 236 pages. \$29.95 paper.

Sovereignty Matters is a collection of essays written by indigenous scholars that explores notions of sovereignty, cultural self-determination, personal autonomy, and decolonization as they relate to indigenous peoples and their communities in the Americas and the Pacific. To open up the discussion, authors Joanne Barker (Lenape) and Taiaiake Alfred (Mohawk) examine these words and deconstruct their meanings in an attempt to illustrate the problems indigenous people encounter when their actions are conceived of through a Western lens. They argue that problems arise when indigenous people use nonindigenous terms to define their movements, theories, and lives. In particular, Barker and Alfred examine the word sovereignty, and how, through its uncritical acceptance, it eventually became the generalized term to define and represent the inherent and inalienable rights of indigenous peoples. However, as the authors assert, in the Western legal sense, sovereignty "implies a set of values and objectives that put it in direct opposition to the values and objectives found in most traditional indigenous philosophies" (43). Alfred points out that the challenge for indigenous peoples in forming suitable postcolonial systems of government is to detach the idea of sovereignty from its Western legal roots and change it. Thus, the task for indigenous people is to deconstruct their ways of thinking through a nonindigenous lens, and move beyond these words rooted in Western traditions by invoking word, concepts, and theories from an indigenous spiritual and cultural experience.

The essays provide excellent examples of how indigenous people are working against colonialism and moving down the path toward self-determination by revitalizing and employing their own indigenous ways of knowing and understanding. The Maori people in Aotearoa/New Zealand share a long history of resistance and struggle against colonization. Maori scholar Leonie Pihama explores how the Maori have continued to resist domination since colonization by developing and adhering to theories derived from Kaupapa Maori, a Maori body of knowledge that provides a theoretical framework in which Maoris conceive of their world. The ever-evolving Kaupapa Maori theory reaffirms the Maori right "to be Maori" on their own terms and draws from their own base of knowledge in understanding, thinking about, and explaining their world away from and outside of the domain of the colonial forces (204). Kaupapa Maori theory also provides a theoretical and analytical