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efficacy of laughter has become at least a theoretical commonplace of mainstream attitudes toward health does not diminish the need for an always welcome reminder.

Although the official topic of *Kitchen-Table Stories* may stir up popular associations with the figure of the Indian as healer of alienated modern society, the tellers of these stories do not inhabit any such extrahistorical space. The collection is interesting precisely for the embeddedness of its cross-cultural narratives in those daily social processes we all share. If you want tales of a more mystical bent, you might choose Carl A. Hammerschlag's *The Dancing Healers* (1988) ; if you are looking for a clinical study of innovative psychological approaches to American Indian health and healing, read Eduardo Duran's *Transforming the Soul Wound* (1990); if you are hoping for a "conversation" based in a traditional point of view, read Luther Standing Bear's *Land of the Spotted Eagle.*

On the other hand, Cunningham's volume might be read in light of Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* for its relevance to the proposition that "users [of cultural systems] make (bricolent) innumerable and infinitesimal transformations of and within the dominant cultural economy in order to adapt it to their own interests and their own rules" (p. xiv). Read in this light, *Kitchen-Table Stories* is a sincere but not always successful attempt to document those ordinary "verbal productions in which the interlacing of speaking positions weaves an oral fabric without individual owners, creations of a communication that belongs to no one" (p. xxii).

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Anthropology, Public Policy, and Native Peoples in Canada. Edited by Noel Dyck and James B. Waldram. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993. 362 pages.

In assessing the contemporary role and importance of anthropology with regard to Canadian First Nations, this fascinating collection of fourteen essays covers a broad range of topics, interests, and attitudes. Anthropology, with its odd combination of colonialist background and commitment to cultural relativism, has played a peculiar role in the history of First Nations and of the federal government. Officials often have been more willing to listen to the

testimony of professionals than to the statements of natives themselves. Yet policy makers have largely given anthropological studies little regard, preferring to work from their own set of preconceptions and opinions. When anthropologists have tried to make their research available to bureaucrats, they have had a limited impact. Sometimes this failure has worked to the advantage of native concerns, but not always. False assertions of objectivity and breadth of scope have sometimes been used against native interests, Understandably, natives want their own voices to be heard above all others.

In their introduction, Dyck and Waldram explain that, with the increasing numbers of land claims, technological impact studies, and economic development projects, anthropologists in Canada have found a new role for themselves, working with native groups as employees and consultants. In these capacities, they try to be both "intellectually penetrating and socially responsible."

Part 1 of *Anthropology, Public Policy, and Native Peoples in Canada* examines public policy with regard to First Nations in a historical context. Derek Smith details a "mode of domination" and "symbolic violence," wherein metal identification disks were assigned to Eskimo/Inuit in the Canadian Arctic in 1941. Individuals were given names and numbered disks, which "proved" their Inuit identity and allowed the Canadian government to interact with them. These efforts also enforced Canadian territorial claims. In the process, all supra-individual groupings of Inuit society were ignored. The original rationale for the disks was to safeguard medical care, so that treatments and prescriptions could be kept individual-specific. Once these identifications were implemented, however, they became all-embracing. The dehumanizing aspects of this system eventually led to its replacement by self-selected surnames with standardized spellings, comparable to the identifications used by other Canadians.

Sally Weaver documents the procedures and consequences of the famous two-volume survey of Canadian natives chaired by Harry Hawthorn in 1963–67, which characterized First Nations peoples as "citizens plus" because of their special legal status as aboriginals with charter rights. Its conclusions emphasized the importance of "choice" and equal native input for policy decisions. Yet when the Trudeau government, acting on its own liberal ideology, sought to revise native policy in 1969, it rejected the report because of a prejudice against academics (as "idealistic, theoretical and philosophically conservative") and in favor of individualism.

Thus European notions of "equality" superseded those of tribalism. Both the Hawthorn team and native leaders were excluded from the 1969 deliberations. Succeeding governments have been more hostile to special rights for First Nations, but the growth of an articulate native leadership has done much to curb these attitudes.

Peter Usher considers social impact assessment in the North, particularly its community focus. Standards were set there by the Thomas Berger inquiry (1974–77) into the Mackenzie Valley pipeline, which shifted the focus from "a positivist, technical exercise to a normative, political one." The result was an appreciation of the hinterland as homeland in terms of criteria such as land use and occupancy, native foods, employment, and societal effects. The virtue of the inquiry was that it made appropriate use of both professional expertise and elder testimony.

Part 2, "The Politics of Anthropological Research," looks at case studies of anthropologists working with native peoples. Julie Cruikshank superbly reviews dilemmas of contemporary research to "convey authentically, in words, the experience of another culture." Motivating concerns are land claims, language loss, culture history, and oral literature, particularly as addressed in northern classrooms. The openness of postmodern theory, which allows for many voices and viewpoints, also encourages diverse presentations. As always, the best are collaborative, providing a richness of symbolism and meaning.

Peggy Martin Brizinski focuses on contemporary native views of about the anthropologist, "the Summer Meddler." These are far from flattering, because, in many native minds, grant monies and sponsorship have closely identified professionals with the government. Short stays and theoretical obsessions also distance the scholar from the community. Further, natives tend to lump together the varieties of scientists, which confuses the issues and leads to charges of "betrayal of intimacy." Indeed, the combination of ethical considerations, cultural ineptness, and personal styles of professionals can lead to misunderstanding and hurt feelings. Corrective measures can include more prolonged involvement, responsiveness to native opinions, and use of the native language to facilitate understanding.

Native leaders Ron Ignace, George Speck, and Renee Taylor discuss their experiences with anthropologists and emphasize the need for thorough community review of research projects during their duration and write-up. The willingness of courts and panels to give greater weight to expert testimony than to that of elders is

especially galling. Willingness to allow native copyright of field data and descriptions has become the "litmus test" of whether a scholar will be allowed to remain in a community. In particular, Ignace, Speck, and Taylor encourage a holistic rather than a piecemeal approach to research, since integration is more relevant to native concerns. Throughout, Canadians need to recognize "whose house" and "whose land" they are living in.

In the most problematic essay of the volume, Noel Dyck urges anthropologists to "tell it like it is" in accounts of contemporary native communities. Self-censorship or avoidance of currently sensitive issues may not be beneficial in the long run. Dyck states that, although native wishes are always to be respected, accurate reporting will be both analytically and methodologically beneficial in the future.

Part 3 addresses the practical applications of anthropology. John O'Neil, Joseph Kaufert, Patricia Leyland Kaufert, and William Koolage detail a project to train native interpreters for northern hospitals, to explain to patients such important issues as informed consent, child protection, community liaison, access to shamans, and health maintenance. The initial difficulty of getting doctors and other hospital staff to take the native interpreters seriously was overcome by asking the staff to regard the interpreters as associates and colleagues rather than as hired workers.

Peter Douglas Ails discusses the complexities of land claims research conducted for the Kaska Dena in preparation for litigation, negotiation, or legislation. With trained native workers maintaining a computer database and extensive genealogies, he coordinated the assembly of information to prove six tests of land rights: specific territory, current occupation and resources, organized society, historic descent, traditional practices, and exclusive occupation.

Joe Sawchuk assesses the growing role of native political organizations and pressure groups, particularly in formulating national policy. Depending on leadership, funding, political cohesion, operational knowledge of federal procedures, and policy research capability, each organization interacts with others in order to gain a larger impact. Anthropologists can contribute to the research capabilities of these groups. With great irony, Sawchuk discusses his own attempts to stay above factional politics during his involvement with one such group. To do his job, he had to take sides, as much to remain within the community as to take "bloody-minded" revenge on a politician who was subverting project goals

to entrench his own position and redirect money and renources to his own constituents. Sawchuk's dedication is all the more impressive because leadership shifted with each election.

James Waldram reviews the limits of advocacy by reminding scholars that they are advisors and advocates but "neither leaders nor pleaders." When a native community where he was well known placed him as their representative on a review panel to assess the damaging consequences of a hydroelectric project, he served faithfully and made his recommendations, sometimes forcefully. The commmunity did not follow his suggestions, and he did not insist that they do so. Compensation was lost, but policy was served.

Colin Scott muses on the slippery ways that the terms *culture, custom,* and *tradition* are used by native peoples and others during negotiations. Rather than discount such usages, he reminds scholars that the blending of "invention and convention" is at the heart of cultural and political vitality.

Julia Harrison provides the most fascinating essay, detailing the planning of, reaction to, and aftermath of "The Spirit Sings: Artistic Tradition of Canada's-First-People," a controversial exhibit held during the 1988 Calgary Olympics. When the Lubicon Cree urged a boycott of the exhibit, scholars and others took sides, some of them ill-informed, in an effort she interprets as "seeing for innocence." She underscores that native people were involved in the exhibit throughout, and political stances were not always academically appropriate. Considering how many attacks she and the Glenbow Museum had to duck, her overview is thorough and balanced.

This useful and informative collection gives a sense of the current dynamics and creativity of Canadian anthropology. Rather than obsess about "appropriation," these scholars are concerned with responsibilities, relevance, and resonance. They are to be commended.

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Bloodlines: Odyssey of a Native Daughter By Janet Campbell Hale. New York: Random House, 1993. 187 pages. $18.00 cloth.

Janet Campbell Hale's fine *Bloodlines: Odyssey of a Native Daughter* is her first nonfiction book. Her earlier novels are *The Owl's Song*