

BOOK REVIEWS

Nature Religion in America from the Algonkian Indians to the New Age.
 Catherine L. Albanese. University of Chicago. Press, 1990.
 [267 pp; illustrated, notes, index; forward by Martin E. Marty.]
 \$31.50 Cdn:hardcover.

Predicated upon the concept that religion is the way in which people orient themselves in the world with reference to both ordinary and extraordinary powers, meaning, and values, Albanese draws together a number of diverse religious phenomena and movements. All have nature as the common centralizing element, and a cluster of beliefs, behaviours and values that encircles this symbolic centre. Taking a somewhat elusive -- and heretofore, unorganized and unacknowledged -- form of religion, the author develops her thesis for a **nature religion**. Persuasively arguing from an historical stance, the author thus provides compelling evidence that nature as religious symbol acts as a culture broker, illuminating persistent patterns in past and present American life. Although the text often becomes saturated with a plethora of 'isms', 'ists' and 'ologies' that slows the comprehension of the lay reader, the presentation is generally outstandingly clear and concise. In fact, the reader is often caught involuntarily commenting in silent agreement with precisely worded observations and conclusions.

At the beginning, we are introduced to The Tribe of Jesse -- the eleven sons and two daughters of Jesse and Molly Hutchinson of Milford, New Hampshire -- who were renowned as a popular singing group during the mid to late 1800s. In musical format they established and promoted their position as millennialists, spiritualists, and political activists, in accordance with prevailing issues. An extension of their mass appeal included affirmation of their commitments and, when they later embraced a series of health-reform movements of the era, their followers did so as well. It is this affirmation and its response that Albanese finds evocative. Having pondered about the psychological, sociological or logical reasoning inherent in the growth of this and other such movements, she deduces that there must be some intrinsic relationship between the elements. Ultimately, she calls the organizing principle of this relationship, **nature religion**. With this established, she then takes us chronologically through the various stages and expressions of nature religion in America from the Algonkian Indians at the time of European contact up to the present.

The Algonkians, as representatives of Amerindians in general, are shown to have lived symbolically with nature at both centre and

boundaries. With outstanding sensibility, Albanese demonstrates how the Amerindians kept themselves and their world in balance and in harmony (a theme that recurs in various forms throughout this book) by means of reciprocity. This native focus on balance and harmony recognized that nature manifested scared powers with continuity between ordinary and extraordinary. Hence, nature religion formed and framed life from birth until death and beyond, as it shaped mentality, and controlled behaviour. Their cosmology presented a world peopled with both human and other-than-human persons with mysterious powers and traits. As well, they believed in religious geographies in which specific sites were inhabited by sacred powers and persons. However, rather than controlling nature as the Europeans were inclined to do, Amerindians appreciated that, as human beings, they were only one element within an integrated natural world.

Into this world came the Puritans with their ambivalent views of nature. On the one hand, they linked savagery and evil with a feared wilderness dominated by Satan, and assisted by the southern Algonkians. On the other hand, their Judeo-Christian tradition made the wilderness a place imbued with positive spiritual meaning. This, and other aspects, provide a number of similarities between the native and non-native groups that suggest the Puritans were also followers of a nature religion. But, for these English colonists, nature could function only as part of a sacred geography in which the supernatural essence of the divine realm was strongly marked, and in which sacred persons lived above and apart from nature (p. 34). Nature was to be controlled. Over time, these Puritanical views were developed into a natural idealism that would become the Transcendental correspondence between nature and spirit.

With masterful literary skill, and a strong sense for historical context, Albanese sets the stage for Republican Nature, the nature religion of the age of the Declaration of Independence. The fear of the wilderness was replaced with patriotic fascination filled with the idealism of plain country virtue of the new nation as promoted by such divers personalities as Thomas Jefferson and Davy Crockett. Nature became religious centre and sacred force. Significantly, the Revolution and the subsequent shaping of the American nation was undertaken by fraternal members of the Freemasons. Drawn into this organization initially by its ethics of charity, equality, love of country and virtue, its members also embraced the metaphysical aspect of its Enlightenment views of nature. Nature provided the theological frame on which to hang a civil religion of the American republic (p. 62).

It is the Transcendentalists and their romanticized notions of nature as divinity incarnate that is most familiar to the general public. A salient

feature of the nature religions advocated and promoted by Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, and Phineas Parkhurst Quimby was the worshipping of Nature. This reverence became the source of purification of body and soul, the physical and metaphysical. As a source of perfection, albeit idealistic, nature validated the American cosmology and quickly came to signify the time of millennial dawn.

Thus America, with its democratic community established, could now give way to individualism, and the direct experience of individuals became the test of true religion. With the industrial revolution sweeping the Eastern American seaboard, and the resultant change from plural communities to pluralistic states, we note a concomitant change from mind to matter with the rise of a number of movements focused on the state of individual bodies. Harmony was now found in health cures, and followings were developed around homeopathy, hydropathy, osteopathy and chiropraxis. It is the accompanying rhetoric that proclaims these as religious movements, and the use of nature and natural means as restorative elements, that proclaims this as nature religion. Throughout, Christian physiology signalled the millennium at hand, the future to be made present -- and present perfect -- in a golden dawn of health (p. 124).

In this manner, religion as dialectic -- thesis, antithesis and synthesis -- spirals us into the future and a return to native Amerindian religion in the late twentieth century. While nature is still centre and boundaries, the emphasis is now on healing and restoring ecological and spiritual harmony. This essence of intertwined physic and metaphysic found in native religion is reiterated by such Far Eastern religions as, for example, Reiki and macrobiotics, recently introduced into modern America.

By establishing that nature as religious symbol has become so effectively a culture broker, Albanese adroitly demonstrates persistent patterns in past and present American life. And, having drawn together a number of seemingly unrelated religious movements and philosophies, linked by their centre in nature and common focus on harmony, she concludes, "The presence of nature religion in America is one more sign that, in a "secular" society, the search for the sacred refuses to go away" (p. 201). While this thoroughly-researched and well-written work may have limited appeal for the general public, it provides a new perspective of interest to scholars of anthropology, religion, and American history.

Cath Oberholtzer
McMaster University

Native Ethnography: A Mexican Indian Describes His Culture. H. Russell Bernard and Jesus Salinas Pedraza. Sage Publications, 1989. [647 pp; illustrations, references, index] \$75.00 US: hardcover.

The preface and introduction of this book are written by Bernard. He describes how his friendship with Jesus Salinas began and was fostered into an 'authoring partnership'. The preface deals with the problems faced in standardizing the Nahnu language enough to get it into a computer programme. This process not only allowed the writing of this book, but also allows the continued teaching of the language to other members of the native community, including schoolchildren who have not previously been encouraged to learn their own language.

The native people's name for themselves is Nahnu (pronounced Nyaw-hnyu, [p. 11]), though they are known in the literature as Otomi. Otomi has a very negative connotation in Mexico. It is the word used to refer to "dirty, lazy, good-for nothing, shifty, untrustworthy, etc." Indians. Because of the perjorative sense which typically applies to the name Otomi, Nahnu is the name of choice in this ethnography. The remainder of the book is written by Salinas. He first describes in fascinating detail the geography, fauna and flora of his people's land in the state of Hidalgo, Mexico, and concludes with a detailed account of the religion.

Salinas' organized thinking is quite obvious throughout this book. While reading it I had no difficulty visualizing the features being discussed. If I were to travel to Hidalgo, and took this book along, I feel that I could get around the area rather easily. Embedded in these descriptions are detailed accounts of what is used as food, medicine, and building materials, and how to find and prepare these items. An unexpected aspect of these descriptions is a discussion of gender and age roles. Salinas gives a report of how things are, who does what, and, sometimes, why things are as they are. Salinas presents this information as he lives it, without many of the associated questions which arise when the commentator is from an alien culture. This is different from some accounts by anthropologists who attempt to rationalize 'why' questions, and make 'educated guesses' about things like humour, double entendres, and why specific roles are designated as they are.

The section on religion is very intriguing to me because of its content. This discussion on religion contains information about the organization of the fiestas, how debts are incurred and discharged, who may be asked for help in cooking for a large crowd and, basically, how to

live in this culture and maintain proper (accepted) and polite relationships. Salinas has, by presenting his discussion of religion in this way, reminded us that not everyone divides the secular and religious realms as clearly and definitively as we do.

Bernard spends a fair bit of time in the introduction arguing for the appropriateness of native ethnography. One of the reasons I think this is an important concept is that what is important to 'the native' [in this case Salinas,] is discussed, in the culturally correct order, and with the words which best fit the ideas. This is truly seeing Nahnu culture through Nahnu eyes. This book will enable researchers the opportunity to study Nahnu culture in a way which has not been generally available previously.

Wendy Renault
McMaster University

Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste. Pierre Bourdieu. Translated by Richard Nice. Harvard University Press, 1984. [613 + vi pp; references, index]

This review of Bourdieu's comprehensive analysis of cultural distinctions of class is restricted to its usefulness in the particular task of a student anthropologist. As such, the following does not present the usual broad critique of a complete book. For such reviews of Bourdieu's **Distinction** one may look to Garnham (1986) for a British sociological perspective and to Berger (1986) for an American one. For a more Canadian and anthropological review on Bourdieu's book, see Van Esterik (1986).

I first read Bourdieu's **Distinction** while attempting to better understand the relationship between consumer goods -- specifically holiday travel -- and social status (Reimer 1990). Because Bourdieu's lens is focused upon contemporary urban class society (France), and because he deals so extensively with the dynamics between class and 'taste', this volume is essential theoretical reading for students of tourism studies. This is particularly true for students keen to comprehend the generating side of tourism supply and demand. Bourdieu provides a penetrating and intricate analysis of the supply/demand relationship as a dialectic process of "objective orchestration" of production and consumption (p. 230). It challenges one to look not only at the influences exerted by Western

consumers of the tourism commodity, but also at the power lent to a tourism industry able to compete in terms of distinct images of a culturally - constituted good. By linking production and consumption with class and status, Bourdieu helps to clarify how tour operators are able to manipulate tourist inclinations as powerful marketing tools.

Anyone reading Bourdieu for the first time must beware, however, of his tendency (over-tendency?) to determine (over-determine?) class behaviour by class position. His definition of culture, restricted to "legitimate culture" -- meaning the Arts with a capital 'A' (ballet and the like) -- causes Bourdieu to rely on his concept of "habitus" in eliciting patterns of cultural behaviour and practice in the anthropological sense. The problem is that "habitus" (internalized group dispositions ['tastes'] which mediate social structure and individual will) is a purely normative concept with little, if any, analytic allowance for creative, transforming human acts. Bourdieu's argument is, in the end, tautological in that class determines habitus which in turn reflects class. While he does bow briefly to individual history ("trajectories" [453-9]) as a variable in the determination of taste, he does so more as a qualifier than as an element to be taken seriously in the study of class distinctions. This, together with a weak concern for history in its broad sense, renders Bourdieu's account as a rather synchronic and static piece.

Despite its weaknesses, Bourdieu's **Distinction** ably demonstrates how social and economic spaces are inextricably inter-related, and how patterns of consumption serve as markers of class. Bourdieu's argument is well supported by exhaustive survey examples, thus serving as a guide to future similar types of theoretical research. By refining such concepts as cultural capital, taste, status, and field of consumption, Bourdieu reinforces the challenge among anthropologists to study, seriously and systematically, aspects of contemporary urban Western society.

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Gwen Reimer

McMaster University

Northern Communities: The Prospects for Empowerment. G. Dacks and K. Coates, editors. Boreal Institute for Northern Studies. Occasional Publication #25.

Contact publisher for price.

This publication consists of seven articles derived from papers originally presented at a University of Alberta conference in 1986, titled "Knowing the North: Integrating Tradition, Technology and Science". Considered individually, the articles are well-researched. However, the publication as a whole suffers from a lack of integration and, despite its title, only three papers specifically address issues, pertaining to decolonization.

The issue of local control constitutes, without a doubt, one of the most pervasive concerns of northern aboriginal societies. Virtually every institution, on an everyday basis, is struggling with social problems stemming from the imposition of colonial policies and programs. Four of the seven articles are case studies that focus on the impacts of colonialism in specific institutions and geographic areas. Two papers, by Ken Coates and Lynda Lange, are historical analyses of colonialism in, respectively, the Yukon and the western Northwest Territories. An article by John O'Neil examines the development of health care institutions and of southern medical ideology in the NWT, while Harold Finkler provides a short study of community participation in socio-legal control.

Given the comprehensive nature of the problem of local control and community empowerment, the publication lacks analyses of several important institutional spheres -- notably, education policies and programs -- which are promoted by government agencies as 'the solution' to most social problems in the North. It is also striking to find no articles

on Alaska or Greenland, which have experienced land claims settlements and self-government, the major frameworks through which aboriginal societies hope to achieve a greater degree of autonomy in the areas that are covered in the publication.

'Empowerment' is, then, specifically dealt with in only three articles. One of these, by Tom Svensson, focuses on the Sami people; another, by Robert Keith and David Neufeld, deals with northern resources management, while William Rees analyzes general issues and processes involved in stable community development. Apart from a brief preface written by the editors, there is no attempt to integrate the case studies (of colonialism) and the articles on empowerment in a more general synthesis that would address either the common structural constraints to empowerment, or the processes and means by which communities have been able to increase their degree of autonomy. The publication is, therefore, little more than a limited source book on the topic.

J.P. Chartrand
McMaster University

Folklore Matters. Alan Dundes. University of Tennessee Press, 1989.
[172 pp; + xxi]
\$19.50 US: paper.

This valuable volume unites eight essays written over the course of the 1980s by Alan Dundes, arguably the most prominent folklorist in North America, and one of the world leaders in contemporary folkloristics.

As Dundes states in his Introduction to the volume, the better part of his professional life has involved a crusade to convince the academic community and the general public that "folklore matters". Like Dundes' earlier collections, the essays in this volume demonstrate that folklore *does* matter, primarily because it reveals important aspects of our own worldview and that of other cultures which are not otherwise clearly articulated. For Dundes, folklore reveals most about worldview when it is interpreted from a psychoanalytic perspective that gives precedence to its symbolic and metaphorical qualities. A common theme recurring in

several of the essays published here concerns the tendency of most 'conventional' folklorists to propose interpretations that are exclusively literal, historical, or concerned with form, as in the case of structuralism. Dundes laments that such interpretations ignore the element of fantasy in folklore that makes it a vehicle for the projection of latent meanings. Freely acknowledging that his own psychoanalytically-informed approach to folklore is exceptional, and that the discipline more generally resists Freudian interpretations, Dundes suggests that the majority of folklorists eschew the pursuit of latent content because they are unwilling to confront the powerful unconscious meanings that make folklore materials so attractive to audiences that include themselves as scholars. Moreover, he notes that many of his students and colleagues who reject psychoanalytic interpretations do so as a matter of general principle, without having read the works of Freud and later psychoanalytic theorists. As Dundes points out, "This is hardly an intellectually defensible" or scholarly position (p. 122).

Dundes' own work, by contrast, is typified by the highest standards of scholarship. His 'representative sampling' of previous work on the ballad of "The Building of Skadar," for example, includes two full pages of references in at least six different languages (pp. 153-155). In his essay on "The Anthropologist and the Comparative Method in Folklore" Dundes criticizes the tendency of anthropologists to use single versions of folklore items as if they were unique to one cultural context, rather than setting them within a broader cross-cultural comparative framework. Only through comparison of cognate versions from many historical and geographical settings, Dundes argues, can researchers delineate the oicotype or "particular version common to only one particular cultural context" (p. 73). Oicotypes can provide important insights into worldview, since differences in detail between the oicotype for a particular culture and other versions of the same folklore item show how it has been modified to fit local perceptions and preoccupations.

It is not only anthropologists working with folklore materials who make the mistake of relying too heavily on single texts. In "The Psychoanalytic Study of the Grimms' Tales: 'The Maiden Without Hands' (AT 706)" Dundes also takes psychoanalysts to task for proposing hasty interpretations of biblical and classical materials or selections from the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* without consulting key folkloristic resources such as the Aarne-Thompson Tale Type Index for information about other versions or previous scholarship on the texts. More seriously, he points out that the Grimms' tales represent composite texts, pieced together from several sources and rewritten by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm.

For this reason, Dundes cautions that psychoanalytic interpretations of these tales do not provide valid insight into the worldview of nineteenth century Germany, although presumably such interpretations can disclose something about the latent symbolic meanings available in the texts for later readers.

As composite texts, the Grimms' tales fall into the category of 'fakelore' rather than true folklore. The term 'fakelore', coined in 1950 by folklorist Richard Dorson, "refers to materials that are either fabricated totally ... or are drastically altered and often bowdlerized rewritings of oral folklore **but yet are claimed to be pure oral tradition**" (p. 118). The second essay in *Folklore Matters*, "The Fabrication of Fakelore," examines in detail several prominent examples of fakelore, including the American Paul Bunyan legends, the German Grimms' tales, the epic Kalevala from Finland, and MacPherson's *Poems of Ossian* from Scotland. Observing that all of these cases developed in historical periods when the countries in question were experiencing political and/or cultural insecurity *vis-à-vis* more powerful or prestigious neighbours, Dundes argues that fakelore arises in response to national inferiority complexes. Just as the growth of folkloristics as a discipline was given impetus by the development of nationalism in nineteenth century Europe, so, too, the invention of oral tradition is correlated with incipient nationalism. Where actual extant folk traditions are perceived as insufficient or absent, fakelore emerges to fill "a national, psychic need: namely, to assert one's national identity, especially in a time of crisis, and to instill pride in that identity" (p. 50). From the perspective of those reading this book in early 1991, in light of the Gulf War, Dundes' interpretation of Paul Bunyan as a symbolic reflection of American self-image seems especially pertinent. Paul Bunyan stands for the size and strength of the American nation, and "it may be significant that he is not depicted as being very bright ... He solves problems through brute strength and a strong will, not through artful diplomacy" (p. 53).

Fakelore, like folklore, is clearly a component of national identity. In the first essay in this volume, "Defining Identity Through Folklore," Dundes looks more generally at the role of folklore in the cultural construction of identity for both individuals and folk groups. As "one of the most important ... sources for the articulation and perpetuation of a group's symbols" (p. 8), folklore highlights the distinctive features of ethnic, family, occupational, national and other groups. Moreover, for the folklorist or anthropologist, folklore about identity provides a window onto the ways in which individuals and groups conceive of themselves and

their relations with others. Unlike sociological or psychological tests and questionnaires about identity, folklore materials are an "autobiographical ethnography, a mirror made by the people themselves", reflecting their identity (p. 34). As such, they are relatively free from the biases of the outside researcher.

Other fascinating topics explored by the essays in this collection include the question of why pranks are commonly associated with April 1, the genre status of weather 'proverbs', and the ways in which the varying details of a folk toy found in a diverse range of cross-cultural contexts reflect differing cultural perceptions of personal space and resources for the sustenance of human life. Although all of the essays in **Folklore Matters** have been previously published, many of them originally appeared in journals not easily accessible to North American researchers. For this reason, it is very useful to have them reprinted together in a single volume. While Dundes' 1980 collection, *Interpreting Folklore* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press), provides -- at least in my view -- a better introduction to the discipline of folklore and to Dundes' own contributions, many key folklore concepts and methods are reviewed in passing in the essays of the present volume. As with all of Dundes' work, the book also represents a bibliographic goldmine. Once again, Dundes has succeeded in showing beyond a doubt, to both specialists and interested lay readers, that folklore does indeed matter.

Ellen Badone
McMaster University

Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death.
Nancy Dorian. Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language:
No. 7. Cambridge University Press, 1989.
[480 pp; index, bibliography]
\$59.50 US: hardcover.

This collection of papers documents and attempts to make sense of the processes leading to language extinction. Although focussed on language change, it is not preoccupied with the usual comparative-historical reconstruction that non-linguists often find unappealing, nor is it of interest only to linguists; rather, it has many important messages for everyone committed to anthropology as a holistic discipline. While it is

understandable that non-linguistic anthropologists should feel alienated from the Chomsky-flavoured models that have come to dominate linguistics for the last few decades, Dorian's volume constitutes the kind of linguistics that is regaining the attention of linguists and that should be of concern to other anthropologists as well.

Because of the cultural baggage that accompanies the majority into the discipline, anthropologists have to struggle with the temptation to place special value on discrete, untouched, and exotic societies as objects of study. Mythology influenced by biblical themes, cases of beer among the shell money at a pig exchange, and athletic shorts under the barkcloth and feathers all spoil the image for many anthropologists. Similarly, most linguists have felt compelled to capture samples of 'pure' speech, uncontaminated by words copied from European languages; and with so many healthy languages left to study, who but a ghoul would be tempted to squander research on something in the latter stages of decay? Twenty years ago, pidgins and creoles were not considered worthy objects of study, either. Students interested in Tok Pisin or Haitian Creole were urged to divert their attention to 'real' languages. Then, in 1971, Dell Hymes published *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages* and initiated a flurry of research in language contact. Dorian's volume can be expected to stimulate similar activity in the study of language loss.

Dorian points out that, since there are no collected works, journals, or international conferences devoted to language obsolescence, researchers in this area have lacked an organized community of colleagues. Just as Hymes (1971) provides much of the early framework for pidgin-creole studies, Dorian's contribution draws together the work already accomplished on language loss, lays out the hypotheses that have been advanced, and initiates the debate on the complex issues involved. Working largely through personal contacts, she has collected a set of excellent papers. The volume is divided into three parts, the first focussing on the social situations in which language loss occurs, and the second on structural changes in the languages themselves. As each author is careful to provide the sociocultural and historical background for language change in each case, the division between these two is somewhat arbitrary. The third part consists of critical reviews and commentary on the preceding two sections, trying to draw together common themes and integrate them conceptually with related areas of investigation.

All the authors have longterm experience in their subject communities; the majority have worked in more than one region; and most employ the kind of participant observation familiar to sociocultural

anthropologists. Through her choice of papers, Dorian has achieved almost global coverage of a wide range of situations, including the languages of immigrant communities in North America and Europe, and threatened aboriginal languages in North and Central America, Europe, North and East Africa, Southeast Asia and Australia. With only a few lapses, the authors have been careful to write for an educated audience that includes readers with little or no formal training in linguistics.

Most of the papers try to identify sociocultural and historical variables responsible for language loss. The discussions range from genocide perpetrated on political scapegoats, to Yuppie and anti-Yuppie snobbery, to misguided folklore about language acquisition. While there are common trends among the case studies, there are also seemingly contradictory findings that, so far, argue against firm generalizations. One frequent observation is that heritage languages begin to fade when they are no longer used as the dominant language of the home, but even this simple statement of the obvious turns out to be far more complex on closer investigation. For instance, responsibility for the maintenance of French in Welland Ontario (Mougeon and Beniak) has been removed from the home and church and turned over to the school system. In this case, the informal variety is being lost. In other situations, where the ancestral language is still spoken in the home, younger speakers are losing competence in the formal register of the language. All the situations discussed in the volume involve what is loosely termed bilingualism, but this too is complicated by asymmetric competence that correlates with age, social class and marriage patterns. For example, an individual may be able to understand two languages, but be able to speak only one well. In some cases, any attempt to speak the threatened language is lauded, even if the resultant speech is ungrammatical, phonologically-flawed and mixed with some other language. In other cases, would-be speakers are discouraged from speaking their ancestral language by conservative elders who become upset by the grammatical imperfections and sparse vocabulary of young people, and who inadvertently hasten the demise of their language. The studies included in the volume highlight some of the problems involved in the very concept of ethnic identity. For instance, Bradley reports problems in studying Ugong because minorities in Thailand are under pressure to try to pass as Thais; while Mithuen's informants include speakers of good Cayuga who identify themselves as Seneca.

The volume offers valuable perspectives with a cross-disciplinary appeal. For archaeologists and prehistorians, there are cautions against the use of language classifications in the reconstruction of unilinear prehistory. For example, Dimmendaal's outstanding contribution notes that vocabulary dealing with pastoralism can be reconstructed for a group of

related languages spoken by East African hunter-gatherers; that one group of fishers has shifted to the language of surrounding pastoralists while maintaining the fishing vocabulary from a previous unrelated language; and that multilingualism and shifts from one language to another are very common. Language, genes and technology are not always inherited as a neat package, a Boasian message that is still worth repeating. Menn provides a pithy commentary from the point of view of studies in language acquisition and aphasia pointing to areas of potential research in the relationship between language and human neurology. Several of the papers observe that the kinds of structural change common to languages in the process of contraction are indistinguishable from the effects of language contact and from 'normal' language change. The message for historical linguists is that the kind of change described in this volume and in the pidginisation literature is normal; that is, sociolinguistic processes account for the bulk of language change better than the mystical language-internal explanations that are usually invoked.

As each study is brief, almost summary in nature, the volume takes the reader for a quick look at a rich array of very different situations around the world, and lays out the theoretical foundations for a new field of study. For those eager for more detailed information on specific topics, Dorian has provided an impressive bibliography, thereby adding to the volume's value as a reference tool. The major flaw is in the use of endnotes instead of footnotes; computer technology should have made this annoying format obsolete, but the dextrous reader can still cope by using two bookmarks. Otherwise, contrary to Dorian's modest claims, this is a landmark volume, one of the best collections of papers I have ever read on any subject.

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Wm. B. Thurston
McMaster University

Development and Structure of the Body Image (Vol I & II). Seymour Fisher. Lawrence Erlbaum, 1986.
[871 pp; author & subject index]
\$69.95 US: cloth.

A renewed, and more critically vigorous, interest in the importance of the body in the generation and transformation of social knowledge has been one of the more interesting and exciting developments in anthropology. Building on the earlier work of Meigs on the Hua, Schieffelin on the Kaluli and Lewis on the Gnaou, as well as the more recent discussions of body epistemologies such as O'Neill, Turner, and Vlahos, this trend crosses boundaries of subject and object in new and exciting ways.

But -- and this is an important and essential but -- these developments in anthropology do not reflect a genuinely new development in the social and psychological sciences. In particular psychology, of various stripes, has maintained a long and fruitful interest in the study of the body as both the source and the location of social action. What Foucault 'discovered' in the 1960s -- that the body was a socially inscribed landscape -- is nothing new to 'body' psychology. This monumental summary of psychological studies of the body has much to tell anthropologists turning their attention toward the objectified subjectivities of living in socially and psychologically defined organic shells.

The design of the text makes it a ready and valuable reference. Volume One outlines a history of theories of body knowledge, exploring controversies and ambiguities. Of considerable importance, Fisher presents a careful overview of developmental models of body perception which add considerably to the advancement of a unified model of psychological and social development. Equally important, chapters on 'quasi-pathological' body experiences in psychologically-normal persons, and on body experiences in pathological conditions, offer base-line hypotheses about the role of body knowledge and body experience in sick-role situations. Of special interest, in view of Anzieu's recent revisions of the Freudian theory of self to incorporate a body-boundary component, Fisher's summary of discussions of boundary violations in psychiatric disorders is most welcome.

Volume Two summarizes substantive research in all areas of body psychology, relating these researches to the specific question of the role of body boundaries in maintaining self-integrity and in the control of social behaviour. This second volume -- with its discussions of research into the role of body-boundary experience in different classes of deviant

behaviour -- should be under the arm of every fieldworker probing body experience.

As a manual of fieldwork possibilities, this work can only be faulted for not providing sufficient discussion of the merits and weaknesses of a larger number of tools. However, Fisher does provide a detailed appendix which explains and codifies barrier and penetration scoring models. The application of this model in fieldwork situations is well worth pursuing.

There is a negative component, however, to this generally positive review. This book is about Euro-American bodies. It does not contain any detailed discussion of cultural contexts outside of this axis. This is understandable, perhaps, given that the main focus of psychological research has been, overwhelmingly, Euro-centric. This dearth of cross cultural data should be taken as a challenge to anthropologists -- especially in the rapidly growing field of critical medical anthropology -- to review and apply the insights and hypotheses of body psychology to as wide a range of cultural contexts as possible.

A more recent work of Fisher's, focusing on sexual body images, and available from the same publisher, adds another important dimension to these summary volumes. With these three books as starting points, taking into account the over 200 pages of references which the three contain, the emerging 'anthropology of the body' envisioned by Blacking more than ten years ago can go forward adventurously, building on and reformulating the wealth of knowledge and the diversity of questions which 50 years of psychology have produced. Fisher does a necessary service to this field of study and his summary presentations and theoretical suggestions can be recommended without caveat and with considerable gratitude.

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Douglass P. St. Christian

McMaster University

Warehousing Violence: Frontiers of Anthropology, Vol III. Mark S. Fleisher. Sage Publications Inc.

[256 pp; glossary, references]

\$16.95 Cdn:Paper.

This controversial ethnography on the success of one programme in warehousing society's most violent inmates is a frontrunner in the field of applied anthropology. This chronicle began when Mark Fleisher, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Washington State University, accepted an assignment by the Research Division of the Federal Bureau of Prisons to look at why correctional officers at USP-Lompoc, California, experience a lot of stress, and why they have a high job turnover rate. Fleisher obtained training and credentials as a certified federal correctional officer, then spent from August 1985 through September 1986 at Lompoc as a true

participant observer. In the course of studying staff stress, and writing several training manuals that helped new guards understand and cope with the problems they confronted, Fleisher came to understand how the prison at Lompoc operates, and why it has a relatively low rate of violence, despite being populated by many violent convicts.

This ethnography shows why Lompoc is successful: 1) its institutional culture rewards humanism, peace and quiet rather than violence; and 2) it functions as a prison factory that actually runs at a profit and provides inmates with the opportunity to make their material lives easier in prison. In short, *Warehousing Violence's* central ideas are how 'heavy thugs' can be controlled without armed or abusive correctional staffers and without expensive correctional technology, and how an employment-based system of social control is effective in keeping down both prison operating costs and prison violence.

Fleisher buttresses his arguments by highlighting, in eleven clear, concise and convincing chapters, various viewpoints on crime, prison and street life, the correctional culture of Lompoc, its system of formal and informal social control, research techniques and fieldwork problems, building rapport with inmates, life and death in the cage, sexual behaviour and sex-related violence, informal inmate discipline, inmate violence and staffers' response to it, mainline talk about violence and the role that violence plays in staff culture, and, lastly, why a humane prison is society's only choice.

Whatever your own ideas may be about how to deal with violent criminals, Fleisher's graphic and personal style of writing will challenge and transform your assumptions as you hear very intimate disclosures on "Club Fed", pen humour, "hot-nose'n" (meddling), "kites" (notes written by snitches), pen folklore and verbal metaphors, "cutters" (self-inflicted razor slashes), "fifi bags" (masturbation devices), and cellblock loansharks and their "it's cash or your ass" business policy, among other things.

This marvelous, fast-paced, fascinating and frank investigation of penitentiary life has special appeal. It is full of interesting facts and insights, such as sociodemographic characteristics of inmates, and handcuff keys hidden in cigarette packs. It advances radically new ideas. It causes readers to re-examine their basic assumptions about the causes, courses, and treatments of prison inmates here in Canada. It gives a clear-cut, non-bureaucratic, "brains and balls" analysis of the anthropologist as institutional analyst. It is a linguistically rich source of prison terminology. It includes methodologically sound and astute quantitative and qualitative analyses, as well as numerous illustrations, a glossary and 229 references. Moreover, Fleisher's account is a credible, realistic and rich array of data

that offers a convincing rationale for praxis and progressive change in correctional systems, management, administration, and policy.

All in all, Fleisher has written a very important and revealing book that foreshadows dire economic and sociocultural problems for correctional authorities and policy makers who consciously chose to disregard the macabre realities of keepers and the kept who struggle to live out their lives together.

This book is crucial reading for cultural and applied anthropologists, linguists, sociologists, criminologists, policy makers in the Departments of Justice, Members of Parliament, staff psychiatrists in correctional facilities, staffers in prisons and halfway houses, survivors of 'hard time', and economists who do not like to whistle in the dark.

Anne MacDonald
McMaster University

Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literature. Terry Goldie. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.

[271 pp.]

\$29.95 Cdn: hardcover.

Terry Goldie is a member of the Department of English at York University and *Fear and Temptation* is a semiotic analysis of the image of the indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand literatures. He insists that his only subject matter is discourse: his book is a study of texts rather than experience; fiction and other literary forms rather than actual people. Why then might an anthropologist read this book? I can think of four reasons.

First, Goldie's focus is on "the general problem of the representation of the indigenous consciousness ... "(p. 116). His concern with the ways in which writers in the West have represented the Other to their readerships links his work to that of many anthropologists and scholars in other disciplines, notably history and literary studies. While 'indigenous consciousness' itself may still be a primary (if not exclusive) research domain of anthropologists, the study of representations of indigenous

consciousness is one of the most significant interdisciplinary trends of our times.

A second reason to read Goldie's book is that his underlying message is one intrinsic to anthropology. Fair warning, the author tells us (as we tell our students), what appears natural and unchangeable in fact is neither: human imagination creates all images that humans consume. This revelation, in turn, appeals to our fascination with the hidden, the things you didn't know about things you thought you knew. Yes, Goldie confirms, there's a "concealed but omnipresent ideology controlling the text" (p. 8), one which only semiotic analysis will reveal. Like many anthropologists, I'm a sucker for hidden meanings -- surprising insights, artfully revealed -- and I found a wealth of them in Goldie's book.

Third, we anthropologists owe Goldie a hearing because members of our discipline have influenced his thinking about matters such as myth and history (Levi-Strauss) and language in relation to culture (Jack Goody). Goldie has a special kinship with Johannes Fabian: the two scholars seek to accomplish a similar political aim, which is to reveal the ways in which whites deny coevalness with indigenous peoples. My final reason why anthropologists might be interested in **Fear and Temptation** concerns the book's politics. An undercurrent of anger runs through Goldie's monograph, righteous anger directed at those who "treat the indigene as object without recognizing the very textual position of that reification" (p. 220). Goldie, then, is an intellectual ally to those many critical anthropologists concerned in their work with the subtle racism often found in Western representations of members of other cultures. He believes, as do many anthropologists, that recognition of implicit power structures in culture is a necessary first step in the direction of tenable and fair political systems.

Here is his complex argument, stripped to basics. His starting point is the notion that representations of the indigene in Western literatures at any given point in time owe more to other literary images than to real people or real ways of life. The images reproduce themselves so that, ultimately, the indigene in literature becomes 'our' indigene, a reified product of the colonialist and post-colonialist imagination. Goldie's aim is to show how pervasive the semiotic control of the image of the indigene has been in the national literatures of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, three countries that share in common a heritage of British colonialism. To achieve this end, he examines over 350 texts, mostly novels and short stories but also poetry, plays and even explorers' accounts.

He argues that the literary image of the indigene is a reified response to white psychological needs. There is a sense in which whites

seek to become natives, indigenized, a part of the lands they appropriate. They can join with the land only through the images they create of its inhabitants. What Goldie proposes might be viewed as endocannibalism carried out on a literary plane, a mystical notion that people consume the images they produce in order to absorb desired qualities associated with the images. The semiotization of the indigene is complete at the point at which the Indian becomes an INDIAN, and the Maori a MAORI. Ultimately, the semiotic field becomes so limited and all-encompassing that specifically human behaviour relating to an indigenous way of life disappears from the text.

To explain the reification process, Goldie develops a concept mentioned in Edward Said's *Orientalism*, the notion of "standard commodities". The commodities he has in mind are sex, violence, orality, mysticism and the prehistoric, all of which are "standard" (in the sense of 'usual') elements of the economy that defines the semiotic field of the indigene. The commodities valorize the semiotic field; they allow indigenizing whites to 'acquire' the indigene and manipulate the Indian's, Aborigine's or Maori's image in ways that suit the whites' psychological needs.

Sex and violence are, perhaps, the most basic commodities. Goldie calls them "emotional signs, semiotic embodiments of primal responses" (p. 15). Violence is the cornerstone of the West's image of the indigene. The whites' nightmare Indian is more a force of nature than a reasoning human being. The 'Indian Maiden' satisfies a different set of psychological needs. She represents the temptations of wildness and the wilderness; she promises freedom from the sexual constraints of civilization.

The function of 'orality' as a commodity is to underline the differences between primitive and civilized systems of understanding. The Self writes, but the Other only speaks. Alternatively, the 'Silent Savage' neither writes nor speaks. The implication here is that indigenes have a different consciousness to that of white people, a consciousness more mystical and more in harmony with nature. Hence, the image of the shaman in literature. Shamans represent the spiritual and oracular power of the indigene; so too might they be taken as representatives of Goldie's final commodity, the prehistoric. Like all indigenes, shamans in literature are signs of the past, historic artifacts of another age. Goldie and Fabian both point out that chronopolitics is the ideological foundation of geopolitics; manipulation of the temporal dimension of human affairs is the key means by which both anthropologists and writers of fiction distance themselves from the Other.

I found much to admire in Goldie's analysis, and I derived much pleasure from his book. He writes persuasively and well, with occasional flashes of wit, as when he ends a discussion of the devaluation of indigenous mysticism in the white text with the testy but apt analogy, "if the rabbit's foot were lucky it would still be on the rabbit" (p. 147). Yes, just so: but still, for all Goldie's insight and charm, I would quarrel with his analysis on several fundamental points.

Goldie's semiotic approach assumes that all authors are culture bound, trapped in webs of symbols that they themselves have spun, webs they make and inhabit yet do not understand. Even a writer as sensitive and politically committed as Rudy Wiebe is cast as naive, unable to perceive his own implicit intentions, unaware of the true meaning of the symbols he creates, meanings that Goldie discovers easily, and everywhere.

His concept of "standard commodities" is a blunt analytical instrument, one that allows him to lump together indigenes from three literatures over several centuries into representative categories such as 'noble savage', 'treacherous redskin', and 'temptress'. Such stereotyping makes no allowance for authorial skill, sensitivity and, especially, irony.

An additional problem is revealed in his treatment of mysticism. Goldie points out that white writers highlight the mystical qualities of shamans. They do so in order to appropriate "the spiritual consciousness of the alien Other" (p. 127) and, by so doing, "restore the white soul" (p. 146). Perhaps; but this semiotic approach to fictional materials ignores the ethnographic fact that mysticism is intrinsic to shamanism. Shamans are mystical: it is their profession and, often, their nature. To make mysticism a 'commodity', a value whites impose on shamans, underestimates the degree of interface between shamanism and its literary representations.

Is it true that "white culture has created a semiotic field of such power that no textual representation ... can escape it" (p. 214)? Goldie argues that even indigenous authors writing about their own ways of life cannot break through the semiotic field, for the narrative forms in which they write compromise the authenticity of their material. The view here is that native authors too must trade in the standard commodities of the semiotic economy. To test Goldie's view, I re-read Tomson Highway's play *The Rez Sisters* (1988, Saskatoon: The Fifth House). Goldie would find in Highway's play most of his 'commodities', most notably an emphasis on sexuality, mysticism and orality. But to point to the focii of the play as 'commodities' seems to me to miss an essential point: the play does not just repeat white literary forms but does something with them

that is original, provocative, life-affirming and true. Highway's characters are not just literary possessions of white consciousness. Instead, in semiotic terms, they are signs of hope, of raised consciousness, of the artist's ability to play the trickster and confound the semioticians.

William Rodman
McMaster University

The Politics of Field Research: Sociology Beyond Enlightenment. Jaber F. Gubrium and David Silverman, editors. Sage Publications, 1989.

[264 pp; illustrated, index]

\$39.95 US: hardcover.

This collected volume examines the nature of politics within various 'fields' of sociological research. The authors hope to make explicit the political nature of qualitative sociological research so as to inform the 'use' of sociological ethnography in policy formulation and criticism. In very different ways each article is concerned with the nexus between the analysis of data 'as facts' and the political realities -- whether academic, client, or community based -- that shape the analysis and presentation of findings in the public domain.

The collection originated at an international conference on the politics of field research and, like most volumes with such origins, exhibits a degree of analytic and topical diversity which renders overall assessments difficult. 'Politics' is loosely equated with power relations -- and is examined in a variety of institutional, organizational, and community 'fields'. Case studies are drawn from advertising, management, therapeutic and community care settings, and contemporary political movements. In the end, this analytic array -- despite the editors' appeal to a notion of 'unity in diversity' -- makes generalizations impossible. This failing is reinforced by the absence of any summary chapter. The reader is left with the impression that the editors were incapable of extracting any conclusions about the how and why of contemporary research, and daunted by the task of arriving at any 'foundational' analysis concerning the nature of power within modern field research.

The absence of a unifying analysis, however, is to be expected given the authors critique of the enlightenment perspective. The editors' inspiration and the authors' constant reference point is the Foucauldian vision, and, specifically, the analytic decomposition of power relations which necessarily replaces the unitary with an understanding of sociopolitical relations that is at once contingent, arbitrary, multivariant and multivocal. One intent of the book, we are told, is to examine the politics of field research against a number of themes raised by Foucault: the validity of notions of progress; a definition of politics and power relations which transcends state practices; a view of social research seen from 'within' disciplines which themselves constitute 'fields of knowledge within a tactical struggle over the politics of truth'; and an analysis of individual action as historically and situationally constituted by discourse. This is an overly ambitious conceptual agenda and, as a result, the reader is left with individual analyses of highly discrepant 'fields' of action and, occasionally, with competing images of the nature of the politics of power relations. The strength of the book, then, is to be found in its critical gaze. And as a reflexive exercise the volume succeeds; the individual contributions raise a series of important, if disparate, questions regarding meaning, understanding and action in contemporary sociological analyses.

The book is divided into three sections corresponding to discussions of politics 'of', 'in' and 'from' the field. Politics 'of' the field deals with broad philosophical consideration of the field as 'constructed' by disciplinary technologies. This section, which to paraphrase Strong and Dingwall (p. 67) seems written out of a sense of the crisis -- or disarray -- in social sciences, turns on important issues such as how markets mold the style and language of research findings; the role of the social scientist as detached 'observer' versus the post-enlightenment skeptic; and the growing need for policy ethnography to supplant basic, academic-driven research.

Politics 'in' the field focuses on the particular political character of various fields. For example, Slater, in an insightful analysis of the advertising industry, demonstrates that the locus of the power lies not with the creative genius of image makers, but in the mundane micro-economics of marketing behaviour as represented by account handlers. In the same section, Lindsay Prior questions the value of evaluation research in light of the reification of human action and the subsequent commodification of subjects in social and health services. The final section, politics 'from' the field, comes closest to approximating a description of 'applied' research and, in part, addresses the dilemmas faced by sociologists who wish to contribute to or write about, policy formulation and political action.

My chief reservation with the volume is derived from a central reference in the introduction. The editors note a core problematic in the Foucauldian perspective -- the danger that the revelations of genealogical historiography may be 'disabling' for practice (p. 8). The editors suggest that Foucault disclaimed any emancipatory role for human sciences, and questioned the role of the benevolent external observer who sought to pass knowledge to the subjects of their research. The key to reform, in his view, lay with the subjects themselves, who must act to affect change in their world. To the editors, the nature of reform, the **politics** of reform, and the place of the social scientist in a world where the 'effects of truth are intra-discursive' is an important theme addressed by each contributor.

In the end, the contributors accept Foucault's notion of 'disengagement' and, consequently, address the idea of praxis within a purely academic and analytic frame. There is, then, little in the contributions for those interested in practitioner-based social science, and little sense of the problems of 'application' in this book. This is true even of the final section, which focuses most directly on the problems associated with the practice of social science research. Individual contributions offer no solution to the Foucauldian problematic; they reveal nothing of emancipatory praxis, nor do they describe methods which might lead to a more equal or just relationship between the social scientists and the subjects which make up the research 'field'. All the contributions are excellent examples of 'pure', reflexive analyses but, even where focused on the potential use of research for social action, they fail to systematically address issues surrounding participation, involvement, or advocacy. Thus, the chapters demonstrate an acute understanding of the 'construction' of (arbitrary) fields by social scientists, and a critical questioning of the various power relationships involved in studying 'in' or writing 'from' the field. Yet, there is no indication of any innovative research approach which might serve to indicate a methodological solution to the Foucauldian problematic. One notable exception to this observation is Bloor and McKeganey's "Ethnography Addressing the Practitioner", which, not coincidentally, remains refreshingly free of Foucault's influence.

Despite the specific reservations noted above, I recommend this volume to any reader interested in the nature and use of social scientific research in 'western' society. I found the analytic level of individual articles to be consistently high, the writing clear, and the eclectic subject matter often absorbing. The authors' concern with qualitative ethnography, their use of case materials, and their consistent emphasis on reflexive inquiry, particularly on the quality of power relations which

define, limit, or shape ethnographic action in a 'post enlightenment era', enhances the relevance of the collection for all social scientists in general, and anthropologists in particular.

Wayne Warry
McMaster University

Close Relationships. Clyde Hendrick, editor. Review of Personality and Psychology No. 10. Sage Publications, 1989.
[270 pp.]

Hendrick has amassed a collection of articles which emerge from studies of the private (therefore, emotive and nonrational) sphere, as opposed to the rational, instrumental emphases found in the public sphere. According to the author, such research and analysis would have been disregarded and ignored by social scientists as little as ten years ago. His assessment is backed with a certain amount of authoritative knowledge. He has been editor or co-editor of Volumes Six to Eleven of the SAGE Review of Personality and Social Psychology series -- *Sex and Gender*, *Group Processes*, *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *Close Relationships*, and *Research Methods in Personality and Social Psychology*.

There has been a "quiet revolution of research and writing on the affective matrix of social life" (p. 7). Research interests effected by this change span several disciplines -- as is evidenced by this collection. Psychology, sociology, communications, anthropology, philosophy: all are present, all showing the consequences of a development in the refinement of concepts of interpersonal interactions in dyadic relationships.

These articles indicate an emphasis on process, as opposed to the traditional emphasis of social psychology on the socially-acted-upon individual. One of the strengths of this collection lies in its emphasis on the active participation of the individual in the emotional, affective areas of life (for example, social negotiation and interpersonal management), or on the processes of the actualization of cognitive and emotional forces in the world of social interaction, not on the influence of "disembodied cues upon a passive recipient" (p. 21). Duck & Pond develop, for instance (pp. 17-38), through the study of rhetoric, a philosophical approach which takes reality as the "symbol world of communication". For these authors,

language-making constitutes a representation of reality. Harvey, Agostinelli & Weber (pp. 39-62) "develop an explicit theoretical framework for the nature of accounts" (p. 9), looking at the cognitive, attributional aspects of stories of relationships, as well as such individual motivations as self-presentation and catharsis in the creation of 'operative templates' for relationships.

Another strength of the analyses represented by this collection of articles is the recognition, by each set of authors, of the difficulties inherent in the definition of everyday concepts such as 'closeness', 'satisfaction', and various positive and negative emotions such as love, trust, envy, jealousy, etc. Concepts are built on previous theories of emotion and the education of attention (cf Schachter & Singer; Gibson defining the process of "coming to a linguistically-structured understanding of one's emotional states [as] emotional education" [11-12]; acknowledging the occurrence of emotional education within a social context; recognizing the role of relationships as 'emotional regulators'). Emotional communication and its regulation, therefore, are seen to underlie social organization. In this way, the collection illustrates the basic nature of interpersonal relationships within cultural analysis, placing its entire content solidly within the realm of anthropological interests directed towards the domains of interactions between the individual and his/her encompassing society.

As Hendrick asserts, since relating is communication, without communication there is no relationship. Communication, however, exists within the symbolic world, within "another kind of reality:

... These symbolic expressions then lead to a multitudinous host of behaviours, artifacts, and other symbolic expressions ... a relationship is constructed, maintained, and ended in a rhetorical interchange of symbols. Thus, human relating is primarily symbolic relating, and concrete behaviour and the material artifacts of a relationship are only shadows in the sunlight of a higher symbolic reality (pp. 15-16).

Although there are articles providing tentative analysis of same-sex relationships, the majority of the emphasis in this volume is for the provision of models of heterosexual affiliations. For the anthropology student interested in gender issues, this assemblage provides an unassuming overview of philosophical and psychological approaches to gender similarities and differences in the study of affective behaviours. For other students, perhaps preoccupied with political economic issues as they influence gender relationships, there are a number of approaches

based on a kind of emotional cost/benefit (or risk) analysis (see, for instance, articles by Kenrick & Trost [92-118] and Holmes & Rempel [187-220]). The final chapter creates a model of the causes of date rape, based on the individual expectations and constructions of reality in various stages of close gender relationships.

The major strength of the collection, however, lies in its analysis of the importance of symbolic communication in individual interrelationships to the construction of 'cultural realities', "artifacts, and other symbolic expressions" (p. 15). Hendrick's text is an interesting exploration into the cultural meaning of the impact of affective relationships for the individuals who compose and construct Western societies.

Trish Wilson
McMaster University

Loneliness: Theory, Research, and Applications. Mohammadreza Hojat and Rick Crandall, editors. Sage Publications, 1989.
[302 pp; appendices, bibliography]
\$14.95 US: paper.

This book is essentially an update and review of the literature on loneliness in the past fifteen years. The lead article is written by Robert Weiss, who wrote the pioneering book entitled *Loneliness: The Experience of Emotional and Social Isolation* in 1973. Weiss' book has been called "the loneliness researcher's bible" (p. vi) and all of the other contributors have used his work as a beginning point for their own work.

The book is divided into five sections: 1) Articles which are reflections on the present state of loneliness research and theory, by Weiss and others; 2) The developmental and more purely theoretical (as opposed to statistical) aspects of loneliness; 3) Articles dealing with the causes of loneliness and types of support systems available to lonely people; 4) This section is reserved for the special problems of loneliness among the elderly; 5) The last section of the book discusses clinical research, therapy, and applications. The appendices contain the two primary research tools which are utilized throughout the book. This book ends with a selected bibliography to supplement the bibliography included in each paper.

There are a number of issues that the editors feel the contributors have arrived at which could be useful and important to future work in the area of loneliness (pp. 271-272). The first is the development of a more encompassing research scale which would be capable of dealing with different types of loneliness. The second is that researchers have attempted to incorporate qualitative data into their studies to allow for further insights in the field as a whole. The third deals with whether the present typology of emotional versus social loneliness is supportable by data. The fourth issue is one which some researchers say has been overlooked by others; that is, whether state or trait loneliness is being discussed. The former is a transitory period while the latter is a chronic condition. This distinction, of course, does impact on treatment choices. The fifth issue is about physiology. Some of the contributors think that the link between the immune system and loneliness has been neglected, especially if there are biochemical markers which identify loneliness. The sixth deals with developmental issues. The theory, held by some, is that childhood experiences influence adult loneliness. There are a number of socioeconomic issues inherent in such a discussion; for example, working mothers, day care, divorce, and parental overprotectiveness, to name a few. The last is the issue of longitudinal research. Research studies which take place over a period of time, with a consistent sample, will help to further the theory and research of loneliness in terms of causality, physiology, and treatment.

This book gives a history and overview of the literature, and recommends topics for future loneliness research and theory. It also offers a good example of such research. Anyone who is interested in loneliness as a theoretical or research interest will find this volume quite valuable.

Wendy Renault
McMaster University

Mirror and Metaphor: Material and Social Constructions of Reality. Daniel W. Ingersoll, Jr., and Gordon Bronitsky, editors. University Press of America, 1989.

[420 pp.]

\$41.25 US: hardcover.

Mirror and Metaphor, the collected papers from a session of the 1982 American Anthropological Association Meetings, is, as the subtitle suggests, about material culture and its relation to social constructions of reality. Its goal is to show how material culture both reflects society (the mirror) and represents it to others (the metaphor). Viewed by the editors as "a contribution to archaeology", it is a wide-ranging book that offers more about present-day societies from around the world than any archaeological past. This is not meant to imply that it is not a useful or interesting book, but simply that some of its expressed goals, and the road taken, only rarely cross. It is also divided into sections such as "Moveable Material Culture", "Fixed Material Culture", "Architecture", and "On Theory". Although this might be a necessary division for organizational reasons, it does create the false sense that any of these forms can be understood outside of the cultural whole, or outside of an encompassing theory.

The first section concerns itself with "Moveable Material Culture". The first paper, *Japanese Domestic Tourism*, is an engaging examination of the relationship between the tourist, family and friends, and the tourist attraction. Through a system of gift giving, which sees the tourist receive gifts for the trip and the tourist bring back gifts of the trip, the person doing the travelling makes the trip for all involved. Everyone is involved in the preparation for the trip and, eventually, in the experience of the trip. This is further elaborated as the tourist consults with those concerned, in order to set an itinerary of travel from which the tourist must bring back tangible proof of being there in order to satisfy those who had to remain at home. The paper presents an interesting look at 'metonymic travel', and helps to explain why the distinctive mode of Japanese tourism is so important.

Robert Hall's paper on calamut ceremonialism, however, is less satisfying. Hall compares the Huron Feast of the Dead, calamut (ornate pipes) ceremonies of prehistoric Hopewellians, and historic era Plains Native groups and sacrificial ceremonies from prehistoric Mesoamerica and Mexico. Common themes among them are mourning, earth fertility and renewal, and adoption to "establish fictions of kinship" between people of different villages or "tribes" (p. 31). After making all of these parallels (with more than a nod to hyper-diffusionism) Hall's conclusion is that the parallels "could have initially arisen in North America in concert with the emergence of ... Pre-Classic Mesoamerica and not simply as alate diffusion from Post-Classic Mexico" (p. 39). This is how the article ends, with no discussion about what the significance of either the

diffusion or the independent invention of these ceremonies might be. What was his point?

The next paper, by Leone and Shackel, explores the relationship of *Forks, Clocks, and Power*. It is a familiar discussion, one which emphasizes how material culture can be used to maintain social hierarchies. Increasingly elaborate and differentiated dining ware, used by the wealthy, taught and maintained certain principles of 'discipline'. The use of clocks and musical or scientific instruments, on the other hand, helped to disguise that discipline as a part of nature. By exhibiting that time, sound, and the world around them was able to be evenly, uniformly, and continually divided, the early American merchant class was able to maintain its position of power in a society which was becoming increasingly homogenised by social and political distance from England. This paper is an excellent demonstration of how the power of material culture plays an important role in social articulation.

The rest of the section deals with how material culture reflects social order (Rubinstein's *The Social Fabric*); how a single form material culture can have multiple levels and contexts of meaning (Thompson and Cornet's *Bottomless Vessels*), and how material culture can be a reminder and pathway to the past (Volland's *Metaphors of Time*). It is not that these articles lack interest, just that these ideas have generally been accepted and simply do not advance our understanding of material culture very far.

Four papers make up the second section on "Fixed Material Culture". This section is easily the most frustrating, and eventually disappointing, because for the most part, the papers begin with provocative premises. What is delivered, however, is not worth the wait.

Benes' paper on gravestone carvings in New England resurrects one of the most overflogged horses in archaeology. At first it appears that, finally, someone has a new perspective. He submits that religious revivalism in New England in the mid-eighteenth century influenced the changing designs of gravestones, and goes on to demonstrate that certain revivalists were known to have preached in the area at the time that changes in headstone design took place. These designs are attributed to certain carvers, and Benes believes that these carvers may have been influenced by these revivalists, who 'inspired' them to create these new forms. Unfortunately, Benes can offer no proof that the various carvers attended these revivals. Further, he offers no reason why the specific gravestone designs should take the forms they did. Was it something in the sermon, the community, or something else? Benes has no suggestions. Finally, he makes the astute observation that he does not really know whether these new designs had anything to do with these revivals, only

that the circumstantial evidence might suggest a connection. I wish that he had said this at the beginning so I could have skipped it.

Bronitsky and Marks' *Baptist Study* approaches the problem of associating material culture with class. Using church decoration as a primary unit of analysis, the authors examined the difference in satisfaction with various elements between Anglo, Black, and Hispanic Baptist churches. It was discovered that, in general, those churches whose congregants were from lower social classes (ie. Black and Hispanic) wanted their churches to be more decorative and have more religious paraphernalia. Anglo respondents, on the other hand, were satisfied with the level of decoration and other material culture in their churches. Certain flaws in the procedure aside, the most disappointing aspect of the paper is its lack of analysis. The point is made that there is not necessarily a direct relationship between social status and quantity of material culture. Much more engaging, however, would be an attempt to understand why there is an inverse relationship. One can only hope that this analysis is forthcoming.

The most disappointing paper in this group, however, is Michael Deal's on Mayan ritual space, if only because it starts with such a promising proposal; trying to understand the nature of prehistoric Maya private ritual. All we are left with by the end, however, is where and why we should expect to find altars where we do, and what sort of ritual paraphernalia we should find in association with these altars. No attempt is made to try to understand any deeper meaning, and so the article becomes a treatise on how to find altars in Mayan family dwellings.

Finally, there is Ingersoll and Nickell's paper on the *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier*, a challenging and absorbing examination of the importance of this monument in Western culture. Most intriguing is the way in which war dead from different wars take different places in the monument. War dead from wars which could be viewed as more morally correct (or successful) take a place of greater prominence, whereas the Civil War dead are hidden, a very real skeleton in the closet.

"Part Three: Architecture" is a more successful section, if only because it seems to make its points more effectively. This probably has to do with the fact that, by and large, the papers reiterate (and occasionally regurgitate) an already accepted anthropological fact; that the structures that humans build reflect their social order.

Glassie's article *Vernacular Architecture and Society* is a lament for the passing of the 'hands-on' experience of yesteryear in house building, rather than an assessment of its archaeological implications. He quite

rightly makes the point that "the primary goal of the house is not environmental, it is social" (p. 237), yet apparently is unable to personally deal with the changing "social" of late 20th century house building. He finds that, along with the shift from autonomous house production by the individual or family in days of yore, to the specialized planner/builder/buyer production of the present in Western societies, there has also been a shift in the houses' social emphasis. This shift is one from the 'kitchen-centred' older house, which facilitated neighbourhood socialization, to a more private, divided structure. Glassie views this as a weakening of communal ties, hospitality, and general friendliness.

Hamilton's *This Old House: A Karen Ideal* is easily the worst offender in the section for stringing together other people's work. He quotes incessantly from many much earlier works, and has very little to add beyond the fact that house structure reflects social order. Only in the final paragraphs does he finally make the point that the change in Karen house structure from village longhouse to individual house is representative of other kinds of individualism, specifically the entrance into a cash economy.

More successful is Yvonne Milspaw's *The Churches of German Pennsylvania* in which she traces changes in church structure to changes in the structure of a religious community. Milspaw, basing her study on two types of church floor plans, the *Domus Dei* emphasizing the separateness of the minister and the *Domus Ecclesiae* with its emphasis on community. The change in religious structures of Pennsylvania Germans in the late 1800s is related to changing relations between German and non-German members of the community as a result of the expansion of the Lutheran Church, which adopted English as its official language.

By far the most interesting of this group is Kanika Sircar's study of *The House as Symbol*. The paper examines the different social status assigned to British homeowners and those who rent their residences. Through a series of interviews, Sircar elicits the dichotomy between the "responsible", "independent", and more "adult" homeowners, and renters who are represented as less stable and responsible, and more child-like. There is also a perceived difference in "class" status based upon a person's choice of accommodation. Although class standing is a complex equation based on numerous factors, the decision to buy a home appears to raise one's standing regardless of whether there is also a change in economic status. Conversely, the decision to maintain a renter limits one's ability to ascend the social ladder. Although its applicability to archaeology is minimal at best, this is still a very interesting paper. Its major flaw is that only those who owned homes were interviewed, and renters were given no

chance to either defend themselves or offer their interpretation of the owner/renter dichotomy.

"Space as Place", the fourth section, presents two successful papers. The first, Fritz's examination of Chaco Canyon and Vijayanagara, demonstrates how two very different societies incorporate social structure into place structure, and vice versa. The very socially stratified and insular Vijayanagara is echoed in the insular construction of the city and its important edifices. The structure of the city temples is mirrored by the design of the royal/religious centre of the city, and by the orientation of the centre within the city itself. At the very heart of these levels of organization is the construction of the king as god, the starting point of an hierarchically oriented society. Chaco Canyon, on the other hand, is a less stratified society, and operates on different organizing principles. Notions of social equivalence are manifested through symmetrical forms of translation, rotation, and reflection. Problems of Levi-Straussian structuralism aside, it is still a very good paper.

Susann Kus' paper is also very good, if somewhat more limited. She examines how the reconstruction of a destroyed city on the island of Imerina became the focus of a resurrected society. The reconstruction of this city, initiated by the Merinan folk hero Andrianampoinimerina, came about at the same time as the social reunification and reconstruction of the Merina by this same ruler. The city, then, provides a tangible symbol of both ties to the past and the future of an indivisible culture group.

Finally, there is the section called "On Theory". Comprised of two papers, one by James Deetz and the other by Miles Richardson, it makes a fitting end to the book. Deetz' paper applauds the current pluralism in (historic) archaeology, and suggests that, although our search for deeper meanings in material culture is more difficult and "an act of courage, perhaps", that the richer rewards are worth the risk.

Richardson's paper is more fulfilling, and is perhaps the best of the lot. He deconstructs the silly dichotomy that has existed for some time in archaeology of whether the artifact represents thought or behaviour. In a very lucid and succinct paper, Richardson demonstrates that artifacts are, of course, both. Finally, he attempts a demonstration which examines the social significance of artifact and, by extension, archaeology itself.

I have mixed feelings about this book. While there are undoubtedly some interesting papers, I m not convinced that the volume as a whole has much utility for archaeological purposes, which is its stated aim. On the one hand, by dealing with such specific and context-bound materials, the general applicability of most of these papers is limited. On the other hand,

as excursions in ethnography they lack depth and erudite exegesis. This is perhaps a result of trying to please too wide an audience with one book. By attempting to endow the papers with 'anthropological' authority, the editors lost sight of the book's intention.

Mirror and Metaphor is not a useless book. It does, in fact, accomplish one of its goals: to show how material culture is both a mirror and a metaphor in a given cultural context. It is sparse, however, and save for the few noted exceptions, there are many other places where time could be more fruitfully spent.

Colin Varley
McMaster University

American Woodland Indians. Michael G. Johnson, text; colour plates by Richard Hook. Men-at-Arms Series #228. Osprey Publishing Ltd., 1990. [48 pp; illustrated, maps, bibliography; notes for colour plates in English, French, and German.]
\$13.95 Cdn: paper.

This slim volume is a welcome addition to the literary sources on the Woodland Indians of North America. The six sections of well-written text are enhanced by a number of black and white archival photographs and sketches, plus eight colour plates. The beautifully rendered colour plates are unique in that they are artistic depictions of figures reconstructed from extant material in museums and private collections, contemporary paintings and drawings, and from eyewitness descriptions. The results reveal the enormous amount of time, effort and thought invested in the research to provide an authentic production. Artist Richard Hook skilfully brings these items of material culture to life. My one minor quibble with these plates is the combining of material items from different sources (although always selected consistently from one tribal group) on a single figure. This is, however, of little concern here.

For the purposes of this book, the author considers the American Woodland culture area to encompass the region between the latitudes paralleling the Cumberland and Ottawa Rivers, as well as those contiguous areas which share similarities or are significant in some way. (Identification of the Cumberland River on the map would have been an asset.) Tribes within this area are defined upon the basis of a common

language usage and, at times, a common origin myth. Descriptions of the individual tribes within each of the three linguistic families, Algonkian, Siouan, and Iroquoian, although based on information garnered from secondary sources, are factual. Each thumbnail sketch includes the geographical location, a brief history, and the tribe's position, where appropriate, *vis-à-vis* the Europeans. This section is particularly useful as it provides a concise catalogue of all the tribes within the defined area at the time of contact.

The emphasis of the next section, entitled "Wars of the Eastern Tribes", reflects the military focus of the volume as one in the *Men-at-Arms Series* with its discussions of the Colonial and Frontier Wars. We learn that the Colonial Wars were those conflicts between eastern Indians and the white settlers, while the Frontier Wars were skirmishes between the Indians and the Americans during the republican expansionist programmes. During his succinct historical overview of these wars, Johnson also clarifies the sometimes confusing and opposing positions that members of the same tribe have been known to play. To understand further their participation in these wars, native warriors and their warfare are sensitively portrayed. According to Johnson, "Woodland Indian men seem to have revered war above all else ..." (p. 20). He then goes on to describe the rituals undertaken to incite a war party, and in the preparations before, during and after a foray. A description of weapons and the paramount importance of pipes indicate few changes in warfare practice until at least the mid-nineteenth century.

As warriors and warfare are shown to be integral parts of a total culture, the ensuing segment on Woodland Indian Life and Culture establishes the cultural and religious background of the participating indigenous groups. It also sets the scene, so to speak, for the advance of the Fur Trade with its distinctive interaction between Europeans and the American Indians. Johnson astutely points out that, during all this time, "the so-called Woodland Indian culture area was an ever-changing blend of ancient culture traditions developing distinctive processes of skills, art and religions" (p. 33). This premise of change allows for the adoption and innovation that occurs with the introduction of new situations, new experiences, and new materials. Historical changes of technology, dress and art are addressed in the final section.

Although intended for a general audience and, hence, not intended as a scholarly treatise, the dual efforts of Michael G. Johnson and Richard

Hook have produced a delightful volume full of material relevant to all readers.

Cath Oberholtzer
McMaster University

The Human Career: Human Biological and Cultural Origins. Richard G. Klein. University of Chicago Press, 1989.
[524 pp; illustrated]
\$39.95 Cdn.

The study of the evolution of the human species may seem remarkably abstruse and perhaps even impractical, given the present world situation. Yet each year, it must be admitted that **Australopithecus** and Olduvai Gorge feature in nationally syndicated newspaper cartoons. Large prime-time audiences watch televised documentaries about 'Lucy and the First Family', and thousands of students across North American campuses enroll in pertinent university courses. Finally, some discoverers of important fossils such as the Leakeys, Tobias, and Johanson, are better known than their academic counterparts in fields such as physics and/or medicine.

Clearly, the origin of the human species remains intensely interesting. In particular, lay persons and professionals, alike, want to know what the fossils, artifacts and related facts accumulated since the turn of the century can tell us about the appearance of our most remote ancestors. Richard Klein's textbook, entitled **The Human Career: Human Biological and Cultural Origins** chronicles the evolution of humans from the earliest of primates, who lived perhaps 80 million years ago, through to the emergence of fully modern humans within the past 200 thousand years.

Chapter One begins with a detailed discussion of the geologic time frame and the most current methods for assessing both relative and absolute time. Chapter Two deals with primate evolution. Chapters Three through Seven deal specifically with the fossil and archaeological evidence of the **Australopithecines**, **Homo habilis**, **Homo erectus**, **Early Homo sapiens**,; The Neanderthals, and Anatomically Modern Humans. Detailed information on zoological classification, nomenclature, stone tool typology

and technology is provided in two appendices. The author employs an in-text citation system that is common to most professional scientific publications. For brevity, the most recent sources serve as guides to older ones and secondary English sources with extensive bibliographies of important non-English citations are also included.

I highly recommend the textbook as a reference tool for both teachers and senior students, alike, that are seeking a comprehensive, up-to-date summary of human biological and behavioural evolution. Outlining broad developments in human evolution, Klein introduces readers to the kind of detailed data professional scholars use to document such developments. Each chapter is well-illustrated to support conflicting opinions concerning the evidence, and the author does not hesitate to take positions. He also departs from the more conventional successive-stage presentations of human evolution by interrelating both the fossil and archaeological evidence. In doing so, Klein adequately shows that neglecting archaeology in favour of the fossil record (or vice versa) inevitably limits our understanding of major human evolutionary events.

Linda M. Gibbs
Mc Master University

Family Violence in Cross-Cultural Perspective. David Levinson, editor.
Frontiers of Anthropology: Vol I. Sage Publications.
[145 pp; appendices, references]

Levinson, vice president of Human Relations Area Files, New Haven, has compiled this worldwide comparative study of all major forms of family violence, (including physical punishment of children, sibling violence, wife and husband beating), utilizing Murdock's (1949) definition of 'family' as "a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation, and reproduction" (p. 11), and Gelles and Strauss (1979) definition of violence as "an act carried out with the intention or perceived intention of physically hurting another person" (ibid). "Levinson relies on statistical data to show patterns and similarities across societies,

and on ethnographic data to highlight cross-cultural differences", according to H. Russell Bernard, *Frontiers of Anthropology* editor (p. 6). Based on a sample of 90 preliterate or peasant societies for which data is available in the HRAF files, Levinson finds family violence, although common, not a universal problem, being entirely absent in fifteen of the 90 societies studied.

Acknowledging the methodological problems associated with this type of analysis, the author, however, does not address the problems associated, specifically, with the analysis of early ethnographic data -- the majority of documents stored in HRAF files. It must be noted that the quantity and quality of the ethnographic data available, as well as the selection and measurement methodologies of the types of violence studied, seriously affect the results of this research. The reader, however, is given no opportunity to assess the validity of the data on violence used, since, although Levinson does identify the societies from which data are utilized (Appendix A: Methodology), such data are based on the Probability Sample Files of HRAF: therefore, based on the amount of literature available on any particular culture, not on whether the subject of 'violence' was addressed within the ethnographic data. As well, an emphasis was placed on the collection of data for each society utilized from only one or two sources, and from one historically-specific time frame, which necessarily differed between cultures.

Levinson's text correlates family violence with other types of violence, social structure with family violence, and wife beating with sexual inequality: His conclusions show that the following predict a society within which there is little or no family violence: monogamous marriage, economic equality between the sexes, equal access to divorce, the availability of alternative caretakers for children, frequent and regular intervention by neighbours and kin in domestic disputes, and norms that encourage the nonviolent settlement of disputes outside the home. Wife beating, conversely, is positively correlated with male domestic and economic authority, and with violent extra-domestic conflict revolution. These conclusions tend to support "both the sexual inequality theory of family violence and the controversial idea that some societies actually develop a culture of violence" (p. 7).

Part of a series which also includes the titles *Warehousing Violence* and *Capital Crime: Black Infant Mortality in America*, this volume explores, as do they, substantive concerns beyond the traditional anthropological realms. For this reason, Levinson's text, flawed as it may

or may not be, is an important addition to the anthropological study of deviance; important to students interested in deviant behaviour, family and gender issues and the social construction of violence, *per se*.

Trish Wilson
McMaster University

Gender, Identity, and the Production of Meaning. Tamisin Lorraine. Feminist Theory & Politics Series. Westview, 1990.

[227 pp; index]

\$14.95 US: paper

\$38.50 US: cloth

Body/Politic: Women and the Discourses of Science. Mary Jacobus, Evelyn Fox Keller and Sally Shuttleworth, editors. Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1990.

[197 pp; illustrated, index]

\$16.95 Cdn: paper

\$47.50 Cdn: cloth

When was the last time you read an 'important' new book? When was the last time you read a review of an 'important' new book? As constituting devices, reviews generate importance more often than they reflect it. That may be the price of a critical narrative tradition which mistakes evaluation for argument. Much depends on importance. After all, we are much too busy -- much too serious -- to read unimportant books. This is a review of two important books. It is, therefore, an important review. The importance of these books lies in the act of 'saying' itself. These books are important -- I would say extremely important -- not for what they say but for their attempt to say anything at all, their effort to speak the unspeakable.

Tamsin Lorraine's *Gender, Identity, and the Production of Meaning* sets out to demonstrate that the "self is a construct that is crucial to social existence ... [and] ... provide a theory about how that self is possible" (p. 3). She does this by arguing for an interpretive framework for what she calls "gender-sensitive readings of texts", applying this gender polarized

framework to re-readings of Kierkegaard, Sartre, and Nietzsche. From these readings she defines two "never-realized" gender poles -- pure femininity, which 'equals' constant flux and quotidian instability, and pure masculinity, which she characterizes in terms of order and oppositions.

Two warnings inform this polarization. The first is that no single 'person' could ever personify these extreme poles. They are analytic devices, not ideal types. However, these are more than mere heuristic tricks, since it is the essential qualities of these poles which serve to constitute either a feminine or masculine experience of the world.

The second, and more important warning, is that either men or women can practise the "self strategies" constituted by these poles. These strategies will sound familiar to anyone who has read in the more humanistic veins of popular feminism. Female strategies are characterized by what Lorraine calls "self-continuity through connectedness with others" (p. 185). In essence, this female strategy engages in self constitution at the will of some other self, tied to it for its meaning and its location as a site of agency and action. The female strategy "cares very little for the 'rational' code for translating and transposing a particular self-identity ... [but] ... attends instead to the concrete specificity of the particular individuals in front of her taking on whatever shape they give her" (p. 185). Bear in mind, the 'she' here is not necessarily a woman, but a philosophical abstraction mapped onto a 'person', whether male or female. Masculine strategies, on the other hand, are "based on opposition", on maintaining boundaries between or in opposition to those around him and in "finding others to play the 'other' to his self/other pattern" (p. 186). The masculine strategy is one of categories and boundaries, of orderliness and limitations on meaning. This is the strategy of domination, of determining the character and quality of the other to fit the finite valences of an over-determined self.

Abrupt and limiting as these poles may appear on the surface, Lorraine's real project is not to split further the conventional gender categories, but to propose a revitalization of these categories as a means of speaking about what, in the real practice of engagement in a satisfying subjectivity, falls between these extremes. This project has intrinsic interest. Such an effort to extend the usefulness of what have often been essentialist categories needs to be applauded. But in the process of enacting this project, Lorraine falls into the classic humanist trap of mistaking the pronouncements of philosophers for the real life experiences of active and engaged subjects.

For example, she states, with no demur, that she uses "psychoanalysis because ... [she] ... believe[s] that it is an important and

influential discourse by which people have come to understand themselves and their personal histories ... (p. 23). Which people, I ask? Whom does Lorraine mean? You and I? Perhaps, since you are likely to be at least somewhat familiar with psychoanalysis. But the person on the street; the butcher and baker and micro-chip maker? Arguably some version of the psychoanalytic discourse has been filtered into everyday experience, but with what transformations and distortions? While it is reasonable to assert that psychoanalysis can be a useful tool, to claim that "people have come to understand themselves" through it is to mistake the model for the reality.

And, more specifically, the model she relies on -- the often idiosyncratic psychoanalytic musings of Jacques Lacan -- is so highly specialized and laden with controversy as to have little or no general value in making general observations on the lives of people. It is this focus on specialized and rarefied sources which is manifest in her readings of the philosophers, as well. She claims that "gender sensitive readings of philosophical texts can help us explore and articulate how gender affects our world view ... " (p. 197). Perhaps. What is questionable is her use of these texts to generate a model of social process, given that what is 'represented' in these texts, and therefore in her readings of them, is not only culturally and historically particular, but is also constituted by individualized personal histories which render these texts meaningless as general codifications of behaviour and process.

I will return to the question of the importance of this book in a moment. At this point, suffice it to say that what we have here is a not particularly insightful reconstruction of pseudo-Jungian archetypes which proposes a constituting process of domination and definition in the presentation and preservation of self, premised on an intrinsic and universal fear of self-dissolution. While some Western intellectuals may well be the victims of this existential malaise, the generalization of Lorraine's argument to the person on the street constitutes an *angst*-driven self which maps an abstracted subjectivity to the relational and psychic practices of everyone.

It is, at a stretch, this abstracted mapping of a prior discursive subject to the body and mind of an 'object' population which is the focus of the papers gathered in Mary Jacobus, Evelyn Keller and Sally Shuttleworth's *Body/Politic: Women and the Discourses of Science*. This aggregation of papers by scholars as diverse as historians, anthropologists, semioticians, philosophers and literary theoreticians is both compelling reading and intellectually heady in its explicit challenges of the ideological

ties which bind our ability to observe and understand the frames of hidden discourses of difference within which we enact our striving to common experience.

Mary Poovey's always insightful eye examines how a redefinition and contestation of female sexuality was carried out in the mid-19th century discourse on prostitution. Placing the arguments of moral reformers and novelists in a context of emerging bourgeois morality, Poovey argues for a recognition of the diverse fields of ideological work which inform the construction and reproduction of conventions. In a similar vein, Sally Shuttleworth's analysis of popular medical advertisements locates the history of the discourse of 'womanhood' squarely in the arenas of mundane information in which it was deployed, assimilated, and contested. Susan Bordo's intriguing discussion of the relationship between a tyranny of thinness and self-management (if not self denial) writes the impact of mundane pursuits onto the larger screen of cultural systems which, while perhaps relying too heavily on a politically loaded theory of advanced consumer-capitalism, draws our attention to ways in which key cultural symbols can be drawn from, and drawn into, scientific discourse, uncritically and unspeakably.

At issue in these, and the other papers in this collection, is a concern with the nature of knowledge itself; but most particularly with the base limitations on the possibilities for knowledge which an uncritical acceptance of discursive conventions operating in everyday life imposes on the scientific eye. By demonstrating with acute and insightfully located examples how the many discourses of daily life -- the scientific and the moral and the pragmatic -- interpenetrate in the construction of the female subject, these authors push the boundaries of science outward toward a wider encompassing of the multiple fields of discourse which inform and constrain the scientific imagination. There is much to admire in these papers, while at the same time there is much to be critical. The too pat small 'm' marxism of many of the discussions leaves unexplored the extent to which one can disentangle the multiple discursive regimes which give economic determinism its own history of limitations. As well, the occasionally un-supported rhetoric of female domination is too univocal and generalized, leaving un-explored to what extent multiple cultures of gender co-existed in the contestatory field of gender constitution.

But these *caveats* speak to the importance of this book precisely because they develop a critical perspective on gendered sociality in which it is possible to formulate such questions in a meaningful way. Unlike Lorraine, the papers in this collection push the reader beyond the papers'

own limitations, rather than fencing the reader in with a narrow and overgeneralized rhetorical determination to win an argument. Each of the authors argues for a specific case which exemplifies or examines the practices of 'writing' a female body as an object of scientific observation and intervention. They explore the multiple frames in which ideologies of daily practice penetrate and are penetrated by the more rarefied but nonetheless mundane ideologies of science.

And this brings me back to importance.

We never read unimportant books, do we? Perhaps we might ask ourselves what constitutes importance. Lorraine's book might be an interesting book about Kierkegaard in the sense that it says novel things about this philosopher's life and works. However, as critical text, it is limited and rhetorically self-serving. In contrast, **Body/Politic** takes as its starting point the dismantling of a rhetorical frame itself, with the result that it compels the reader to re-think fundamental assumptions about how knowledge is made known.

And this, I suggest, is the most important criterium for importance - that a book forces the reader to ask questions, rather than driving the reader into a limiting and constrained set of answers. Lorraine's is a book of answers, and not particularly insightful ones at that, because she never steps outside of the esoteric frame within which she asks her questions. The authors gathered in **Body/Politic** ask questions which begin from an explicit challenge of the frames within which social science formulates its questions. By making a critical investigation of the ontology of scientific discourse its fundamental premise, the authors in both of these works push their readers beyond comfortable epistemological assumptions into areas of the study of knowledge which have too long been left unspoken.

Douglass P. St. Christian
McMaster University

Ceremonies of the Pawnee. James R. Murie; Douglas R. Parks, editor.
University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

[497 pp; illustrations & photos]

\$19.95 US: paper.

Originally published in 1981 as a two volume presentation (the *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, Number 27*), this text is part of the monograph collection, *Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians*, a United States government document series. In its original form, it suffered abbreviated distribution as well as a small print run -- unfortunate fate for a collection of data which had resided in the Bureau of Ethnology archives for most of this century. It is currently being re-released as the initial volume in a series of related Murie works, in co-operation with the American Indian Studies Research Institute of Indiana University. Its importance to the study of Pawnee ritual culture is invaluable, for a number of reasons.

First, James R. Murie, the author, a mixed-blood member of the Skiri band of the Pawnee, schooled in the Western educational system of the nineteenth century, follows in the tradition of George Hunt and James Teit, as ethno-anthropologists (Hunt and Teit with Franz Boas, Murie with Clark Wissler). These men's contribution as writers, informants and linguistic translators or intermediaries, willing to collaborate with ethnographers and researchers, cannot be duplicated. Secondly, the full detail and systematic depiction of Murie's **Ceremonies of the Pawnee** is unique in its presentation of what was soon to become an extinct religious cycle, disappearing with the disorientations of Pawnee adaptations to new natural and social environments (resulting from their removal to reservation lands), the decline of tribal population (from approximately 10,000 at the beginning of the 19th century to 629 at its end) and the subsequent death of many of the knowledgeable, traditional practicing priests, chiefs, and doctors, who were Murie's informants.

Murie's accomplishment, therefore, has been to provide a legacy of informative manuscripts outlining indispensable linguistic and cultural data pertaining to the Pawnee: their social organization, ceremonialism, and vision stories are represented from the perspective of a cultural 'insider'. It is editor Douglas Park's contention that Murie's investigations into the disintegrating Pawnee ceremonialism occurred at a particularly 'strategic' time -- since the traditions were deteriorating, the priests, doctors, and others who had participated in the ceremonial cycles were "at least willing and, perhaps, happy that those customs be recorded. Had it not been for these circumstances, those same Pawnee would undoubtedly have strongly resisted the revelation of what they held sacred" (p. 27).

The detailed data provided by Murie are exceptionally intricate and informed. This book is elaborately detailed, and in some ways I am uncomfortable with the depth of sacred Pawnee culture which Murie has imparted to the outside world. Given today's emphasis from within

indigenous cultures on the necessity to retain control of one's heritage, it is questionable whether Murie's contributions to anthropological knowledge are appreciated by the heirs to the customs which he delineates so thoroughly.

Optimistically, the student of Native American cultures is the properly grateful beneficiary of Murie's 'strategic' historical position and subsequent anthropological enlightenment. **Ceremonies of the Pawnee** outlines the linguistic etymology of Pawnee sacred songs, provides illustrations and photographs of actual ceremonial bundles, as well as elaborate descriptions of ceremonial choreography -- a consummate depiction of the Pawnee perceptions of their metaphysical and supernatural belief systems. Whether one's interest is in Native American languages, indigenous cultural structures, ritual cycles or myth analysis, this study of a specific religious system and its practice is indispensable.

Trish Wilson
McMaster University

Boyhood Rituals in an African Society: An Interpretation. Simon Ottenberg. University of Washington Press, 1989.
[400 pp; illustrated, maps, appendices, index]
\$30.00 US: cloth

Adolescence in a Moroccan Town. Susan Schaeffer Davis and Douglas A. Davis. Rutgers University Press, 1989.
[217 pp.]
\$42.00 US

Growing Up Good: Policing the Behaviour of Girls in Europe. Maureen Cain, editor. Sage Press, 1989.
[246 pp.]

Sociology has long been marked by a curiously multiple analytic personality, particularly when it focuses its attention on deviance and social control. There is a tension between a radical othering of the social consciousness of the deviant individual, on the one hand, and

demonstrating an equally radical integration of the deviant into a shared, normative, sociological whole. The deviant stands both inside and outside conventional sociality. This duality has not gone unexploited by sociologists, most recently in the work of Elliot Leyton on mass murders (1986), but often the result is a picture of a denatured 'other' passively submitting to conventions of difference. The deviant is the social location, *par excellence*, where normative sociality is expressed and reinforced. The deviant stands in opposition to a social whole, replete with a priori meanings and categories, which is singular and singularly voiced. The deviant 'proves' the rule of normative order.

Anthropology has long recognized that models of single normative orders are epistemologically flawed, *pace* Clifford Geertz. Location effects, errors and variations in socialization, noise in the channels through which 'culture' is communicated, each contribute to a real-time normative sociality that is multiple -- both multiply-constituted and multiply-constituting. This analytically more sophisticated perspective on sociality recognizes that the production of sociality is not simply reproduction but transformation and re-presentation and, occasionally, creation.

Of the three books here, only one is explicitly about the problem of normative deviance, and yet each focuses on a point in socialization at which the normative articulates with the traditional, the psychological, and the idiosyncratic, offering illustrations of a central problem in anthropological discourse -- how do we become culturally sophisticated members of our societies? By focussing on adolescence, the several authors offer important insights and suggestions for developing a pro-active model of socialization and the practice of cultural learning and cultural invention.

The Davis' study of adolescence as a process of both emerging autonomy and submission to hierarchical orders of power and social responsibility is noteworthy because of its explicit effort to locate socialization in an active field of engagement between teenage Morroccans and the wider Morroccan society into which they pursue complete admission. Morroccan adolescence is marked out as a period of general ambivalence with boys and girls expressing concern over gender roles and sexual identities, educational and family success, and identification with stratified power classes in a ranked society. This coincides with an apparent respect for family and elders along with a recognition that individual autonomy is tempered by social responsibility, a combination the Davises argue is less apparent in cross-generational relationships in North American society. What their study attempts to illustrate is the

complex interplay between idiosyncratic context, on the one hand, and orderly value relations on the other. In the process, the Davises suggest that Moroccan adolescence is a web of submission and pro-active self-construction in which stresses -- in this case, what they see as rapid social changes of the political-economic sort -- are resolved in a subtle re-invention of normative conventions of respect and obedience. For the Davises, Moroccan adolescence is not a subculture of anti-adult *angst*, but a subtle and creative process through which Moroccan adolescents come to locate themselves in the fullness of adult sociality.

In contrast, Ottenberg's **Boyhood Rituals in an African Society** locates adolescence inside a process of imposition, despite assertions that boys are active participants in the practices of initiation and socialization. The imposition is twofold. The first imposition stems from Ottenberg's uncritical application of a Freudian developmental model to what he describes as the boys' experience of initiation. Freudian analysis has continued to develop well beyond the limited universalisms of latency and oedipal rage, and it is disappointing that a study as detailed as Ottenberg's lacks any detailed critical depth in its application of psychoanalytic concepts. Arguing from assertion rather than demonstration, Ottenberg leads us through what he sees as the meaning of initiation as an experience of libidinal conflict resolution without once explaining why the framing of his data within this model is preferable to any of the many other models of self-development.

Perhaps the *caveat* in the title of this book -- **An Interpretation** -- should have served as better warning. It is as an interpretation that the second form of imposing a meaning to adolescence is accomplished. It has two aspects. The first is Ottenberg's own interpretation; colourful, detailed, univocal, and arbitrary in its reliance on psychoanalysis. The second interpretive imposition is more telling, however. Ottenberg asserts over and over again throughout his study that "x is the only value available to boys" or "y means such and such to the boys" without ever once explaining how he knows this to be true. Close reading, however, reveals that much, if not all, of his assertions about the meaning of boyhood are premised on recollections of adults. The meanings of childhood and initiation and gender are adult meanings, which are simply mapped over the bodies of the young boys. Taking Afikpo normative understandings at face value, Ottenberg reads into boys' experience rather than reading from it. His insistence on understanding boys as active participants in the process of maturing is an important point, but one which is seriously undermined by too heavy a reliance on *ex-post-facto* reconstructions from

former boys. Adolescence becomes, in a sense, a culture-bound syndrome which boys are willingly cured of. But, like other work on adolescents and initiation (most notably that of Gilbert Herdt), we are mistaking rationalizations for experience. A more useful strategy would be the eliciting of even Freudian processes directly from the accounts boys give of what is happening to them. Knowing what infancy and childhood and adolescence means to adults is useful and important and, had Ottenberg's study been more clearly labelled as an analysis of the interpretations of adults, we would have an insightful and powerful account of how one cohort defines and seeks to direct the experience of another cohort in the same milieu of socialization.

This is the net effect of the papers gathered in Maureen Cains' **Growing Up Good: Policing the Behaviour of Girls in Europe**. In many ways, this collection of studies of adolescent and young adult women in France, Spain, Italy, England and Wales is a policy manual just waiting to happen. Each of the authors begins from the assumption that, whatever the adult world of formal and informal social control may say about young women, in order to grasp how demarcated and sanctioned cohorts function in society, it is necessary to read the larger social order from their own experience, and not from the categories and practices of those who seek to control them. While this is not in itself novel -- anthropologists have known this for a hell of a long time -- it is a point often missing in discussions of teenage conflict and development. Virginia Maquieira, in a concise and challenging discussion of teen culture in urban Spain, makes the point clearly, arguing that teen culture represents, for the teens themselves, a critique of adult meaning and an attempt at constructing an innovative sociality; not in blind resistance to adult values but in order to resolve the ambiguities they read from adult meaning. This distinction -- between mindless nihilism and cultural invention -- is an important one.

The common thread running through each of the papers in this volume is the emergent criminalization of female sexuality in many European communities. The authors' specific concerns in describing interventionist institutions such as the police or the courts' tendencies toward an over-anxious control of independent expressions of sexuality in adolescent women, are well represented and carefully documented. But more important is the stress they place on the meanings this control has for the girls themselves. As Roberto Cipollini and his co-authors note, "sociologists must ... transcend the common sense which characterizes such activities as minor in order to grasp the realities of their implications for the young people involved" (p. 127). While the policy implications of these studies are beyond the scope of this sort of review, the effort here to

engage feminist theory and conventional criminology is something for which the authors and editor should be applauded.

This brings me back to the point I tried to make at the outset of this brief review. Conventional studies of deviant behaviour have too long been content to render the deviant as an outsider, as being beyond the pale of the wider society in which he or she lives and practices. The result is a perspective on deviant ontology which begins from the premise of a breakdown of normative order. In their different ways, these studies of adolescence in general, and deviant adolescent practices in particular, point to a different point of departure which begins with the demonstration of the ontology of sociality as a set of distinctive practices depending on who, in a given milieu, we have chosen to observe. Even Ottenberg, with his too facile reliance on Freud and *post hoc* reflection, illustrates the need to locate the meanings a cohort might share in a demonstration of the meanings that cohort does **indeed** share. Adolescence, as a category of recent invention in the West, is a useful place to exercise this analytic, and these different studies succeed, in different ways, in drawing us into the epistemological and cognitive spaces where experience is practised into meaning.

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Douglass P. St. Christian

McMaster University

Darwin and the Emergence of Evolutionary Theories of Mind and Behaviour. Robert J. Richards. Chicago University Press, 1987.

[700 pp. + xvii; illustrated]

\$17.95 US: paper.

This is an extremely long book which, in relation to its aims, is perhaps not long enough. The eleven chapters trace the historical course of evolutionary theories of instinct, behaviour, reason, and morality from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the present time, and in this narrative Darwin and Spencer are pivotal figures. Richards' second aim is to refute the belief that their theories led to a 'demoralized' universe in which matter is the only reality, and survival the only imperative, with mind and consciousness reduced to nothing more than biologically determined phenomena. His third aim is to show that Darwinism can provide the basis for an altruistic ethic and, fourthly, the book is intended as a demonstration of a 'natural selection model' in explaining the development of scientific theory.

The historical material contains much interesting and illuminating information, especially in its analysis of Herbert Spencer, whose important contributions to evolutionary theory are given their proper recognition, and on this score the book can be strongly recommended. But there are some surprising omissions in a history of such detail. Why, for example, does Richards ignore the very significant contributions of Jean Itard, whose work with the 'Wild Boy of Aveyron' was fundamentally relevant to the question of instinct and reason in Man? It is even more surprising to discover at the end of the book that Lorenz is given extensive treatment, but that Piaget is entirely ignored, apart from a few asides. Piaget's genetic epistemology, linking biological and psychological theory so closely, is of central relevance to the book, and one suspects that he was excluded because of his hostility to Darwinism.

While Richards shows that Darwin owed much more to Lamarck than Darwin or his epigones wanted to admit, it would have helped our historical understanding of the development of a scientific theory if Richards had also investigated the background of Wallace's simultaneous development of the theory of natural selection, as well as other anticipators of Darwin, such as Patrick Matthew. Again, we are never given a clear account of the objections to the *Origin of Species* which were raised by many of the most eminent scientists of the time. The criticisms of Richard Owen are ignored, and Mivart, whose *Genesis of Species* caused Darwin great concern, is presented in the usual Darwinian fashion as a religious fanatic. Fleeming Jenkin, another extremely perceptive critic, is not mentioned at all, and the attempts of Darwin and Huxley to answer the criticism that coadaptation of organs is extremely improbable on the hypothesis of chance variations, are only briefly considered. Wallace, who had considerable experience of contemporary primitive peoples in South America and Malaya, argued that since they

had latent mental powers comparable to those of Europeans, but which were not of actual use to them in their struggle for survival, the development of these faculties could not be explained by natural selection. This very cogent point was never satisfactorily answered by Darwin or Huxley. Richards quite properly claims that in order to understand the history of science we must look at arguments and evidence from the contemporary perspective of those involved, not from our own hindsight, but his own partisan sympathies with Darwinism too often prevent him from acting on his own good advice.

He shows, however, that Darwin was certainly not an advocate of individual selfishness in human conduct because he believed that natural selection operated on groups as well as on individuals, and that altruism was, therefore, a biologically-valuable trait which had been favoured by selection. It was Spencer's extreme individualism which Huxley passionately condemned as the 'gladiatorial theory of existence' in his Romanes Lecture of 1893.

But the Victorians may be excused for thinking that group selection was less important than God to morality and the dignity of Man. The common belief that moral precepts were simply the laws of a Universal Legislator -- no God, no rules -- may have been naive, and would certainly have surprised Aquinas, but the idea of Man as just another animal, however intelligent, in a universe which had no plan, was deeply disturbing to moral ideas at a more fundamental level than rules about duty and honesty. Some were able to reconcile their religious beliefs with evolutionary theory, which they interpreted as demonstrating the work of the Creator on a vastly greater scale than that of the Old Testament. While Spencer and Darwin were effectively atheists, they nevertheless believed that evolution was progressive; but the later generations of the neo-Darwinian geneticists derided this as metaphysical mumbo-jumbo. Evolution, as one of them said, is nothing more than changes in relative gene frequencies.

Although Richards is at great pains to give evolutionary biology a human face, and tries to show that it is not necessarily a mechanistic reduction of 'Man to Matter', his Natural Selection Model of the history of science seems perfectly designed to undermine his case, since it is a classic example of crude materialism and the rule of chance from which everything distinctively human has been stripped away.

'The proper analogue of a species' is said to be a scientific theory, or 'conceptual system'; the gene pool corresponds to the component ideas of the theory; and individual scientists correspond to "phenotypic expressions of the gene pool" (p. 579). Theories, like species, are then said

to compete with one another in the cultural environment. But why should we suppose that there has to be any proper cultural analogue to the species at all? A species and a theory are so different in so many respects that the attempt to equate them, and then find analogues for 'scientist', 'idea', 'environment', and so on, seems more like a bizarre scholastic game than a rational procedure. If analogues must be sought, the organism seems more appropriate than the species, since the ideas of a theory are linked together in a functionally interdependent way. Or again, if gene = idea, why not take this as the true unit of competition, with theories as the ephemeral products of a more basic level of competition between ideas (or memes, or culturgen) trying to replicate themselves?

As we might expect in a Natural Selection Model, new ideas are treated as mutations, the products of chance, following D.T. Campbell (and B.F. Skinner, who is not mentioned). Not only does this extremely silly theory of creative thought bear no relation at all to our own introspective knowledge of how we think, but if it were true the incidence of good original ideas should be distributed among thinkers in a random manner, and the odds against genius would be astronomically high. Since we know that there are such people, it is obvious that creativity is an organized mental process, like verbal or mathematical ability, and to call its products 'chance' is merely a label for our own ignorance about how it works.

Nor is it clear what is supposed to do the selecting. New ideas are apparently selected by such criteria as logical consistency, semantic coherence, and standards of verifiability and empirical relevance; but what, pray, are these except **another** set of ideas which have themselves been 'selected for'? In short, variation and selection are so closely tied together, both culturally and in the minds of scientists, that the whole distinction between variation and selection, and, therefore, between organism and environment, becomes meaningless.

Again, in the biological version of evolution, the spread of a trait is evidence of fitness, but it is simply not the case that "the differential spread of ideas in an environment evinces fitness" (p. 476). Richards misses the essential point that in a cultural system an erroneous or defective idea may spread, and then be overthrown, but nevertheless may constitute an essential step in the advance of theory. A good example is the general nineteenth century belief in the inheritance of acquired characteristics, which played a vital part in giving credibility to the idea of evolution, but which is now considered false. In technology we have the case of the reciprocating steam engine, which is now a museum piece, and so, in biological terms, has no fitness. But it was an essential step in the advance of technology, and created the conditions in which new forms of

power, such as the internal combustion engine and the electric motor, could develop and make the steam engine obsolete.

Cultural and social evolution is, therefore, a collaborative, not just a competitive process, and Richards' own book is an excellent illustration of how creative scientists use the findings of many different branches of knowledge. Thus did Darwin draw on the work of physiology, demography, geology, animal breeding, medicine, natural history, and many others, and synthesized them into a single theory. The movement of ideas from one conceptual context to another is a further example of the fundamental difference between theories and biological species. This does not mean, of course, that the evolution of scientific theory is predictable: innovations are made, but their creators are unaware of their full implications. Malthus' *Essay on Population* was intended to refute beliefs in progress by showing that there were certain inevitable constraints of a demographic nature. But Darwin used these conclusions in a new way, to show the inevitability of a high level of competition among organisms because of population pressure on resources. Not only, then, do innovations have unforeseen applications, but the same is true of the **combination** of innovations in scientific theory, technology, and social institutions. I have shown in my *Principles of Social Evolution* how unsuspected developmental potential and the combination of different features of culture and social organization can produce a directional evolutionary process in which the concepts of selection and variation are largely superfluous, and the theory advanced there also applies to the evolution of scientific theory.

Richards' attempt to argue on the basis of group selection that Man has evolved to act altruistically, and that this is also objectively progressive, is as unsuccessful as the Natural Selection Model. While one can accept that care for offspring is a trait that humans share with animals, the idea of an innate moral sense, especially when it is extended to inner feelings of guilt and the pangs of conscience, is a figment of the Victorian imagination. The findings of social anthropology show that, far from being universal, such feelings of guilt are the product of social evolution, and are not universal at all, while feelings of sympathy are usually very restricted, and only become more generalized as the result of increases in social size and complexity. The development of moral understanding is overwhelmingly cultural in origin, not biological, and the true mystery is why human beings should have the innate capacity for developing complex mental processes which, for 99% of their history, were unused. In addition, the arguments for group selection are highly

debateable, as Richards is forced to admit (p. 606), and his whole biological case for the selection of altruism is largely constructed with 'ifs' and 'might bes'.

While it is engaging to find a biologist attempting to prove that Man is by nature good, one is bound to point out that most of the Seven Deadly Sins, especially Lust, Anger, and Gluttony, are primarily those of our biological nature. The classical view of Man that the flesh wars with the spirit, which has constantly to subdue and discipline the biological urges, seems a far more accurate representation of the facts of our nature than Richards' eulogy (or Darwin's selfish gene).

To propose that humans have evolved biologically to be altruistic is one thing; to show that this tendency is 'good' philosophically is quite another. In order to prove this Richards has, among other things, to refute Moore's theory of the Naturalistic Fallacy, the main obstacle to evolutionary ethics. Unfortunately he fails to do this; not because Moore was right, but because Richards does not know enough moral philosophy to demonstrate where he was mistaken.

C.R. Hallpike
McMaster University

Drumbeat: Anger and Renewal in Indian Country. Boyce Richardson, editor. Summerhill Press (in conjunction with The Assembly of First Nations), 1989.

[302 pp.]

\$14.95 Cdn: paper

This book does not make for easy reading for non-Native Canadians. It consists of eight chapters written by eight leaders of First Nation groups across Canada, from the Innu of Labrador to the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en of British Columbia, with an introduction and an epilogue by Georges Erasmus, the National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations. Each chapter tells of a First Nation group's struggle for survival against the onslaught off the white society.

Chief Daniel Ashini of the Innu of Ungava writes of the terror of experiencing a sonic boom caused by one of the thousands of low-level flights of jets of the NATO alliance. These flights and the proposed

bombing ranges on Innu land will all but destroy the lifestyle and culture of the Innu, and the wildlife on which they depend.

Other chapters tell of the harassment that various groups have had to endure at the hands of the white government. Land claims cases which, in some instances, have been going on for centuries, are described. Arrests made for violations of hunting, fishing, and timber laws, which are designed for sportsmen, not those who gain their living from the land, are reported by the Mi'kmaq and the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en. Destruction of their land by logging and oil companies is endured by the Lubicon of Northern Alberta, the Teme-Augama Anishnabai of Northern Ontario and the Algonquins of Quebec and Ontario. Grand Chief Michael Mitchell of the Mohawk Council of Akwesasne tells of the trials of attempting to govern a reserve which straddles not only the Canadian-U.S. border, but also the Ontario-Quebec border.

All of the chapters tell of the nightmare of taking the complaints to a court which is not only outside of the peoples' language and culture, but which is also heavily biased against them. However, all of these groups are also fighting hard for recognition of their own governments, which would give them control over their land and its resources and their education, medical and justice systems.

Despite the attempted genocide of the First Nations by the government of Canada, each group also tells of non-violent resistance through blockades and demonstrations; however, they also warn that their patience is running out. In his epilogue, Chief Georges Erasmus states that "we cannot afford to lose another generation of our children to alienation, low self-esteem, glue-sniffing, alcohol, suicide, and the many other horrors that afflict so many of our communities". Through their anger and frustration, the First Nations people of this country have stated that they are ready for action, determined to claim their rights and their special role in Canadian society.

As I said at the beginning, this book does not make for easy reading. For those non-Native Canadians who have had their eyes opened to the situation of First Nation peoples in this summer of 1990, I highly recommend this book.

Patricia L. Reed
McMaster University

Mother of Writing: The Origin and Development of a Hmong Messianic Script. William A. Smalley, Chia Koua Vang, and Gnia Yee Yang. University of Chicago Press, 1990.

[221 pp; illustrated]

\$15.95 US: paper.

This is a very strange but spellbinding book. I picked it up as bedtime reading, expecting to cover only the first chapter. At first, I was not sure that I liked what I was reading, but I put it down only in the wee hours of the morning to get some sleep, and did not get out of bed the following day until I had finished it. Something about the narrative kept me reading, enthralled and, since then, I have been haunted by images from the book. While it is ostensibly about the invention, refinement and promulgation of a writing system for Hmong, and should therefore, be of particular interest to applied linguists, this is only the main story. Complex subplots move the story from the mountains of Laos, to the refugee camps of Thailand, and to the cities of the United States. The main participants include the Hmong, Khmu', Lao, Vietnamese, Thai, Chinese, French and Americans. The writing system, one of several described in this book, is connected with a messianic movement that places the Hmong in a lose/lose situation in the messy Southeast Asian conflict.

The Hmong, commonly lumped together with other minorities, are known to outsiders as Miao or Meo, both terms considered pejorative by the Hmong themselves. The majority of the Hmong form one of the ethnic minorities of China, but they are also found in Vietnam, Laos and Thailand. The Hmong in Southeast Asia are descendents of nineteenth century refugees fleeing Chinese oppression. In Laos, the Hmong have settled in the previously-vacant mountainous areas above both the Khmu', who live in the middle elevations, and the Lao, who dominate all the other ethnic minorities from the valley floors. In the early twentieth century, Hmong factions became involved in rebellion against French colonial control. Since WWII, the Hmong have been ensnared in the military conflicts among the Vietnamese and Pathet Lao communists, the Lao royalists, and the CIA-inspired resistance. As an ethnic group, the Hmong have a long history of fragmentation, warfare and oppression by others. One tradition blames this on the lack of a writing system for Hmong; only after the Hmong could write in their own script, it was believed, would they be united in peace and independence. At the appropriate time, God would reveal this writing system to a messiah.

The man who came to be known as the 'mother (or source) of writing' is Shong Lue Yang, son of a Hmong father and Khmu' mother.

He was an uneducated farmer who claimed to be one of the twelve sons of God. Although he was well aware of writing, the evidence suggests that he could neither read nor write any language before devising systems to write both Hmong and Khmu'. The writing system for Hmong, called the Pahawh Hmong, was revealed to him, in its initial form, by two of his brothers/sons who emerged nightly in the form of whirlwinds from his pregnant wife's vulva. Subsequently, Shong Lue Yang refined the writing system for a total of four distinct versions. No specimen of his Khmu' script has survived.

Globally, there are two types of writing, distinguished by whether each graphic symbol represents a unit of meaning or of sound. Meaning-based writing provides a symbol for each word, and, consequently, requires thousands of symbols. Sound-based writing, either syllabaries or alphabets, provides a symbol for each unit of pronunciation rather than meaning. Syllabaries provide a graphic symbol for each syllable, while alphabets provide a symbol for each phoneme. Historically, the earliest forms of writing are all meaning based, and many syllabaries are derived from meaning-based writing systems in the process of adapting the writing of one language to another. True alphabets are extremely rare as autonomous inventions; most have been adapted from extant systems used to write other languages. The Greek, Roman and Cyrillic alphabets, for example, are all ultimately derived from the alphabet used to write Phonoecian.

Shong Lue Yang's accomplishment is remarkable for several reasons. First, even in the initial version of the script, it is clear that he analysed his own language into consonant segments, vowel nuclei and tones. In all versions of the Pahawh Hmong, each syllable is written with a pair of symbols, the first representing the combination of vowel nucleus and tone, and the second representing the preceding consonant or consonant cluster. Each subsequent version of the Pahawh Hmong systematically reduces the overall number of characters until, in the final version, tones are indicated by diacritics over invariant symbols for the vowel nuclei. Although the order of characters within each syllable is reversed with respect to their order in speech, the final version of the script is a true alphabet. Most inventors of sound-based writing produce syllabaries. Second, Shong Lue Yang's system is uniquely Hmong; he did not adapt the writing system of another language to represent Hmong speech. Asian traditions, unlike those of Europe, value a distinct writing system for each language, rather than one shared among several languages. Third, Shong Lue Yang invented individual symbols both for single consonants and what linguists would consider consonant clusters. This is evidence that the phonologies devised

by linguists on the basis of formal analysis do not necessarily match those intuited by native speakers, even though both may work. By analogy, this is also a caution for cultural anthropologists. Finally, all four versions of Shong Lue Yang's script are beautiful.

As stated above, the Pahawh Hmong is just the main story. From the start of its invention, the script was connected with a messianic movement having features similar to cargo cults in Melanesia and to the Ghost Dance of North America. The religious doctrine of peace, unity and independence for the Hmong quickly developed into a political liability for students of the Pahawh Hmong. There is a long tradition of ethnic minority oppression in the region but, during this messy conflict, everyone was suspect. Because of CIA involvement and the loyalty of some factions to the Lao royalists, Hmong villages were under attack by the Vietnamese communists and the Pathet Lao. By 1975, some of the followers of Shong Lue Yang were involved in the resistance against the communist forces. At the same time, because some of the characters of the Pahawh Hmong have a chance resemblance to Cyrillic, Laotian royalists, Hmong factions loyal to the Lao government and Thai officials in the refugee camps all suspected the messianic movement as a communist plot. Shong Lue Yang himself was imprisoned in 1967, rescued in 1970, and eventually assassinated in 1971. The promotion of the Pahawh Hmong now rests on Shong Lue Yang's disciples in exile.

Even though the Pahawh Hmong was extremely important, those who knew it, including immigrants to the United States, were fearful for their lives, should their knowledge of the script come to the attention of any official. Eventually, however, a school for the script was permitted in the Thai refugee camps and the Motthem Family was founded by supporters of the Pahawh Hmong in St. Paul, Minnesota. The authors describe the stages by which devotees worked to make the Pahawh Hmong suitable for modern publications. The efforts include hand-carved wooden stamps, modified typewriters, sheets of press-apply letters, and finally, computer wordprocessing with a Pahawh Hmong font. The mere description of the events culminating in the ability to type Hmong in Shong Lue Yang's script is a gut-wrenching lesson in the importance, too often taken for granted among Westerners, of freedom of expression.

The book is written by a committee; Smalley, an anthropological linguist and former missionary, is the prime author, while Chia Koua Vang and Gnia Yee Yang are followers of Shong Lue Yang's messianic movement. The information in the book is recounted in a deadpan style, with the source of each datum carefully qualified. A summary of the events, and a list of characters mentioned in the narrative, help the reader keep track of the complicated history. For much of the book, the reader

is left to suspend disbelief about some of the events reported, but Smalley reserves for himself a final chapter for the expression of views that depart from the doctrine of his Hmong co-authors. This final chapter is more a challenge to Western readers and to Westernized Hmong to open their minds to other possible worldviews than a refutation of the views held by the Hmong co-authors. The understated expression throughout the book is a mirror of, and a tribute to, the life of Shong Lue Yang, a brilliant farmer with a calling who toiled at great personal sacrifice to bring peace.

William R. Thurston
McMaster University

Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 7: Northwest Coast. Wayne Suttles, editor. Smithsonian Institution, 1990.

[777 pp; illustrated]

\$27.00 US: hardcover.

Northwest Coast is the ninth volume in the twenty volume **Handbook of North American Indians** series (W.C. Sturtevant, general editor) published by the Smithsonian Institution. The objective of this series is to "give an encyclopedic summary of what is known about the prehistory, history and cultures of the aboriginal peoples of North America who lived north of the urban civilizations of central Mexico" (p. xiii).

A short introduction by volume editor Wayne Suttles is followed by four chapters which describe the environment, language groups, human biology and early prehistory of the Northwest Coast. These four chapters successfully illustrate the great diversity which exists among the native groups of the Northwest Coast, and provide a foundation for the rest of the material in the volume.

The remaining 54 chapters are divided into four major sections. The first section, "The History of Research", contains six chapters which concern sources of information on native populations by early explorers and museum collections. Six chapters on the "History of Contact" constitute the second section. These chapters describe the early prehistoric period, the consequences of 'white' contact with natives, and contact history as it relates to Alaska, British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon.

The third section is composed of 38 chapters on "The Peoples". These are mainly ethnographic overviews interspersed with chapters on prehistory, and two chapters each on ceremonial systems and recent developments of select groups. The fourth section, "Special Topics", is composed of three chapters which examine mythology, art and the Indian Shaker Church. The volume also includes superb illustrations and an extensive bibliography composed of approximately 3300 references.

The largest section of the volume, "The Peoples", discusses each major group through a series of ethnographic and archaeological overviews. A standardized format for ethnographic chapters ensured the inclusion of elements such as language, territory, environment, history and culture (structures, subsistence, technology, social organization etc.). A synonymy for the group is listed at the end of each ethnographic overview.

Archaeological overviews for each cultural group are organized in a manner similar to the ethnographic overviews. Standard elements in these chapters include area, environment, and chronology. Subsistence patterns, technology, and social organization are used to describe differences between various time periods, or cultural phases. Some prehistory chapters also include a discussion of previous research, site types, and site distribution.

The volume contains many fine chapters such as *Bella Coola* by Kennedy and Bouchard (p. 323) and Helen Codere's *Kwakiult: Traditional Culture* (p. 359). Each of these chapters is thorough, and exhibits a high standard of scholarship. Codere's article is particularly important for its accurate and concise presentation of the often misunderstood or misinterpreted potlatch.

Unfortunately, not all volume chapters are of this high standard. Charles Nelson's *Prehistory of Puget Sound* (p. 481) is one of the weaker chapters. Nelson's shortcomings are his cursory treatment of the area and a failure to elaborate upon potentially valuable information (eg. perishable artifacts). Nelson should have discussed the state of present knowledge in Puget Sound archaeology, rather than emphasizing what little archaeological research has been done. A more complete and informative chapter would be of use to researchers in areas adjacent to Puget Sound.

Cole and Darling's chapter on *The History of the Early Period* is also problematic. Cole and Darling state that European dependence on natives for females often allowed natives to 'profit' from the 'advantage' (p. 130). Perhaps the authors should have taken the native perspective into account and presented a clearer picture of the economic reality which existed at that time.

The "Special Topics" section presents another problem. The chapters on art and mythology are very good and, due to their general nature, most appropriate to this section. However, the inclusion of the third chapter, *The Indian Shaker Church* (p. 633), is puzzling. Less emphasis upon this subject through its incorporation into relevant ethnographic chapters would be more appropriate. A topic more common to the entire Northwest Coast, such as slavery, would be more suitable for this section.

As expected with large undertakings, technical problems exist in the volume. Distracting typographical errors are found throughout. Other technical problems include the figure and illustration captions. The first-rate quality of the figures and illustrations is diminished by the fine print and compressed format of the captions which make reading difficult. Equally frustrating are the symbols used on the maps. Due to the nature of the information displayed, symbols often overlap one another. This overlap makes some maps extremely difficult to interpret.

Another shortcoming is the territorial map included with each ethnographic and archaeological overview. A small inset map would be valuable to place the group being discussed with other Northwest Coast groups. This convenient feature is present in at least one earlier volume (*California*) and its absence in the *Northwest Coast* volume should be questioned.

Editorial problems are conspicuous in Donald Mitchell's map of archaeological sites on the coast of southern B.C. and northern Washington state (pp. 342-43). Mitchell's text refers to sites from various cultural phases (e.g., Locarno Beach Phase) and refers the reader to the map to locate these sites. Unfortunately, the map failed to differentiate sites by their various cultural phases, as was stated in the text. This defect will undoubtedly confuse those who lack a knowledge of archaeological research in this area.

The final concern to address relates to the nomenclature used to distinguish the various Northwest coast native groups. In Suttle's "Introduction" (p. 15), he argues against the use of recently revised names for native groups (e.g., Nuu-chah-nulth and Kwakwaka' wakw). Suttles and his editorial committee argued that, by using these terms, the volume would add to existing confusion in the literature. However, researchers need to be more sensitive to the wishes of the people with whom they study or work. Researchers are obligated to call native groups by the name native groups recognize. This volume would have been the ideal vehicle to bring these proper names into common use. Instead, this decision has assured the use of misnomers for at least another 15 years.

Suttles faced many difficulties in putting together the volume, such as ensuring representational coverage for such a massive and diverse area. A further challenge was the unenviable task of coordinating 59 authors and their manuscripts. The loss of planning committee members must also have created hardship.

Difficulties aside, Suttles managed to produce a comprehensive collection of Northwest Coast ethnography and prehistory. The preceding criticisms pale in comparison to the contribution the **Northwest Coast** volume has made. The benefit of compiling such a large amount of detailed information is obvious. The **Handbook of Northwest Coast Indians** may be regarded as the primary encyclopedic source for both the interested lay-person and the serious scholar.

Andrew R. Mason
University of British Columbia

Male Fantasies (Vol I & II). Klaus Theweleit. University of Minnesota Press.

Vol I: *Women, Floods, Bodies, History*. 1987.

[517 pp; illustrations]

\$16.95 paper: \$45.00 cloth.

Vol II: *Male Bodies: Psychoanalysing the White Terror*.

[507 pp; illustrations]

\$17.95 paper: \$45.00 cloth.

I have read two books in the past year which have had a profound effect on how I think about the practice of making anthropological sense. The first was George Lakoff's *Women Fire and Dangerous Things* (1989). The puzzles and insights of Lakoff's largest and most comprehensive work to date are invaluable, especially to a neophyte field researcher. This book was the first to be packed in my trunk as I prepared to leave for Samoa. The other was and continues to be the truly seminal and disturbing 'representation' of the psyche of fascist terror in Klaus Theweleit's massive study. In this brief review I want to make two points, one methodological and the other concerning the representation of truth.

Male Fantasies is a labyrinthine description and analysis of the mindset of the Freikorps, the violent anti-communist shock troops who rocked the Weimar Republic and evolved, through years of murder and terror, into the SA, the muscular, sexually-pure centre of Nazi violence. What separates this work from other social and psychological histories of fascism are Theweleit's informants -- the published diaries of Freikorpsmen, novels and pamphlets, advertising and news media images -- in short, the text of the Freikorps psyche as they themselves wrote and promulgated it,

a focus on the cultural force of representation and ... an interest in the intersection of literary, non-literary, and social texts ... [a] ... strategy of "cross cultural montage" by which literary texts are read in relation to Parliamentary debates, women's manuals, medical writing, legal codes and ... "events" or "material developments" (Newton 1988:107).

Recognition that history is a combination of both what people do and what people say they are doing, Theweleit extends the potential for a sort of psychic anthropology beyond the banal limitations of even the most radical psychoanalytic vision, through a subtle and relentless juxtaposition of representations. At issue is the double-headed analytic problem of constitution as history lived and as history remembered. Rather than memorialize the Freikorps literary field into a cultural text coded after the fact, Theweleit follows the cultural text of Freikorps fantasies out from its inception, in order to plot its consequences for the experience of German Fascism itself.

The result is an unsettling and brutal collage which never allows the reader to step back into comfortable analytic dissemblance. As Barbara Ehrenreich points out in her introduction to the first volume, "Theweleit insists that we see and not "read" violence ... [by forcing] ... us to acknowledge that these acts of fascist terror spring from irreducible human desire" (xi-xii). By letting the Freikorpsmen speak for themselves, and by allowing us to see how these representations by events' participants are part of the process of constituting the event itself, Theweleit takes historiographic re-construction beyond simple multiple representations into a different methodological space altogether, a space where it becomes possible to join in the imaginings of desire which are the constituting dilemmas of historical agency. The success or failure of such a project is measured in the space left in the re-constructing text for the reader to stand aside from the implications of the analysis, and Theweleit succeeds

most profoundly at this point of connection between history as lived experience as re-presented event, and as memorialized by the act of reading. There is no space in this text for a reader to become removed by the distance of his or her own historical memory because Theweleit is not describing or constructing our memory of some distanced thing. Rather than analytic safety, Theweleit draws us into the persistent dread which is the wellspring of fascist ontology.

This ontology is the truth of my second point. Conventional Freudian re-constructions of violence and fear begin from the assumption that what an agent does, or says s/he is doing, is a dissimulation, a psychic cover story for some other intention always embedded below the surface of articulate motivation. Theweleit will not allow us the comfort of reducing fascism to a projecting psycho-pathology, a 'sick' desire that results in death. Instead, he insists on our recognizing that below the surface of fascism, desire and death are co-terminus in the dread of consumption, of being washed away, which is the desiring relation between males and females in the *fin de millennium*. What is disturbing is his assertion that this 'desiring relation of dread' is not an aberration but a commonality, not a cultural variation but a cultural convention. The ontology of Freikorps violence is not a repression of homosexual anger or some other psychoanalytic truism. Rather, Theweleit argues that it is the fundamental condition of maleness itself, a condition premised on the horror of dissolution which femaleness and, by extension, communism, inspires in the purified maleness of Europe between the wars.

The issue is truth. Psychoanalysis conventionally denies truth by re-writing all assertions as smoke screens masking the real motivations of Oedipal anxiety or what have you. Theweleit inverts the equation by arguing that the fiction of the hidden in what people say obscures the truth people experience in their assertions. He insists that we take the Freikorpsmen at their word, that we listen to what and how they believe rather than remapping their speech into something from which we can placidly distance ourselves. The puzzle in anthropology about the possibility of truth is at least partially resolved by allowing 'a' truth to emerge from a subject's experience which is not re-designed by analysis into an abstracted event driven by psychic concealments and pathological camouflage. Theweleit forces us by the breadth and persistence of his 'montage' to a realization that, whatever the angst anthropology feels in its confrontation with truth and representation, there is a fundamental truth in historical subjects' experiences and assertions about the events they are construing.

The implications of this for a newly invigorated analysis of the desiring engines of sexuality is important. Rather than the reduction of desiring subjectivity to an artefact of hidden ontologies which determine experience in advance, Theweleit exposes the rawness of constitution itself. Desire, of whatever sort, is a lived experience, and its expression can be observed in the assertions of living agents explaining their actions into meaningful space. The violence and horror of fascism, in Theweleit's 're-presentation', like the multiplicities of sexual desire, must be rescued from the reassuring truisms of psychoanalysis by compelling our analysis to recognize the ontology of cultural truisms themselves. A 'true' representation of the experience of 'others', which should be the fundamental objective of anthropology, begins at the point where experience is allowed to speak for itself. *Male Fantasies* demonstrates an approach to a rendering of the truth of

total meaning systems ... [which] ... encompass the history, cultures, bodies, and psyches of real people in real places who, in living life in those places, by necessity had to participate in the ontological traditions offered them. [We should not] substitute our reality for theirs through the tropes of understanding them (Herdt 1991:504).

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Douglas P. St. Christian

McMaster University

Jùjú: A Social History and Ethnography of an African Popular Music.
Christopher Alan Waterman. University of Chicago Press, 1990.
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\$16.95 US: paper.

Christopher Waterman's work is one of the very few available accounts of jùjú music, a style of music peculiar to the Yoruba people of southwestern Nigeria. The book is part of a series of publications in Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology. The series editors are Philip V. Bohlman and Bruno Nettl, and the series advisory board includes a number of well-known authors/ethnomusicologists. The purpose of this volume is to present the relationship of music identity, and power, in a modernizing African society. Waterman, through his explicit and well-organized approach to the subject, interspersed with illuminating anecdotes from his field notes and examples of lyrics, presents a thorough account of the music.

There are two major sections in the volume. The first part of the book (chapters two to four) describes the development of jùjú, and a number of its early twentieth century stylistic antecedents such as sakarà, asikò and highlife. In the second half of the book (chapters five, six and seven), Waterman presents an ethnography of jùjú music and musicians in the city of Ibadan, one of the centres where he carried out his fieldwork. This complements the social history articulated in the first half of the book by grounding it in his field experience. Waterman uses a number of themes to bridge the two sections of his book; namely, the relationship of continuity and change, the social construction of culture, the role of style in the public negotiation of identity, and the ideological role of popular culture. Perhaps most interesting is Waterman's discussion of jùjú music and inequality in Yoruba society and the means by which, through this particular style of music, some members of the society are empowered to enact their identity. There is some ambiguity in Waterman's account as to whether or not he feels that jùjú music is supportive of social inequity. However, this is attributable to the fact that, within the tradition itself, there are necessarily multiple interpretations of song texts so that there is no possible way to establish a single authoritative version of a text.

Waterman's work is important in that it is part of the movement of ethnomusicological writings that is focussing on the social and economic organization of performance, rather than on acculturation theory which dominated the discipline until the late 1970s. This literature aims to show that the expressive arts and performance are more than just a mirror held up to society, but also shape other social and historical processes. By

pursuing an analysis of the distinction between the cultural and the social, and demonstrating that the interdependence of the two is essential to an understanding of music history, Waterman is able to articulate the importance of his viewpoint. Central to his argument is that power is inherent in all social relationships, including those created through performance. His account follows the development of jùjú music in the city of Lagos during the early 1930s through the Nigerian independence and oil-boom years of the early 1980s. He draws on an analysis of musical shifts following the political economy of the country and the resulting increase in Yoruba nationalism.

The book is an important contribution to the literature on jùjú music. It is clearly organized and very thorough, enlivened with photos, excerpts from both his own field notes and those of noted ethnomusicologist Charles Keil, along with illustrative texts from various songs. An extensive bibliography is included, and a ninety-minute cassette tape with examples keyed to the text is also available.

Virginia Caputo
York University
