



Ethnic Awareness in the School: An Ethnographic Study. Mary E. Andereck. SAGE Publications, 1992. [xvi + 139 pp., references, index] \$39.95 U.S.: cloth; \$19.95 U.S.: paper

This book is truly remarkable. What the author has accomplished in her study should make reading *Ethnic Awareness and the School* time well worth spent. The author's Ph.D. thesis (on which the book is based) originated from an initial contact with a group of "Irish travellers", a band of nomadic gypsies that live in the southern United States. What makes these travellers unusual is that they have Irish, Romany, and American heritage, and speak a pidgin English, called Cant. This dialect combines Sheltic Gaelic, English, and Romany. Travellers use this argot whenever in the company of fellow Travellers or American southerners. This is a tool for the Travellers to maintain their identity, and keep outsiders from knowing too much about them.

The project the author embarked on dealt with the impact of Irish Traveller ethnicity in a Catholic elementary school. The school, St. Jude (a pseudonym) is located in a large southern city in the United States.

Andereck collected her data through participant observation and in-depth interviews. The author became a teacher at the school, so as to be able to gain access to informants in her study. The book is a presentation of the data collected from the observations of interactions between teachers, students, and parents.

Traveller children are perceived as being rambunctious by teachers, for they hurt non-Traveller schoolchildren on the playground, curse and swear at teachers and students, and show a lack of interest in their studies. Traveller students are perceived as not wanting to be in school, but must do so according to the law.

Traveller children themselves realize that they alienate others, because children frequently state that they are different from non-Travellers. From a young age, Traveller children know that they will marry a fellow Traveller, will do so at a young age, and only have to associate with their own kind for that reason. The conventional ways of the southern American school doesn't play into the world-view of the Traveller, for it is based on the ways of non-Travellers.

Teachers see the children as lazy, having poor grades, high absentee rates, and a general lack of motivation to learn. The result is that teachers don't spend as much time with Traveller children as with southerners. It is generally the case that Traveller children drop out of school at age 12 or 13 to marry and work. The feeling among teachers is that there is no point focusing efforts on a lost cause.

Similar to the Amish, Irish travellers in the United States keep to themselves, and maintain ethnic identity through these divisions. Children aren't encouraged to do well at school, because at home school doesn't fit in the ideology of the Traveller.

What the author accomplishes is insight into the world of the Traveller. This is in fact the first book-length ethnography study of the Travellers. We learn their world-view first hand, as well as their concerns for the consequences of too much contact with outsiders. For anyone interested in the relationship between ethnicity and education, or in the subculture of an ethnic group, then Andereck's book will be of interest.

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ENDANGERED SPACES, ENDURING PLACES. Change, Identity, and Survival in Rural America. Janet M. Fitchen 1991, Boulder: Westview Press. 314p.

For a few years during the mid-1980s, awareness of economic situations in rural America was heightened by headlines of the farm crisis. However, recent years have witnessed a decline in media attention to the crisis. Fitchen's ethnography represents the culmination of a six-year research project examining these neglected issues affecting rural areas and populations. The author has taken on the task of providing the 'context and wholeness' for changes currently affecting rural America. Research was conducted in rural upstate New York, with emphasis on the viewpoints of individual farmers and villagers. The author avoids the image of rural issues as operating in an economic vacuum by providing the national and regional context for the farm crisis, loss and downsizing of rural manufacturing, population changes, rural poverty, community service provision, and the role of rural spaces as the 'dumping ground of the nation'. Each of these topics is tackled in one of the eight sections comprising the text, with subject matter presented in a very readable, informative manner. Strict dichotomies of 'rural' and 'urban' issues are dismantled, as Fitchen reveals both that economic and social trends affect both rural and urban populations, and that 'rural' problems cannot be entirely attributed to 'urban' influence.

Fitchen provides dialogue in two different 'voices', one as the investigative anthropologist, providing ample opportunity for perspectives provided by 'field participants' and excerpts from her own field notes. The surrounding text presents Fitchen the anthropologist as analyst, interpreting her interviews and notes. The author has provided a helpful outline of her research methodology in the first appendix, along with excerpts from her field notes. This provides social context for the anthropologist in her interaction with field participants. Throughout the text, Rosenzweig's black and white sketchings of storefronts, and trailer parks provide a sense of immediacy to the issues discussed.

While Fitchen's work is generally well-written, this reader was frustrated by

several points concerning the text. The front cover introduces the text as a general study of 'rural America', yet the research has been conducted entirely within the state of New York. The author acknowledges the uniqueness of the rural situation in the heavily urbanized state of New York, and predicts that situations faced by rural populations in this state may soon affect other regions in America. However, vague definitions and unsubstantiated prophecies suggest that extrapolation of findings on a national basis may be unmerited.

The author recognizes definitions of 'rural' life as being relative to regional context. However, she does not clearly outline her own working definition of 'rural', and only turns her full attention to the meaning of the term in the final part of the text.

Fitchen portrays 'rural people' as vulnerable to uncontrollable economic forces and the fragility of their own 'agrarian identity'. However, while the text raises serious concerns about the economic survival of individuals in rural America, Fitchen devotes only one chapter to cooperative self-help strategies of rural people. Greater attention could have been provided to the nature and strategies of rural response to crises, suggested as a central part of the content by the text's subtitle. The text also contains several typos.

Overall, Fitchen's volume is a welcome introduction to the small number of ethnographies of rural America (i.e. Bell 1942; Fitchen 1981). Fitchen provides a helpful introduction to contemporary issues affecting rural people and places, providing recognition of the interconnectedness of 'urban' and 'rural' lifeways and the survival of rural areas.

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What is the Indian 'Problem': Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian Indian Administration. Noel Dyck. ISER Books, Memorial University Newfoundland, 1991. [208 pp.]

The title of Noel Dyck's book is a concrete summation of its contents. Had he added, perhaps after the colon, "A Rather Repetitious, Dull and Historical Look At"

tutelage and resistance in Canadian Indian administration, the only unprepared reader would be the one who picked the book for its cover art or the nifty texture of its paperback dustjacket.

What is the Indian 'Problem' asks an insightful question and answers it by theoretically and historically examining the assumptions of the elected, the appointed and the person in the street. Dyck establishes convincingly that the "Indian problem" has been manufactured by Whites, largely to abdicate non-Native responsibility for past and present conditions and shift it to Aboriginal people. Examples of Native resistance remind the reader that the imposition of tutelage on Aboriginal people was not accepted without action or reacted to without imagination. Dyck's book draws together events from Canada's history and illuminates them under the focused beam of his thesis. This re-examination is comprehensive and allows the reader access to much historical information and the opportunity to experience a different interpretation.

Certain aspects of the book are unsatisfactory, however. Why would Dyck spend half a page justifying his varying use of the terms "White", "non-Native" and "non-Aboriginal" and neglect to do the same with his insistent use of the politically-loaded term "Indian"? His overbearing use of the terms "tutelage", "tutor", and "tutelage agent" in a myriad of contexts numbs the reader to the subtleties of the meanings of these words. The book is dotted with repetitious and cursory examples (primarily the Potlatch and the Sun Dance) but at one point inconsistently launches into an in-depth, chapter-long examination of a failed community development project. It is unclear what makes one topic worthy of such detail and not another. Finally, Dyck's book has an aftertaste of apology and expiation. He asserts that individual tutors had good intentions and were the victims of the governments that shaped them, yet I believe that individual attitudes and prejudices cannot be ignored and their role should at least be admitted, if not explored. He states that Canada can be regarded as "subtly racist", or, in comparison to South Africa, as "remarkably tolerant". However, a country whose reputation was threatened within the United Nations because of its policy and practice regarding Native people (a fact which Dyck himself points out) surely deserves a harsher condemnation than these euphemistic labels provide.

The most interesting and original part of this book is left to the very end (though the surprise is lost because Dyck has methodically and in detail set out everything he is going to say in an introduction which is an essay unto itself) where Dyck asks whether Native organizations and Native politicians will not just replace those institutions built and guardians appointed by the Church or State. This is a fascinating question, and he begins to sensitively examine the many difficulties facing the "brown bureaucrat". But the issue warrants more than the few short pages accorded it, especially at a time when Aboriginal self-determination is being discussed and contested within Native communities and around government conference tables.

The frustrating irony of the book lies in Dyck's early discussion of John McLeod, a Cree elder from Saskatchewan, who was frequently invited to speak to various groups. John discovered that a complex theoretical and political speech would leave a non-Native audience blank-faced and uncomprehending. Instead of giving up, he altered his style. Now gymnasiums and convention halls were spell-bound as John related stories of his life and the kinds of experiences he had with Indian agents, residential school teachers and prejudiced saloon owners. John McLeod's lesson was that complicated issues don't need to be conveyed in a complicated manner. If only Noel Dyck had learned the lesson better! Dyck's repetitive examples and wandering academic wordiness serve to alienate his readers and dampen the excitement of enlightenment. History needs to be rewritten, and this book has tackled an important and perhaps complicated aspect of Canada then and now. By ensuring his book is dry and abstract, with more explanation than example, Dyck puts it beyond the tolerance of most of Canada and writes for an elite, and perhaps already converted audience. And instead of giving the audience credit for some interpretive ability, as John McLeod successfully did, Dyck painfully reinforces his main points until the book becomes a page-turner only in the sense that one flips forward to make sure the section hasn't been read before.

I grudgingly recommend this book. The synthesis of historical information is convenient and Dyck makes a number of insightful and thought-provoking comments. A patient and dedicated reader will be rewarded like a faithful jogger: no pain, no gain.

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Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest: Newar Buddhism and its Hierarchy of Ritual. David N. Gellner. Cambridge University Press, 1992. [428 pp., notes, references, index]

The Tantric artworks of Nepal's Kathmandu valley have long been an enigma to the perplexed gaze of western observers as they tried so hard to understand what the fierce and amorous deities depicted in painting, sculpture, and temple monuments meant. Tantrism, based on esoteric and magical doctrines common to many Himalayan Buddhist traditions, contradicts the preconceptions that many of these observers had of Buddhism as an ascetic and rational tradition that expresses a universal desire for human salvation. Depictions of violence and unbridled sexuality in art forms; ritual inversions of accepted moral precepts, such as the use of meat and alcohol in the worship of deities; and religious elites that carefully guard knowledge of such rituals from the uninitiated, are antithetical to the transcendent goal of Buddhism as understood by western scholars more familiar with texts than practices.

Davis N. Gellner's *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest* sets out to dispel these views of Tantrism in a rich and comprehensive analysis of the religious life of the Buddhist Newars of Patan, a major city in the valley near Kathmandu. The three ritual roles indicated in his title represent three interconnected, but hierarchically ordered, levels of Newari ritual and social life. The "monk" is the defining feature of ascetic Buddhism, the "way of the disciples", and refers to both the solitary pursuit of enlightenment engaged in by the older *theravada* form of Buddhism and the rite of passage in which each higher caste boy enters a short period of monastic renunciation before coming to adult status. The "householder" refers to what Gellner calls "the great way" of *mahayana* Buddhism, embodied in the ideal of the *bodhisattva* who, although at the threshold of enlightenment, continues to act in the world to bring all beings to salvation. Newari Buddhist priests raise families and participate in the everyday world. The "Tantric Priest" refers to the highest religious status which a Newari can obtain. Initiation into the secret rituals of the "diamond way" prescribed in *vajracarya* Buddhism, and the ability to manipulate the very stuff shunned by conventional Buddhist morality — the lurid sexual imagery Tantric Newari art is an example — is a powerful means to reach *siddha*, that is, to become a "realized one", in a short period of time.

The Vajracarya and Sakya castes of Patan provide the religious practitioners for Patan's Buddhist community, and it is the more traditional among them whose voice is most frequently heard throughout Gellner's study. It is to the males of these two priestly castes that tantric initiation is exclusively available. The caste-like organization of Patan's Newari Buddhists itself contradicts notions of Buddhism as an egalitarian religion which rejects caste as a factor in an individual's spiritual development. Gellner shows that this structure, seen from the perspective of its highest elements, subsumes all three levels of Buddhist practice in a relationship that he characterizes, borrowing from Louis Dumont, as "hierarchical encompassment" (pg. 102), where the superior levels (the "diamond way") subordinate and integrate the lower ones. Likewise certain individuals, because of their hereditary access to ritual powers, are nearer to *siddha*, a social asymmetry visible in the increased social status of priestly "householders". Despite its abundance of detail and its almost encyclopedic approach to Newari social and ritual life, *Monk, Householder and Tantric Priest* suffers from its perspective — the views it propounds are those of Patan's more traditional and conservative Vajracarya and Sakya priests. Missing is an understanding about how the lower castes see and either participate in or resist this structure. The kind of knowledge that the ethnographer is going after here excludes them; Gellner reports that "Anyone attempting to solicit the opinions of ordinary Newari Buddhists is frequently told to go and ask a Vajracarya for an answer" (pg. 343). The quality of knowledge solicited by the ethnographer is discursive in nature, requiring that those who hold this specialized knowledge be the ones that answer — we get little sense of how other forms of knowledge, such as the experiences of ordinary

Newaris, might complete the picture.

This flaw becomes most apparent in the frequent references throughout the book to a Newari Buddhist "modernist" movement among Kathmandu valley Newars, a movement Gellner either mistakenly or misleadingly leads the reader to associate with a "radical protestant-derived rejection of ritual and spiritual hierarchy" (pg.43). This movement stresses a return to asceticism and adherence to the more basic precepts of Buddhism, "the way of the disciples". It also tends to reject caste distinctions (although this remains problematic to many high caste Newars) and many of its adherents actively publish *theravada* texts in the Newari language, making them accessible to more people. This critique of Newari tradition, questioning Tantric hierarchies, is not the same as the one coming from ethnocentric western observers; Buddhist "modernism" represents an internal transformation of Newari tradition, not the external threat that Gellner, and his traditional informants, portray it as.

Monk, Householder and Tantric Priest is little influenced by recent trends in ethnographic writing. The book is structured by short, taxonomic sections under separate headings. Rather than advancing the book's argument in a clear and graceful manner, this technique renders it at times disjunctive, although it does make it useful as a reference. As well, Gellner's constant use of tables to illustrate his data tends to construct his arguments dichotomously; as neat structures of this and that which misrepresent the complexity of Newari religious life by identifying everything through a fixed number of categories. This structural strategy may seem at first well suited to a discussion of a south Asian hierarchical society, but it does tend to obscure ways in which life in south Asia is variously experienced and interpreted by peoples at all castes or ethnicities, and how malleable these structures are through time. Despite these flaws, Gellner's book is a rich and well researched resource for the many western scholars who are now, or will be in the future, perplexed by the workings of Tantrism in its various Himalayan manifestations.

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Let's Make a Deal: Understanding the Negotiation Process in Ordinary Litigation. Herbert M. Kritzer. University of Wisconsin Press, 1991. [xvi + 203 pp.] \$37.50 U.S.: cloth; \$12.95 U.S.: paper

Americans have a long-standing history for using the legal system to solve all problematic matters. Yet 99% of legal cases never come to court because of out-of-court settlement. What is the significance of such a high rate of boardroom

justice? The author attempts to shed light on the phenomena of out-of-court settlement.

Based on survey results from the Civil Litigation Research Project, the book offers an account of the bargaining process that lawyers engage in as they try to "make a deal" that is beneficial for them as well as their client. The economics of bargaining is discussed, and the extent to which litigation is governed by monetary concerns. We learn that settlements are the choice of many because they cannot afford to pay the massive court costs that can accumulate with years of litigation.

The actual process of negotiation involves settlement reached in one or two meetings between both parties and their lawyers. Most lawyers devote very little time in preparation for negotiations, initial offers and demands are very close to what is settled upon, and it pays for the lawyer to settle out of court, because they can devote time to more important cases.

With many Americans filing for court proceedings, the time to hear a case can take years. Plaintiffs and Defendants are then usually in favour of settlement, to reduce the stress involved in such litigation. Out-of-court settlements can be settled within weeks after the filed suit, and both parties can get on with their lives.

I think what makes *Let's Make a Deal* so interesting is that it tells with vivid candour the realities of the American legal system. The author focuses on the notions of litigation as a process, and involving a set of strategies for lawyers to get their clients the best deal. Utilizing both Gaming theory (from Psychology) and Negotiation theory (from Sociology), Kritzer shows how the act of reaching settlement is in fact like the game show that the book's title borrows from. Lawyers bargain with each other, in an attempt to "reach the right price" for both parties, and avoid court proceedings that could bankrupt their clients.

The legal anthropologist would enjoy reading this book because it offers valuable insight into the world of American legal practice. Social scientists would gain something from this book as well because it portrays the justice system from a reality perspective.

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