

BOOK REVIEWS

SUSAN SLYOMOVICS, *The Object of Memory: Arab and Jew Narrate the Palestinian Village*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1998. xxv, 294 pp., References, Index, Photographs. \$19.95.

The Object of Memory is as multi-layered and morally complex as the once Arab, now Jewish village whose recent history it explores. Carefully blending ethnography and exposé, Susan Slyomovics takes a 'fact on the ground', the Israeli artists' colony of Ein Hod, and reconnects it to the living memory of the Arab community it replaced: Ein Houd, a Muslim village in the Carmel Mountains that was occupied by Israeli forces in 1948, its inhabitants expelled and forbidden to return. In 1953 artist Marcel Janco, a founder of the Dada school, persuaded the Israeli authorities not to demolish the stone houses of Ein Houd, which he found beautiful and inspiring. As Janco and his colleagues moved into houses they characterized as 'ruins', a fragment of the Abu al-Hayja clan, the original inhabitants of Ein Houd, built an 'illegal' village on an adjacent hilltop. The rest of the Abu al-Hayja went into internal exile in Israel, emigrated to Iraq, relocated in the Jenin refugee camp, or settled in Irbid, Jordan. Today, Jewish Ein Hod (its Hebraicized name) is an important cultural resource for Israelis and a popular destination for foreign and domestic tourists. Arab Ein Houd al-Jadidah, the 'new' Ein Houd, appears on no official map of Israel. The Abu al-Hayjas, isolated on their hilltop, live in a state of perpetual litigation, fending off government demolition orders and struggling to secure basic access to water and electricity.

The tale of dispossession that Slyomovics tells will startle readers, who, for over fifty years, have been successfully kept from hearing it. Slyomovics is acutely aware of the hegemonic framework in which she writes. Her attempt to remember Arab Ein Houd is made in the face of Zionist narratives of persecution and return that dwarf and even deny the reality of what the Abu al-Hayja have experienced. Slyomovics, by choosing to write about Arab Ein Houd, is taking sides in a mnemonic battle that is still raging. Her right to explore Arab memories without having her own 'sympathies' questioned is carefully laid out in the preface, where she mentions that her parents are Holocaust survivors, her husband is an Arab, and her son 'is both Arab and Jew'. These identities played a crucial role in Slyomovics' fieldwork, but she makes little reflexive use of them elsewhere in the book. They are displayed early on to prevent the kind of reflexive denial that her unromantic look at Jewish Ein Hod will provoke in many readers.

The book is polemical, but not overtly so. Throughout, Slyomovics affects a kind of moral deadpan, a 'just the facts' style that is ruthlessly effective. She begins with a discussion of 'village memorial books', especially the *Destroyed Palestinian Villages* series published by Bir Zeit University. Ein Houd was the first village commemorated in that series. Slyomovics then traces the development of Jewish Ein Hod, interpreting it as a palimpsest, a work superimposed on (and obscuring) a previous work. Slyo-

movics describes how Dada, iconoclastic and anti-authoritarian in Europe, became a colonialist discourse in Israel. Her retrieval of Arab Ein Houd from beneath its Dada overlay leads her into archives and oral traditions. Slyomovics gives names to the Arab stonemasons who built Ein Hod, reconstructs the social and architectural logic of the village, and tells of the 1948 expulsion and the creation of Ein Houd al-Jadidah. Her discussions of the *hamulah* (clan) organization of Ein Houd and the career of Abu Hilmi, the charismatic village headman, are well crafted, and they flow smoothly into a chapter on *madafah* (guest houses), a traditional architectural form that has evolved into what Slyomovics calls a 'structure of exile', a focal point of group feeling and nostalgia. The chapter on poetry, consisting mostly of too obvious interpretations of exilic verse, seems weak and out of place, and one suspects that the short final chapter on gender was a last-minute effort to deflect criticism of the book's heavy reliance on the testimony of Arab men.

Slyomovics has done some invaluable documentary footwork, bringing together diverse literary accounts and visual images of Ein Hod/Ein Houd. As ethnography, the book is overly reliant on interviews, on what people would say (on tape) about a fairly well-defined topic. Slyomovics spent a lot of time in guest rooms, hearing 'our side of the story'. Her method leads to a thinning out of the social world of both Jewish artists and Arab exiles, but her unrelenting focus on a single, contested narrative space allows Slyomovics to land her moral punches. Ein Houd is one of the few Arab villages the Israelis did not demolish after evicting the occupants. Slyomovics' book is possible because the physical structures of Ein Houd remain standing: its stone houses are not simply 'objects of memory'. They figure more as the scene of a crime, and Slyomovics' matter-of-fact portrayal of painters and sculptors as colonial occupiers is sad and compelling. The residents of Ein Hod confidently deny the legitimacy of Palestinian claims to their homes—in the 1950s, they occasionally chased Arab 'squatters' off with axes—and they seem generally incapable of dealing justly with the Abu al-Hayja who live nearby. In one interview, an artist tells of refusing Abu Hilmi's request that she teach an art class for the Arab children in his school: 'I thought it wasn't a good thing to do'. The Abu al-Hayja, though alive and well, are described by the artists as 'ghosts'. Living in houses taken from Arabs is ethically justified, Slyomovics was frequently told, because of the suffering Jews have experienced in the diaspora and the superiority of Jewish ancestral claims to the land. The current state of play is painfully displayed in Ein Houd's mosque, which has been turned into a bar despite the protests of those who once prayed there.

The conclusions that Slyomovics enables the reader to draw explain why many Israelis believe Ein Houd should have been levelled in 1948, why many of Ein Hod's artists believe the Arab village of Ein Houd al-Jadidah should be demolished today, and why Marcel Janco, in his final years, began to question what he had done. In an era of ethnic cleansing, the return of art stolen by Nazis, and the reclamation of savings accounts tucked away in Swiss banks, the village of Ein Hod—taken, cleansed, and kept—represents a moral dilemma not so easily cast in black and white. Slyomovics prompts the reader to ask, Why?

ANDREW SHRYOCK

DAVID M. GUSS, *The Festive State: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism as Cultural Performance*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press 2000. 239 pp., Plates, Bibliography, Index. £30.00/£11.50.

The image of festive celebrations as uniform and uncontroversial expressions of traditional communities has escaped the scrutiny of anthropologists and ethnologists too often. David Guss effectively questions this neglect by proceeding from the critical perspective that regards festivals as fields of contention, fruitful even as a point of departure for social and politically subversive activities. Guss explores the ideology of traditions by merging four ethnographic case-studies, based on extensive fieldwork in Venezuela, into an analysis of cultural constructs, demonstrating how concepts of race, ethnicity, history, gender, and nationhood are challenged and redefined in various political and historical contexts. Other than to anthropologists and regional experts of Latin America, this book is of relevance to a wide public of readers interested in issues of racial and cultural categories and processes of national identity creation. After all, a study of the appropriation of religious celebrations and local traditions used in the creation of new secular and national meanings, and serving the interests of new constellations of national, political, and commercial entities, is relevant to all those interested in global processes of cultural and religious identities. Although Guss explains that 'for the anthropologist, the challenge has been to discover new strategies with which to present [this] increasing collision between the local, the national, and the global, between the many forms of cultural difference that now seem to converge at every point' (p. 3), the subject is important also to other social-science disciplines.

The four intersecting case-studies are variegated and exciting, and are selected both to provide a general picture of cultural variety in Venezuela, and to throw light on the theme of the redefinition of festive meaning in a national and secular context. The case-studies include the performance of history in an Afro-Venezuelan community centred around the different images of San Juan; the cultural policies and financial interests of a British tobacco company in Venezuelan popular culture; and 'Indianness' and the construction of ethnicity in the Day of the Monkey. The style of the book is also accessible to readers without a prior knowledge of Latin America or anthropology. Each case-study is accompanied by a historical analysis of the meaning and socio-political functions of the festival under investigation. The book is also scattered with photographs of festive expressions, such as musical performances, dances, and masks. In short, it makes for festive reading.

The book comprises two main parts: one theoretical chapter, which discusses cultural performance and the ideology of tradition; and four chapters covering the four case-studies, which illustrate the arguments presented in the first part. There is no introduction or conclusion. Oddly, this absence does not affect the clarity of the argument. It does, however, require the reader to make a few mental notes of the overall argument and criticism presented in the first chapter, and to keep in mind that the case-studies are elaborations and illustrations of this critique. An added conclusion would have served to sum up the ways in which the four intersected case-studies are related to the theory presented in the first chapter, though I for one have not experienced this as a shortcoming.

In his book Guss counters the functionalist notion that small communities would be dissolved as a result of modernization and swamped by global market forces. Instead, he argues, the traditional is re-articulated and re-fashioned into new and complex modes of cultural production. In his argument Guss draws especially on the theoretical concepts of 'hybridity' of Néstor García Canclini, 'creolization' of Ulf Hannerz, and 'public culture' of Appadurai and Breckenridge. In the process of this re-articulation, Guss maintains, the popular may become more important as a force against the solidified control over official forms of communication by the state and private media. Nevertheless, the popular means of cultural production are threatened by appropriation and commodification. This battlefield of popular culture constitutes a market hungry for new products and a central government in need of unifying symbols. The complexity of these issues in festivals is compounded by the constantly shifting places in these battles of the élite and the populace. Drawing on the work of Abner Cohen, Milton Singer, and Victor Turner, Guss uses the concept of cultural performance to understand the complexities of these struggles in defining them as 'important dramatizations that enable participants to understand, criticize, and even change the worlds in which they live', thereby 'providing forums in which communities can reflect upon their own realities' (p. 9). At the same time similar views and reflections are used by different people to articulate various meanings ranging from ethnic solidarity and religious devotion to political resistance and national identity.

Guss regards the festive forms and rituals of local tradition and history as a field of political contestation and cultural performance, forming a dialogical and polyphonic discourse. He criticizes the state's reduction of the rich ethnic diversity to the nationally unified, and of the flux of social process to that of codified objects (p. 14). But at the local level too, the selection of symbols by various village groups is subject to competition and economic strategy. To illustrate these arguments, the case-studies are set up to show the contradictions and ambiguities of national symbols, processes of folklorization, the link between commercial interests and the creation of popular culture, and popular culture as a form of resistance and historical knowing.

On the whole the book achieves its purpose. Guss provides the reader with a convincing account of the politics and controversies at the root of images that present the festivities and celebrations of communities as harmonious occasions at which the locals can express their united traditions. Though this is certainly not a new view, the way in which Guss presents his ethnographic materials and the clarity with which he analyzes the motives and interests of the carriers of tradition is powerful enough to suggest that Durkheimian *anomie* is a common form of societal change, rather than an exceptional state of the way in which societies change. A drawback of this is that the book gives the distinct impression that the carriers of resistance recognize tradition in a more correct fashion than do 'nationalists'. Therefore I believe that the book could have profited from an analysis of how and why national essentializations and specific historical views of festivals imposed by dominant groups are adhered to and maintained, sometimes quite fanatically, by the underdogs in society too. In my view, furthermore, other themes touched upon create more problems than they solved. It is not clear, for example, why ethnicity as a 'powerful symbol of resistance' in the case of the Kayapo should not be analyzed as a form of reductionist essentialization, even though their cause may be viewed more sympathetically than that of dominant nation-

alists. Another point calling for clarification is the contention that the resonance of the tensions between ethnic and national identities is more evident in Latin America than it is elsewhere (p. 62). Nevertheless, on the whole the author has succeeded in calling into question the close links, often imagined automatically, between the notions of festive celebration and harmonious community.

MARGARET SLEEBOOM

GORDON MATHEWS, *Global Culture/Individual Identity: Searching for Home in the Cultural Supermarket*, London: Routledge 2000. xi, 228 pp., Bibliography, Index. £14.99.

In search of the meaning of culture, Gordon Mathews focuses on the concept of 'cultural identity', seeking to combine the complexity of collective identities within global categories of state and market with a close-up of particular identities. Rather than regarding 'culture' as 'patterns of language, knowledge, and social organization studied by outsiders', Mathews proposes to view the concept of culture as 'the ways in which particular people comprehend who they are culturally' (p. 5). This perspective coincides with a trend he observes among anthropologists to get rid of the interpretation of culture as 'a bounded space' in a world of massive global flows of people (p. 3).

The style of the ethnographic part of this book is light, and the extensive quotations from interviews make for easy reading. The two theoretical chapters, however, I found confusing for both stylistic and organizational reasons. Mathews' vivid and figurative style sometimes clouds important concepts unnecessarily, for instance the phrase 'as it [the world] rushes toward globalization while its inhabitants may cling to a sense of home' (p. 166). The world here has become an actor, rushing toward globalization, while the dialectical nature of the process of globalization is disregarded. The concept of 'cultural supermarket', which, I assume, is meant to throw new light on the complexities of the concepts of culture and identity, is confusing as it has a misleading connotation of frivolity. Mathews himself points this out in the last chapter (p. 171), arguing that 'these people are struggling mightily in different ways to formulate themselves'. Furthermore, as I discuss below, the chapters contain many claims and counterclaims that weaken the assertion in the subtitle of the book ('searching for home in the cultural supermarket') and do not present the reader with a much clearer concept of culture than the one that is criticized.

The first chapter serves as the introduction to the theme of cultural identity and uncovers Mathews' phenomenology of 'the cultural shaping of self', while the last adds a summary of the book's main findings and a discussion of them in terms of postmodern and globalization theory. The three chapters in-between provide the reader with kaleidoscopic case-studies on the theme of cultural identity, based on edited interviews with Japanese artists, American believers, and Hong Kong intellectuals. The method used most intensively in this study is that of the interview. Mathews interviewed forty people in each locality, with the help of student assistants and transcribers. It is presumed that the interviewees are representative of their respective societies,

and that the views of the members of their élites differ from their fellows only to a degree. In my view, the interviews should be interesting for people who have never spoken with inhabitants of Japan, Hong Kong, or the USA, though the book is less satisfactory as a lucid theory of its main themes, global culture and individual identity.

In the main argument, 'culture' as 'a way of life' and 'culture' as 'the information and identities available from the global cultural supermarket' (p. 6) are defined as 'two opposing forces shaping culture' running parallel with 'the two forces of state and market' (p. 9). Of these two forces, Mathews argues boldly, 'it is not ethnic identity, but identity as proffered through the market that is finally the greatest force eroding national identity in the world today' (p. 9). This is because ethnic and national identity belong to a particular place, and market-based identity does not. According to Mathews, people throughout the affluent, mass-mediated world today may be moulded as much by the material and cultural supermarkets as by the state, by means of seduction rather than coercion (p. 10).

Mathews' phenomenology of 'the cultural shaping of self' is meant to combine the points of view of subjective individuals and objective forces of the market and the state. Here, a parallel is drawn between the place-bounded and open concept of culture, and the culture-bounded and open/free concept of Self. Combining the concepts of culture and Self, Mathews deals with the cultural shaping of Self as it is experienced by the 'universal Self' on three separate levels of consciousness: the taken-for-granted subconscious level of linguistic shaping and basic social conditioning; the intermediate level of cultural shaping, which the Self experiences as extrinsic to itself, since its regime is enforced through social institutions (the 'can't-be-helped level'); and a shallow level at which the Self feels it can freely choose ideas from a cultural supermarket (though the Self remains conditioned on a deeper level by factors such as class, gender, religious belief, ethics, and citizenship). The definition of culture as 'a way of life' is located at the two deepest levels, while the definition of culture as open is found at the shallow level (p. 15).

Cultural identity, according to Mathews, refers to 'one's sense of cultural belonging to a given society, or, beyond that, to the global supermarket' (p. 17). Here too Mathews draws a parallel with the Self, defining three levels at which cultural identity is shaped: the deepest 'taken-for-granted' level of cultural/national identity inculcated by the state and the market; the intermediate level of shaping, which is a result of the failures of the state and the market to inculcate identity; and a superficial level of, for instance, 'assumed identity', which may serve to undermine national or ethnic identity. In a world that is increasingly ruled at the level of 'assumed identities' from the cultural supermarket, principles of both state and market are thoroughly taken for granted. Thus, explains Mathews, the success of mass-mediated democracy and human rights is partly explained by the way they reflect people's self-determination and the freedom of choice: 'the values of the free market' (p. 23).

Mathews successfully probes the questions people ask themselves about their cultural identity, and analyzes the role played by the state and the market in this process. As units of comparison, he chose artists from Japan, religious believers from the USA, and intellectuals from Hong Kong, regarding art, music, and religion as central choices in the cultural supermarket and as illustrative of the tension between national and global culture. Nevertheless, this particular choice has also been led by the author's

personal life experience, like disillusioned American youths fascinated by the East and experiencing confusion as a result of clashes between various cultural identities and its mobile carriers (p. 27). Mathews concludes, finally, that in Japan today Japanese roots are not *Nô* theater but pizza and jazz; American religious roots are Buddhist to some and Christian to others; and, in Hong Kong, national roots are Western and Japanese as much as they are Chinese. One's cultural home and roots may be made as well as born into, while in the era of the Internet and globalization, one's home is 'not one's particular ancestral place, but rather no more than a node from which to access the globe' (p. 196).

Although the aim of the book is to redefine culture and return anthropology to the world, I do not believe Mathews' theory has a solid theoretical base. By questioning the definition of culture in simple binary terms, that is, defining culture as being either bounded or open, the option of a nuanced formulation of culture as partly bounded and changeable is not original or surprising. Most anthropologists and laymen have been conscious that elements of their culture and consumption patterns derive from elsewhere, probably as long as the word Other has been in use. Nevertheless, in contemporary social-science research, topics related to globalization seem to go at bargain prices, and 'cultural roots' is one of them. The cultural roots that individuals experience, by definition, are not items that can be chosen at will or easily manipulated, because they include attachments and activities experienced and formed over an extended period of time. The term 'cultural supermarket' itself, then, could be viewed as the current metaphor for the great variety of cultures presented to us by the media and consumer industry, rather than as an apt explanation for how and why people come to identify with certain beliefs and ideologies, and why they regard certain 'places' as 'home'.

Mathews' concept of the cultural supermarket also denotes the availability of a great variety of cultural ideas and beliefs, and the commercial and media backing and mode of their presentation. Moreover, 'not a society in the world today can escape the conflict of state and market in the moulding of citizens' "way of life": the moulding of the state is everywhere being eroded by the moulding of the market' (p. 10). However, it is not evident that an extensive market influence causes the erosion of the state. On the contrary, a more liberal market has become possible because of a more flexible, thus possibly stronger state in both wealthy countries, and, for instance, the People's Republic of China. That cultural hybridity and private enterprise have become both included and inherent in the state policies of the Western nation-state might just as well mean that market and state are not opposing forces, but that an efficient coordination of those forces in state policies makes for stronger nation-states.

Though I find Mathews' attempt to apply abstract principles in practice admirable, I miss some guidance on translating from the macro to the micro level. How do we know if people refer to the global, the national, the local, or their current situation? And how do we know if a person is giving a performance on a superficial level, speaking 'true tradition', or both? Apart from providing the reader with thin readings, Mathews interchangeably uses parallels between conceptual pairs such as state and market; culture as way of living and culture as information supermarket; and bounded truth and unbounded taste. His reasoning at times is simplistic: the market wins over the state, as it is not bounded. The idea that 'taste wins over truth' (p. 119) seems to be

about fashionable frivolity, not matters of struggle and power. A theory based on sweeping conceptual distinctions and equivalences deserves an explanatory justification; a cumulative categorization of cases does not suffice.

The questions Mathews asks are interesting and provoking. For example, 'Might it not be that the Tokyo rock musician has more, culturally, in common with his counterpart in Seattle than with his own grandparents?' 'Maybe not; but the very fact that these questions can seriously be posed reveals the erosion of culture as the way of life of a particular people in a particular place, as opposed to other people in other places' (p. 5). However, the questions are not new. Marxist universalistic theory is well known for its cross-cultural approach. The questions in themselves, however, are not evidence for the 'erosion of culture as the way of life'. Here Mathews muddles up academic definitions of cultural boundaries with the way people experience and construe their identity. The issue of cultural erosion is problematic, but the place of the cultural supermarket in history is even more puzzling, especially as Mathews at times presumes the existence of a period prior to the age of global supermarkets: 'In both cases, one group—Japanese traditional artists and some American Christians—seems, in effect, pre-cultural supermarket, asserting roots or truth from a 'pure' culture prior to the cultural supermarkets' depredations, and another group—some Japanese contemporary artists, and American Buddhists—seems post-cultural supermarket, in asserting roots or truth on the basis of selections from the cultural supermarket' (p.168). Does the concept imply a division between traditional (true) belief in a pre-cultural-supermarket stage and a post-cultural-supermarket of free choice? The answer remains unclear: Mathews argues that true roots and free choice do not exist as such. Instead people are conditioned socially and biologically; both are constrained by the level of 'there is no help'. The question of to what extent people are led by choice and/or conditioning in various historical stages and among different social environments is not elaborated upon. The author offers much categorization and little epistemological clout. Interpretations of interviews are categorized in a grid of the orthodox proponents of traditional culture, liberal adherents of national culture and cosmopolitan shoppers, but do not explain how and why interviewees have come to their views. Nor do the interviews provide a clue to the ways in which people politically manipulate the range of identities at the disposal of believers, shoppers, and cosmopolitans in various situations, or of the ways in which they change.

MARGARET SLEEBOOM

ERIN HOGAN FOUBERG, *Tribal Territory, Sovereignty, and Governance: A Study of the Cheyenne River and Lake Traverse Indian Reservations*, New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc. 2000. xv, 213 pp. References, Index, Maps, Figures, Tables, Notes. £30.00.

The key to understanding American Indian reservations and the social relations between Indian and non-Indian peoples on or near them is the slippery matter of tribal sovereignty. *Tribal Territory, Sovereignty, and Governance* traces the restructuring

and subsequent erosion of indigenous American sovereignties effected by European American domination. In what is essentially a comparative case-study, Erin Fouberg describes how two related tribes came to have different sovereignties over their lands. In doing so, she examines the impact this has had on their tribal governments and identities, and on their jurisdiction over non-Indians. She also considers how they can, and do, use their territories and sovereignties to enhance their ability to govern effectively. In concluding, she suggests that these and other tribes can regain some of their eroded sovereignty by rebuilding their land bases. This is a lot of ground to cover in such a slim volume.

This book's approach is unusual but thought-provoking. Rather than examine the social consequences of treaties, land cessions, policy changes and court decisions in chronological order, as most scholars who deal with such matters do, Fouberg focuses on their implications for tribal sovereignty. The U.S. government, she argues, works from a 'Europeanized' concept of sovereignty. This derives from what she calls the 'mythical nation-state ideal' (p. 189) of one nation exercising sovereignty over an exclusive, clearly demarcated territory. In contrast, Native Americans traditionally conceptualized their sovereignties in a variety of ways, not all of which included a notion of exclusivity. Comparing the experiences of two tribes, she describes how the United States government first restructured indigenous territorial and membership sovereignties to fit the 'Europeanized' concept, and then worked to erode them in the interest of expanding and consolidating its own sovereignty. Treaties and land cessions, assimilation policies and programmes, and Supreme Court and lower court decisions were the means through which it accomplished this.

Fouberg offers a 'narrative of the historical geographies of the Cheyenne River and Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribes' (p. 23) to illustrate the relationship between reduced tribal land bases and eroded tribal sovereignties. These two groups responded to European American encroachment in very different ways. Consequently, they have had very different reservation experiences and now have very different sovereignties. Today, the Cheyenne River Tribe, a Lakota group on the undiminished Cheyenne River Reservation in western South Dakota, exercises residual sovereignty over all of the territory within its reservation borders. The Sisseton-Wahpeton Tribe, a Dakota group on the diminished Lake Traverse Reservation in the north-eastern corner of the state, has sovereignty only over those lands it owns. These differences affect not only their sovereignty but their ability to govern their reservations effectively. Fouberg highlights three factors to account for the differences. First, the two tribes lost different amounts of their territory and through different mechanisms. Secondly, changing federal Indian policy and various court decisions affected them in different ways. And, thirdly, non-Indians and the state encroached on one tribe earlier and to a greater extent than on the other. These same factors account for differences observed among other tribes as well.

This book touches on issues that attract intense public attention in reservation areas across the United States. Nonetheless, with its focus on conflicting concepts of sovereignty and its sometimes laboured discussion of vacillating federal Indian policy, complex legal arguments, and numerous court decisions, it is not a book for the general reader. It does, however, have much to offer more committed readers who are interested in the intricacies of federal Indian policy, the foundations and exercise of

tribal sovereignty, the evolution of tribal government, or the genesis of modern American Indian identities. There are, however, widespread problems with the book's maps and their readability, and some of its figures and tables are of limited use. The more anthropologically oriented reader will also miss the ethnographic detail necessary for a comprehensive and contextualized understanding of these issues and their social and cultural ramifications.

DEBRA BUCHHOLTZ

GERALD MOHATT and JOSEPH EAGLE ELK, *The Price of a Gift: A Lakota Healer's Story*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 2000. xvi, 226 pp., Pronunciation Guide, Map, Figure, Plates, Glossary, References, Index. £20.00.

The Price of a Gift is the story of the life and work of Joseph Eagle Elk, a Sicangu Lakota healer. But more than that, it is a thoughtful exploration of cross-cultural clinical methods, and a rare elucidation of the strengths and challenges of modern reservation life. As such, it offers the general public a highly readable glimpse of Lakota life, and more serious scholars a contextualized discussion of cross-cultural psychology, Lakota tradition and belief, and the challenges and rewards of working and writing cross-culturally.

Joseph Eagle Elk was born in 1931 into a family of medicine people on the Rosebud Reservation in southern South Dakota. It was there amidst his relatives and friends that, after much wandering, he finally found his place. And it was there that, after much struggle and at great personal sacrifice, he accepted as his destiny the role of traditional healer revealed to him in a powerful childhood dream. It was there also that Gerald Mohatt, a practicing psychologist and the founding president of the Rosebud tribal college, became his friend and colleague. Eagle Elk died in 1991, several years before the book was completed.

In his lengthy introduction, Mohatt carefully situates himself within Rosebud Lakota society, the traditions of his profession, and the narrative. He does so not to establish his narrative authority as exclusive, but to define the context in which he brings together diverse voices in a conversation with and about Eagle Elk and his work. Writing of his trepidation over the undertaking, he describes a dilemma that confronts all of us who work cross-culturally. 'I did not want to talk about this world that is part of me in a way that makes it other, makes it an object, and robs it of its subjectivity. Nor did I want our experience to become part of a 'new age' tradition. If this occurred, I feared that the complexity of healing would be oversimplified or romanticized, patronizing and belittling both the healer and the tradition' (pp. 18–19). It is these concerns, and Mohatt's manner of addressing them, that give the book its unusual shape, depth, and tone.

The book's four-part organization reflects the stages in Eagle Elk's life as he related it. These are 'Place and Destiny', 'Traveling and Searching', 'Vision and Choice', and 'Wisdom'. Each part begins with a chapter narrating that particular stage of his life. Chapters based on his reflections and describing specific cases follow. The

cases presented correspond to themes in his life, illustrate how he practised, and contribute to the volume's pervasive focus on cross-cultural clinical methods. The conclusion, or epilogue, takes the form of a constructed conversation among Eagle Elk's colleagues, who reflect upon his work and its impact on their own. Some of these colleagues are psychologists and psychoanalysts practising within European traditions, and some are Lakota healers practising within Lakota traditions.

Underlying Mohatt's clinical understanding and narrative approach is a conviction that a person's life cannot be understood independently of the demands of its context and the goals of its culture. Consequently, his presentation of Eagle Elk's story reveals his 'context and times with their inherent ambiguities as he experienced them' (p. 21). Therein lies one of the book's greatest strengths. Not only does Mohatt situate Eagle Elk's life and struggle over whether or not to follow his vision and become a medicine man in its cultural context, he does so in such a way that the strength derived from the extended family, or *tiospaye*, and Lakota traditions are seen to counterbalance the harsher realities of reservation life. Much to Mohatt's credit, he does so without objectifying or belittling the people in the story and without romanticizing Lakota life and traditions. He also sidesteps accusations of appropriating Lakota beliefs and traditional practices by engaging them in a collegial cross-cultural dialogue rather than merely describing them. In doing so, he illuminates aspects of Lakota society that are rarely seen, and provides thought-provoking insights into the interactive roles of the healer, the patient, and the community in the healing process.

DEBRA BUCHHOLTZ

L. MADRIGAL, *Statistics for Anthropology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998. xiv, 238 pp., Preface, Appendixes, References, Index. No price given.

The publication of *Statistics for Anthropology* fills a void in both statistical textbooks and anthropological training. On the one hand, statistical manuals have seldom been aimed at anthropologists, while on the other anthropological courses often lack a solid training in statistics. The work of Lorena Madrigal addresses this dual problematic.

The first chapter introduces the reader to statistics: it discusses the link between statistics and science and provides basic definitions of statistical concepts. The bulk of the book focuses on the following statistical tests, with a chapter on each of them: frequency distributions and graphs; measures of central tendency and dispersion; probability; hypothesis testing; the difference between two means; variance; non-parametric comparison of samples; simple linear regression; correlation analysis; and the analysis of frequencies.

Madrigal's work is aimed at graduate and post-graduates anthropological students but may also be useful as a reference manual for social scientists not familiar with statistics. It only requires a minor background in mathematics and promises to educate students on basic univariate tests. The book considers both the computer-literate and -illiterate student, and can be used with a computer package or with just a hand calculator. The manual proves extremely useful as it provides a clear explanation of the

most frequently used statistical tests. The simple style of writing renders statistics accessible even to the most sceptical anthropologist. Each statistical test is followed by a practice problem exemplifying the test. At the end of each chapter the key concepts are summarized and some exercises provided.

However, the author fails to address some of the reasons that have led social and cultural anthropologists to make only a limited use of statistics. Rather than ignorance of or unexplainable hostility towards statistical methods, anthropologists' neglect of statistics often rests on a critique of the relationship between the event and its numeral representation. Madrigal's work is focused on the elaboration of numbers and does not provide an introductory theoretical discussion concerning the validity of the numerical representations of complex social phenomena.

First, while the author claims that the primary focus of her work is on as many different facets of anthropology as possible, she appears to focus on aspects of social studies that are more easily reducible to a 'scientific' approach. Anthropologists have given many justifications for seldom using statistics, but a recurrent one is that the complexity of social phenomena is hardly convertible to numbers. Madrigal discusses household size, femur/stature ratios, birth rates, anthropometric data, isonymic marriages, etc. rather than data that could prove more problematic, such as land rights, patterns of exchange, kinship relations, etc. When she discusses data such as a stylistic variation in ceramics or the frequency of language use, the statistical analysis is not accompanied by any discussion of the problems involved in the transformation of complex social phenomena into quantitative data. Secondly, social and cultural anthropologists often cite the methodological difficulties involved in gathering quantitative data in societies that have different notions of measures and numbers to justify their problematic attitude to statistics: this too is not addressed in the volume. Thirdly, the risks involved in working with small samples, the representativeness of samples and the problems involved in generalizing results are also neglected.

In short, Madrigal's work provides clear working tools to examine numerical data but fails to address two crucial issues: which methods of gathering numerical information are compatible with anthropological enquiry, and what are the limits of the applicability of statistics? A discussion of these issues would have rendered the numerical elaborations presented in her volume even more tempting for social and cultural anthropologists.

STEFANO BONI

PAT CAPLAN (ed.), *Risk Revisited*, London: Pluto Press 2000. viii, 258 pp., Index, Tables, Figures. £14.99 / £45.00.

Mary Douglas's work on risk, which draws attention to its moral as well as social aspects in contrast to the purely quantifiable approach of the statistician and actuary, represents one of those areas of anthropology that is reasonably well known and respected, yet has scarcely been developed. The present collection seeks to remedy this gap in a general way, though apart from the editor only Jonathan Skinner engages with

Douglas's ideas at any length. In fact—and apparently at the editor's prompting—it is the work of two sociologists, Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens, but especially the former, that forms the framework for theoretical discussion in most of the papers. Both writers are introduced mainly in order to be criticized. The basic complaint is that their discourses on changing attitudes to risk in a postmodern world are really parochial, in that they privilege Western, post-Fordist assumptions regarding technology and expertise, while ignoring the fact that an awful lot of the world shows no signs of even reaching modernity, let alone 'reflexivity' in Beck's sense. The effect of this entirely reasonable argument is somewhat vitiated by the present selection. No doubt opportunity has played a part here, but there is a lot of emphasis on the West, with a particular focus on the UK, in the items selected. Even Alison Shaw's paper focuses on Pakistanis who have to engage with British society to some extent. Stephen Nugent's chapter is more about Western attitudes to the Amazon than Amzonians' attitudes to risk, while Skinner's paper is more about his own reactions to the Monserratan volcano he had to flee from than those of the islanders (a deliberate tactic that Skinner justifies). This really only leaves a couple of papers on Tanzanians faced with AIDS, and on Tamil women trying to balance chaste reputations with the need to earn a living, to represent the non-modern, non-pomo world that is so vital in undermining the idea, of sociologists as much as statisticians, that Western received wisdom about risk is the gospel truth.

The contributions are all interesting, sometimes dramatic (Skinner especially, but also the incidents described by Killworth in Northern Ireland), though some authors' arguments are unnecessarily convoluted. Douglas's basic teaching, that risk is socially determined, morally weighted, and felt rather than calculated, often in the face of what appear to be the objective realities, is repeatedly affirmed. Certainly the ethnographic limitations of the examples presented here, together with the preference for attacking sociologists rather than engaging with Douglas's work, may have reduced the opportunity to build on the latter significantly in a manner that is important for anthropology itself. Nonetheless the notion of risk as a form of social control is brought out in most of the papers, with the corollary that those most subject to risk frequently feel disempowered through it, especially when faced with custodians of the dominant discourse in society, whether men in Tamil Nadu or doctors in a London clinic. Although Nugent evidently disagrees (e.g. p. 228), such considerations of agency do do something to distance this collection from Douglas's purer neo-Durkheimianism.

ROBERT PARKIN

L. COHEN, *No Aging in India: Alzheimer's, the Bad Family and Other Modern Things*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press 1998. xxiv, 367 pp., Illustrations, References, Index. £30.00/£11.95/\$40.00/\$15.95.

This is a remarkable book both in its subject-matter and its approach. The author prepared himself for his study of old age in a poor location in Banaras by working in a number of American institutions for the aged as well as social groups concerned with

Alzheimer sufferers. In addition, by the time of this study, he was bilingual in Hindi and English. It is certainly unusual to find a researcher going abroad so well prepared to avoid wasting research time.

In addition he was medically trained to recognize senile dementia but could not find it in Banaras, from which he makes the telling comment that the examination technique for diagnosing the old replicated other forms of state and police interrogation that provide responses of learned helplessness and low scores. He concludes that almost all the population, young and old, tested by these diagnostic means in the urban slum in which he worked were severely demented. This study is also unusual in the attention he pays to his informants, whom he did not see simply as useful adjuncts to the progress of his research. In his acknowledgements, his relationships are divided between informants, and those of friendship and love. It is not so much that one may distrust such a categorization, but that one must admit this approach.

Overall this is a book which can be read for its data on Alzheimer's disease and the way that various forms of senility are treated and to what the symptoms are attributed. But much more than this, it can constantly be mined for wider and more interesting interpretations and understandings. Cohen is also interesting in his explanations of how he altered the perceptions of those he was interviewing within the loose structure of his open-ended questionings. The fact that he had connections with the Banaras Hindu University, including local physicians, made him an external and officious presence who was not only liable to hear about bad filial respect but, through his imported medical gaze, to see clearly, and affix blame scientifically. Thus while this book provides a detached and humane understanding of the problems of elderly Hindus in an urban slum, it also shows how impossible it is to be detached. Every incident and information source was imbedded in a personal relationship, and is all the better for that for the researcher's understandings and professionalism, who was forced to see his work in transactional terms.

The link between disease and difficult old people was largely self-offered and assisted, but it was being framed as a moral imperative, not in scientific diagnostic terms. Indian gerontology was built around the decline of the universal joint family, in which old people were well cared for and did not become senile. What was happening now was due to modernization, industrialization, urbanization, and Westernization. By concentrating on the decline of the joint family, Indian gerontology is able to maintain a cultural difference from the West in which the independence, rather than the isolation, of the elderly was classed as a failure of filial respect and their support.

This book discusses the relationship between dementia as social behaviour, which shows its usefulness as a tool and how it is embodied, but more importantly demonstrates a new moral work under foreign influence. In this situation, the carers are almost equivalent sufferers with their own economic decisions to make. The fact that women are more likely than men to be diagnosed as senile is no more than the demography of old age and the political economy of the Indian household in which women are not property holders.

This fascinating study also deals with the hierarchy of caste in terms of an ideology of weakness blurring distinctions based on class and gender, old age in terms of space for dying, and self-reliant asceticism as a political ideology for the poor. This is

a readable and informative book, which also provides a stimulus for rethinking the intricacies of participant observation.

R. E. S. TANNER

DEVON A. MIHESUAH (ed.), *Repatriation Reader: Who Owns American Indian Remains?*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 2001. 328pp., References, Index. £14.50.

Debates over the ownership and use of human remains of Native peoples have dominated archaeological theory and practice in North America for several decades, generating an extensive literature concerning the legal, political, economic, and ethical dimensions. No single issue has been so divisive within the archaeological and anthropological community or had such profound effects on the ways in which scientists and Native peoples are renegotiating their relationships. Lamentably, the debate has often been characterized too simply as being between pro-reburial Natives and anti-reburial scientists; consequently it has failed to look in detail at the range of positions within each group. This book gathers together previously published materials by Native and non-Native scholars to demonstrate the complexity of the reburial issue and the diversity of responses to it. In doing so, it demonstrates that perspectives on the treatment of skeletal remains and funerary goods are neither 'monolithic' nor static, 'even where the cultural concerns of a single tribe are considered' (p. 239). The essays show how attitudes to this challenging and emotive subject have developed within the scholarly community and how they have been perceived by Native groups. These articles are juxtaposed with others that present the perspectives of a number of Native American tribes concerning their continuing responsibilities to the dead in order to show how differing cultural views of Euro-Americans and Native Americans affect their relationships today. In her excellent introduction, Mihesuah notes that repatriation 'appears to be a multi-faceted...and cross-cultural conflict' (p. 4) and provides a succinct outline to the layers of argument that have emerged between the groups that have expressed an interest in Native remains: Indians, archaeologists, and pot-hunters. The essays present a range of opinions within each group, and the case studies further illuminate the complexities of the repatriation issue and point to ways in which future disputes may be handled.

The volume is arranged into four sections: History; the Current Debate; Legal and Ethical Issues; Studies in Resolution. The essays in the first section attempt to contextualize Western science's interest in Native American remains and how this manifested itself in the development of physical anthropology and museum collections, with Hinsley's article relating the Euro-American interest in archaeology to the search for a national identity. Section 2 moves to the present with four essays that address differing perspectives on the place of Native American remains in interpreting the past. Mallouf considers the problem of pot-hunting and argues that the widespread looting of graves has been far more destructive than archaeological investigations by trained scientists. By treating the latter as the villains, he argues, Native Americans have failed to realize

that archaeologists could be their most natural ally. Landau and Steele attempt to explain why physical anthropologists study human bones. They subscribe to the Everyman approach, whereby 'each society's biological history is an integral part of the complete and continuing story of all humankind' (p. 75), and they frame their essay by addressing the forms of data they seek, what they can learn from it, and how this information can benefit living communities. Mihesuah's contribution provides counter-arguments to many of those put forward in the previous two articles, and Riding-In's essay details the experiences of his tribe, the Pawnee, in their efforts to reclaim the remains of their ancestors. There is some overlap between Sections 2 and 3, though the latter focuses specifically on the implications of recent legislation, and the benefits and disadvantages of seeking legislative solutions to repatriation claims. The overall theme emerging from the essays in the final section is that the outlook for their discipline need not be so bleak as some archaeologists have predicted (p. 239). Compromises can be reached, though scientists must reconsider the relevance of their work to Native communities. This does not mean that Native people are any less angry about the insensitivity with which many scientists have treated them in the past, though they do see possibilities for future co-operation: Zimmerman likens this shifting position to classic syncretism (p. 294).

Although this book focuses primarily on the United States, where the passing of state legislation and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (which is included in an appendix) has had huge ramifications for Native people, archaeology, and museums, scholars elsewhere have much to learn from the changing curatorial praxis emerging from North America. Repatriation is a global issue. The range of approaches current in the United States and discussed in this volume make it an important contribution towards the expanding literature on how repatriation issues are being debated and resolved in different parts of the world.

ALISON BROWN

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