

such as psychology, neurology, museum studies, archaeology, and evolutionary biology. Although presented as an effort to broaden the range of modern British anthropology, the book has relevance for American and Canadian anthropology where the four fields approach at least makes it easier to include archaeology and biological anthropology within disciplinary boundaries. In the context of the underfunding of universities and the growth of the business mentality of corporate universities, anthropologists may appreciate the frank discussion of the financial fact that museums, biology labs and archaeology field schools are more expensive for departments to maintain than socio-cultural anthropology. In the introduction, Parkin eludes to the sense of occasion in the United Kingdom as more social anthropologists collaborate with biological anthropologists, archaeologists, and those in other disciplines whose expertise impinges on aspects of the human condition. He explains that the conference itself and the book create “an atmosphere in which cross-disciplinary thinking becomes feasible” (p. 6).

The book addresses the disturbing question of whether anthropology can and should survive as a discrete discipline within well-defined disciplinary boundaries. Motivated by the fear that anthropology will continue to splinter into ever smaller subspecialties, the authors call for a unified anthropology to re-examine its universal claims and common grounds. By addressing biocultural questions that cannot be answered by social anthropology or biological anthropology alone, such as those presented in this volume, the editors urge us to reclaim this new holism.

The preface, introduction and ten varied papers in this collection suggest that a more eclectic, new holistic anthropology is emerging—one that makes better use of neighbouring disciplines—at least at Oxford. The informative introduction by Parkin is needed to tie together papers that range broadly from an overview of an evolutionary approach to human diversity (Dunbar) to the body ecologic in ancient texts in Chinese Traditional Medicine (Hsu) to approaches to the history of religion (Whitehouse).

The papers include more abstract theoretical papers (Dunbar, Gosden, Ingold), as well as papers grounded in the particulars of horticulture in Amazonia (Rival), Yolngu mortuary rituals and art (Morphy), and the anthropometric materials collected by Blackwood, a Pitt Rivers museum staff member (Peers). While the more grounded papers may be easier to read, the more abstract theoretical papers supply opportunities to rethink basic concepts like time and mind. Gosden explores mind “as something which comes about through the interaction of the whole human organism with its world, so that intelligence resides in action as much as thought and in the social use people make of the object world” (p. 182).

Parkin finds that the meaning of the crowd requires reference to visceral and psychological issues, and asks whether religious enthusiasm elevates endorphins and aids health as when “well-being occurs through laughing, running, swimming, cycling, eating and breastfeeding” (p. 240). Hsu devel-

ops the idea of the body ecologic that uncovers the layers of past meanings about how bodies interact with the natural environment and experience ecological processes (p. 92). She argues that “those interested in how biology is contained in culture have to turn to history. It is through complex historical processes that ecological experiences become integrated into highly elaborate systems of cultural signification” (p. 122). Ulijaszek explores the dynamic interaction between humans as biological beings and the social, cultural and physical environments they inhabit, and then applies his argument to sago palm use and food security in Papua New Guinea.

Each author brings his or her understanding of holism to the book, and the editors make no attempt to reduce everyone to a common understanding of the concept. Morphy argues for the multi-determined nature of reality and the relative autonomy of different domains or components of reality (p. 154). The new holism is clearly not about totalizing integration, wholes or reductionism, but rather, in the words of Ingold, about currents of discourse that flow into one another: “any thing, caught at a particular moment, enfolds within its own constitution the history of relations that brought it there” (p. 209).

In both the theoretical and the more grounded papers, nothing is made easy for the reader who must know the intricacies of ancient Chinese medical texts, and the location and ethnographic context of Yolngu mortuary rituals without being told more than the fact that they were carried out by the Yirritja moiety north of Blue Mud Bay (Morphy p. 157).

It would be valuable to raise more parallels with cognitive anthropology that also crossed disciplinary boundaries with psychology, neurology and biology, as Parkin notes briefly in the concluding pages of the book (p. 248).

Readers may have a sense that you “had to be there” to really get it, as if they were part of a hidden audience, eavesdropping on decades of corridor talk among Oxford’s anthropologists. While the authors occasionally speak to one another and indicate how their views differ, the papers seldom speak directly to one another. But as individual works of scholarship, the papers bristle with brilliance—gifts to the careful reader who views holism as one strength of a comparative, synthetic anthropology, and can use the book to rethink their own versions of the new holistic anthropology.

Ana Mariella Bacigalupo, *Shaman's of the Foye Tree: Gender, Power, and Healing among Chilean Mapuche*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007, 321 pages.

Reviewer: *Rita Isabel Henderson*
Université de Montréal

Shamans of the Foye Tree extends well beyond its Library of Congress indexing under rites, ceremonies, government relations and ecology among the Mapuche people of Chile. Through

the lens of contemporary spiritual practices, this self-described experiential ethnography offers a sensitive analysis of one of southern cone South America's largest indigenous populations. The shamans to which the title refers are *machi*, a dispersed group of Mapuche healers, spiritual leaders and ambiguously positioned political figures originating from areas today composing southern Chile's Bio-Bío, Araucanía, and Lagos regions. Prospective readers should not mistake this as simply a monograph in ethnobotany or aboriginal religion. While the *foye* (also known as *canelo* and *drimys winteri*) is a sacred plant favoured in ritual congregations and healing, it also carries the symbolic conviction of "Mapuche identity and resistance to national ideologies and practices" (p. 1). For Bacigalupo, shifting gender performances of machi (in private, public, ritual, and everyday contexts) are seen at once to delineate and disrupt sociocultural and political frontiers.

Importantly for both female and male machi, the *foye's* hermaphroditic qualities legitimate co-gendered ritual identities, as well as transvestism and sexual variance, setting these shamans apart from dominant gender norms. In this sense, the physical bodies of machi become sites of contestation and difference between Mapuche and non-Mapuche, "the places where power, hierarchy, and healing are played out" (p. 8). We learn about how illness and accusations of witchcraft manifest themselves in the midst of uneven assimilations of dominant cultural values and practices. A chapter on gender in the Mapuche cosmic order is complemented by subsequent analyses on modern gender identities, specifically machi responses to normative ideologies and rituals around marriage, sexuality, masculinity and homophobia. The ensuing narrative conveys the creativity and complexity of political agency among a contemporary colonized people, rendering the text equally relevant to anthropologists of religion and shamanism, as to scholars of power and intercultural relations, and to health practitioners working in indigenous milieus worldwide.

Bacigalupo's reflexive attention to representation is subtle and effective in evoking the possibilities for Mapuche cultural—and by association political—expression within Chile's male-dominated, Catholic society. Refreshingly, the political is not reduced to the civic sphere alone, nor are Mapuche women and men presumed to act according to uniform political interests. This opens onto respectful consideration of debates and disagreements among Mapuche people over the risks of representing complex aspects of their culture to non-Mapuche audiences. In this case, majority Chilean discourses on concepts like homosexuality, transgenderism and normality limit machi in their public expressions of shifting gender identities to generic, ideal gender types that machi perceive as more comfortably resonating with non-Mapuche clients and Chilean society at large. Since Chile's democratic transition in 1990, the government has instituted bi-cultural initiatives aimed at transforming the state's relationship with Mapuche people (over 6% of the country's population). In this period, politicians have increasingly appropriated aspects of indigenous culture, such as publicly celebrating machi rituals, as a

means of seeming pluralistic. Nevertheless, the imagery underlying such displays routinely draws on dominant Chilean gender notions that relegate domesticity and spirituality to the female sphere. Since the formation of the Chilean state, these have served to strip machi of their political power (chapter 6).

In the context of the marginalization and posed assimilation of the Mapuche in national discourse, Bacigalupo explores how machi variously respond to expectations that they behave as either folkloric symbols of the past, or as priests, nuns, doctors, nurses and politicians. They also often disagree among themselves over the suitability of their responses to the restrictions that dominant society's imaginations of their "otherness" compel upon human experiences, the causes of suffering and the means for healing. This analysis culminates in the last chapter's poignant critique of the coercive power that majority cultural discourses hold over machi and Mapuche people. A consequence of this coercion is public secrecy about the shifting gender identities of machi, in which the anthropologist finds herself privy to a cultural fact (co-genderism among shamans) that Mapuche people do not generally articulate to outsiders (p. 259). Secrets being operational to the abuse of power, Bacigalupo rises to the challenge that they present to ethnographic inquiry. The challenge is to balance the pressure to remain silent so that machi are not further misconstrued, with the responsibility of doing justice to complex forms of knowledge that are expressed through machi's shifting gender performances. Notably, their gender identities reflect elaborate relations with the natural landscape and spirit world, which the author explores in depth in early chapters.

The reflexive approach of this text also stirs a sensitive discussion of the constantly transforming criteria that legitimate traditional machi knowledge and authority. It is perhaps not surprising that modern pressures transform public expectations of traditional leaders. Bacigalupo consistently presents this with rich detail, for example observing how machi have increasingly taken up the task of officiating in *ngillatun* ceremonies (collective petitions for blessing). Up until the last century, traditionally male orators known as *ngenpin* generally led these ceremonies. As younger generations of Mapuche men have not widely assimilated the genealogical and historical knowledge transmitted by *ngenpin* through oral prayers, machi have compensated for losses in ritual knowledge and oratorical ability by officiating in *ngillatun* either as ritual congregation members or as hired professionals (p. 70).

Throughout, Bacigalupo complements field observations and interviews with sound historical data, outlining the complex means by which Mapuche women and men have, over the decades, contended with dominant Chilean culture and non-Mapuche discourses about gender, knowledge, tradition and authority. I suggest that this synthesizes potentially useful arguments for Mapuche leaders and their allies struggling against neoliberal state power that, especially in recent years, has condoned industrial interventions in ancestral lands, leading to the degradation of natural spaces and traditional terri-

tories by logging and hydroelectric companies, as well as for highways, airports, and landfills.

Expanding on themes raised in the author's previous books and numerous articles, this text is the product of over a decade and a half of field research relationships. The regular quoting of conversations does not limit data to the verbal, but fosters a narrative that shares the authorial voice with multiple participants. Conveniently for instructors, several chapters can stand on their own, making the book amenable (either as a whole or in part) to class assignments on subjects from gender studies and the anthropology of religion, to political anthropology and field methods. While certainly accessible to undergraduate audiences, the breadth of contemporary issues addressed in this work promises the critical engagement of a good cross-section of upper-year and graduate students. Much more than serving as rich reference material on Mapuche relationships to human, natural and spirit worlds, this ethnography serves as a guiding example for ethical field research and experiential ethnography among contemporary indigenous peoples.

Marc-Olivier Gonseth, Yan Laville et Grégoire Mayor (dirs.), *La marque jeune*, Neuchâtel : Musée d'ethnographie, 2008, 266 pages.

Recenseur : *Nicolas Dufour-Laperrière*
Université de Montréal

Sous la direction de Marc-Olivier Gonseth, Yann Laville et Grégoire Mayor, *La marque jeune* tente, généralement avec succès, de réexaminer la relation complexe entre la jeunesse socialement constituée, les phénomènes contestataires qu'on lui rattache et la consommation culturelle qu'elle engendre depuis les 50 dernières années. Livre, complémentaire d'une exposition réalisée au Musée d'ethnologie de Neuchâtel en 2008-2009, questionne la peur de la jeunesse et l'insécurité qu'elle crée dans les médias de masse et dans la population tout en instaurant de nouvelles normes sociales. Ainsi, loin de générer chaos et désordre, la jeunesse est au contraire un important facteur de renouveau et de dynamisation sociale. Elle crée de nouvelles figures culturelles, de nouvelles formes de consommation, de socialisation et d'intégration sociale. Elle est donc ultimement un élément social cohésif.

Le livre comprend six parties, qui se composent chacune de photos des installations et de détails d'artefacts présentés lors de l'exposition, ainsi que de courts textes couvrant sous des angles divers les six grands thèmes explorés. La première partie, intitulée *L'âge d'or*, porte sur la jeunesse perçue comme point de rupture d'une époque révolue et jugée meilleure. L'actuelle jeunesse s'étant substituée aux rites de passage dans nos sociétés occidentales, on explore l'univers des confréries musulmanes cairotés dans un texte de Aymon Kreil où, à l'inverse, ces communautés de jeunes se font les défenseurs d'une

certaine orthodoxie face à une société dont les mœurs se sont libéralisées depuis les années 1950. *Péril en la demeure*, deuxième partie de l'ouvrage, explore la peur de la jeunesse, la crainte de ses actions et sa constitution par les médias et les instances de pouvoir comme un élément générant de l'anomie dans la société. Portant son regard sur la délinquance juvénile en Suisse, Olivier Guéniat, dans *La perception de la délinquance des jeunes au travers du traitement médiatique des faits divers et des réalités statistiques*, démontre l'inadéquation entre le sentiment d'une augmentation de la délinquance chez les jeunes et la réalité statistique qui l'infirme.

La jeunesse, depuis 50 ans, se positionne généralement en porte-à-faux vis-à-vis des adultes qui incarnent et défendent les normes sociales en place. Aussi, par son exploration de nouvelles esthétiques et de nouvelles normes, cette jeunesse en vient à intégrer en vieillissant certaines « nouveautés » qui seront à leur tour éprouvées par les générations suivantes. Cette troisième partie, traitant le sujet dans une perspective historique, propose un texte de Joël Vacheron, *La jeunesse et les maux: le Centre for contemporary cultural studies au temps des sous-cultures*, qui porte sur le rôle central de ce centre de recherche britannique fondé en 1964 dans la définition et l'exploration des champs de recherche liés à la jeunesse et aux sous-cultures qui y prennent racine. S'ensuit la contribution de Denis Jeffrey, *De l'esprit hippie à la culture punk*, sur la multiplicité des cultures jeunes et sur les différents espaces de luttes et de redéfinitions identitaires investis par une génération qui, une fois devenue adulte, reproche maintenant à la jeunesse de refuser les limites et normes qu'ils ont eux-mêmes œuvré à redéfinir. C'est de cette même génération dont parlent Gianni D'Amato et Katri Burri dans *1968 c'est passé!*, et qui traite des manifestations de juin 1968 qui eurent lieu à Zurich et leurs portées sociales et symboliques dans la redéfinition des rapports entre la jeunesse de l'époque et l'autorité.

Le salaire de la peur, quatrième partie, tente une relecture des comportements de révoltes, de violences et de désorganisation, qui caractérisent habituellement les jeunes, pour en comprendre la complexité souvent évacuée dans l'analyse populaire. Le texte de David Le Breton, *Rite de contrebande d'une jeunesse contemporaine*, présente ainsi ces violences et autres comportements jugés désorganisateur comme de nouvelles formes de rites de passage. Maintenant individualisés, s'inscrivant dans des réalités de socialisation autres que celles des générations précédentes, ils répondent à une même logique, celle de transcender un état, afin d'accéder à un statut d'individu à part entière. Alors que la révolte et la confrontation s'affichent clairement dans certains mouvements et sous-cultures, David Rossé, dans *Tu ne danseras point?*, réfléchit à la portée contestataire et à la dimension politique du mouvement musical *techno* des années 1990 qui, bien que n'étant pas présentes en avant-plan, étaient bien réelles. Traitant lui aussi de discours identitaires sous-jacents et nécessitant une compréhension intrinsèque du phénomène, Marc Tadorian, dans *Graffiti-writing: à propos d'un fragment de ville-musée*