

project it onto the "good wrestler" who, like themselves in the system, usually loses. Stock market gambling in Bermuda, according to Manning, is not just a world of play and pretense, but is significantly related to the wider Bermudian politico-economic context and value complex. Masquerades, according to Turner, take on important roles in the face of rationalized industrialization in Brazil and West Africa. Carnival is the anti-structure of modernity. Paradoxically, while carnival is a requisite antidote to rationality, it has become serious and rationally organized. Masquerade in Sierra Leone, according to Cannizzo, explores boys' emerging intergenerational relationships as traditional roles change under the influence of urbanization and education. Finally, celebrations can be seen as conscious power plays. Cowboys, according to Konrad, play roles in the symbolism of power in two very different contexts in Copal, Mexico and the Calgary Stampede in Canada. And powows, according to Dyck, were used by a small group of urban Indians to reassert their "real" Indian identity; an identity this group then used to go on to obtain leadership roles at the level of provincial Indian associations.

In the coda for the volume, Turner asks why anthropologists have only recently begun to study these topics. He finds no single explanation, but suggests that an increasing awareness of human ambiguity has led to a greater awareness of cultural ambiguities, of which carnivals are a concrete instance. But have all anthropologists, in the past, viewed such spectacles as negatively as Turner says they have?

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Elizabeth Colson
 University of California, Berkeley

Transnationals and the Third World focuses on the means by which people around the world are being transformed under the

impact of transnational corporations. Some of these transnationals operate as development corporations, while others are undisguisedly commercial. All act from interests and standards which underlie what Mattelart calls "the business culture." Together, the transnationals diffuse "the business culture" into even the most remote geographical regions. Because these corporations are too powerful to be controlled by local communities, they will set themselves in opposition to national governments which attempt to control either their activities or their access to target populations.

The impact of economic development on rural areas has been the subject of a great many anthropological studies. As development proceeds, subsistence crops give way to cash crops which are frequently aimed at export markets, and local diets are immediately affected. Meanwhile, as cash becomes the common nexus, reciprocal work relationships disintegrate and familial and kinship expectations respond to shifts in the balance of power between the sexes and between old and young. In addition, rural life is deconstructed as men and women leave the land for cities in an effort to find work and a way of life which reflects standards and fashions set in Europe and the United States. City and countryside become closely linked in a new synthesis while people who remain on the land adopt their urban kin as models and look to the cities as arbiters of fashion in food, dress, music, art, and sport.

Because the mass media originates largely in "the business culture" and advertises a way of life as well as multinational wares, people who are exposed to radio, television, magazines, or books feel the immediate impact of the western industrialized world. Some twenty years ago, I was roused from typing field notes on Gwembe Valley ritual to the recognition that the three-year old at my feet was humming a familiar coca cola jingle which was no doubt introduced by the school teacher's radio. That same year, when heavy rains cut us off from all shops at Christmas time, villagers mourned the absence of bread, candy, and soft drinks. Although it was lamented that we could not have a proper Christmas without these commodities, six years earlier we had happily celebrated Christmas with local produce. Over the next twenty years, the Gwembe region of Zambia was deeply penetrated by desires formulated in the industrial world. By 1982, Zambia's weakness in international trade was creating deep discontent among a population whose lifestyle and demands for consumer goods had been completely transformed.

Armand Mattelart writes less about grassroots responses to development than about the agents who are undercutting ways of life which can be locally sustained. He is concerned about the ways transnational corporations create new desires and priorities which

both sell their standardized wares and spread the organizational structures and values of "the business culture." "The business culture" is portrayed as regarding all relationships and human activity as potential commodities, and as having codes of social relationships which are geared to governing the production, circulation, and exchange of commodities. In this culture, efficacy and desirability are judged in terms of corporate profitability, and good and evil become identified with activities which either advance or combat corporate endeavor.

Mattelart has long been involved in research on transnational corporations, and has sometimes worked as a consultant for the United Nations. Although much of his work has been on Latin America, he has also served as a consultant in Africa and is able to draw on a wide knowledge of work done elsewhere. In recent years, he has been particularly concerned with the control of communications media. This current study originated as a United Nations commission for a volume focusing on the negative impacts of transnational activities. A second volume is scheduled to present positive impacts. Both reports are seen as providing a basis for the United Nations adoption of development policies within the framework of "self-reliance," whatever this may mean. Indeed, Mattelart points out that it is difficult to devise a good working definition of self-reliance.

Given Mattelart's mandate, it is not surprising that he is consistently critical of the system of international capitalism which is associated with transnational corporations, and of the values within which the trans-nationals operate. But he has not produced a diatribe, and he provides a good deal of documentation of instances of corporate disregard for local interests and local welfare. Some of these instances are well-known, and include such cases as the export of North American-banned pharmaceuticals and pesticides to Latin America, Asia, and Africa, and the Nestlé campaign to promote the sale of milk powder in Third World countries despite clear evidence that this was harmful. Transnational corporations also affect the quality of life in countries where factories are transferred to locations where labor is unprotected by either unions or government regulations. In countries such as Malaysia, where workers are being industrialized and subjected to ideas of factory discipline which originated elsewhere, workers are often exposed to considerable risks due to a lack of safety regulations. Finally, local attitudes are being molded through the teachings of the transnationals. Mattelart is particularly skilled at examining recent struggles between national governments and the transnationals over control of what shall be taught and how it will be taught as the cultural impact of the media becomes apparent. National governments, local authors, and artists all fear the increasing monopoly of the transnationals over channels of communication, whether these channels are news

releases, school books, novels, radio and television channels and programs, and most recently, communication satellites and the data banks associated with computer technology.

In this book, Mattelart has expanded his original mandate to examine the basic concept of development. He notes that concepts such as development, progress, modernity, and self-reliance are anything but neutral. In addition, he questions the validity of attempting to look only at the impact of the great commercial corporations, given their close alliance with development corporations of all kinds, with university research centers and the academic community in general, and with national governments.

Transnational corporations and their agents also enter into alliances with local elites who become enlisted in their campaign to homogenize the world. Where local elites resist incorporation, Mattelart finds little evidence that the transnationals and their allies gracefully accept defeat. Instead, they prefer to subvert and destroy local centers of power if these cannot be used as allies. Mattelart also suggests that current demands for decentralization reflect the rise in power of the transnationals, and are a response "to a deep need for dismantling all networks of solidarity and for laying the foundations of a new, atomized society where everyone will be exclusively responsible for themselves" (p. 15).

The final chapter of this book deals with prospects for the growth of "self-reliance" and democracy. Mattelart does not envisage self-reliance as necessarily involving a retreat into parochialism. Instead, he suggests that local potentialities can be developed and given widening horizons through a system of regional and world alliances based on an ethic of mutual respect. But this final chapter seems muted in comparison with the rest of the volume.

Although Mattelart argues that dependency must be transcended, his theoretical base is in Marxism and dependency theory. He questions the profitability of using such simple dichotomies as Center/Periphery, and points to the very differentiated nature of the Periphery where values, political order, and economic systems within the Periphery are highly differentiated. Despite this call for a theoretical advance, Mattelart's analysis falls into familiar formulae without manifesting any significantly new approach. Nevertheless, *Transnationals and the Third World* is an informative work which anthropologists should read. It is thoughtful, concerned, and responsible in its examination of events where transnational corporations with an ethic based on financial profit increasingly place themselves above governments and use their power and advantages to proselytize. For balance, the companion volume is needed. Will it speak as well to what we are observing?