

have affected his ethnographic insights. As a field autobiography, the *Diary* is simply inadequate.

To my mind, the *Diary* is more valuable for occasional tidbits of contextual information: comments on missionaries in lonely outposts, descriptions of the tastes and prejudices of colonial officers and European traders, clues about the adjustments of Papuans to colonial domination. The *Diary* is an archive. Like any archive, it contains gems of information—extended descriptions of natural scenes or decisive character sketches of figures who flit in and out of other historical accounts. And like any archive these gems are hidden in long and inconsequential or obscure passages. To dig out the gems, one has to know what one is looking for and one has to be patient.

Since it was first published, the *Diary* has been read primarily by Malinowski's biographers, interested in rounding out their study of the man, and by those who wish to challenge the Malinowski myth or to create their own version of that myth. I expect that this very individual and personal document will continue to appeal mostly to these limited audiences.

Societies at Peace: Anthropological Perspectives

Signe Howell and Roy Willis, eds.

London, England: Routledge, 1989. ix + 250 pp. \$14.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Elliott Leyton

Memorial University of Newfoundland

Curiously, although most human beings yearn, perhaps above all else, for peace (both internal and societal), social scientists have granted it scant attention. Might this tell us something we would prefer not to know about social scientists as human beings? In any case, there is only a tiny anthropological literature on peaceable societies. Indeed, *Societies At Peace* is the first major collection on the subject since Montagu's landmark *Learning Non-Aggression* (Oxford University Press, 1978)—and that earlier book, while first-rate anthropology, drew heavily upon psychological analysis and insufficiently emphasized the role of structural and cultural forces in the eradication of violence.

This important and timely book tries to fill that gaping hole in our understanding. Its editors and publisher are to be congratulated for bringing to light this provocative manuscript, which was originally the product of a 1986 conference at the University of Edinburgh on "Peace, Action, and the Concept of Self." The editors deploy the book's central argument in their "Introduction," proposing an alternative to the conventional view of aggression as "an innate human drive," and arguing that there is now enough evidence to treat *sociality* as an innate human quality. Indeed, they suggest that Western prejudices concerning the alleged primacy of aggressiveness "tell us more about Western society than about human nature" (p. 2).

The meat of the book lies in its dozen theoretical and ethnographic essays. The papers are somewhat uneven, and space considerations compel me to refer only to the most successful. Clayton Robarchek goes beyond Dentan's work to show how a particular blend of apparently contradictory qualities (dependence on the group and emphasis on individual autonomy) creates a non-violent milieu among the

Semai. Signe Howell looks at Chewong ideology's impact on internal emotional states, emphasizing the paradoxically positive role played by the culture's consistent arousal of fear. Thomas Gibson discusses the historico-cultural meaninglessness of violence among the Buid, where aggression "came to be identified symbolically with the agents of disease and death, while a state of internal tranquillity, equality and individual autonomy came to be identified with the agents of health and growth" (p. 76).

Colwyn Trevarthen and Katerina Logotheti explore, with exceptional skill, the biological and psychological basis for innate sociality among human infants. Joanna Overing shows how the Piaroa definition of manhood is not machismo but the nonsexist "ability to cooperate tranquilly with others in daily life" (p. 81). L.E.A. Howe stresses the role played in Bali's variably violent culture by membership in the differentiated society's unequal and conflicting social groups. Carl O'Neill discusses formal and informal mechanisms for social control, and the actual *functionality* of non-violence, a most useful corrective to an enormous and pathological literature on its "functions" among the Zapotec. Michael Carrithers argues ably and explicitly for a new anthropology, the research focus of which would be the historical evolution and deformation of this impulse for sociality among humans. I hope our colleagues take him to heart. All in all, this is an essential new book for anyone struggling to understand the nature of humanity: I intend to adopt it as a text in my course on aggression.

Uneasy Endings: Daily Life in an American Nursing Home

Renée Rose Shield

Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1988. xiii + 243 pp. \$34.50 (cloth), \$12.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Agnes Aamodt
University of Arizona

In 1859 Florence Nightingale wrote her now famous goal for nursing, to wit: "to put the patient in the best condition for nature to act." Nature in this context can be interpreted as the sociocultural, as well as the physical environment of patients wherever they happen to be.

Shield's ethnographic account of daily life in the Franklin Nursing Home is a statement of how far we are from achieving this goal, whether we are nurses, hospital administrators, physicians, social workers or physiotherapists. Her analysis focusses on the structural characteristics of the sociocultural environment that create a gloomy, boring experience in the transition from adulthood to death of an aged, primarily Jewish population.

The book is organized with excerpts from an ethnographic notebook such as: 7:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. shift, resident-care conference, physical therapy, threatened strike, new admission and kitchen. A second set of excerpts are oral history accounts, the words of residents and staff representing the "voices" of this particular nursing home. A final section, the main body of the text, fills three-quarters of the book's 256 pages. The analysis draws from the conceptualizations of liminality and *communitas* as used in the work of Victor Turner. Three theoretical ideas