If we deny that political and scientific ideas had to come in complete, distinct packages, Desmond's question remains. Why was evolution to be found in the reforming medical schools, but not in Oxbridge? Desmond cannot, in the end, answer this and he thus makes clear the deficiencies of the so-called Strong Programme in the sociology of science, with which he has close links. This school denies that ideas, scientific theories, are "autonomous entities with power or influence over . . . minds" (Barry Barnes, *T.S. Kuhn and Social Science* [Macmillan, 1982], p. 8). Desmond is determined to have no "truck with the old 'internalists' who wrenched science from its social context and wrote ghostly histories of disembodied ideas" (p. 21).

Though he writes as if his main historiographical rival is the old-fashioned Baconian inductivist, Desmond's real opponent is Karl Popper, who argues that fallible theories, intellectual problems and critical arguments do have an existence, a status, somehow separate from, and independent of, subjective thought processes, and a capacity to influence the course of history.

In limiting himself to social forces, Desmond has ensured his project will fail. We see this clearly where he summarizes his argument (pp. 378-380). If the "social meanings of the sciences were local and contingent," why did Geoffroy and Lamarck flourish among medical democrats? Because, the author answers, "the medical manufactures were the original warehouses of this imported republican science" (p. 379). This merely restates the problem: the medical schools, not Oxbridge, imported Lamarck. But why? Because, Desmond continues, "low status medical teachers were attempting to raise their 'professional stock' by engaging in polemics with the Paleyiites" (p. 380). Perhaps, but not just any polemics would do: why, again, were Lamarckian polemics appropriate?

This is as far as Desmond can go within the Strong Programme and, in the lengthy paragraph on p. 380, he simply offers more obfuscating politico-economic metaphor: "The new knowledge was being sold on the strength that it would provide the up-and-coming GP with scientific credentials" (p. 380). But why did the buyers think Lamarck would do the trick? Here we can almost see a ghostly "internal" explanation struggling to emerge and organize Desmond's welter of social details. The ideas themselves must have had a promising *intellectual* status. They were, perhaps, able to resolve anatomical problems, a preoccupation in the London medical schools. Oxbridge Anglicans paid more attention to the fossil record where the deficiencies of Lamarck were evident. Desmond himself does say that the imported science "had medical value" (p. 20), but by ruling out a *detailed* study of its intellectual status, he has deprived himself of the explanation he needs.

Neighbourhood Tokyo
Theodore C. Bestor
Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989. xvi + 268 pp. + appendices. $35.00 (cloth)
Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace
Dorinne K. Kondo

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. xiii + 308 pp. $55.00 (cloth), $16.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Stephen R. Smith
Wittenberg University

The works of earlier social scientists studying Japan, such as Ruth Benedict and John Embree, were admirable in their time, but their depictions of idealized behaviour and overly simplified models of social structure have cast long shadows that continue to obscure our understanding of actual behaviour. Japanese studies have been dominated by the Group Model which reduces people to culturally driven automatons seeking only to preserve harmony in small groups of hierarchically ordered relationships because it is their tradition to do so. Two recent books, Bestor's *Neighborhood Tokyo* and Kondo's *Crafting Selves*, are important contributions to the ongoing break with the Group Model and significant additions to the larger body of anthropological theory.

Bestor's ethnographic focus is the community dynamics and quotidian existence of Tokyo's old middle class (e.g., shopkeepers, small factory owners, craftsmen, self-employed professionals) who make up more than 20 percent of the private-sector labour force but whose story has been eclipsed by fascination with the lifestyle of the new middle class, the white-collar "salary man." The central issue is how and why some urban neighbourhoods create a sense of bounded community and what is the source of their apparent stability. Bestor takes to task three existing theories on the nature of Tokyo neighbourhoods. The first theory argues that the neighbourhoods are survivals of pre-modern villages. Bestor responds that historical investigation shows that his research site of "*Miyamoto-cho*" did not even exist until the 1920s. The second holds that neighbourhoods are no more than political or administrative conveniences, with no internal sense of identity. Throughout the work, we are shown evidence of belief in, and the construction of, community identity, even to the point of thwarting ward-office programs. The third theory holds that the old middle class is able to live in relative isolation from the rest of Japanese society and pursue a lifestyle that preserves "anachronistic forms of community organization that owe more to a rural village society than to an urban, industrial way of life" (pp. 8-9). Bestor counters with the argument that the seemingly traditional elements of old-middle-class neighbourhoods are not survivals preserved by isolation, but rather are recent responses to the larger context of salary-man predominance.

Bestor's second major theoretical conclusion is an important caveat to all anthropologists. Much of that which is thought to reflect tradition in Miyamoto-cho is what Bestor terms "traditionalism," the cloaking of contemporary social artifacts in tradition-like appearance to secure legitimacy, e.g., the "folk dances" for the community festival choreographed, in recent years, in traditional(istic) style.

Kondo shares much with Bestor. She has chosen an urban setting for her research (Tokyo), and she focusses on the interpersonal dynamics of entrepreneurs, craftsmen and part-time workers in a small sweets factory, rather than on the salary-man lifestyle. Likewise, she is interested in resistance to dominant power and the manipulation of purported "tradition," e.g., familialism in small enterprise.

However, where Bestor's rhetorical voice is conventionally third person (with a wry touch of first-person anecdotes) and in keeping with what Van Maanen (*Tales*

from the Field [University of Chicago Press, 1988]) calls "realist" representations, Kondo's tale is "impressionistic." Format follows function in this case, for prominent in Kondo's theoretical intentions is a critique of ethnographic authority. Her chosen style self-consciously conveys the subjectiveness of anthropologists' understanding, the emergent nature of meaning and the limitations of models in encompassing the complexity of everyday life.

Central to Kondo's work is the question of how selfhood is constructed in Japan; more specifically, how do her co-workers "craft" their identities in the context of shifting power and meaning at the factory and at home? She repeatedly argues that the unified, coherent, seamless, bounded self that is conceived of in Western ideology is an illusion. Instead, with little or no cognitive dissonance, the people Kondo studies (and, by extension, all people) respond to differentials in power and prestige created by class, gender and age, by leading lives filled with contradiction, paradox, ambiguity, complexity and fragmentation. Kondo begins with an insightful and moving account of her own struggle as a young American woman of Japanese descent trying to define her identity – for herself and to others – in circumstances where people force her to fit into pre-existing roles proper to a Japanese daughter. Kondo plays out at great length the history and cultural significance of the concept of family (i.e., *uchi*) and its relationship to work. Then she details how the factory owners, craftsmen and part-time workers manipulate the multifaceted concept of familialism to negotiate their identities and, hence, social relations. The image of self that is promoted is not a fixed and context-free entity, but rather is a fluid construct reflecting the historical moment, cultural meaning and the other.

Both these books are important works for scholars of Japan. They are highly readable and would lend themselves to use in upper-level courses in such areas as Urban Anthropology, and Anthropological Theory and Methodology.

Darwin, Sex and Status: Biological Approaches to Mind and Culture
Jerome H. Barkow
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989. xx + 453 pp. $45.00 (cloth)

Reviewer: Bernard G. Campbell
University of California, Los Angeles

Barkow has, in his book, condensed 25 years of teaching and research on human behaviour. With a background of fieldwork in West Africa, mainly among the Hausa, the author has read widely in both cultural anthropology and biology. Originally inspired by Daniel Freedman and Donald T. Campbell, Barkow has consistently taken a biological view of human behaviour, something still rare among social and cultural anthropologists. This is what makes the book so fascinating.

The book ranges widely over such topics as communication, altruism, rivalry, deceit and self-deceit, influence, status, free will, self-awareness, ethnocentrism, dominance, prestige, self-esteem and, especially, human sexuality. It looks closely at the brain-body-mind relationship and at culture and maladaption. The author