Deviance: Anthropological Perspectives
Morris Freilich, Douglas Raybeck and Joel Savishinsky, eds.
Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey, 1991. 241 pp. $47.95 (cloth), 16.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Richard A. Brymer
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This book represents one of the first compilations of original anthropological research
on deviance. It consists of an introduction to the newly emerging Anthropology of De-
viance, followed by three papers that set out various theoretical models, six substan-
tive chapters and a conclusion.

The introduction suggests that anthropology is a latecomer to the field of deviance,
and then moves to a discussion of the philosophy of science and "models" for re-
search. Little prior anthropological or sociological work on deviance is discussed, and
the three models are introduced.

Freilich's chapter presents the SAPS (Smart and Proper Strategies) model which is
an extension of Mertonian, Parsonian and 28 other dichotomous models, as well as his
own intellectual journey through deviance. The resultant nine-cell typology locates al-
most any form of deviance within it. Exceptions, when encountered, revise the typol-
ogy. One hopes that the SAPS model will be more successful than prior models. Ray-
beck's model critiques labelling theory by referring to variations in societal scale and
"hard" vs. "soft" deviance. Scale refers to levels of societal complexity and devi-
ance as a part of that complexity. The hard/soft distinction consists of a functional no-
tion of hard deviance as a threat to the social order, and non-threatening deviance as
soft. I am more comfortable with the former than the latter: the latter requires that a
culture be destroyed as proof of the model whereas the former merely requires that the
culture shift to a new level of complexity, with deviance as a part of the new complex-
ity. I have seen more societies shift than die, thus I would rather focus on emergent
change and reorganization than on functional death; but this is the debate. Savishin-
sky's model conceptualizes deviance as neither dysfunctional nor typological, but as a
proactively constructed, organized and even celebrated event. He uses a Goffman-
esque metaphor of "staged' deviance to analyze drinking, dog-fights, movies and
tourist "baiting" as normal everyday activities, to be explained by the same models
used to explain everyday life.

My biases are much more taken with the six substantive chapters that ethnogra-
phers provide than with the models proposed to account for them. Rose's chapter on
witchcraft in Swaziland critiques various oversimplifications of witchcraft. Given the
multiple audiences involved in witchcraft, a European legal system *and* a Swazi cus-
tomary system, witchcraft is *very* complex. Using Freilich's SAPS model, she can put
some order into this complexity and elicit patterns. Using "Occam's razor," its utility
may be tested. Kilbride's chapter on child abuse and infanticide in Kenya focusses on
macro and micro change. At the macro level a decrease in the status of women in
Kenya has led to increased vulnerability of women to unilateral and less negotiable
charges of deviance, and an increased rate of deviance. At the micro level women and
their family units still retain some ability to negotiate child abuse/infanticide in a mul-
tilateral fashion.

Caton's chapter deals with power relations between servants and their tribal masters
in Yemen. Servants are a devalued and deviant group, yet they are often wealthy,

pragmatically important and agents of social control. Such paradoxes lead us to wonder if deviance is either hard or soft. Caton's perplexing data suggest that organized deviant subcultures do not threaten social order but enhance it, as do data in the next two chapters. Nanda's discussion of Hijras' careers in India also suggest close ties between deviant subcultures (the term is not used) and the straight world. Hijras (trans-sexual? homosexual prostitutes? religious functionaries? all of the above?) are closely tied to straight Indian culture. Another paradox! Shaw *does* focus on the deviant subculture of Taiwan youth gangs and their ties to straight society. This subculture elaborates the values of personal freedom, universal morality and equality derived from a prior "knights errant" model in Chinese history. The subculture uses these values to justify their relation to, and demarcation from, straight society. These values and the subculture are in turn partially accepted by the straight society.

Gaffin's piece on clowning and story-telling in the Faroes illustrates the construction and control of deviance in a small-scale unit embedded in a larger society. Small-scale units handle deviance internally and avoid reference to the bureaucratic institutions of the larger society.

In sum, I have more quibble with the theories in this book than with the ethnographic data. My preference is to put off theoretical debate until we have more data, because the anthropology of deviance is a *very* new field. To this end, I would recommend this work to *all* anthropologists who have an interest in the new subdiscipline, and even more so to sociologists of deviance who *need* it as an antidote for their theories derived solely from an examination of deviance in large-scale industrial and post-industrial societies.

The Rebels: A Brotherhood of Outlaw Bikers
Daniel R. Wolf
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. 372 pp. $29.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Elliott Leyton
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Perhaps I spend too much time with international police, and too little among criminologists: but at the close of the 1960s cult film, *Easy Rider,* a romanticization of two biker cocaine dealers, a redneck in a pickup truck won my heart by instantaneously reducing the number of dealers by two. Wolf's unique examination of a bikers' club does nothing to change my mind on this matter, but the book is a significant anthropological achievement and a major contribution to the sociology of deviance.

This study of one of North America's 900 outlaw bikers' clubs goes right to the heart of the mentality, the *sensibility,* of those who dress in such outlandish costumes, parade such rebellious personae, provoke the hatred of so many police officers, induce interesting speculation on their sources of income and strike fear in the hearts of honest citizens as they noisily prowl the highways of this continent. The working-class author's credentials and honesty are impressive: a long-time biker himself, he says he "rode my motorcycle in anger; for me it became a show of contempt and a way of defying the privileged middle class that had put me down and had kept my parents 'in their place.' I felt that the Establishment had done me no favours and that I owed it even less" (p. 10).