

the notion of the Settlers as an unique people. The remaining ethnographic chapters, six through eight, focus on generational differences and contradictions in Settlers' perceptions of Indians and Indian/Settler relations. The book concludes with a brief reassessment of the theoretical perspectives presented in the Introduction.

*The Native Game* is based upon the author's M.A. thesis presented to Memorial University in 1987. This may account for the fact that the book is relatively atheoretical, a problem evident in the limited range of literature from which Plaiice draws her conceptual framework and in the absence of references to recent developments in ethnic studies. Other weaknesses are also troubling. Very little is learned of the Indians against whom the Settlers create ethnic differences, a serious lack given the minimal, often stereotypical, picture of Shiskatshit, the adjacent Indian community. This weakness intersects with a failure to analyze gender relations. For example, only by means of a single footnote do we learn of contemporary intermarriage with Indian women. The historical development of inter-ethnic gender relations is treated similarly. The cultural significance of Inuit *foremothers* in shaping ethnic consciousness is not explored; surely this generated some significant views on sexuality and ethnicity. Moreover, intra-ethnic gender relations are dismissed as an area of inquiry on the grounds that "trapping culture was essentially male." But it is not clear that the trapping culture was divided into a male/public versus female/private dichotomy, as Plaiice asserts, and the literature addressing this debate is neglected.

Notwithstanding the several weakness of *The Native Game*, the book will find its place as a case study in undergraduate Canadian Society or Ethnic Relations courses. There is little here, however, for senior students or scholars intent on advancing theoretical understanding of shifting ethnic identities and their political implications for a nation-state avowing a commitment to aboriginal rights and multiculturalism.

### **Beyond Goffman: Studies on Communication, Institution, and Social Interaction**

Stephen H. Riggins, editor

New York and Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990. 456 pp. DM 178 (cloth)

*Reviewer:* Robert Prus

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*Beyond Goffman* is one of three collections of articles dedicated to the intellectual contributions of Erving Goffman. The other two collections are *The View from Goffman*, edited by Jason Ditton, and *Erving Goffman: Exploring the Interactional Order*, edited by Paul Drew and Anthony Wooton. There is considerable value both in viewing these collections as a set of works on Goffman's writings and as a base against which to assess the present volume.

Although the contributors to *Beyond Goffman* are not especially attentive to the Ditton collection, and may not have been able because of time constraints to significantly incorporate any of the materials from Drew and Wooton into their manuscripts for the 1990 publication date, these two volumes are strongly recommended as precursors to *Beyond Goffman*. The statements in *Beyond Goffman* give very little concerted consideration to the question "Who was Goffman?" before attempting to transcend his work. Thus, readers may wish to refer to the entire set of papers in Ditton (especially the pieces written by Lofland, Manning and Brook and Taylor) and Drew and

Wooton (particularly the articles by Drew and Wooton, Kendon, Collins, Williams and Giddens). This sort of background material is not provided in the Riggins volume.

*Beyond Goffman* developed as a multidisciplinary and international production (stemming from a conference held in India in 1987) focussing on Goffman, but still there is surprisingly little concern about achieving some sense of Goffman's basic directions. Each author assumes a different, but typically disconnected thrust and, beyond Riggins' introduction, there is little attempt to interrelate the various contributions featured here. A synopsis paper would have helped in this regard, as would some stronger conceptual framing. Individual contributors situate their discussions in this or that aspect of Goffman's work, but subsequent interlinkages are absent.

The papers range from discussions of Goffman as a phenomenologist (Richard Lanigan), a post-modernist (Charles Battershill) and an anthropologist (Eric Schwimmer) to gender roles (Arlie Russell Hochschild) and the significance of possessions with respect to the presentation of self (R.S. Perinbanaygam and Stephen Riggins) to matters of miscommunication (Hans Dua), protest (T.K. Oommen) and public entertainment (Paul Bouissac). While these articles (and the others included in this volume) provide testimony to the broad relevance of Goffman's concepts to both the interpretive social science and virtually any realm of substantive inquiry, the discussions are largely speculative and discursive in nature and are not as compelling as one might first infer.

Anthropologists will likely find Eric Schwimmer's "The Anthropology of the Interaction Order" of particular interest, given its substantive focus. However, be forewarned that Schwimmer stops far short of showing readers how anthropologists might use Goffman's work in their field research. Those attempting to come to terms with "post-modernism" will probably appreciate Charles Battershill's "Erving Goffman as a Precursor to Post-modern Sociology." Although Battershill clearly (and unfortunately!) underplays Goffman's notion of a reflective and interactive self, he provides a thoughtful discussion of some of the main themes of post-modernism. Peter Manning and Keith Hawkins' "Legal Decisions: A Frame Analytic Perspective" is an insightful piece which also draws our attention to the problematics of framing (they outline 15 qualifications). Here too, however, their work is pitched at a general level and we do not gain much insight into the ways in which people actually invoke, acknowledge, shift, resist or negotiate frames in everyday life. Paul Bouissac's "Incidents, Accidents, Failure: The Representation of Negative Experience in Public Entertainment" is perhaps the piece that would have most aroused Goffman's curiosity by virtue of its potential for dramatic encounters, deception and the intersubjective self. Still, this account, which deals with circus performers and presentational glitches, is developed from the observer's viewpoint rather than from the participants' experiences and is much flattened as a result.

*Beyond Goffman* is a challenging book to read, not only because of the multiple and diverse frames the authors introduce, but also because the authors lack a more common departure point. Further, despite the theme, *Beyond Goffman*, there is little that is "groundbreaking" in a Goffmanian sense. In many cases, Goffman's work was used much more as a convenient, albeit stimulating, intellectual stepping stone rather than the source or base of genuine, sustained inspiration and scholarship. Those interested in learning of Goffman and his works would be better served by the Ditton and Drew and Wooton collections. As a postscript I must include one more reference, which should be added to any Goffman collection, John Lofland's significant analytic and personalized statement, "Erving Goffman's Sociological Legacies" (1984).

In concluding this review, I cannot help but lament the lack of ethnographic material in this volume. The articles in *Beyond Goffman* consist largely of extended discussions which touch upon, often in thread-like fashion, some of the phenomena of which Goffman spoke. But there is very little attempt to assess these notions in the world of lived experience and there is only a minimal appreciation of the ethnographic Other. However, nowhere can one more productively utilize, assess, clarify and perhaps extend Goffman's work than in the realm of ethnographic inquiry.

### References Cited

Ditton, Jason, ed.

1980 The View from Goffman. New York: Macmillan.

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1988 Erving Goffman: Exploring the Interactional Order. New York: Polity.

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### **The Hutterian People: Ritual and Rebirth in the Evolution of Communal Life**

Peter H. Stephenson

Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1990. ix + 272 pp. \$43.75 (cloth)

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On the anthropological map of the world, the Hutterites occupy a rather prominent place. Their long and well-documented history, their orderly designed colonies spread out over a large and easily accessible area, their anti-materialistic communalism, which contrasts so starkly with the surrounding society, have made the Hutterites a popular object of research among North American anthropologists. In Canada, Peter Stephenson belongs to the inner circle of the experts, looking back at a career that began almost 20 years ago under the guidance of John Bennett. This book is the synthesis of several strands of research devoted to the Hutterites and based on fieldwork conducted in Saskatchewan in the early and mid-1970s.

Dr. Stephenson sets out to address a topic which, he claims, has been neglected so far, namely, the role of ritual in the persistence and evolution of the Hutterian culture. He proceeds chronologically, devoting the first three chapters to a review of reasonably well-known historical facts concerning the origins and early lifestyle of the Hutterian Brethren in 16th-century Central Europe. The rest of the book introduces the reader to demographic, economic and religious aspects of modern Hutterite society in North America, with emphasis on several dominant symbols which link the past with the present and encapsulate the Hutterian "ethos" and "eidos."

To the extent that I could follow Dr. Stephenson's difficult prose, I see his book as an attempt at demonstrating parallels between the lives of individuals and the developmental process of the group that they belong to. In view of the prominent place of collectivism in the Hutterian culture, this concentration on the interplay between the self and the group makes good sense. So does the central claim that a careful analysis of Hutterite ritual reveals the structure of that interplay. This is nicely summed up in the way in which *rebirth* is articulated in the institution of adult baptism and the fis-