structure of Gimi social life" (p. xv). The primary organizing principle of Gimi society is that "exchange has a profoundly sexual origin and meaning; and, conversely, that the sexual relation is a *transaction* of which one party . . . is symbolically unaware . . . and, therefore, innocent of the disastrous outcome" (p. xv). The disastrous outcome is the invention of death. Death is not part of the natural order but a consequence of human action in the mythic past. Gimi ritual and exchange are organized around the assumption that death could be delayed or even overcome if only they could determine which sex invented it. By placing the blame for death on women, men's myths attempt to triumph over death. Furthermore, the rules of exchange, which bar women from initiating ritual exchanges or from acting as donor in exchange transactions, validate these assumptions and legitimize Gimi social structure and gender relations.

The tone of Gillison's volume is psychoanalytical. Much of her discussion focuses on the symbolism of blood and semen, male and female genitalia, intra-uterine homosexual links between father and child, incest and cannibalism. The volume is well written, thoroughly documented, carefully argued and contains fascinating descriptions of performances of ritual theatre. It will be a useful addition to the research library of Pacific scholars, especially those interested in the interplay of myth and ritual and whose theoretical inclination is Freudian.

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**Brain, Symbol and Experience: Toward a Neurophenomenology of Human Consciousness**
Charles D. Laughlin, Jr., John McManus and Eugene G. d'Aquili
New York: Columbia University Press, 1992. xi + 403 pp. $20.00 (paper)
**New Directions in Psychological Anthropology**
Theodore Schwartz, Geoffrey M. White and Catherine A. Lutz, eds.
New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992. vii + 352 pp. $54.95 (cloth), $17.95 (paper)

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Laughlin et al. show that ongoing experience is mediated by the brain and that competing neural networks are constantly entrained and re-entrained, thereby providing inexact models of ourselves and the world. Phases of "neural entrainments . . . punctuated by . . . rapid periods of reentrainments . . . organized about some object" are the structure of consciousness (neurological factors), while behavioural expressions of consciousness involve manipulation of symbols because society must assure that "proper associations are entrained" (cultural factors). Experiences of consciousness consist of sensations that penetrate neural entrainments thereby reaching consciousness (internal factors, such as altered states and dreams). Rituals and cosmology are "penetration devices" that "stimulate . . . a . . . theatre of mind" and provide meaning for individuals (p. 335). Our being, therefore, is "a community of cells" (pp. 34, 334) and we are "symbols to each other" (p. 232).

This brief summary does not do justice to complex ideas. Laudable is the holistic approach the authors advocate and try to achieve. Nevertheless, women's work, experiences, symbols and bodies are consistently ignored and, when gender is discussed, it is from a male perspective. For example, the authors claim that there was no field work

before Malinowski (p. 23), but Alice Fletcher and Harriet Martineau were early ethnographers urging field work (S. Reinharz, *Feminist Methods in Social Research* [Oxford University Press, 1992], pp. 49-50). Patriarchal systems, ideologies and male practitioners are used to illustrate arguments. For instance, male shamans during their magical flight are said to experience a female "psychopomp" (p. 273), but female shamanistic knowledge is left unexplored. Cross-cultural examples mention only one female yogi (p. 311) and the only Western female considered subscribed to a patriarchal framework (p. 307). Discussion of Tibetan Buddhism is also strictly from a male perspective since Tibetan women's views of their wombs, energies and consciousness are not contemplated (pp. 206-210, 351). Male bias is also expressed in interpretations of Tibetan Buddhist art in that the woman is viewed as having intuitive knowledge, as dangerous, as having raw energy and as vulnerable and submissive, while the man is portrayed as having conceptual knowledge, as grounded, non-attached and dependent on her energy (pp. 208, 209). She is said to come from nothingness, to give men energy and to return to nothingness (p. 351). All cosmologies are seen by the authors as somatocentric (p. 225) and through relationships within the body the entire cosmos is supposed to be known (p. 226). If metaphors are based on male bodies only, then the nature of the entire cosmos is now known. Claims to universality are on shaky grounds when women's experiences are ignored, while male knowledge is used to buttress arguments and gender-inappropriate language is employed throughout (pp. 226-341). Although the authors strongly criticize positivism (pp. 338-346) and call for a holistic and experiential science, feminist scholarship that criticizes positivism and supports experiential science is nowhere acknowledged.

While Laughlin et al. attend to culture neurologically, some authors in Schwartz et al. approach the brain culturally. White explores ethnopsychology while D'Andrade, Keller and Holland discuss simplified knowledge structures (schemata) that, according to D'Andrade, provide direct access to psychological processes. As he calls for descriptions of "a people" (p. 56), it seems that schema theory is again an attempt to reduce human complexities to one denominator while re-labelling national character studies. Keller also appears to favour simpler levels, while Holland illustrates that schema theory cannot deal with multiple interpretations, negotiation, conflict, power and cognitive self-censorship. Holland's question, how multiple interpretations are negotiated and how schemata are put together (p. 72), may be answered by Laughlin et al. who say that dissonance among models is eventually resolved and that models are entrained on many different neural levels.

While Miller and Hoogstra concentrate on language acquisition, Harkness develops new clothing for functionalist ideas (p. 117). Worthman's excellent article calls for inclusion of biology, which Laughlin et al. have done in great detail. They agree with Worthman (pp. 151, 153-154) that understanding processes of social construction must depend on integrating brain and body as substructures of experience, that individuals simultaneously construct biological and social reality and that pluralities of consciousness exist. Chisholm laudably calls for "putting people in biology," but discusses infanticide as reproductive success (p. 129), without noticing that dead infants cannot reproduce. It is not clear when considering "focus of selection" whether natural selection is meant or parental decisions on infanticide. If it is natural selection, then goals, motives and intent are attributed to a theoretical construct (p. 129). Consideration then moves to antagonism between the sexes and how father-absence impacts on Western females. They are said to suffer precocious interest in sex, becoming anorgasmic, lacking attraction in relationships with just one man and may not learn adap-

tive traits (pp. 137-138). Cultural factors, such as women's oppression and their economic disadvantage worldwide, could explain antagonism between the sexes. Are Western boys not "precociously" interested in sex? Why should Western women limit themselves to just one man? Do mothers teach their daughters only non-adaptive traits and do men as lovers have nothing to do with women achieving orgasms? Reducing biological factors to reproductive aspects still seems to be an obsession in biological anthropology.

Good's excellent paper envisions the new psychiatry as a stimulating site for ethnographic research. Levy disagrees and calls for comparative studies of people in communities. Scheper-Hughes' excellent paper tries to correct the "formalistic, a-political and disembodied" stance of psychological anthropology (p. 221) by illustrating how medicalization domesticates hunger. Ewing and Cohler both find psychoanalysis still relevant. Ewing concentrates on conflict, using gender-inappropriate language (pp. 260-263), while Cohler assumes that "in every known society, the mother is the principal caretaker" and that "her physical ministration have consequences" (p. 277). These are strange assumptions when fosterage and adoption are common in many societies and mothers surely administer more than physical care. Gender-inappropriate language (pp. 294, 297, 300) distracts from Crapanzano's otherwise excellent article in which he criticizes prevalent text metaphors as promoting complacency. Stocking explores the psychological Boas while Schwartz laments that psychological disciplines have ignored culture and consequently cannot fully understand human nature. When he calls for psychological testing because otherwise "we are left to interpretive methods" (p. 339), he seems to assume that tests need no interpretation.

It appears that psychological anthropology has come full circle again, from Boas' individual to whole systems and back to the individual, all within the framework of territorial struggles. In a short review it is impossible to do justice to such stimulating books. Both tackle challenging issues, are important contributions to anthropology and are recommended for graduate courses.

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**Immigrants and Refugees in Canada: A National Perspective on Ethnicity, Multiculturalism, and Cross-Cultural Adjustment**
Satya P. Sharma, Alexander M. Ervin and Deirdre Meintel, eds.
Saskatoon, SK: Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, 1991. viii + 316 pp. $20.00 (paper)

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Many will remember the 1988 Canadian Ethnology Society's meetings in Saskatoon. *Immigrants and Refugees in Canada* owes many of its chapters to papers presented there. Its 25 chapters are spread across three vital areas of ethnic research, namely, ethnicity of immigrant groups, the refugee experience of relocation and the immigrant and refugee experience in Quebec.

Part 1, "Cultural Dimensions of Ethnicity among Immigrant Groups in Canada," deals with both theoretical and substantive issues. Sharma's introduction provides one of the most succinct overviews of ethnic research in Canada, drawing on the contributions of various disciplines and anthropology in particular.