

minor part of their anthropological contributions, most of which were not concerned with salvage. Hawthorn, the founding director of the Museum of Anthropology, gave most of his attention to contemporary social and political issues, including promoting contemporary Northwest Coast craft production and directing (prior to the Ninstints trip) the pioneering socio-economic survey of contemporary BC Indians. Duff was the only member of that trip who was fully engaged in museum work, and even he was as much (if not more) concerned with renewal than salvage.

Morris correctly notes that the separation between anthropology and the museum at UBC "was never finally achieved," and that the Department of Anthropology and Sociology "derived much of its public credibility" from association with the museum (p. 88). Throughout the history of this relationship, however, only a small minority of department members were ever involved in museum work. For the first 20 years, from 1947, the Museum of Anthropology was almost entirely the responsibility of Audrey Hawthorn and her students. Even today there are only three cross-appointments. Finally, Douglas Cole is listed as Dennis Cole on p. 135 and in the index, and there is no "e" in Hawthorn. But these are all minor quibbles about what is otherwise a fine book.

### **The Caribbean Diaspora in Canada: Learning to Live with Racism**

Frances Henry

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995. xv + 297 pp. \$60.00 (cloth), \$22.95 (paper)

*Reviewer:* Stanley R. Barrett  
University of Guelph

In this study, one of Canada's foremost experts on racism examines the everyday life of the approximately 300 000 people of Caribbean origin in southern Ontario. A general ethnographic picture is built up in chapters ranging from the family to employment, education, religion, leisure activities and relationships with the police and the legal system. Data were gathered through participant observation and unstructured interviews, the latter carried out by five Black assistants with roots in the Caribbean. Henry supervised the field work, trained the interviewers, selected the interview sample (134 individuals), analyzed the data and wrote the text. Among the book's strengths are pertinent background data on Caribbean history and culture, comparisons with racism in Britain and the United States and rich case material from the interviews, often presented verbatim.

The central conclusion of this study is that Black immigrants from the Caribbean (Indo-Caribbeans are not dealt with) have been excluded from full participation in Canadian life, owing to the racism that they have confronted and, also, to a lesser degree, to cultural practices brought from the Caribbean. Such racism is found in the educational system, with its Eurocentric curriculum and the familiar stereotype that Blacks excel in sports rather than scholarship. Henry indicates that people from the Caribbean have tended to concentrate in a few residential areas in Toronto, a product of both their own desires and racist obstacles. Contrary to popular opinion, their participation rate in the labour force is slightly higher than the Canadian average, although few have made it to the top of the class structure. Noteworthy is the number of

individuals who have established their own businesses, often in order to escape the widespread racism that exists on the factory floor.

Henry argues that, regardless of Blacks' social class, racism is part of their everyday lives in Toronto. The class factor leads us to one of the author's most important arguments: there is no single Caribbean community in Toronto. First, Caribbean Blacks come from various countries, and not always do they see eye to eye. Second, there are deep class divisions among people of Caribbean origin. Such divisions also existed in the Caribbean, but with a difference. As Henry states, "The main determinant of class in the Caribbean is skin colour and related racial features" (p. 268). Among Blacks in Canada, the criterion of skin colour has been replaced by education, income and occupation. In addition, the emphasis placed in the Caribbean on family reputation has diminished among immigrants.

Cultural practices imported from the Caribbean that supposedly hinder adjustment and acceptance are influenced by class position. Examples are common-law relationships, single motherhood (sometimes teenagers) and the absence of fathers from the family, all of which are more prevalent in the lower and working classes and which were generated long ago by the Caribbean's history of colonialism and racism. Henry reveals that 24.5 percent of Caribbean families in Canada are single-parent families, more than twice the overall Canadian rate. In contrast to the Caribbean, where the father is absent in Canada, women cannot call on the extended family for assistance. According to Henry, the phenomenon of the absent father generates a great deal more resentment among the children in Canada than it does in the Caribbean, and this may be one of the sources of marginalization and alienation among Black youth.

Henry's discussion of alienated youth is especially significant. On the positive side, there is the increased pride in being Black that accompanies the migration process. On the negative side, there is the reaction to racism among young Blacks. Unlike their parents, who were prepared to swallow insults and toil in menial jobs, youth are more inclined to drop out of school, take to the streets and hustle for a living. Henry bravely deals with the contentious topic of Black crime. She notes: "that there is a significant level of criminal activity in the Black community, especially among young Jamaicans, is indisputable" (p. 204). Most Blacks who commit crimes, she argues, belong to the underclass—poor people with little prospect of economic prosperity. In fact, criminal activity amounts to a coping mechanism for these individuals, who are caught in a vicious circle which starts with the racist environment. They hit the streets, commit crimes, become labelled as criminal types and commit yet more crimes. The media and the police generalize the illegal activities of the underclass to all Blacks, failing to appreciate Black class divisions.

Although this study is sound ethnography, it is not theoretically sophisticated. At the macro level, Henry opens with an overview of pluralism, a theoretical approach that is both dated and adds very little to the study. At the micro level, there are few insights, and often the reader is left wishing for more analysis. The author takes pains to define racism, but, surprisingly, in view of the emphasis placed on class, she makes no effort to define that concept or to discuss the complex and often contradictory theoretical approaches to stratification. There are also some problems with respect to style. This book reads a bit like a first draft. The prose is neither graceful nor elegant, and the amount of irksome repetition should have caught the copy editor's attention.

These criticisms aside, the book can be recommended to anyone who wants a deeper knowledge of Blacks in Canada, as well as a better understanding of race relations. As Henry indicates, the Caribbean-origin community is on the verge of institutional com-

pletteness, opting for a self-contained micro-society, not least of all because the prospects for assimilation are ruled out by racism.

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### **Encounters with Aging: Mythologies of Menopause in Japan and North America**

Margaret Lock

Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994. xiv + 439 pp. \$38.00 (cloth)

*Reviewer:* Nanciellen Davis

Mount Saint Vincent University

This book will be essential reading for many audiences. Lock grapples with issues central to anthropology, including the relationship between biology and culture, and that between individual experience and cultural expectation. She does this through the study of a portion of the life cycle, the mid-life period of transition (*konenki*), as understood by Japanese women and health professionals. She compares her Japanese findings with those from surveys on menopause conducted with women in Massachusetts and Manitoba. The analysis is presented within a larger discussion of the ideological representation of women's bodies and lives.

The material collected in Japan, where Lock has conducted periodic research over 20 years, includes interviews with middle-aged women in more than 100 households. These narratives reveal much about women's experiences at mid-life. For example, the event of final menstruation is of relatively little significance to them. Social roles, such as rearing children and caring for elderly mothers- and fathers-in-law, are of more concern than the change in their reproductive status. Questionnaires completed by over 1000 Japanese women, and comparisons drawn from the Massachusetts and Manitoba studies, suggest that menopause is not experienced in the same way by women in Japan and North America. Discomforts that North American women associate with menopause (such as tiredness, hot flashes and night sweats) are less commonly reported by Japanese women, who are more apt to experience backaches and headaches during the mid-life transition period.

Culture contributes to the interpretations that Japanese women have of their mid-life experiences, including their understanding that menopause is only one aspect of *konenki*. However, Lock discounts culture as the sole factor responsible for disparities between the way Japanese women interpret and experience the mid-life transition and the way North American women do. She suggests that endocrine-system differences may contribute to the dissimilarity in symptoms reported by Japanese and North American women at mid-life.

Various chapters constitute self-contained essays on the following topics: the medicalization of the life cycle in Euro-American culture (chaps. 11 and 12); modernization and gendered activity (chap. 4); social change and the family (chaps. 5 and 6); or socialization and world view (chap. 8). For those scholars interested in the relationship between biology and culture, medical anthropology and gender and aging, the volume should be read in its entirety. Lock's prose is elegant, and her coverage of the literature extensive. The volume well demonstrates that the anthropological study of aging has much to contribute to anthropology as a whole.