to the key question: What does it mean to be a Hong Kong Chinese?

The lack of space does not allow spelling out other minor problems with style, layout and terminologies and phraseologies used by various authors. I shall focus on two problems associated with the Yale system of Cantonese transliteration here. First, there are examples of inconsistency in its usage in the book. The term "jou" (ancestral land trust), to take one example, sometimes appears as "zu" (p. 156) and also as "tso" in the text (pp. 183-184). Second, and more significantly, the use of Cantonese transliteration at once narrows the audience of this book to Cantonese native speakers or English readers proficient in written Chinese. This is unfortunate. Though a Cantonese chauvinist myself, I think that place names should have followed those used in standard maps. Relatively well-known terminologies such as Chinese kinship terms, popular gods, annual festivals and religious and cultural practices, should have been accompanied by Mandarin transliteration inserted in parenthesis in the text or glossary section.

Anne M.O. Griffiths, *In the Shadow of Marriage: Gender and Justice in an African Community,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997, x + 310 pages, 16 halftones, 4 maps, 4 line drawings, $50.00 (cloth), $18.95 (paper).

Reviewer: *Michael D. Levin*
University of Toronto

In a neat visual metaphor, Anne Griffiths' sums up the range of procreative relationships of Kwena women and men. By implication, all other forms of marriage, compared to the statutory form (registered marriages), are somehow incomplete. Marriage under the statute, whether civil or religious, is legally consequential, and in a legal sense, is an ideal. This form of marriage has full and explicit obligations. Marriages under customary law are also legal, but more difficult to confirm and uphold as they require a series of visits between families accompanied by traditional agreements, exchanges and rituals. Other forms of procreative relationships, as Griffiths makes clear, also exist. It is these latter forms, respecting support of children, which rest in the shadow of marriage. Griffiths' study is of negotiations and legal efforts made by mothers to secure support for their children from the children's fathers and move the social definition their procreative relationships, past or current, closer to the fullness of "marriage." At issue is whether marriage was promised or established by the *patlo* ceremony, whether support was ever paid, whether support was sought and paid for the first child in a relationship and so on. These negotiations may evolve into marriage, or into legal contests over whether support obligations exist.

Griffiths gives the reader a full sense of the complex range of relationships women and men form around sex and procreation in Bakwena communities. (Bakwena is one of the traditional Tswana polities. Griffiths' field work concentrated on Molepolole, a village, in southeast Bostwana, within 100 kilometres of Gabarone.) The tension and fluidity in procreative relationships including marriage, the place of marriage and children in the broader context of family histories, the social expectations of families in the "salariat" and the "pesantariat" (terms for emerging classes) and the inconsistent impact of the legal system on social life, are themes of the central ethnographic chapters. Bracketing the four ethnographic chapters are four chapters of arguments about the legal theory. Conceived as a feminist critique of conventional legal theories and a contribution to legal anthropology in the scholarly lineage born of Isaac Schapera's 1938 classic *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* Griffiths' argues that her field work studies of how people actually experience the law demonstrate the social context of law. Griffiths makes the claim that her analysis is "in tune with the strong or new form of legal pluralism . . . which undermines a centralist account of law within its own jurisdiction [and] . . . that an analytical model of pluralism can and should be developed out of the normative systems that inhere in social life." Her analysis she claims, moreover, diverges from pluralism in maintaining "the specificity of law without endorsing the image or model of the centralist account" but like a pluralist account examines "a whole range of . . . points of connection across social and legal domains" (p. 236). Many claims are made in these introductory and concluding chapters, but the connections between them and the ethnographic field work that is said to support them are asserted rather than demonstrated. In the absence of integration of the theoretical argument and the ethnographic narrative the reader has difficulty in assessing Griffiths' theoretical contribution.

Griffiths' work may not match her theoretical goals but it does show how the legal system reflects increasing class differentiation in Botswana. It also gives an overall sense of the centrality of the legal system in social life. Griffiths, as a lawyer, argues for the social context of law, but she shows that the law is also a kind of code—more than its statutes and records, against which moral and interpersonal questions can judged and standards tested. Is this legal pluralism? She does not make clear how the theoretical differences affect the understanding of the family histories or cases. The major contribution of this work may be to enlighten Botswana in general, and the legal community there in particular, to the gender biases of Bakwena and Tswana customary and the Botswana common-law legal system(s).

Griffiths makes the case very clearly that inadequate support of children and financial disadvantaging of Bakwena women in property settlements after marriage is clearly a product of customary and formal legal system(s) of Botswana. This reality, though a severe injustice, is not a surprise. As evidence of injustice, however, this book will provide ammunition for those with a concern for the welfare of children to advocate change. Indeed, the advance of the social welfare of

children may be a more valuable contribution than a change in legal theory.

Pauline Greenhill and Diane Tye (eds.), *Undisciplined Women: Tradition and Culture in Canada,* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997, 306 pages.

Reviewer: *Heather Howard-Bobiwash*
University of Toronto

Undisciplined Women is more than a clever title for this volume, it is a concept. "Acts of indiscipline" (p. xi) characterize this book from how it came into being, to the multiple forms of feminist critical reflection which form its framework of analysis. The contributors challenge not only conventions within the discipline of folklore studies, they also unsteady the borders between disciplines, between academic and non-academic research, between feminist perspectives and between definitions of tradition and culture.

The idea for the book originated in the early 1990s as researchers, attending the annual scholarly meetings of the Folklore Studies Association of Canada/Association canadienne d'ethnologie et du folklore (FSAC/ACEF), contemplated the dearth in the discipline "of recognition of women's culture, women collectors' contributions, and feminist perspectives" (p. x). The "Undisciplined Women Collective" was formed and, over the next few years, met whenever possible to discuss these concerns. Contributors include non-academic folklorists and writers as well as academicians in anthropology, religion, women's studies, art and English. The volume emerged collectively in terms of both its intellectual directions derived from the group discussions, and its content as all the chapters were circulated among all the contributors for comment and development. This "indisciplined" approach to pulling together this edited collection makes it more cohesive and readable than it might otherwise have been given the wide topical and experiential range of its contributors. While certainly labour intensive, this volume also represents a model for feminist mentoring in publishing.

This collection is also situated within the framework of feminist trends more widely. Following somewhat along the path taken over the last three decades in other disciplines, including anthropology, *Undisciplined Women* embodies for folklore studies in Canada the voice of feminist critique and the value of a women-centred approach to theoretical development. In their introduction, Greenhill and Tye outline these tasks for the volume, as well as for the discipline more widely: "to recover women's traditions," to "include critique of patriarchal scholarship," to provide a "reassessment of women's scholarly work" and to create an environment for "gynocriticism"—the generation of "new, feminist scholarship" (p. 7). Regarding this last point, Greenhill and Tye observe how slow off the mark Canadian folklore studies has been in fostering and developing feminist perspectives, as contrasted with their U.S. counterparts: Where "feminist readings and feminist practice are now part of the American folklore scene. Alas, this is not the case in Canada" (p. xiv). This lag can be said to be parallelled by Canadian anthropology (see Cole and Phillips, 1995; and Bridgman, Cole and Howard-Bobiwash, 1999). American volumes most akin in their aims to *Undisciplined Women* include Jordan and Kalcik's (1985) *Women's Folklore, Women's Culture,* Radner's (1993) *Feminist Messages,* Young's (1993) *Bodylore* and Hollis, Pershing and Young's (1994) *Feminist Theory and the Study of Folklore.*

Twenty chapters contribute to one or more of the tasks set forth by Greenhill and Tye, thematically divided into the following sections: "Identifying, Collecting, and Interpreting Women's Folklore," "Images of Women in Canadian Traditional and Popular Culture" and "Women Transform Their Lives and Traditions." These are bracketed by brief but quite useful section introductions and an "Editors' Concluding Statement." Laurel Doucette's opening chapter, "Reclaiming the Study of Our Cultural Lives" provides a very useful critical overview of the development of the exclusion of women and feminist perspectives in Canadian folklore studies, and supports the Collective's assertion that "within the Canadian context there has been a clear discursive struggle played out between folklore as academic study—a largely male-dominated activity—and as non-academic collection—generally a female domain" (p. 14).

As is characteristic more generally of the field of folklore studies, Eastern Canada features most prominently as the geographical location in eight chapters. However, this does not take away from the balance in Canadian diversity that is achieved in this volume. For example, several contributors situate their work in culturally transcendent spaces rather than physically fixed locales: Janice Ristock's chapter which examines the connections between popular film portrayals of independent and/or lesbian women and the growth of misogyny, and Kay Stone's (with Marvyne Jenoff and Susan Gordon) description of women storytellers' creative adaptations of popular fairy tales are two fine examples. Two chapters in French are also important contributions to this volume. Ronald Labelle's account of the work of soeur Catherine Jolicoeur, and Jocelyne Mathieu's analysis of class and women's attire in 20th-century Quebec provide insights on the often subtle tenacity and creativity in women's constructions of the past.

Christine St. Peter and Robin McGrath provide enlightening reflections on the scholarly usage and interpretations of writings by and about Aboriginal women (St. Peter writes about teaching Anne Cameron's *Daughters of Copper Woman,* and McGrath analyzes gender in Inuit autobiography). However, there are no first-hand contributions by Aboriginal women, a lacuna the editors acknowledge and interpret as "omissions result[ing] from a variety of forces, including but not limited to the domination of academic work by whiteness and the power/knowledge base that it implies." This, they