door to include their subjective feelings and experiences into the study of some phenomenon, not to create an objective "self" that one can step away from for analytical purposes.

In terms of content, reading Greenhalgh's narrative reminded me of a Sicilian story I heard several years ago. Although the story loses something when condensed and presented in translation, it may be worthwhile summarizing here:

> One evening, during the family meal, a fisherman felt a tinge of pain in his throat. He suspected that he had swallowed a small fish bone but, since the pain was not severe, he continued with his regular activities. The pain, however, persisted, so the man visited the doctor for help. Following the local custom, he brought a gift for the doctor, some fresh fish. The examination did not reveal anything amiss. The doctor recommended that the man eat and drink things that would be soothing to the throat, and to return within a week.
>
> The pain did not go away; in fact, the man had to visit the doctor repeatedly over the next several weeks. Then, one day, the doctor was away on business. The doctor's daughter, a newly trained physician, examined the man and discovered the tiny fish bone lodged in his throat. After some struggle, she removed the bone.
>
> When her father returned to the office, the daughter enthusiastically related what had transpired. The doctor sadly replied: "we have eaten our last fish."

Through humour, people acknowledge the fact that medical professionals have a vested interest in *sickness* and *suffering*. This is precisely one of the points Greenhalgh addresses in the book. Medical practice, and biomedicine in general, is not free of cultural values and self-interest.

Greenhalgh, however, goes well beyond this point. She does not treat herself as simply a victim of biomedicine and a specific medical practitioner (Dr. D.). Greenhalgh makes it clear that she played an active role not only in her interactions with medical professionals, but also her interactions with family members, alternative medicine, the medical literature, and various aspects of popular culture. At the same time, it also is clear that this interaction process (especially those interactions with Dr. D.) was sometimes fraught with inequality. One of the strengths of the book is Greenhalgh's ability to document how the culture of biomedical practice can place women at a disadvantage in dealing with male medical doctors.

Finally, *Under the Medical Gaze* addresses the notion that although the biomedical stories practitioners construct may provide a basis for medical treatment and relief of suffering, they can also generate pain and suffering. The story one chooses to represent the "truth" does make a difference in terms of a patient's overall health and well-being.

Under the Medical Gaze is a welcome addition to the ever growing literature in medical anthropology. It would make an excellent choice as a text for both undergraduate and graduate courses.

Regna Darnell, *Invisible Genealogies: A History of Americanist Anthropology*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2001, xxvii + 373 pages.

Reviewer: *Naomi McPherson*
Okanagan University College

There is a "rhetoric of discontinuity" among contemporary anthropologists that renders invisible the intellectual genealogies of American anthropology, particularly in relation to "Franz Boas and his first generation of students" (p. xiv). Darnell brilliantly and convincingly argues that, regardless of where they did fieldwork, all North American-trained anthropologists are Americanists who take as givens the theoretical, methodological and ethnographic heritage of the Boasian tradition—culture in the plural, participant observation fieldwork, the cross-cultural study of meaning, the collection of ethnographic and linguistic texts, relativity and relativism, anti-racism—concepts foreshadowing contemporary "feminist, postcolonial, and postmodern interests in narrative, dialogue, and standpoint" (p. xviii). Darnell's own intellectual genealogy connects her to the Boasians through Frederica de Laguna, Boas's last doctoral student and Darnell's first anthropology teacher, and from her first anthropology textbook, Kroeber's *Anthropology* (1948 edition), to her dissertation (1969) on the early history of Americanist anthropology. Darnell's own corpus of work (nearly 50 entries in the bibliography), is grounded in long-term ethnographic and linguistic collaboration with the Plains Cree of northern Alberta and a career-long study of the history of Americanist anthropology. This deep and abiding understanding of the Americanist tradition richly informs this "discursive essay" which is both ethnography and a "serious critique of contemporary anthropology...theory and practice in the context of history" (p. xxiii).

The introduction, "The Invisibility of Americanist Genealogies," begins to reveal the intellectual continuities in contemporary, postmodern anthropological practice through a normative list of "distinctive features of the Americanist Tradition" which go to the heart of the anthropological endeavour theoretically, methodologically and ethically. Readers may well find themselves, perhaps surprisingly, acknowledging with Darnell that "The basic premises of the Americanist tradition are for me, not negotiable" (p. 23).

The first five chapters explore the work and key contributions of the core Boasians—Boas, Kroeber, Sapir, Whorf and Benedict—but this is no mere chronology of anthropological begats; rather, it is a nuanced, layered and critical analysis of the Americanist tradition and its continuity with contemporary anthropological practice. For example, Darnell points out that the two theoretically central Boasian concepts, the "analytic discreteness of race, language and culture...[and] the relativism and historical contingency of cultural categories...have been so thoroughly incorporated into North American anthropological praxis that they now

appear trivial and unproblematic" (p. 37). The oft-repeated charge that Boas was not a theoretician is soundly refuted and we are treated to a penetrating analysis of the estrangement that grew between Boas and Sapir whose "approach attacked the core of anthropological method and theory... questioning the very premises upon which Boas's own anthropology rested" (p. 65). These differences culminated in the separation of linguistics from anthropology and the primacy of cultural anthropology, rather than ethnology, as definitively Americanist.

After Boas's death, Kroeber became the centre of Americanist anthropology and his concept of the superorganic, of culture as a creation of the mind, and of non-individualistic ideas transmitted socially rather than biologically reflect clearly the anti-reductionist Boasian paradigm. Kroeber's engagement with these concepts "have proved more interesting than his answers" (p. 89), as he was intuitively grappling with problems of order and individual agency which contemporary analyses explore within complexity theory, fractals and chaos theory. During Kroeber's lifetime, the Boasian paradigm began to fracture, but the debate "over reenvisioning culture continues", and his "concept of the superorganic refuses to go away" (p. 102). Chapter three returns to Sapir's revisions of Boasian theory and his challenges to Kroeber's "reification of culture and marginalization of individual agency" (p. 106). Correspondence between Kroeber and Sapir is revealing of the restrained conflict between them. Darnell spends some energy elucidating the Boasian concept of "standpoint" which is glossed as the position of the anthropological observer and the "Native point of view," and linked to a generalized concept of "cultural relativism" (pp. 112-113). While Sapir's pioneering projects and funding for the development of an interdisciplinary social science were never realized, they became the seeds of a "genuine interdisciplinarity...today around the so-called postmodernist turn" (p. 135). Darnell's critical reading and familiarity with Sapir, his work and his era, leads her to reflect that today "Sapir's vision guides us away from the nihilism and rhetorical short-sightedness for which the self-styled postmodernists in anthropology have been extensively chastised, both within the discipline and outside it" (p. 135).

Chapter 4, "Philosophizing with the 'Other'," explores the work of Paul Radin whose *Primitive Man as Philosopher* is not only "a minor masterpiece of the Americanist tradition" (p. 139) but has "renewed resonance today for the critique of representation, reassessment of linguistic relativity, and examination of the ethical implications of cross-cultural field research" (p. 148). Radin "assumed that cultural facts did not speak for themselves" and "revamped analysis toward interpretation rather than explanation" (p. 149). Darnell engages Radin's position to enter into a critical dialogue with contemporary philosophizing on issues such as representation, thought, reflexivity, and ways of knowing, to conclude that "There is no reason other than ethnocentrism, often manifested as a failure to listen, to envision a culture in which such interactions [philosophical conversations and speculations] fail to occur" (p. 168).

Seminal to Boasian anthropology are the concepts of "Linguistic Relativity and Cultural Relativism", and in chapter 5 we are given another look at the "complex, intriguing, [and] thoroughly misread" Whorf, and Benedict—the "key figure in moving the Boasian program from the study of cultural traits to their articulation into cultural wholes" (p. 195). Chapter 6 explores "The Challenge of Life Histories" and the (I think, under-appreciated) work of Elsie Clews Parsons. Life histories "exacerbated problems of observer bias" (p. 213) and attempted to capture the "phenomenological reality of life" (p. 218) in another culture by allowing "the 'other' to speak," thus moving toward a genuinely dialogic anthropology (p. 225) and experimental ethnographic writing (p. 226). The Sapirian "integration of ethnography and *belles lettres*, and questions of representation and a dialogic anthropology are posed, if not answered, "in terms entirely intelligible today" (p. 229).

The theme of "experimental ethnographic formats" (p. 273) is developed in chapter seven where Darnell postulates "a continuity of intention and method extending from Hallowell's ethnography to the work of contemporary Native American writers to the anthropologically informed science fiction of Kroeber's daughter Ursula Le Guin to generic experiments by humanistically oriented contemporary anthropologists" (p. 242). For me, this chapter sings while hitting the hard notes of the anthropological enterprise: "the ethics and epistemology of cross-cultural representations" (p. 242), the fascination with—rather than the threat of—alternative world views (p. 260), the commensurability of relativity and relativism through immersion in fieldwork and how "Cross-cultural understanding entails a double hermeneutic and embraces it as methodological breakthrough rather than crippling tautology (as it appears to philosophers)" (p. 262).

A radical rhetoric of discontinuity implies a postmodernism without modernist roots and chapter eight, "Will the Real Americanists Please Stand?" analyses the work of Levi-Strauss, Geertz and especially contributors to *Writing Culture* whose "self-proclaimed experimentalism...masks substantial underlying continuity" (p. 298) with the Americanist tradition. Truly, one needn't claim Boas and his students were "postmodernists ahead of their time, only that their characteristic trains of thought continue to be refracted though contemporary experiments" (p. 281). Darnell shows convincingly how intellectual genealogies are made invisible in the interests of innovation which masks the lengthy and complex engagement of anthropology with "relativism, realism, and ethnographic representation" (p. 303). Finally, in "Reconstructing the Metanarrative of Anthropology" Darnell calls anthropologists to account for the misrepresentations of our discipline in the pubic forum, for conveying what we know as anthropologists and for the future direction of our discipline through recovering previous continuities.

There is much to consider carefully here, especially the discussion of identity politics and standpoint epistemology. As a Melanesianist, I appreciate the polysemous statement that "Anthropologists are people who care about people and their pigs" (p. 334); as an academic, I am keenly aware (and disappointed) that "the contemporary Americanist discourse about fieldwork ethics confirms that the rest of our colleagues in the other social sciences still have their heads in the sand" (p. 332).

This beautifully written gem of a book, the first volume in the series *Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology* co-edited by Darnell and Stephen O. Murray, makes refreshing, insightful and critical contributions to the history and theory of contemporary anthropology. This text is destined to be a classic in our discipline.

Edward F. Fischer, *Cultural Logics and Global Economies: Maya Identity in Thought and Practice*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001, xii + 320 pages (paper).

Reviewer: *Marilyn Gates*
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We (Westerners) tend to view the contemporary Maya with a romantic gaze, as remnants of a long-ago high culture. We think of majestic cities and temples shrouded in the rain forest, hieroglyphs guarding their secrets, such as the riddle of the sudden Classic Maya collapse. We see the descendants of these ancient Maya today as clinging to only vestiges of their illustrious past, glimpsed in stubbornly persistent languages, arcane religious ceremonies, time-tested agricultural practices, colourful costumes and other "folk" crafts, perfect for tourist souvenirs. Guatemala's relatively small Spanish-speaking ladino (non-Indian) elite, historically have viewed the Mayan majority through much less rose-coloured glasses, aiming at cultural assimilation in the nation-state under the modernization model of dependent capitalism, via "civilizing" and "educating" them, or "disappearing" those perceived as a threat to national security. Despite these concerted efforts, however, the Maya have not vanished, constituting one of the largest concentrations of indigenous peoples in the Americas. They are also one of the poorest and most divided. Edward Fischer argues that, paradoxically, the current surge of globalization provides a window of opportunity for marginalized and fractured ethnic groups such as the Maya to re-imagine and re-assert their cultural identity and distinctiveness vis-a-vis the dominant Hispanic society.

In *Cultural Logics and Global Economies: Maya Identity in Thought and Practice,* Edward Fischer explores the dynamics of ethnic-identity construction among the Guatemalan Maya in the new world-system context of postindustrial core countries and offshore production and assembly in the periphery. Drawing on recent theories in interpretive ethnography, cognitive studies, and political economy, Fischer applies a multilayered and finely textured analysis to tease out the international, national and local factors that have opened up new venues of pan-Mayan expression, especially since the waning of the civil war in the late 1980s and the rapid expansion of neoliberal free-market economic policies. Fischer maintains that these macro-level economic changes are "...closely correlated in time and space to the rise of identity politics and various forms of hyphenated nationalism in peripheral areas. Indeed, it appears that ethnicity has eclipsed the importance of class identity in stimulating struggles of resistance." (p. 24)

Fisher examines the apparently successful colonization of this postmodern identity space by uncovering the tensions and synergies that arise at the intersection of national pan-Maya identity politics and the lived experiences of Maya in the Kaqchikel towns of Tecpan and Patzun. Taking a constructionist stance, building on Bourdieu's model of the habitus and Giddens's theory of structuration, Fischer is able to navigate smoothly from the macro-level to the micro-level to show how open-ended "cultural logics" as shared predispositions linked both to the underlying cultural substrate and to a dynamic articulation with global relations of political economy condition the ways in which both Maya leaders and the rural masses creatively express their identity. Maya leaders seek to unite Indian groups long divided by rugged terrain, geographic rootedness and local custom in order to attain a greater political voice after centuries of oppression. However, they are constrained in the creation of a new pan-Maya identity by the need to stay true to cultural norms that emerge from everyday lived experiences, as idiosyncratic internalizations of received culture remain firmly embedded in broader cultural continuities and commonalities.

After reviewing the global and national processes which impinge on pan-Maya identity politics, Fischer zeros in on the movement itself and on Maya identity as lived experience in Tecpan and Patzun. There are chapters on souls, socialization, and the Kaqchikel self; heart, kin, and communities; local forms of ethnic resistance; and economic change and cultural community. We learn about contestations over cultural markers, such as the movement towards a pan-Maya language, the symbolic function of hieroglyphs in cultural activism, and the key role of Maya clothing in identity politics. Important sites and strategies of resistance are identified, such as communication media and Maya-oriented education. Ironically, beauty pageants have become a focal point of Maya activism at the local level, "...combining a concern with the beauty of authenticity (and the authenticity of beauty) with a public forum for expressing ethnic pride that would be interpreted by most outsiders as 'touristic' and 'folkloric' (and in that sense, nationalistic)" (p. 192). The impact of changes in the global political economy at the local level is strikingly evident in the example of Maya producers in Tecpan and Patzun who have profited from the nontraditional agricultural export production boom of the past 15