in the very practices of pro-Tibet/Tibetanness (and implied anti-China/Chineseness) that he presents as having problematic outcomes in the production of *Himalaya*. Nonetheless, the text presents a well-grounded account of resourcefulness and adaptation in an environment that is indeed marginal, both politically and ecologically. Bauer's presentation is far from the romantic accounts, or the scholarly accounts focussed on religious practices, as opposed to the everyday struggle to make a living, and so is a welcome addition to the ethnography of the Himalayan region in particular, and the study of interactions between culture, politics and environment in general.

Michael E. Harkin (ed.), *Reassessing Revitalization Movements: Perspectives from North America and the Pacific Islands*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Reviewer: *John Barker*
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In 1956, Anthony F.C. Wallace introduced the concept of "revitalization" to draw attention to what he perceived as "a uniform process" underlying such apparently diverse religious and political movements as Christian revivals, utopian communities, cargo cults and revolutions (1956: 264). Around the same time and into the 1960s, other sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists introduced their own schemes and terminologies, although few surpassed Wallace's model in terms of its empirical and theoretical ambitions. While "revitalization movement" has gained some limited popularity as a general label for religious movements, particularly among North American ethnohistorians, the concept remains closely associated with Wallace, whose elegant study of the Handsome Lake movement amongst the Iroquois provides its primary exemplar (Wallace 1970). The "reassessing" in *Reassessing Revitalization Movements* thus carries a double load: it refers to the extension of Wallace's model into the new terrain of Oceanic movements where it has rarely been applied and it refers to a critical re-examination of the model itself.

The book is comprised of a short graciously written Foreword by Wallace, an Introduction by Michael E. Harkin and twelve case studies. The first of the descriptive chapters, running to more than 60 pages, is a *tour de force* by Maria Lepowsky that juxtaposes a detailed analysis of a 1785 mission Indian uprising in Spanish California with reflections on cargo cult activities in eastern Papua New Guinea that first appeared in the 1880s. The remaining chapters rotate between Native North America and the Pacific Islands, examining movements that date from the late 18th century to the present. All but two of the contributors are anthropologists, but all make excellent use of documentary and oral evidence to present fine-grained historical perspectives on these varied movements.

The case studies are uniformly excellent, written in engaging prose at a high level of theoretical sophistication. Taken on their own, they are worth the price of admission. The juxtaposition of studies from the two regions is often very revealing, especially as one moves closer to the present. That said, readers who come to the volume expecting to find a sustained engagement with revitalization theory or the creation of an updated comparative framework based on it will be disappointed. All of the authors use revitalization movement as a general label and all comment upon aspects of Wallace's 1956 model. This provides the chapters with a common touchstone. Yet only three of the authors actually attempt to update and apply the model as an analytic tool and even then only in the most general way. Everyone is very polite. Jennifer S.H. Brown's comments on the relevance of revitalization theory for an appreciation of an early prophetic movement amongst Hudson Bay Cree, however, reveal what I suspect is the consensus opinion: the model is useful as a rough starting point but a "distraction from deeper issues of documentation and meaning" (pp. 121-22).

Harkin asks in the Introduction, "Why Revitalization?" (p. xi). It's a good question, although one that he never answers clearly. Harkin states, as a *belief*, that "revitalization is the most sophisticated theoretical lens through which to view [religious] movements" (p. xxv). He does not say why he believes this. Indeed, he does not even provide a synopsis of Wallace's model. Instead, the Introduction rambles between postmodern critiques of cargo cult studies, the colonialist legacy of revitalization theory, dialogic approaches to understanding movements, the role of deprivation in Wallace's theory and so forth. His most direct defence of Wallace appeals to "the classic virtues of anthropology as a social science"—empiricism, holism, the comparison of institutions and so forth—rather than the details of the model (p. xix). He complains that anthropologists have been "too quick to discard theories that have certain remediable problems, rather than to experiment with, play with, and 'riff off' them" (p. xxxv). Harkin's "belief" in the theoretical sophistication of a specific theoretical model, then, dissolves into an invitation to treat it, at most, as a textual form (a theme that he draws out in his chapter on the Warm House Cult in western Oregon), as a foil or as a source for a few useful ideas. This nicely describes how Harkin and his collaborators treat Wallace's theory.

Lepowski's opening chapter comes closest to the spirit of Wallace's model in its attempt to systematically compare two movements in widely separated times and places and to come up with a general perspective on the causes and key attributes of revitalization movements. She insists that "All revitalization movements are oppositional, arising among cultural minorities, catalyzed by the moral and political crises of colonial and postcolonial hegemony" (p. 48) which, in turn, leads to an emphasis on "ritual violence." Linn Poyer and Lisa Henry, in studies of Second World War movements in Micronesia and the rise of Tahitian nationalism respectively, also draw attention to the colonial oppression as a crucible for revitalization movements. Both, however, see the movements as involving far more than reactions and oppositions. Henry, for instance, writes about

how a movement that originally was highly political and oppositional has spun off a variety of revived practices, such as indigenous forms of healing, that speak directly to an evolving sense of Tahitian identity. Most of the contributions stress the positive and creative aspects of the movements they review. Both Jukka Siikala and Paul Roscoe complain that Wallace's model is too static. Siikala's study of Polynesian movements suggests that they contribute to social differentiation rather than returning to a state of integrated equilibrium, as revitalization theory maintains. Roscoe argues that long-term religious movements, like the eighty year run of cargo cult activities among the Yangoru-Boiken of Papua New Guinea, show clear evidence of creative evolution and cannot be understood as reactions to stress. Joel W. Martin more directly attacks the notion of relative deprivation that informs earlier approaches to revitalization movements in a lively essay reviewing the role played by an early Christian convert in the transformation of Cherokee society in the early 19th century.

Martin presents an interesting typology of power shifts that would expand the categorization of revitalization movements from situations of clear oppression to ones in which people embrace a new or renewed culture for positive reasons. Jason Baird Jackson provides a good illustration in his study of the adoption of peyote religion by members of the Yuchi tribe near Tulsa, which has occurred in a relaxed ecumenical religious environment in which members have experimented with diverse religious traditions. If revitalization movements can no longer be explained in terms of stress and opposition, however, one has to wonder what is left of Wallace's theory. Drawing upon more recent debates concerning the politics of culture, the final three essays credit Wallace for the insight that revitalization movements represent *conscious* efforts to change. Larry Nesper thus traces the dialogic processes by which Chippewa bands in Wisconsin have developed a sense of cultural identity in the aftermath of a landmark court decision in 1983 that recognized off-reservation hunting, fishing and gathering rights. Ann McMullen presents revitalization as a kind of political strategy employed by Native people in southeastern New England as they work to define themselves in a region where, only a century ago, they were said to be extinct. She notes that cultural "inventions" are a by-product of this general process, a point also taken up by Henry in her study of Tahiti.

The arguments put forth by these various authors are far more subtle and sophisticated than can be conveyed in a short review. I am struck, however, by the wariness voiced in many of the essays concerning comparative generalizations. This anti-essentialism hits its most extreme expression in Larry Carucci's analysis of the interpretative frames that Enewetak people in Micronesia apply to the extensive sequence of rituals and exchanges centred upon the celebration of Christmas, where he claims that the reductionism inherent to comparative models does "nothing other than lend credence" to the stereotyping of indigenous rituals and, by implication, the silencing of Native voices (p. 221).

The essays in this volume are well worth reading as exemplars of the strengths and (perhaps) weaknesses of the present state of anthropological studies of indigenous politico-religious movements. The quality of analysis is often dazzling and always stimulating—an impressive display of the extraordinarily productivity created by the combination of anthropological and historical approaches pioneered by figures like Wallace. All the same, the volume cannot be truly said to provide anything like a full reassessment of revitalization theory let alone the creation of a common theoretical framework. In addition, one can only be disturbed by the degree of theoretical amnesia on display, particularly in the Introduction, about a subject that so preoccupied anthropologists for more than three decades. While it may be questionable whether we should revitalize revitalization theory, one can hope that volumes like this will help stimulate a renewed interest in the earlier highly sophisticated work of our anthropological ancestors that continues, often silently, to inform contemporary perspectives.

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Fariba Adelkhah, *Being Modern in Iran,* New York: Columbia University Press, 2000, xiv + 190 pages.

Reviewer: *Parastou Saberi*
Lakehead University

Scholarly interest in Iran waned in the wake of the Islamic Revolution in 1979. Due to the real and perceived logistical difficulties of conducting long-term field research, Iranian studies were limited in terms of topics and approaches. Many works addressed macro-level research questions regarding the causes of the revolution, overemphasizing the revolution's radical break with the past and giving most attention to its religious dimension, while ignoring its complexity. With the gradual opening of Iranian society in the second decade after the revolution, scholarly interest in Iran has also shifted toward studying the consequences of the revolution and a full range of research techniques are being used.

Fariba Adelkhah's *Being Modern in Iran* is a strikingly original, informative and challenging study, which all students of contemporary Iran will enjoy and find stimulating. She seeks to move beyond the cliché view of Iran that epitomizes a nation of 60 million people through photographs of women wearing the *chador*, a symbol in the West of the totalitarian nature of the Islamic Republic.

The book is based on the author's extensive ethnographic fieldwork in Iran since the beginning of the 1990s. It asks