Anthropologica

FEATURE ARTICLES

BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

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Open to contributors from Canada and abroad, *Anthropologica* publishes, in French and English, articles and reviews in all areas of cultural and social anthropology. All manuscripts are refereed anonymously by two reviewers.

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La revue *Anthropologica* publie, en français et en anglais, des articles et comptes rendus produits par des chercheurs canadiens and étrangers oeuvrant dans les divers domaines de l'étude académique de l'anthropologie culturelle et sociale. Chaque manuscrit est soumis pour évaluation à deux lecteurs anonymes.

ANTHROPOLOGICA

CONTENTS / SOMMAIRE

CRITIQUE LITTÉRAIRE

BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

As this issue went to press, we were notified of the deaths of Dr.
Sally Weaver and Dr. Roger Keesing. Obituary notices will appear in
the next issue of **Anthropologica.**

"THEY'RE MY FAMILY NOW":
THE CREATION OF COMMUNITY
AMONG RVERS

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Abstract: This paper examines living in a recreational vehicle as an alternative lifestyle for retired people in North America. Based on fieldwork in trailer parks and on "boondocking" sites on government land, the paper argues that RVers experience a greater sense of community and fewer of the emotional problems common in old age than those who have chosen other forms of retirement living. It is further argued that the reciprocity which anthropologists have often noted as a key factor in creating social bonds is more easily achieved among RVers than in other settings in North America.

Résumé: Cet article examine la vie dans un véhicule de rentrée (RV) comme mode de vie alternatif pour les retraités en Amérique du Nord. Cette étude est basée sur des enquêtes effectuées dans les parcs pour roulottes et dans des sites de "boondocking" sur des terrains gouvernementaux. L'auteur constate que les adeptes des véhicules de rentrée ont un plus grand sens de la communauté et moins de problèmes émotionnels liés à l'âge, que les retraités qui ont opté pour un autre mode de vie. L'auteur note aussi que les adeptes des RV réussissent plus facilement à développer la réciprocité que les anthropologues considèrent comme un facteur indispensable à la création de liens sociaux.

Living either full- or part-time in a recreational vehicle has been an alternative lifestyle in North America since the 1920s when the first tent trailers were manufactured. By the 1930s, during the depth of the depression, Wally Byam's Airstream company could not keep up with the demand for his self-contained "house trailers." By 1936 there were about 200 000 "trailer nomads" (see Hartwigsen and Null 1989 for a brief history of the house trailer

phenomenon). In the past 50 years there has been an enormous proliferation of RVers of all ages and interests, and these have formed a multitude of clubs and associations. Today there are at least 40 RV clubs with over a million members that meet a variety of needs or reflect particular interests. There are, for instance, clubs for people who own a particular type (motorhome) or brand (Airstream, Avion, Holiday Rambler) of RV. Clubs may be organized according to gender, age, marital status or social group (women, people over 50, singles, singles who drive motorhomes, blacks); clubs may appeal to people with a special interest, hobby or former occupation (the deaf, birdwatchers, Christians, submarine veterans); or clubs may be organized by people committed to a particular style of RVing (boondocking, full-timing, flea-marketing, even singles who return to boondock in a particular spot year after year). The largest organization of RVers is the Good Sam Club, which currently has 800 000 members (Estes 1992:7). Good Samers identify their rigs with a bright orange decal showing a smiling good samaritan. This organization is founded on the principle that RVers *can trust each other.*

This paper, which is a preliminary report based on a two-and-a-half month pilot study, examines RVing as a modern retirement alternative for North Americans. After a brief discussion of our research methods and the variety of RVing styles, we compare RVers who follow two markedly distinct RV lifestyles: private resort or membership park residents and boondockers. We then turn to the question of how elderly RVers establish the ties that enable them to cope with the problems that more sedentary elders solve by turning to friends and relatives. In other words, how do RV nomads form community?

Sociological and socio-ecological definitions of community traditionally focussed on shared interest in a common territory and on social organization and activities based on this shared territory (Bender 1978:5; Osgood 1982:23). However, as North American society has become more mobile, social interaction based on shared territory has become less important. Now, as Bender observes, "A preoccupation with territory ... ultimately confuses our understanding of community" (1978:6). Besides territory, feelings of community are created by shared social organization and "we-feeling" (Osgood 1982:23). Or, as Bender says:

> A community involves a limited number of people in a somewhat restricted social space or network held together by shared understandings and a sense of obligation. Relationships are close, often intimate, and usually face to face. Individuals are bound together by affective or emotional ties rather than by a perception of individual self-interest. There is a "we-ness" in a community. One is a member. (1978:7)

There is a concern that social change has resulted in the destruction of community in contemporary North America (Bender 1978:4). For instance, Bellah et al., argue that although Americans value mobility and privacy, these

values "rob us" of "opportunities to get to know each other at a reasonably intimate level in casual, unforced circumstances" (1985:135). North Americans' high regard for these values have, in other words, robbed them of a sense of belonging — of a sense of community. If this is true, we would expect RVers, who choose their lifestyle at least partially *for* its mobility, to be isolated, lonely people who have difficulty in establishing a network or a community to help them cope with crises. Such is not the case.

Although retired RVers do not share a common territory or a common history, they have developed strategies that allow them to establish instant community. These strategies include the use of space to define a sense of "weness" and insistence on reciprocity. RVers expect to provide help and support to others in their RV community in time of crisis, to share food when there is surplus and to engage with each other in ways that assure security of person and property. Reciprocity demonstrates the equality of those who share and expresses the principle, "We're all the same here."

RVing as a Retirement Alternative

Since the end of World War II, retired North Americans have increasingly turned to RV living as an alternative lifestyle (see Hoyt 1954 for an early discussion of trailer living by retirees). Estimates of the size of this population vary from 350 000 (see Hartwigsen and Null 1989:319; Howells 1990:64) to eight million (Born 1976:257).

The popular press has been sensitive to the interest of the elderly in RVing as an alternative lifestyle, as a casual glance through the pages of *Trailer Life* and *Motorhome* will attest. Most of the models in the advertisements in those magazines belong to the "active elderly" category. Publications outlining retirement alternatives also focus on the RV lifestyle as one of those alternatives. For example, *On the Road in an RV* is published by the American Association of Retired Persons; the August 1990 issue of *Aide* Magazine, a publication of the USAA, an organization for retired U.S. military, FBI and Secret Service agents, has an article on RVing as its lead article; the how-to-do-it book *Full-Time RVing*, published by *Trailer Life*, acknowledges that "Most full-timers are retirees" (Moeller and Moeller 1986:6) and contains several sections on retirement; Howells' book *Retirement Choices* includes information on RV retirement (1987:271-281); and the volume *Retirement Guide for Canadians* has a section on RV living (Hunnisett 1981).

Anthropologists and gerontologists have not been as sensitive to RVing as a retirement alternative. Although there is a considerable gerontological literature on seasonal migration, we found only two scholarly articles focussed on full-time RVing. One (Born 1976) was a typology of desert RVers based on brief interviews. The research procedure on which the other publication was

based was limited to questionnaires distributed to members of a nationally based camping organization with a resort format (Hartwigsen and Null 1989).

There are difficulties with a research method that depends on questionnaires distributed in private resort and membership parks. First, this approach misses entirely those RVers who avoid resort parks, preferring to "boondock" — to park with few amenities at little or no cost on public lands. As we argue below, boondockers have different assumptions about what makes a good quality of life than do people who spend most of their time in private parks. Second, in our experience many RVers — especially boondockers — are hostile to questionnaires and either refuse to answer them or lie on them. For reasons we discuss below, this attitude toward questionnaires is consistent with the values that underlie the ability of RVers to quickly form communities. Researchers who depend on questionnaires distributed in private parks would, therefore, have at best a distorted picture of a distinctive group of Rvers.

Research Method

Our field research on RVers was conducted between October 1 and December 15, 1990. Our goals were to interview as many different kinds of retired RVers as possible and to focus on Canadians travelling in the United States. We attempted to live and be like the people we wished to study. Our age and appearance facilitated this (we did not alienate potential informants by our youth, a problem encountered by some researchers attempting to work in retirement communities; see Streib, Folts and LaGreca 1984). We rented a 12-year old, 25-foot Prowler trailer and pulled it from British Columbia to the U.S. southwest with an aging van. We stayed in private and public RV parks in British Columbia, Nevada, Arizona and California. We boondocked on U.S. Bureau of Land Management (BLM) land in the southwestern desert and (with hundreds of others) we trespassed on an abandoned World War II Army training base — popularly known as The Slabs or Slab City — near Niland, California. We slept overnight in private parks, in public campgrounds, in roadside rest areas and in the parking lots of truck stops. In short, for two-and-one-half months we became RVers.

We conducted 50 interviews with retired RVers, some who were singles and others who were couples. Of our interviews, 34 were with full-timers and 16 were with part-timers; 25 were with Americans, 24 with Canadians and 1 was with a British couple. Of the 24 Canadians, 16 were full-timers, while 18 of the 25 Americans were full-timers. We were able to ascertain the ages of 81 of our informants: 2 of these (both women married to older men) were in their 40s, 13 were in their 50s, 45 were in their 60s, 19 in their 70s and 2 in their 80s. Our youngest informant was 46, the oldest 86.

We followed an interview guide and asked everyone the same questions, although not necessarily in the same order (also see Kaufman 1986:22-23).

We did not tape our conversations, which were informal and intended to encourage people to talk in a relaxed context about what was important to them. Some of our informants were curious about us and our project and asked us as many questions as we asked them; others seemed delighted to find an audience interested in RVing and talked with enthusiasm about their RVing experiences. Some of the interviews were brief, lasting only an hour or so. Others lasted for hours over several days. People were interested in our research and most were extremely co-operative and helpful. Many spoke of a need for the general population to know more about RVing and some hoped that wider exposure would dispel a lingering stereotype of RVers as "trailer trash." Others labelled themselves as trailer trash or "trailerites" with irony and fierce pride, as if daring the world to despise them. A number of people said they had thought about writing a book on RVing themselves. Some brought us magazine articles relevant to our research; others introduced us to people whose stories they thought we should hear; and some sought us out to discuss the advantages of RV retirement. One couple even led us to a park 45 miles from where we and they were camped to show us where we could find Canadian boondockers.

We initially intended to supplement interviews with a questionnaire asking questions about age, former occupation, estimated income before and after retirement, length of time retired, type of RV selected, etc. Many people were suspicious of the questionnaire and resisted it. Some flatly refused to fill it out. Others declined to answer particular questions — especially the ones about income; "I forget," we were told. One couple, themselves members of a membership park, suggested we join a membership park organization such as Thousand Trails or Coast-to-Coast (at a cost of several thousand dollars). Then we could introduce ourselves and our research at Saturday morning coffee get-togethers in park club houses. Under these circumstances, they thought, people would willingly complete a questionnaire. Another couple commented that they did not mind answering questions in conversation because this made us all equals and they could ask *us* questions too. They would, however, respond to a questionnaire either by throwing it away or by lying. And one man, when asked to fill out a questionnaire, inquired "Are you going to ask me if I eat dog food?" In his experience, he said, this was the sort of question asked by people who pass out questionnaires. We abandoned the questionnaire after two weeks.

They Speak With Many Voices: Alternative Versions of the RV Lifestyle

At the beginning we assumed that retired RVers were a more-or-less homogeneous group, an assumption reinforced by reading the mass-market periodicals that target RVers. We further assumed that they would spend most of

their time in private resort parks. We were wrong on both counts. Retired RVers are not homogeneous; there are a variety of alternative RV lifestyles.

Some people sell their homes when they retire, buy an RV and live in it; as one informant said, "Home is where I turn off the key." They call themselves full-timers, although the term is not necessarily limited to them (Moeller and Moeller 1986:16). Others retain a home base (their family home or a summer cottage) where they return for part of the year. Some regard their home base as their true residence and say they are on vacation when they are in their RV, even though they travel for more than six months a year. Others stay in permanent homes only a few weeks (or even days) a year, but keep them against the time when they will be too ill or infirm to RV.

Some RVers move from a summer site to a winter one, only travelling when moving from one settled spot to another. These people tend to return to the same place year after year, and many park on the same site—they refer to it as "our site"—each time. Others move in a annual cycle, travelling from one favourite spot to another, staying two weeks (the maximum allowed at most public campgrounds) at each place before moving on. Still others treasure life "on the road" with no planned or detailed itinerary that cannot be quickly and easily changed. "We can," said one informant, "go where we want, stay where we want, stop when we want, leave when we want or stay a little longer."

Some RVers work to supplement their retirement income and keep in touch with each other and with job opportunities through the *Workamper News*. Flea marketers, who sell everything from solar panels to knitted fly-swatter covers, are the most numerous type of working camper (Leonard 1987).

Some RVers willingly pay fees for overnight campsites while travelling and would not consider sleeping in a rest area or parking lot where they could stay free. Others make it a point of honour to pay as little as possible (preferably nothing) for an overnight stop. These folks exchange information on where safe, free camping is available in "Day's End," a regular column in the *Newsletter of Escapees*, an organization for full-timers. Others publish *A Guide to Free Campgrounds*, listing spots where RVers can camp for $8.00 or less.

Finally, some RVers prefer to camp in private resort parks or in membership parks. RV resorts provide amenities such as swimming pools, game rooms and organized recreational activities as well as full hookups—electricity, water, sewage or even phones and cable TV. They often cater to people who stay for months at a time or who rent sites by the year and leave an RV or "park model"[2] trailer set up on a permanent basis. Some resort parks actively discourage overnighters.

A membership park is one which requires residents to purchase membership in the organization with which the member's "home park" is affiliated.

Coast-to-Coast, Thousand Trails and NACO are the three membership organizations we heard mentioned most often. Members may stay at their home park for 30 days free or for a nominal fee (usually $1.00 a night), and may stay for one to two weeks at a time at other parks affiliated with the organization. Ordinarily, reservations must be made well in advance, and after spending the allowed time in the affiliated park the member must leave for a set time (usually two weeks to a month) before being permitted to return for another week. Members are often prohibited from staying in another affiliated park within a prescribed distance (from 30 to 100 miles) of their home park. Consequently, full-time RVers who spend most of their time in membership parks are constantly on the move.

Other retired RVers prefer to ''boondock,'' to live in self-contained units and park on public land (often in desert wilderness) where they pay little ($25 to park for six months) or nothing at all and where they are provided no hook-ups. We encountered boondockers at The Slabs near Niland, California, at BLM Long Term Visitor Area (LTVA) campgrounds in California and Arizona near the Mexican border and in Quartzsite, Arizona where as many as 1.4 million people were expected to gather in January and February of 1991 to attend the annual Gemboree rock show and swap meet. Most of these people boondock on BLM land in the desert surrounding Quartzsite.

Equality, Community and the Good Life

A tension exists between the values of equality that most RVers espouse and the widely held notion that people selected their type of RVing because of their educational/occupational background or social class. Many of the private park residents we met believed that social class and income distinguished them from boondockers. In fact, former occupation and income level is significant only at the ends of a continuum. At one end are expensive membership parks and exclusive resorts that refuse entry to rigs[3] more than five or ten years old (the standards vary). These places are well known among RVers. Boondockers interpreted such policies as being supported by well-heeled snobs who were insulating themselves from association with the common folk. Certainly such parks do limit residence and membership to the affluent. At the other end of the continuum were a few boondockers at the Slabs who were living — apparently permanently — in broken down RVs (unlikely ever again to go on the road) and subsisting on welfare. Other boondockers said of these folks that you dared not smile in their presence if you had a gold tooth.

In general, however, there was no perceptible difference between boondockers and their rigs and the people and rigs to be found in private parks. Motorhomes retailing at more than $100 000 and trailers even older than ours were parked side-by-side at both kinds of campgrounds. Retired white-collar

professionals — chartered accountants, school teachers, civil servants, a communications specialist for the U.S. Apollo program — were boondocking, while residents at private parks included retired blue-collar workers — factory workers, auto mechanics, plumbers and career-enlisted military personnel. Both kinds of RVers emphasized economy as a principle, although they disagreed whether RVing is an expensive or an inexpensive way of life. In both areas some people told us that they were living in their RVs because they could not afford to live any other way. Informants in private parks stressed that living in an RV and paying rent for a site is less expensive than maintaining a house; indeed, some argued that it is less expensive even than paying property taxes on a home. Membership park residents stressed the economy of the RV lifestyle and insisted that these parks quickly become a bargain for the full-time RVer who pays only $1.00 a night to stay in affiliated parks. Otherwise, they said, park fees plus high gasoline prices and the costs of maintaining a rig made RVing extremely expensive.

One difference between private park campers and boondockers is their attitude toward what makes a good quality of life. When we asked RVers "What kind of campground do you like and why?" those who preferred private resort parks stressed the comfort and convenience of full-hookups. Some talked about being on an "endless vacation." Others warned that the "endless vacation" mentality often results in overeating or alcoholism. They also emphasized their concern for security — both from "the crazies out there" and from possible theft or violence from their RV neighbours. They wanted the security of living in a park that was separated from the outside world by a fence or wall and patrolled by a security guard. One resident of a membership park that had gone bankrupt and was admitting anyone who could afford $14 a night, commented that before the park opened its gates to the public he could leave his doors unlocked and his belongings out on his picnic table while he was gone. Now he worried about "the type of people we get in here. Anybody can come in now." He referred particularly to the fact that in the park there were "trailers with flat tires and people live in them anyway."

In contrasting answers to the same question, boondockers talked about the space they enjoyed, space lacking in private parks. One woman explained her preference for boondocking by telling of her visit to a friend in a resort park. Her friend's RV was so close to her neighbours' that when the women sat outside to talk the neighbour sat in a chair by her window and listened. She continued, "When I first read about Quartzsite 10 years ago or so [in the *National Geographic*] I thought, 'How can they sit out there in the desert like that?' Now, we have some friends who are coming down but they're going to stay in an RV park. I can't imagine staying in an RV park."

Boondockers also liked their freedom from rules, pointing out that nobody told them where to park, where they could walk their dog or limited the

amount of time they could be visited by their grandchildren. One man ex-
pressed it eloquently:

> I don't have to be here at a certain time or there at a certain time. If I want to
> stay up until 2 o'clock in the morning I can, if I want to sleep until noon I can.
> If I don't like it here I can go somewhere else. I have no worries, I save $700 a
> month over the expenses I used to have. It's money in the bank and I'm enjoy-
> ing life. If I have food to eat and gas to travel, then I'm happy. If I spend a little
> too much one month, I spend a little less the next. If more people were doing it,
> there'd be fewer of them laying up in nursing homes.

Boondockers also stressed equality: they asserted that all those who boon-
dock are equals, no matter what their income, previous occupation or the cost
of their RV. One man said he liked boondocking specifically because "the
fellow next door to us has an $80 000 rig but we're all the same here."

There are also important qualities shared by boondockers and those who
stay in private resort parks. First, RVers share values. Boondockers and pri-
vate park campers alike speak of the freedom RVing gives them, of a sense of
adventure, of equality and of their appreciation of nature and the out-of-
doors. RVers told us that they were living the "old values" of friendship,
sharing and co-operation on which North American society was built and
which has, for the most part, been lost. These values create a set of attitudes
and a quality of life for retired RVers of all types that contrast markedly with
those reported for other elderly people, both those living at home and those
living in retirement communities. Jacobs comments, for instance, that resi-
dents in settled retirement communities pursue a passive way of life and are
characterized by a pervasive "sense of social and physical isolation, apathy,
and loneliness" (Jacobs 1974:101).

Another researcher reports that when she asked her elderly informants,
"What do you look forward to now?" she found that the answer was always
some variation of "There is nothing to look forward to now. I just live from
day to day" (Kaufman 1986:111). She concludes: "The vast majority, even
those in their early 70s, do not think in terms of the future, do not make long-
range plans, and assume their own future to be short. The future is not per-
ceived as a source of meaning" (ibid.).

These feelings of isolation, apathy, loneliness and the absence of a future
were not true of the retired RVers we met during our research. Although our
informants admitted that boredom and excessive alcohol use was a problem
for some people, only one man, alienated from his wife and children and liv-
ing on Social Security, complained of being lonely and isolated. This man
talked about weeping over his estrangement from his family and added, "I've
got no place to go and nothing to do when I get there."

Instead it was typical to hear the life of the RVer assessed as in the follow-
ing description offered by a full-timer: "A full-timer is an adventurous soul,

a saddle trap who wants to go and see what is over that hill.'' When asked why he chose to retire to an RV, another full-timer responded, ''I didn't want to sit around and watch the boob tube 24 hours a day!''

Most people compared RV life favourably to retirement in a house or apartment. In response to the question, ''What do you do all day?'' one full-timer said, ''I have my sewing machine, my crafts, my computer. What else do I need?'' Then she added, ''What do you do all day if you're retired and in your house?'' In the same vein, a full-time boondocker answered, ''People ask me what I do all winter — Hell, I'm so busy doing nothing that I haven't got time to worry about it.''

Others described sight-seeing trips they had taken or planned to take or spoke of the pleasure they found in shopping or selling in the flea-markets that are ubiquitous in many boondocking areas. Still others spent hours each week gleaning harvested fields, collecting pop and beer cans to sell or taking adult-interest courses offered in local schools. Some commented that volunteer work was available for all with time on their hands. In brief, unlike some other seniors, most retired RVers seem to have social vitality: they are vigorous, look forward to the future and feel in control of their lives.

A second characteristic shared by RVers, one of special interest to us here, is a sense of community. Indeed, comments about friendship and community made by RVers contrast markedly with those cited by Kaufman, whose informants are saddened by the loss of ''close'' friends whom they have known for 20 years or more. She says:

> All of those who discuss friendship state that one does not make close friends when one is old. They feel that friendships depend upon building a life together, looking forward to the future and sharing expectations. When one is old, there is no future, few expectations, and thus no basis for the creation of friendships. (Kaufman 1986:110)

She quotes an 81-year-old woman:

> The friends I've made recently I consider very much on the surface. When you're older you don't go deep into friendship. You aren't relying on them in the sense that you did at 35 or 40. . . . You have no place to grow together. When you're younger you do. . . . When you're older, you've heard it all before . . . and anyway, what more is there to say? (1986:110)

As the following quotation from Kay, one of our informants, illustrates, RVers are aware of the transitory quality of their friendships. ''Full-timers,'' she said, ''strike up immediate bonding. Within an hour you'll know everything you wanted to know about each other. Your lives touch, bounce, and then off they go. Some people we tend to stay with. Others we may never see again.'' RVers do not seem to feel that these friendships are superficial, futile or useless. Rather, they speak with pride about their many friends, about the

places where they may stay for a night or two in the driveway of someone they met in an RV park the year before, about the many RVers on their Christmas card list with whom they exchange greetings but whom they may never see again. They share the attitude of Kay who added that she and others like her are "going back to the old time values." Although they highly value mobility and the freedom to "turn on the key"and leave incompatible neighbours or an uncomfortable situation, RVers like Kay insist that they quickly make friends with whom they share community. Indeed, as one RV park manager suggests in a statement quoted below, some people apparently adopt the RV lifestyle *because* it provides them with a sense of community lacking in the suburbs where they lived for decades. A selection of quotations from our informants and from the RVing literature illustrates this feeling of community. Particularly note the use of the words *family, trust, home, friend, help* — terms that describe the essential relationships of community (Nisbet 1966:48).

In an article on the RV lifestyle and under the subheading entitled "Campgrounds are Communities!" Paula and Peter Porter write:

> It didn't take us long to realize that the RV parks along our favourite north-south and east west routes were the friendliest places we had ever stayed on vacation. Everywhere we travelled, people were open and helpful, sometimes insisting on setting up our awning for us, or helping Pete level the trailer. On a couple of occasions, when we forgot the technique for setting something up, we knew that there was always a neighbour ready to lend a hand. It was like joining a club . . . every RV couple we met wanted to drop by and say "welcome to the campground." (1991:13)

In another article, the welcome RVers receive when they arrive at the home park of Escapees is described as follows:

> Your first act at Rainbow's End is to pull the rope on the big ol' bell. As the tones ring over the grounds, people with smiles as big as Texas appear, and they're there for one reason: to welcome you. Hugs all around. Handshakes and introductions. Invitations to happy hour, dinner, a trip into town. Offers to help find a spot, hookup, settle in. Oh, boy, your tired bodies say gratefully, this feels like home! And that's exactly the intent. (Courtney 1991:76)

In *Highways*, the official publication of the Good Sam Club, a senior who is a long-time RVer writes: "RVing . . . is about a way of life that has revolutionized recreation for a vast number of people . . . it has taken senior citizens out of their rocking chairs and created a travelling community with a camaraderie that can't be matched" (Edwards 1991a:55). During a discussion about why people become full-time RVers, Dwayne — a full-time RVer and a part-time manager of a resort park — explained that it is possible to live in a subdivision in southern California for 20 years and not know the name of the people next door. "Here, and in RV parks generally," he observed, "you get a real sense

of community and people becoming friends and helping each other. It is as if people see others living like themselves and feel they can trust them.''

Another RV resort owner-manager, in response to our observation that people in the park were friendly and all seemed to know each other, explained, ''That's what they come here for. They have it here and they don't have it back home. They get back home and they miss it. That's why they keep coming back. Almost all of our people come back here every year. When they come back here they're coming home.''

When we asked Vanessa, a full-timer, why she and her husband returned to the Slabs every year she explained, ''It's like coming home. They're your family.'' It was also important to her that

> We can trust the people in our area because they're like we are. They try to make the area look homey. They want it to look like home and smell like home. Everybody watches out for everybody else. Everybody's so eager to help. When you get situated in one group it's like a family, but we don't have a name yet.

On what is this sense of community based? As we noted above, in modern, mobile North American society people who have a sense of community are likely to base it on something other than shared territory and history. Indeed, as Bender observes, ''Community, then, can be defined better as an experience than a place. As simply as possible, community is where community happens'' (1978:6). What makes it happen for RVers?

Community and Reciprocity

One basis for the creation and expression of community among RVers is the principle of balanced reciprocity among equals (Sahlins 1972). This notion is strong, pervasive and so important to the establishment of community among RVers that it is for them a key principle. Ortner says that something — be it a symbol, a principle, a value, an idea, a practice — is ''key'' to the culture or way of life of a people if more than one of the five indicators of keyness is present (Ortner 1973:1339). The principle of reciprocity between equals has at least three of Ortner's indicators: our informants say it is important; they become aroused about it, particularly if it is violated in a way that suggests that they are inferior; and it arises in many different contexts: for example, in giving and receiving food, goods and help, in the exchange of information and in the response to questionnaires.

Many RVers, and most full-timers, are retired. They share with other elderly folks the problems of trying to live on a fixed income in an inflationary economy, declining health, concern about violence and isolation from family and friends. In addition they have problems unique to a nomadic lifestyle: difficulty getting access to funds; illness far from one's own physician; me-

chanical breakdown; the fact that they spend much of their time among strangers. It is critical, therefore, that RVers develop a strategy for coping with crisis and they have, indeed, done so: the strategy of and mutual assistance. RVers expect to be able to give and receive help from each other in an emergency; reciprocity is essential to the success of this strategy.

The principle that RVers can expect reciprocity and mutual assistance from each other was the basis for the establishment of the Good Sam Club, the largest and most influential of the RV clubs in North America. In a reprint of the original letter to the June 1966 issue of *Trail-R-News*, Joens describes the founding of the organization on the assumption that if you are an RVer and are in trouble you can safely call on other RVers for help (Joens 1991:4). Good Sam was begun in 1966 by people who agreed to carry a sticker on their car or RV. The sticker identified the bearers as club members who were willing to stop and help, and to accept the help of, others also carrying the decal (Joens 1991:4). Today most of the RVs on the road carry the emblem, which portrays a smiling face with a halo. Joens states that he has often given and received help from other "trailerists," and has "yet to find an unfriendly trailering family." By giving and receiving help he says he has "made many life-long friends." Extension of trust and expectation of reciprocity are essential to the success of the enterprise. In spite of a pervasive fear of violence from strangers, from "the crazies out there," Good Sam members extend trust to, and expect help rather than violence from, other RVers. We were repeatedly advised to seek out other RVers in rest areas and truck stops for mutual security. In isolated areas, we were warned, we should park beside other RVers so that we could look out for each other. This trust and the expectation of reciprocity are created in a number of ways.

Exchange of Personal History

First, as the earlier quotation from Courtney suggests, the introduction of an RVer into a community begins as soon as the newcomer arrives, particularly where people may be expected to stay for several weeks or months. Rituals of greeting and of parting occur both in private parks where people rent sites by the month or season and in boondocking areas. During the greeting ritual, neighbours surround the new RV to provide assistance in parking and setting up, to offer the loan of needed equipment and to swap biographies. There is an immediate exchange of personal histories and information. People are careful to let newcomers know the rules: where you may not walk your dog in a resort park, the location of the nearest "glory hole,"[4] and instructions on how to use it, at the Slabs. As our informant Kay observed above, this exchange results in "immediate bonding," a fact that provides security for boondockers. One Canadian man in an LTVA area told us: "I always go right over and get to know people when they first pull in. If they don't know me

they might rip me off, but once we know each other they'll even look after our things while we're gone." RVers also have rituals of parting. Because we were not present when people dispersed during the spring, we observed only part of the full parting ritual, carried out when we left sites after a stay of several days. During the ritual, neighbours gathered around to help with unhooking and hitching up, make photographs, exchange addresses and invitations to visit, make suggestions about desirable routes and places to stay overnight that are both safe and free, and offer gifts of food. Parting rituals at the end of a season of shared community are said to be lengthy and elaborate and involve planning future reunions and exchanging gifts as well as food and addresses.

Ritual Sharing of Food

The food-giving that occurs when RVers part brings into focus another aspect of reciprocity that reinforces the feeling of community: the ritual sharing of food. RVers recognize the importance of food-sharing in establishing community (Sahlins 1972:218) and the necessity of trusting those with whom one shares meals. This latter point as well as one about instant community was articulated by Karl. Discussing his pleasure in the potluck dinners organized by the campground hosts at an Arizona state park, he said, "I'm not big on eating stuff made by people I don't know, but it doesn't take long to get to know these people and then it's OK."

RVers exchange and share food both formally — as a part of ritual, for example, Thanksgiving or Christmas dinners — and informally. Newcomers are often given food within the first 24 hours of their arrival but not, in our experience, as part of the greeting ritual. Among boondockers especially, food-sharing has great social importance, for it permits the redistribution of an essential resource without challenging the ideal that "we're all the same here." Contrast the following accounts of the charitable distribution of free food at Slab City with the resident-run system of food-sharing at another boondocking area. The attitudes of the residents illustrates the importance of self-reliance and equality to RVers and the role of reciprocity in maintaining these attributes.

Slab City is a place with no formal organization or system of control. No park rangers or hosts patrol the area, there are no amenities and no one is required to check in or out of the area when arriving or leaving. Indeed, everyone parked there is technically trespassing, though the State of California and the U.S. government generally ignore them and no one is sure how many people are actually there at any one time. As the sign welcoming newcomers says: "SLABS Population Unknown Most Residents Live Somewhere Else." The only institution linking Slab residents with the outside world and external organizations (such as state government agencies and charitable groups) is

the Christian Center. The Center is staffed by a resident missionary and by Slab residents who volunteer their time. It is located in a trailer positioned near the entrance to the Slabs. People who want information are referred there, and on entering the Center's trailer newcomers are asked to register, identify the named area where they are parked and give the names and addresses of their next-of-kin in case of emergency. State officials go first to the Christian Center to locate Slab residents being sought by members of their family and to get information about rumoured illegal activities. Slab residents registered with the Center can pick up their mail there and get help for others who are ill. The Center also serves as a distribution point for food provided by the Salvation Army and other charities. People wishing to receive the food must sign forms declaring their income and stand in line to get it. Few do so.

Center volunteers expressed frustration over the lack of participation in the food distribution program by needy Slab City residents. In the opinion of the volunteers, many people who should have been taking the food are "too lazy" or "think they are too good" to stand in line for it. Consequently, proffered food is often unclaimed and vegetables are left on the ground in front of the Center to rot.

The self-administered system for distributing free food in an LTVA area less than 50 miles from Slab City contrasts sharply to the charitable one at the Slabs. In the LTVA, the system was organized by the residents and was informal, involved reciprocal exchange and was viewed with pride. To them it exemplified their self-sufficiency, their frugality, their enterprise and their ingenuity in taking advantage of opportunity.

Imperial Valley farmers permit LTVA residents to glean their fields after harvest and farm workers — some of whom lived at the LTVA — often carried home large boxes of sub-standard fruits and vegetables. When gleaners and farm workers arrived at the LTVA with their crates of free produce they distributed the surplus first among those people with whom they shared a residence circle and then among friends who lived outside the circle (we discuss the significance of the residence circle below). Remaining food was left in boxes at the foot of the bulletin board at the entrance to the LTVA where anyone could help themselves. Recipients of the food were expected to make a return eventually, although the return did not have to be in kind but could be in the form of aluminum cans to be sold for cash, books or magazines, help with projects, loan of tools and the like. Some LTVA residents specifically gave this food distribution system as a reason for returning to the spot year after year. "If you're a vegetarian," one said, "you can live here for almost nothing." Then he added, "None of us are on charity here."

Among RVers the most common food-sharing ritual is the potluck dinner. Weekly potluck dinners are a regular event at resort parks, at many Arizona state parks during the winter season and at RV parks of all sorts at Thanksgiv-

ing and Christmas. RVers who are away from their families during the holiday season may pool their funds to buy a turkey and share a holiday meal. Some RVers travel every year to the same park where they meet friends to share Christmas or Thanksgiving dinner. Finally, any important celebration — such as a wedding — includes a potluck dinner. Newcomers join the community by participating in ritual food-sharing.

Our experience of incorporation into community through food-sharing is an example of how the system works. We pulled into an LTVA boondocking area only two hours before a wedding was to be held. Before we had unhooked our trailer we were invited to take part in the festivities. People acknowledged that we had just arrived and were not expected to provide anything elaborate, but we were advised to "bring something if you can." We prepared a small salad and took photographs of the ceremony, copies of which we gave the bride and groom. Other RVers noted our participation with approval. Subsequently we were invited to join campfire songfests and received shares of gleaned fruits and vegetables. We were also invited to join in other activities including community cleaning of the local hot spring (where residents bathed) and a weekend trip to Las Vegas planned by members of the group.

The value that retired RVers assign to the principles of equality and reciprocity are so basic, so "key" to their way of life, that any research method that fails to recognize their importance is bound to produce a skewed view of RV culture. Earlier in this essay we argued that the questionnaire is a flawed research tool. Kaufman is correct in her assertion that the use of a questionnaire forces people to structure their discussions and answers "according to the researcher's priorities rather than their own" (1986:22). In addition, questionnaires are predicated on a one-sided and unequal relationship. Informants have no part in the construction of the instrument; their needs, priorities and interests may not be addressed; there is no mechanism that allows them to ask the researcher questions. There is, in short, no provision for the give-and-take between equals that is of basic importance to RVers. The absence of this reciprocal balance is, we think, the reason why our attempts to do questionnaire-based research failed. People who willingly engaged in an reciprocal exchange of information rejected a relationship which they saw as one-way and, therefore, demeaning to them. It does not matter whether, in fact, any researcher's questionnaire ever asked about the consumption of dog food. Our informant's protest was not really about dog food; it was about his perception that he would be the inferior party in an unequal, non-reciprocal relationship.

Community, Space and Place

In one sense shared territory does not create community for RVers who treasure their mobility and their ability to turn on the key and be gone if they

don't like their neighbours. In another sense it does. As Davis observes, "People cluster together for protection, contact, organization, group integration, and for the purpose of exploitation of a particular region and the community is the smallest territorial group that can embrace all aspects of social life" (Davis 1949:312). As we have said, RVers choose different sorts of places to cluster and they define themselves and are defined by others by where they park. These definitions reinforce the sense of community among RVers who cluster together, but also emphasize differences that alienate RVers from each other. We look first at the way in which their choice of place separates RVers and then turn to a discussion of how space unites them through common values, interests and experience.

When RVers select a place to park their rigs they are also making a choice about lifestyle and about identity. Some choose private resort parks where their personal space is limited but where they feel safe and comfortable. They seek the protection of walls and guards; they enjoy the luxury of water and sewer hookups, electricity and cable TV; their space is organized into streets and blocks where each RV has its own "pad";[5] and leisure activities are organized by professionals who encourage and promote contact among park residents. Many private resort parks have strictly enforced rules about how a rig may be parked, where dogs may be walked, the conditions under which residents may have guests, and for how long and under what circumstances children and grandchildren may visit. Many of the people who choose this lifestyle see themselves upholding standards of affluence, respectability and orderliness and they particularly appreciate the fact that the other park residents are similar to themselves in age, social standing, consumption level and interests. In thinking about private resort parks one is reminded of the distinction made by Bellah et al. between "lifestyle enclaves" and communities. Lifestyle, they point out, "brings together those who are socially, economically, or culturally similar, and one of its chief aims is the enjoyment of being with those who 'share one's lifestyle'" (Bellah et al. 1985:72). In their terms, groups such as retirement "communities," organized around a common lifestyle, are "lifestyle enclaves," not communities. A community is inclusive and focusses on the interdependence of private and public life while recognizing and tolerating the differences of those within it. In contrast, "lifestyle is fundamentally segmental and celebrates the narcissism of similarity. It usually explicitly involves a contrast with others who 'do not share one's lifestyle'" (Bellah et al. 1985:72). Resort park residents make a sharp distinction between their standard of living and lifestyle and that of boondockers. Our non-bookdocking informants advised us that, as part of our research, we should go to one of the bookdocking areas. "You should spend one night there, just to see it, but you won't want to stay longer," one couple

said about Slab City. Another marvelled that bookdockers "sit out there on the desert, happy as clams," adding, "but I couldn't do it."

Boondockers agree that they are unlike the folks who live in resort parks and many of them treasure the difference. They are not a homogeneous lot, for people from all social classes, levels of education and degrees of affluence can be found boondocking. They opt for economy and simplicity, the absence of rules and organization and unlimited external space. They particularly want to avoid the crowding — what one person called sites "like cemetery plots" and another referred to as being "crammed in like sardines" — that they see as characteristic of private parks. Boondockers often used the term "freedom" to describe their way of life and many of them said that resort park residents had simply exchanged the restrictions and crowding of urban life for an RV version of the same thing.

Boondockers are regarded by others (and sometimes they regard each other) with considerable ambivalence. On the one hand, the lives of boondockers epitomize the values on which America was founded: they are independent of rules and regulations, they live simply with a minimum of luxury and expense, they embody the qualities of individualism and ingenuity and they co-operate on their own terms for mutual security and to share resources. On the other hand, they are marginal to North American society. Many of them have no fixed address — not even a mail box in an RV park. Many, particularly those who are flea marketers, participate in an underground economy that avoids regulations and taxes — a fact that is not lost on officials of nearby towns. Most instructive and, we think, representative of the attitude of civic officials toward boondocking flea marketers, is a letter cited by Errington that expresses the resentment of a small-town businessman toward transient vendors (1990:642). He bitterly resents the fact that they pay no taxes and little rent and face none of the risks and costs endured by town retailers. "Let's tax 'em," he says, "Let's set up a licensing procedure that will discourage the money hounds" (Errington 1990:642).

Boondockers are also marginal because of the kind of place they park and the kind of life they lead: they camp on the desert — often in the shade of a creosote bush or small thorn tree — without amenities, recreation facilities, or external protection from ruffians who might harass or rob them. In the Slabs at least many of them dump their sewage into glory holes, a practice that private-park residents consider to be filthy. They are in charge of their own lives. No one else organizes their neighbourhoods, tells them where or how they may park their rigs or guarantees them a pad. And no one else is responsible for their comfort or their entertainment.

For some boondockers the absence of amenities is a source of wry humour. In the Slabs, for instance, several people parked side-by-side had gone to elaborate trouble to fit out their rigs with fake hook-ups. Electric cords led

from their RVs to metered posts, hoses led from water taps to water tank in-
lets and sewage pipes drained into concrete pipes that appeared to lead into
septic tanks. The realistic-looking setup was a joke designed to fool the un-
wary newcomer. When we asked our neighbours how hook-ups were possible
our ignorance was met with guffaws of laughter. Although they say that
"We're all the same here," boondockers do make distinctions among them-
selves and are ambivalent about those whom they perceive to be different. In
the Slabs, for example, people warned us about others in the "wrong" areas
who had turned the space surrounding their RVs into junk yards. They were
not "like us" and, therefore, not to be trusted. As one woman cautioned, "Be
careful where you park. The people on "vendors row" are the children of
God just like I am, but I wouldn't want to camp with them." Another person
distinguished between "permanent" Slab residents and RVers who lived
there only during the winter. "Most full-time Slabbers are OK," he said,
"but with some of them you don't want to smile if you have a gold tooth."
He then identified those Slabbers who were "OK," and pointed out the sec-
tions where those who were not to be trusted congregated. We should, he ad-
vised us, avoid going into those areas.

The belief (unfounded, as we discovered) of our resort park informants,
that boondockers are likely to be poor, dirty and lawless is widespread. In an
article on campground etiquette, Gordon Symons notes that it is often as-
sumed that one can tell which campers are "the filthy ones by looking at their
rigs," and that "people with older model trailers and motorhomes — the less
affluent, in other words — were most likely to be the worst offenders." He ob-
serves: "I haven't found that to be true" (Symons 1991:11).

The categorization of boondockers as embodying despised characteristics,
and the ambivalence felt toward them by other RVers, is reportedly character-
istic of the attitude of members of mainstream society toward those on the
margins. In his discussion of places on the margin, Shields observes: "The
social definition of marginal places and spaces is intimately linked with the
categorisation of objects, practices, ideas and modes of social interaction as
belonging to the 'Low culture,' the culture of marginal places and spaces, the
culture of the marginalised" (1991:4-5). He maintains that the marginal is
categorized as being "at the 'edge of civilisation'" and that the "high" or
dominant culture is ambivalent toward it: "The social 'Other' of the marginal
and of low cultures is despised and reviled in the official discourse of domi-
nant culture and central power while at the same time being constitutive of
the imaginary and emotional repertoires of that dominant culture" (Shields
1991:5). The ambivalence cuts both ways. Some boondockers take exception
to resort park rules that they think are designed to keep them out. Valerie — a
state campground host and active member of Singles International (SI) who
spends her non-working months either at SI rallies, in public parks or boon-

docking — candidly admitted that she would love to spend her time in a park with a swimming pool and a spa. She was prevented from doing this, she said, by the age of her motor home and by the high fees that would strain her limited retirement income. Valerie also avoids resort parks because the people there are "cliquish." They are, she said, "all better fixed than I am, and I wouldn't be welcome. So I don't do it."

Boondockers bitterly resent RVing acquaintances who live in resort parks and who make remarks such as "How can you live out here like this?" They ridicule these people as being ignorant, fearful, wasteful of money and resources and prejudiced. They also maintain that people who "badmouth" the boondocking way of life usually have not tried it, arguing that those who do give it a chance often find, to their surprise, that they like it.

Some boondockers are of the opinion that boondocking is for the youthful in spirit while resort parks are for the old. This was the attitude of Mabel, a woman in her mid-70s who had boondocked for a decade but who, for health reasons, was now headed for her second year in a private park. She wryly observed that resort parks cater to "the blue rinse bunch" and complained (with an ironic chuckle) that the problem with resorts is that they are "full of old people." Another boondocker commented that people who spend six months at a time in RV resorts are "just waiting to die." He went on: "When I get so old that I can't [boondock], then I'll go into one. They have schedules up on the wall to tell you what you can do and when you can do it. Not me!" A friend, listening to the conversation, chimed in: "Me neither."

The most scathing, and articulate, critique of resort park residents was made by Randy and Rachel, working RVers. This couple had dropped out of society when they were in their 40s to boondock and work as flea marketers. Now in their late 50s, they are still "hustling" to survive. One of the ways they make a living is by providing entertainment in resort parks in exchange for parking space and hookups. Although they were dependent on them for a livelihood, they were contemptuous of their resort park neighbours whom they scornfully categorized as "snowbirds" who "would like to live in Sun City but can't afford it." They described the residents as "people who have no imagination and no sense of adventure and who continue living the constricted lives they've always lived, taking orders." They added that although they live in RVs, resort residents typically try to re-create living in a house and pretend they own their territory. They do this by placing lawn ornaments in their "front yards," putting down artificial turf for grass and bounding their "yards" with portable fences. Randy characterized snowbirds as conformists who "always do their laundry on Monday" because "they have followed orders all their lives and are still doing it."

Part of the tension existing between resort park residents and boondockers derives from the image of "trailer trash" that is left over from the stereotypi-

cal association of trailer parks and poverty. Thus, although RVers espouse a philosophy of equality ("we are all the same here!"), they distance themselves from those who are categorized as "trash." An excellent example of the rejection by RVers of any suggestion that they are "lower class slobs" is found in a collection of letters to the November 1988 issue of *Trailer Life* magazine. The letters were in response to an advertisement published in the May 22, 1988, issue of *Advertisement Age* for *US Magazine*. It consisted of a two-page spread showing an RV campground peopled with aging, slovenly men and women sitting in disarray around shabby RVs. The caption noted the high median income, the active social life and the generally upscale lifestyle of *US readers*. Though nothing was said in the caption about the RVers in the photo, the contrast was clear from the ad's title "Definitely Not *US!*" The advertisement was reprinted in *Trailer Life* because the magazine editors considered it to be "insulting to all RVers." Readers were asked to send letters to the publisher of *US Magazine* with copies to *Trailer Life*. Some of the letters characterized the advertisement as intolerable, "condescending snobbishness" (*Trailer Life* 1988:7) and focussed on the value of an alternative lifestyle based on simplicity and love of nature. "RVers are adventurous, fun people, a class unto themselves," said one correspondent (Montelpasse 1988:7). Another responded:

> You will often see my husband and me relaxing in camp, but usually after a day of hiking nature trails, bird watching, breathing fresh air and just plain enjoying nature. My idea of relaxation is definitely not going to an expensive resort crawling with snobs showing off their expensive clothes. (Noon 1988:169)

And another: "We are college-educated, affluent, active, healthy, outdoor-loving, trim, family-loving, book-and-Bible-reading, retired happy people" (Green 1988:165). Others emphasized their affluence and their credentials both as typical RVers and as members of the upper-middle class. For example: "As a typical RV person, I am 60, own a $75 000 home on a half acre, have a $22 000 truck and a $30 000 fifth-wheel trailer. My retirement income, completely disposable, is well over $31 000 a year" (Lewis 1988:165). And:

> The average RVer today is ... educated and affluent. He actually buys second cars or thirds, coats, and clothes. He "goes out like crazy" in a variety of locales. He isn't necessarily retired, but may very likely be a professional and even single. His RV probably has an air-conditioner and furnace, TV (and a satellite dish on top), a microwave oven, stereo, full bath, etc. (Robinson 1988:165, 169)[6]

Although RVers reject the "slob" image, they are not agreed on whether they place more value on equality (and eschew snobs) or on a hierarchy of respectability evidenced by affluence and lifestyle and expressed by conspicu-

ous consumption. There is tension here in the notion of place that both creates and destroys community: there is a contradiction between the notion that all RVers are equal and the recognition that they are not. We have already referred to the desire of people in resort parks to avoid sharing space with people who, because of their consumption level (older trailers) or their lifestyle (those who live in trailers with flat tires) are likely to be untrustworthy. This directly contradicts the egalitarian ideal, the notion that, as one RVer put it: "The biggest adjustment that RVers have to make is getting used to the idea that everybody is equal."

RVers and the Problems of Limited Space

Although the choices that RVers make about where they will camp and how they use their space may divide them, their common experiences in adjusting to the spatial problems inherent in RVing draws them together.

One problem that every RVer must face is that space inside a trailer, fifth-wheel or motor home is severely limited. People who take up the RV lifestyle, especially full-timers for whom the rig is truly home, must adjust to the fact that the limited space affects (1) the relationships between people sharing the space and (2) the number of possessions they can carry with them. RVers are well aware of the tensions that develop between people who share restricted space. When we asked what was required for full-time RVing, a frequent reply was "a happy marriage" or "a congenial husband/wife." Some people said they were able to begin RVing only after divorce or the death of a spouse; others commented that while RVing was possible with their current mate, it would have been impossible with an earlier one. The level of stress that can develop between incompatible RV partners was brought home to us as we were ending our research when we had a brief encounter with another RVing couple who were also heading north rather than south. When we remarked that we were all going the wrong direction, the man responded by warning us never to sell our home and buy an RV. They had done this and had also purchased expensive memberships in two park organizations during the past summer. Now, only six months later, he was headed home to get divorced, having been financially ruined by the investment and "by that piece of shit back there," pointing toward the RV. The trailer was a new and expensive one, so we asked "What's wrong with it?" "I'm not talking about the rig," he snarled, "I'm talking about the woman in it."

The interpersonal problems of living in the confined space of an RV are sometimes addressed in the popular RV press. For example, in an article in *Trailer Life* one author suggests ways to organize life in order to live compatibly in the restricted space of an RV. In what he calls "the ten commandments of the psychology of living in small spaces," Jim Luce focusses on considerate behaviour, the wise and creative use of space and proper care of

one's body and spirit. The practice of these commandments, according to Luce, results in Tender Loving Concern or TLC (Luce 1991). TLC "can make even the most trying times in an RV bearable," while its absence "can let the air out of a trip like a nail does in a radial tire." It is, he says, "what puts the 'home' in motorhome" (Luce 1991:80).

In addition to the practice of TLC, an RV is also a home because, as Mary Douglas suggests, it has "structure in time" (1991:290). A home's complexity of orientation and boundary "depends on the ideas that persons are carrying inside their heads about their lives in space and time. For the home is the realization of ideas" (ibid.). Douglas argues that a distinctive characteristic of the idea of home is revealed if we "focus on the home as an organization of space over time" (1991:294). Home, she says, is "always a localizable idea," one that is located in space, but not necessarily in a fixed space. "Home starts by bringing some space under control. . . . For a home neither the space nor its appurtenances have to be fixed, but there has to be something regular about the appearance and reappearance of its furnishings" (Douglas 1991:289).

"Home" involves a response to events that happened in the past — to memory — and a prediction of events that will happen in the future. For example, people remember cold winters and respond by installing storm windows or buying extra blankets. As Douglas notes, an essential aspect of home is storage: space dedicated to memory and to planning for the future. A home contains things that will be wanted through the years and organizes them so that they can be found when they are required. The severe limitation of storage space in rigs creates for RVers the problem of anticipating their future needs in order to reduce their possessions to essentials. "No matter how large a motorhome you may own, the storage problem is soon upon you," warns Norman Lusk in a letter to *Trailer Life* (Lusk 1991:19). The ability to fit essential possessions and the artifacts of memory into a limited space is a must for full-time RVing. One full-timer, explaining the need to cull belongings, told us, "You do not put anything in here that you do not use or wear." He added that he had only three pairs of trousers: one in the dirty clothes, one he was wearing and a clean pair. His wife commented that she had reduced her formal wardrobe to one "little blue dress" for funerals and weddings. Similarly, Courtney quotes Kay Peterson, one of the founders of Escapees, who urges those on the brink of full-timing, but hesitant to give up their "things," to order their priorities. "Do you own things or do they own you?" she asks (Courtney 1991:78).

Limited storage means that RVers must restrict the artifacts containing their memories and histories to basics. With little room for nostalgia, the past must be condensed to its essence. This constraint is common to nomads. Prussin, who worked with the Gabra of Kenya, observes that for nomads the

past persists in limited boundaries. "Constancy and continuity are ...
concentrated within, and bounded by, the moving container," she says
(1989:155).

In a sense, full-time RVers must relinquish the past. As one said, "It's not
giving up the things that's hard, it's giving up what has been." Many RVers
reduce their memories to the pages of a photograph album which they share
with others within hours of their first meeting. The pictures are usually of
their family members and of their RV history and RVing friends. They place
the subjects in a recognizable context and permit other RVers with whom
they do not share a common history to recreate their past, identify with their
experiences and to share photographs, adventures and family histories of their
own.

Giving up home and possessions is a rite of passage, especially for full-
time RVers. Those who have done it share a unique experience that sets them
apart, even from other RVers, and creates among them a sense of community.
As onlookers we witnessed, but could not participate in, the comradeship
shared by full-timers as they swapped stories about how they decided to give
up their homes, how they established priorities in determining which of their
possessions to keep and the difficulties of actually carrying through with their
decision. Most full-timers said they spent a long time deciding to do it and
many took several years and more than one start before they completed the
process. As Randy expressed it:

> People who want to go full-time have a set of problems. The first is letting go
> of their house. You can't have a nest. You must strip your belongings down to
> the bare essentials and get rid of the rest. You can't take a lot of things with
> you. Too many people try to hang onto their house and rent it out. Renters tear
> the place up and they lose their shirts. I tell them, "Give it up and sell."

The full-timers with whom we talked had tried a number of approaches to
"letting go." A few people said they had no difficulty divesting themselves
of their excess property once they made the decision to do it, but — as the pre-
vious quotation suggests — many more sought some kind of compromise that
permitted them to keep the treasures they could neither part with nor fit into
their RV. Some people gave their homes and family heirlooms to a child with
the understanding that they could return there to live if poor health forced
them off the road; others called in their children to claim what they wanted of
the family treasures before the rest was sold at auction; others moved things
they could not part with to a summer cottage or into storage where they sat
for years before finally being discarded.

After they make the decision to sell their home and strip themselves of un-
necessary possessions, RVers must develop strategies for making the best use
of the limited space in their rigs. Ideas on how to accomplish this are a
favourite topic of conversation and whenever they get together RVers share

information on how to organize their interiors most efficiently. They spend hours exchanging views on which kinds and models of RVs have the most space available, ways in which things can be made to do double duty and ideas on how to modify one's rig to make it "livable" nomadic space. Veteran full-timers invited us inside to demonstrate how they had solved the problems of limited storage. One full-timer couple pointed with pride to the retaining bars along the upper walls of their rig that held their entire collection of music transcribed onto cassette tapes, while another described an innovative RVer who had installed his model train track along the walls of his trailer. Luce's suggestions for the creative use of wall space is a published example of this kind of information exchange (Luce 1991). Another is the article "Playing Solitaire" in *Highways* in which Edwards suggests modifications that make the space in rigs more useful to single RVers (Edwards 1991b).

Because interior space is so limited, RVers spend a lot of time outdoors and include the area where the rig is parked as part of their home or dwelling space. Interior space is private; most socializing occurs in the external space adjacent to the RV: in lawn chairs under an awning, at a picnic table or on the astroturf "lawn" in front of the rig. The notion that one's home or dwelling includes the out-of-doors is well known cross-culturally. In his definitive study of dwellings in many societies, Oliver observes that they do not require permanent structures. He says:

> To dwell is to . . . live in, or at, or on, or about a place. For some this implies a permanent structure, for others a temporary accommodation, for still others it is where they live, even if there is little evidence of building. . . . It is this double significance of dwelling—dwelling as the activity of living or residing, and dwelling as the place or structure which is the focus of residence—which encompasses the manifold cultural and material aspects of domestic habitation. (Oliver 1987:7)

As we observed above, one distinction between boondockers and resort park residents is that boondockers refuse to accept limits that restrict them to only a few feet of external space or rules defining how they are expected to use it. Typically, the area that boondockers claim for their dwelling is more extensive than the area allowed residents of private parks and greater even than the sites in many park or forest service campgrounds. Those who return to the same site year after year may stake out a considerable area for themselves. In the Slabs, for instance, we saw a "No Trespassing" sign blocking off a dirt track leading down into a shallow ravine where a trailer was parked. When we asked our neighbours whether individuals did, in fact, own land in the Slabs they confirmed that the sign had no legitimacy. As one said, "We're all trespassers here."

According to Randy, to be a full-timer it is necessary to give up notions of territoriality. "People have a lot of trouble with the fact that they don't own the land where they are parked," he said. "You can't put a fence around the place where you park." This is true and it is the source of a fascinating paradox, for although they cannot own the space outside their RV, they attempt to make it their own; as one of our informants said, to "make it like home."

Even if they plan to be in a place only a few days, many people attempt to personalize their outside space. They brush it clean and hang bird feeders and baskets of plants; they fly over it flags that proclaim their nationality (U.S., Canadian), affiliation (RV club) or ideology (Christian cross, the Jolly Roger, the Confederate Stars and Bars); they bound it with stones, bits of broken glass, small white picket fencing or strings of coloured lanterns; they plant flowers, cactus or vegetables; they put down an astroturf "lawn"; they decorate it with pink flamingos, fountains, coloured rocks, hunting trophies, cow skulls and Christmas trees; and they build patios, campfire circles and barbecue pits. In short, anything that might be found outside a suburban home to identify it as personal space may also be found in the space outside an RV. Furthermore, people who stay in one spot for months, or who return to the same site year after year—whether it is a pad in a resort park rented by the month or year or a spot in the Slabs—attempt to establish "ownership" of their space. They put up signs naming their area ("Rattlesnake Flats") and listing the names of the people who live there (recall the comment of Vanessa, "When you get situated in one group it's like a family, but we don't have a name yet"). In boondocking areas, a site that appears to be empty may in fact be "owned" by former residents who have improved it and intend to return. Newcomers who try to park in one of these sites are warned that they should move because it "belongs" to someone who will be returning to claim it. If the rights of the absent "owner" are not respected, fights may occur.

Social space for community activity is an important part of any RV setting. This is the shared area where people socialize and in which everyone involved has rights. In private parks where the requirements of water mains, sewage lines and electrical connections dictate that RVs must park in rows, social space may be formally organized. In these parks, too, the desire for privacy and the recapitulation of suburban neighbourhoods are manifested by aligning the rigs so that the entrance of each one faces its private pad and the back of its neighbouring RV. Such parks often advertise their social space such as recreation halls or swimming pools. In public parks, individual sites are usually larger and are also organized in rows along roads. Public space in these parks includes campfire circles where officials deliver talks, recreation areas such as playgrounds or swimming beaches and picnic areas where pot-luck dinners organized by the host are held.

In desert boondocking areas there is no imposed external organization. People may park wherever they wish, and an individual RVer's personal territory can take up as much area as she wishes or can lay claim to by establishing boundaries. Neighbourhood design is not limited by the constraints of hookups and, although they do sometimes park along access roads, people are free to form communities of whatever shape they wish. They most often arrange themselves in circles with their doorways facing inward. The circle formation seems to be spontaneous and, although no one has the authority to tell anyone else where to park, a newcomer who unwittingly disrupts a circle will be directed to "a good place to park" on the periphery. The inside of the circle is community space where circle residents may construct a fireplace or barbecue pit or decorate a tree in December. Other community spaces — used by all residents of a boondocking area — include canals, river banks or springs where people go to wash and talk or the area in an LTVA near the host's rig. Social events may be organized (a potluck dinner) or spontaneous (singing around an evening campfire) and contribute to a strong sense of belonging among the participants.

Conclusion

In her discussion of the Gabra of Kenya, Prussin observes that the repetition of fixed spatial pattern reinforces the cognitive structure of interior space for nomads (1989). We would take this further and argue that when RV nomads set up at a new site, their repetition of spatial patterns reinvents and reinforces their cognitive structure of home, society and community. Although RVers carry with them the form of their social structure, the form is empty. Because they share no history with their RV neighbours, there is no one to fill the status of "neighbour," "friend" or "family," but the ideal content of these forms is shared knowledge. Therefore, when a newcomer pulls in, the strangers who are instant neighbours immediately begin to perform the roles of friend and family by sharing substance and labour. They help the newcomer set up, bring food, give advice and exchange information and personal history. This sharing and exchange allows RVers, who have no common past, to recreate the structure of history from one park to another and to embed themselves in a familiar social structure given substance. Like the Gabra, their reconstruction of history and society enables them to insulate themselves from a hostile environment — the "Crazies" out there — and to transform the stranger who might "rip you off" into the friend who will look after you in your time of need.

Notes

1. Our research was supported by an Arts Research Board grant from McMaster University, using funds supplied by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC). All names used in the manuscript have been changed to protect the privacy of our informants.
2. A "park model" trailer is not quite a recreational vehicle, nor is it quite a "mobile home." Such fine distinctions are important in the world of Rvers. A *real* RV must be capable of being towed by the owner's private vehicle at will. A mobile home is essentially a moveable house — often 10 or 12 feet in width — and can only be moved by a proper tractor. A "park model" is no more than eight feet wide and may, therefore, be parked in an "RV" park, but it is furnished with regular furniture (rather than built-ins) and may even have sliding patio doors as one of its accessories. It is *not* meant to be moved without considerable professional planning.
3. Among RVers, a "rig" refers to the recreational vehicle *including* the tow vehicle, e.g., the truck that pulls a fifth-wheel or conventional trailer. When the RV is parked for residence, it is termed the "unit," even if it is an inseparable marriage of living quarters and motive power, as with a motor home. Living quarters that are detachable from their motive power, such as trailers, fifth wheels or truck campers are referred to as "units" when distinguishing them from the truck, van or other tow vehicle.
4. A "glory hole" is a hole in the desert, often dug by an earlier user of the site, into which one drains either sewage (black water) or wash water (grey water) or both. These holes may be as much as six feet deep and are considered by those who use them to be ecologically sound, sanitary, odourless and sensible. State health officials and RVers who prefer sani-dumps may disagree.
5. A pad is the private space that includes the place where the RV is parked and an area around it that is usually only a few feet wide.
6. "Going out like crazy" appears in this letter because in the advertisement for *US* magazine, its readership was characterized as doing just that — they "go out like crazy!"
   The point of the ad was that the slobbish RVers in the accompanying photograph were definitely NOT *US readers* — RVers and other non-*US* readers sat around in their undershirts and drank beer in the woods near their rigs.

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THE MAKING OF THE "BUSHMEN"

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Abstract: The image of the Bushmen has altered several times over the last 150 years. These alterations reflect fluctuations in the relationship between power and knowledge rather than ethnographic "realities." Some mid-Victorian scholars did not distinguish Bushmen from Khoi pastoralists. When Bushmen posed an impediment to German ambitions in Southwest Africa, they came to be represented as remnants of a primordial race, either dangerously bastardized or so pristine they could never be assimilated. Once white hegemony was assured, the "San" could safely become "harmless people." In delineating these changes, the author notes that the supposedly anomalous genitalia of the Bushmen played a part in the contruction of racial difference, revealing white sexual anxieties similar to those reflected in the images of Jew and Gypsy in Nazi racial science.

Résumé: L'image du Boschiman s'est modifiée plusieurs fois dans les cent cinquante dernières années. Ces changements reflètent plutôt les variations de relations entre pouvoir et savoir que des réalités ethnographiques. Certains érudits du milieu de l'ère Victorienne ne distinguaient pas les Boschimans des pasteurs Khoi. Lorsque les Boschimans entravèrent les ambitions de conquête allemandes en Afrique du Sud, on en vint à considérer les Boschimans, comme les derniers représentants d'une race primordiale, dangereusement abâtardis ou si primitifs que toute assimilation aurait été impossible. Une fois l'hégémonie blanche assurée, les "San" devenaient sans risque "un peuple inoffensif."

En présentant ces changements, l'auteur remarque que les parties génitales, soi-disant anormales des Boschimans, ont joué un rôle important dans l'élaboration des différences raciales, mettant à jour les anxiétés sexuelles des blancs. Ce sont ces mêmes anxiétés que l'on voit reflétées dans les images du Juif et du Tzigane dans la science raciale des Nazis.

183

> Men discern situations with particular vocabu-
> laries, and it is in terms of some delimited vo-
> cabulary that they anticipate consequences of
> conduct.   — Mills 1940:906

Introduction

Judging by the number of pages which the great "Kalahari Debate" occupies
in prestigious academic journals, a future historian of the current era would
probably conclude that it was one of the besetting intellectual issues of our
time. In brief, the debate concerns the status of those people most commonly
labelled "Bushmen" or "Kung" who are surely one of the most heavily
commoditized human groups in the annals of science. They are widely touted
as the classic textbook example of what the Western world perceives to be
"hunters and gatherers." The orthodox view is/was that they provided a
unique and valuable window into how our neolithic forebears lived. Recently
this view, someone would even say paradigm, has been challenged by schol-
ars starting with Schrire (1980), and most eloquently by Wilmsen (1989),
who argue that far from being "timeless hunters" Bushmen or San were ac-
tually very much part of a wider social economy in which they figured most
pre-eminently as an underclass. The debate has been acrimonious, indicative
perhaps that more is at issue than personal reputations (see, e.g., Wilmsen
1989; Solway and Lee 1990; Wilmsen and Denbow 1990; Smith 1990; Lee
and Guenther 1991).

   The main aim of this paper is simply to emphasize that this current contro-
versy did not drop ready-made from heaven but indeed has a lengthy intellec-
tual genealogy, and that a consideration of some aspects of the socio-cultural
milieu of the "primitive forerunners" of the current debate is important for
understanding its impact. The debate by our primitive forerunners engaged
some of the finest minds in Europe and served to propel those labelled Bush-
men to the forefront of scientific interest. With the wisdom of hindsight we
can see not only how trivial some of the issues became but more importantly
how the debate had deadly consequences for the people who were objectified.
If this paper succeeds in sensitizing current participants and interested on-
lookers to the importance of critical self-reflection it will have achieved its
main purpose. Our debates can have consequences beyond the halls of
academe.

From Impoverished Pastoralists to Neolithic Remnants in 40 Years

In 1889 Sir Francis Galton, "one of the most skilful of travellers and explor-
ers" (The *Advertiser and Mail*, January 29, 1878), second President of the
Royal Anthropological Institute, and influential Victorian man of science, re-
flected the conventional wisdom when he claimed that Bushmen were simply
impoverished Khoi pastoralists. His statement carried the added authority of

the fact that he had explored what is now Namibia in 1851 and personally encountered "Bushmen":

> There is no difference whatever between the Hottentot and Bushman, who lives wild about the hills in this part of Africa, whatever may be said or written on the subject. The Namaqua Hottentot is simply the reclaimed and somewhat civilized Bushman, just as the Oerlams represent the same raw material under a slightly higher degree of polish. Not only are they identical in degree in features and language, but the Hottentot tribes have been, and continue to be, recruited from the Bushmen. The largest tribe of these Namagua Hottentots, those under Cornelius, and who now muster 1,000 guns, have almost all of them lived the life of Bushmen. In fact, a savage loses his name, "Sean," which is the Hottentot word, as soon as he leaves his Bushman's life and joins one of the larger tribes, as those at Walfish Bay have done. (Galton 1889:42)

Yet within 40 years orthodoxy had changed: the prominent South African publicist Hedley Chilvers could claim the Bushmen to be one of the Seven Wonders of Southern Africa (Chilvers 1928), and the traveller Makin was moved to complain that:

> As is usual with any disappearing race, the Bushmen have now become an absorbing ethnological study to many pundits in the professional world. Every year white men come to the edge of the Kalahari desert, camp out there with an array of cameras and scientific impediments, and try to entice the nomads of the desert to visit the camp. Tobacco is scattered as lavishly as crumbs to ensnare birds. And the few Bushmen who are in touch with civilization, a type that like a nameless dog will hang about the place where a bone may be flung at them, come into camp and are scientifically examined. (Makin 1929:278)

How and why did this rapid transformation in the academic status of the Bushmen occur? This paper works towards answering such questions by examining aspects of the socio-cultural milieu in which academics "made the Bushmen." This "making of the Bushmen" is the product of discernible socio-cultural factors which are firmly located in history. This paper analyzes the interplay between this imagery, policy and history.

The Great Bushman Debate of 1906-12

A convenient starting point for understanding this transformation from impoverished Khoi to persona *sui generis* is that which Wilmsen and Denbow (1990) term the "First Great Bushman Debate" which raged from 1906 to 1912 and featured the (upstart) geographer Passarge, who argued that Bushmen were integrated into a wider economy, and the prominent anthropologist Fritsch who felt that Bushmen were unique representatives of a former epoch. As at the Contemporary American Anthropological Association, papers on the status of Bushmen at the staid Berlin Anthropological Society always provoked an animated discussion. Most of this debate was in German. Indeed

while English anthropologists were still largely operating in the antiquarian tradition, Germany had more professional anthropologists than the rest of the world combined. Until the First World War Germany led the world in anthropology. The Royal Anthropological Institute, despite blowing the trumpet of Imperial service, was comparatively unimportant. In 1920, for example, during the heyday of enlightened colonialism, the Royal Anthropological Institute could boast only some 484 members while the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, founded in 1869, could boast some 895 ordinary members, 103 corresponding members and 5 honorary members.[1] Smith (1977) has shown how structural features inherent in the social organization of German anthropology — the dominance of the Berlin intellectuals, generational rivalry, regional differences and ideological disparities — made such a ''debate'' inevitable. Yet this debate is symptomatic of an important issue and the intellectual detritus it spawned is still with us. It was more than simply a debate about abstract intellectual principles and has a long history dating back at least to the pages of the *South African Commercial Advertiser* of 1829.

The making of the Bushmen occurred during a period of profound social change. It was the period in which newly founded anthropological societies in the metropole and colonies were struggling to consolidate their often precarious position in ''the Parliament of Science.'' For example, anthropological societies were created in Paris, London, Berlin, Moscow, Vienna, Florence, Stockholm and Washington. The famous *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* was launched in Berlin in 1868 and the German African Society was founded by Bastian in 1871. In the professionalization of the discipline appeals to the amateurs no longer carried weight and they rapidly moved to the audience. Their activities exemplified the interplay of ideologies and interests at home and abroad. In the 1880s physical anthropology was dominant in both France and Germany. The context in which these discussions took place was also important. The discourse was fashioned by the ''new'' science that promised a new way of controlling and understanding nature and was allegedly capable of providing a vigorous and single answer. Science was gradually accepted as authoritative. Despite the outside image of consensus there was little unanimity in key areas. Physical differences were thought by many to be the key to classifying human races and craniometry was accepted as a measure of human intelligence. A major tension in the shaping of modern anthropology during this period was how to get at the ''mind'' of Primitive Man. On the one hand, there were the philologists who felt that the way to do this was through the study of language. Not surprisingly they tended to be largely of missionary persuasion since they had a vested interest in translating the Bible into indigenous languages (Du Toit 1984), while the people struggling for the definition of ''scientist'' tended to go via the anatomical route. The political

and social predilections of the latter group were epitomized best perhaps by the likes of Virchow and the Anthropological Society of Paris (Harvey 1983). Scientists and especially anatomists in Europe had opportunities to examine genitalia of Bushmen brought over for ethnographic exhibitions. These exhibitions were in effect statements as to what people felt was important and in reality reinforced the already existing literary stereotypes. One show which attracted a lot of medical attention from the likes of Virchow, Muller and Plischka in Berlin was Farini's *Troglodytes*. (Observe how the very term troglodytes reinforced prior scientific conceptions given that ir referred to denizens of the area below the earth, i.e., the area geologically prior in time to the present.) Such a focus on genitalia would occasionally be used as a boundary maintenance device by the atonomists to separate them from the missionary dominated philologists. More importantly, Germany was heavily involved in acquiring colonies, most notably in Southwest Africa, an area in which most of those labelled as Bushmen were living.

Various intellectual arguments and assumptions in Europe served to push and mould Bushmen as anthropological object. Whether one subscribed to the great chain of being or to evolution, Bushmen occupied an important place. As Prichard put it:

> Writers on the history of mankind seem to be nearly agreed in considering the Bushmen or Bosjesmen of South Africa as the most degraded and miserable of all nations, and the lowest in the scale of humanity. . . . [T]hese people are so brutish, lazy, and stupid, that the idea of reducing them to slavery has been abandoned. . . . It is no matter of surprise that those writers who search for approximations between mankind and the inferior orders of the creation, fix upon the Bushmen as their favourite theme (Prichard 1851 Vol. 1:177-178).

In the world of European intellectual life there were many factors which served to propel Bushmen to scientific prominence. In the emerging scientific professionalization, two approaches — that of the *Geisteswissenschaften* (roughly translated as humanities and social sciences) represented by philology, with Wilhelm Bleek its most distinguished representative, and *Naturwissenschaften* (natural sciences) as represented by the physical anthropologists — shared the discourse on the Bushmen. While physical anthropology was to dominate, both used ethnology to plot their hypotheses, for, as Cust pithily put it, "the Physical features are therefore *determinative* of a Race; the Languages and Religion are only *descriptive*" (Cust 1883:51).

First into the field was the philologist Bleek. In 1852 he had predicted that Africa would be as significant for philology in the second half of the century as the Orient was during the first half and considered that an adequate understanding of Khoi was so crucial and long overdue that he expressed a willingness to spend years among the people of southern Africa (Ryding 1975:6).

Shortly thereafter he managed to ship out to Africa and spent the rest of his short life in Southern Africa trying to fulfill his own prophecy.

As a philological protégé of Baron Bunsen and Max Mueller, Bleek was initially interested in determining "how far a system of sounds like that of the Bushmen shows points of coincidence with sounds produced by the apes resembling man" (Bleek 1869:53). Folklore was to be his instrument for penetrating the mind of these "original people." After some study he argued that on linguistic grounds Bushman language was distinct from Hottentot (Khoi). The ideological impact of his theories linking Bushmen and Khoi to the "ancient Coptic tongue of Egypt" (Wilmot 1895:47) was immediate and long-lasting, undergoing continuous tinkering to keep abreast of metropolitan theoretical fashions. Thus by 1875 he classified the Hottentots as kindred to the Bantu and distinct from Bushmen (Bleek 1875). Bushmen were not the lowest stage of humanity but in many ways closer to European culture (Bleek 1874) and this tied in well with archeological arguments of the day that saw European rock art as being created by a Bushman-like race. Indeed less than five years after Boucher de Perthes first identified prehistoric stone artefacts, Langham Dale, the Superintendent of Education in the Cape Colony, associated Bushmen with stone tools and thus suggested that they were representatives of the prehistoric era (see, e.g., Lubbock 1913; Keith 1914). As such, Bushmen were locked into an unchanging pristine condition in which history was ignored. Lubbock echoed the conventional wisdom of the era: "The Australians, Bushmen, and Fuegians lived when first observed almost exactly as they do now" (Lubbock 1913:431).

Linguistic theories pioneered by Bleek and later elaborated by Meinhof dovetailed well with the ongoing physical anthropology discourse to give credibility to the so-called "Hamitic hypothesis," while at the same time reinforcing the notion that Bushmen represented some sort of *Urrasse* (another term difficult to translate, generally glossed as primeval race).

After Bleek's death, the major Bushman entrepreneur was Gustav Fritsch whose classic *Die Eingeborenen Sud-Afrikas anatomisch und ethnographisch bescreiben* (1872) was based on some three years' fieldwork in South Africa. He and Bleek admired each other's work and regarded each other as authoritative. Fritsch was co-founder with Virchow of the Berlin Anthropological Society. In sharp contrast to the monogenetic orientation of the Bleekian philologists, the Virchowian physical anthropologists were polygenists. But both approaches had a vested interest in emphasizing the distinctiveness of those they labelled "Bushmen." While dubbing them the "unfortunate children of the moment," Fritsch (1872) emphasized that the term Bushman did not refer to some *Waldbewohner* but to *Waldmensch*, an unidentifiable and dubious zoological category somewhere between humans and apes.

A central part of this *naturwissenschaftliche* discourse concerning genitalia emerged out of earlier academic work and was justified by Linnaeus' famous

taxonomy based on reproductive organs. Often it amounted to pornography dressed up in scholarly drag (see, e.g., Winchell 1880:71-73, 253; Keane 1896:251). Bushman genitalia were seen as clinching their intercalary role between humans and animals (see also Ploss 1935:335). Bertin is representative of such views. Basing himself on Fritsch (1872), he accepted that Bushmen were "anthropologically a distinct branch among the African races" (Bertin 1886:53). The distinctive characteristic of Bushmen was, he argued, the nymphae or *tablier*, and, when found among Hottentots, were simply evidence of intermixture (Bertin 1886:55; see also Waldeyer 1885). Bushmen, Bertin believed, were related to the original Egyptians since both shared the *tablier egyptien.* "Racial emnity" between Bushmen and Hottentots served to perpetuate these differences (Ratzel 1897:259). This view became dogma. Thus wrote Vedder, a pioneer Namibian missionary-philologist: "From the earliest times they were despised, hated, and fiercely persecuted by all other natives. . . . Distrustful of everyone who belonged to another tribe . . . they live, even today, their miserable Bushman life, *just as their ancestors have lived it for centuries*" (Vedder 1938:78).

By 1906 debate was largely about how to scientifically distinguish Bushmen from Hottentots. In short, what was unique about the Bushmen? By then it was generally agreed that the *tablier* was found to be so widely distributed in Africa that it could not be used as a differentiating feature. Craniometrical differences between Bushmen and Hottentot were insignificant and thus the issue had to be resolved by other means. Within a few years the focus had shifted to male penises as the differential. Especially influential were the research and photographs of Bushman prisoners by Seiner (see, e.g., Seiner and Staudinger 1912; Seiner 1913; Poch 1911, 1912) who argued that the semi-erect penis of the Bushmen was a distinctive racial characteristic and that Bushmen could be identified by the angle of penis: "Exceptionally interesting is the circumstance that Bushmen do not have pendular penises like the other human races, but are, in non-aroused circumstances, horizontal like four-footed mammals" (Siener 1913:288, author's translation).

It was a one-sided debate: by 1914 most scholars accepted the distinctiveness of Bushmen largely on the basis of their genitalia.

While few academics today concern themselves with Bushman genitalia, it is a topic which has become submerged hovering around under the surface of published discourse and still influencing the way in which we shape our academic investigations. It surfaces in odd places, indicating its widespread distribution. For example, an article by one of the greatest Afrikaner intellectuals, Eugene Nielen Marais, written in the between-war years and reprinted in 1965, ostensibly on Khoi literature, includes this strange but remarkable second paragraph:

Today the wild Bushman affords the strongest existing proof of the polygenetic theory of human descent. ... [T]he profound somatic differences between the Bushman and the lowest human race precludes all idea of a common species. *The strange structural peculiarities in the sexual organs would alone constitute a divergence from type unparalleled in nature* [and then to re-emphasize the point]. ... And it is not only the structure of the sexual organs which separate the Bushman from all human races. ... (Marais 1965:40[2]).

Shaping the Facts to Fit the Theory?

But in accounting for the making of Bushmen one needs to move beyond the notion of science being the replacement of ideas by even better, more accurate or truthful ones. A potentially useful approach, I suggest, is to treat these scholarly treatises as accounts (Lyman and Scott 1970), that is, we should consider them as a form of linguistic utterance: "We must approach linguistic behavior, not by referring to private states in individuals, but by observing its social function of coordinating diverse actions. Rather than expressing something which is prior and in the person, language is taken by other persons as an indicator of future actions" (Mills 1940:904).

In short, did this Bushman debate serve any "social functions"? The decline of the term Bushman and its substitution by San illustrates not only the increasing mystification of the other but also the necessity of considering socio-economic context. San is glossed by contemporary academics as "original peoples" but when this interpretation was first popularized during the late 19th century it referred not so much to "first people" as to *"Urrasse."* Is there any significance in the fact that the fashionable gloss of "original people" became stylish when scientists were interested in Bushmen as representatives of the paleolithic? "Original people" is simply one of many glosses for the meaning of San. Theophilus Hahn (1881) is usually cited as the definitive authority for this gloss. But the matter is much more complex. In his 1881 monograph Hahn writes:

The meaning of this term is not quite intelligible, and I frankly confess that, after nine years, of which I have spent seven amongst the Khoikhoi (Nama), I did not succeed in arriving at a quite satisfactory etymology, and I must still adhere to the interpretation which I first gave in the *Globus*, 1870, where I traced the word Sa-(b) to the root sa, to inhabit, to be located, to dwell, to be settled, to be quiet. Sa(n) consequently would mean Aborigines or Settlers proper. ... (Hahn, *in* Nienaber 1989:831)

However, in 1870 Hahn says of San:

The meaning is unclear. ... The nearest explanation is pariahs, outcasts, pursued [*Gehetzte*], an explanation which is grounded in reality. A second explanation is based on the root sau, "to follow" in which case they were the underlings [*Knechte*]. Wallmann, formerly Rhenish Mission Inspector, derives Sab from the root sa, "rest," and explains this as the original *"Sesshaften"* inhabi-

tants. Also this explanation is not to be ignored. (Both citations derived and translated from Nienaber 1989:831)

Nienaber claims that Hahn's gloss of San as "Original Inhabitants" was copied from Wallmann who used it more as a term denoting teasing in the sense of "people who enjoy rest." Nienaber, certainly no radical, notes that this change in gloss was politically expedient to Hahn as it fit in well with the emerging theory that the Bushmen were the original inhabitants of the country who were then dispossessed by the Khoi-khoi and Herero and thus provided a valuable justification for European conquest of Khoi and Herero in Namibia. Such an interpretation calibrated well with Hahn's political activities in Namaqualand at that time (Nienaber 1989:834).

From the start ethnographic observations were fashioned by metropolitan orthodoxy. The fact, for instance, that many Bushmen were actively engaged in copper mining was noted in such a way as to allow it to slide into intellectual insignificance. Examples are surprisingly common when one consults original sources. Here I simply provide two more obscure illustrations. When Brochado entered northern Namibia in 1850 he found:

> On [Chief] Nangolo's periphery about 100 to 125 km away are *Kwankhala* (Kede and Kung) who contrary to most other members of this race, are settled and possess large copper mines and have copper in abundance. Only the [o]Ndonga trade with them (trading for copper and tobacco, beads and *pungo* [cannabis]). However, the Ondonga do not precisely know where the mine is. Even the powerful Haimbili of Kuanyama is not allowed direct contact with them. (Brachado, *in* Heintze 1972:47; see also Schinz 1891:293ff.)

The very notion of Bushmen being engaged in copper mining, clashed with the standard stereotype expected of Bushmen. Thus, the Reverend Hahn noted his first encounter with mining Bushmen in these terms: "We met two Bushmen today who were taking copper ore from Otjorukaku to Ondonga *on their own account* where they would sell it for corn, tobacco, and calabashes. *This I never expected from Bushmen*" (Hahn, July 18, 1857, as recorded in Hahn 1985:1034, author's italics and translation).

Far from being pristine hunter-gatherers many Bushmen were actively involved in mining, trade and other long-range activities. Indeed, some were willing and active accessories to the widespread and spectacular slaughter of elephants in the northeastern Kalahari. By 1860, when the renowned hunter Frederick Green and trader Axel Erikssen had established their hunting headquarters at Grootfontein, the town closest to what is now "Bushmanland" (Vedder 1938:423), it was clear that even the so-called "pristine Bushmen" of the most isolated parts of the Kalahari were involved in this ecologically destructive booty capitalism. So intense was the hunting in this area that within five years Green was forced to move his hunting headquarters north to Ondonga (Stals 1968). On Green's death an American trader in Namibia,

Gerald McKiernan, eulogized: "Frederick Green was one of the most famous of African hunters, Gordon Cumming or no other could compete with him." It was estimated that in his lifetime he killed between 750 and 1 000 elephants (McKiernan 1945:93).

Another notorious hunter, Hendrik van Zyl of Ghanzi, visited the Gautscha area (the heartland, if you will, of the later "wild" Bushmen) in 1874 (Tabler 1973). Van Zyl quickly discovered that the area north of Gobabis to the Okavango River, that is, the area where some of the most famous studies of Bushmen were later to be done (Marshall 1975; Lee 1979), was a "true hunter's paradise" (Burger 1978:42). He employed well over 100 Bushmen (Trumpelmann 1948:16), many of them "shootboys." Indeed, when van Zyl established his "world record" for killing over 103 elephants in one day (and over 400 elephant in 1877 alone), most of them were killed by his Bushman shots. This slaughter took place largely in the area immediately north of the present-day Bushmanland, and one traditionally held by the Bushmen. These kills yielded over 8 000 pounds of ivory (Tabler 1973:116).

Bushmen were aware of what was happening. In 1920, the oldest Bushman at Tsintsabis police station complained to a visitor: "Elephants, lions and game of all kinds abounded and have only disappeared since the white man came and shot them in large numbers" (H.J.K. 1920).

They could hardly not have been aware: so sickening did he find the situation in the German colonial heyday, that the Governor's brother, Paul Leutwein, complained that "almost all white hunters are 'Aasjaeger' (carrion hunters)" and that the "Boers sit on their ox-wagons, the Bible in the one hand, the rifle in the other and shoot all the game that there is to see" (as cited in Tabel 1975:89).

Bushmen played an active role in this path of ecological devastation. Many hunters and traders appreciated the qualities of Bushmen as hunters and trackers and, above all, as faithful servants; thus they armed them and encouraged them to hunt for ivory and ostrich features. Late 19th-century travellers encountered Bushmen armed with rifles hunting in the Okavango region who, on a good day, could net 145 pounds of ivory (von Moltke n.d.). Indeed, some "great white hunters" were so afraid of elephants that they left all the hunting to Bushmen (Chapman n.d.). It was also common for traders to trade ivory from Bushmen (Chapman 1868:157). In 1878 the South African Resident, stationed at Walwich Bay, reported that the Damaras (Herero) had dropped out of the hunting trade, preferring to develop their considerable herds of livestock than move further afield in search of game:

> Today the Bushman is using the heavy elephant gun with a deadly effect as ever did Damara, Griqua, or Namagua, and the Damara ponders over the thought of what the Bushman will do with his gun when the game is gone. He

sees the trader pass by with the goods he once bought, to enrich tribes beyond over whom he feels he can lord it no longer. (Cape Colony 1879:136)

A strong case can be made that Namibia supplied a large proportion of the earlier ivory used in the United States for pianos (Gordon 1992). While the risks in both the ivory and cattle trades were high, so were the profits: estimates range as high as between 1 500 percent (Lau 1987) and 2 000 percent (Helbig 1983:38).

Bushmen as Problem in the Settler State and the Contribution of Academics Thereto

One consequence of this activity was that when the German state decided to place settlers in the northeast of Namibia they encountered fierce armed resistance from Bushmen and this is the immediate context in which the great Bushman debate of 1906-12 must be seen. It was a time when the German settler press was full of reports about the "Bushman Pestilence" and strident calls for Bushmen to be declared *Vogelfrei* (beyond the realm of the law and thus by definition "non-human"). There were two main sources for this settler moral outrage. First, a rash of stock thefts and, eventually, murder of Whites occurred in the prime settler farming area of Grootfontein. Secondly, numerous migrant workers returning to Ovamboland and the Kavango River region after a spell in the newly opened mines were robbed by Bushmen and this had a devastating impact on sorely needed labour recruits. Eventually the supposedly liberal governor, Seitz, issued a *Verordnung* (J.nr 26883/5391 dated October 24, 1911) allowing firearms to be used against Bushmen for the slightest case of insubordination. Most of Seitz's commanders felt that even this draconian measure did not go far enough. Of course, of greater importance was the fact that after the Nama-Herero War of 1904-06 in which the Nama and Herero were ruthlessly destroyed, Germany decided that one way to prevent uprisings was through massive white settlement. This, in turn, generated a further demand for cheap labour. Forager groups like Bushmen with their capacity to "drop out" of wage labour were the most significant grouping which refused to be drawn into this process. While slaving at their uneconomical small holdings in the Grootfontein district many of these inexperienced settlers projected their wildest fantasies upon the "vagabond Bushmen." And in this their fantasies sometimes meshed with those of influential academics like Seiner.[3]

Attempts at controlling vagrants by issuing metal "dog-tag" passes were so unsuccessful that settlers, the press and the *Landestag* even discussed the possibility of tattooing Bushman vagrants but this suggestion was dropped largely because of "technical difficulties" (Stals 1984).

Seiner's intervention was directly concerned with the issue of whether the German government should create a Bushman reserve in its Namibian col-

ony. He argued persuasively that almost all living Bushmen, by his penile measure, were hybrids of "bastard buschleute" (see, e.g., Schapera 1930:58) and thus were not an *Urrace* worthy of protection. The only way to "tame" Bushmen, Seiner argued, was to have the men deported to the coast and children and wives placed on farms where the children could be "rehabituated," divorced from their traditional milieu. Bushmen were in no danger of extermination by farmers because they had a vast "natural reserve" in the Kalahari. A far greater threat for them was bastardization with various elements in this "no-mansland." At the same time, by having women placed on farms they could start miscegenating with local Blacks and this would lead to an overall better type of labourer (Seiner 1913a). Seiner's ideas enjoyed widespread and influential support. His rival and colleague Siegfried Passarge had already concluded that Bushmen were totally unreliable (Passarge 1907:2). Bushmen, as a race, were on a closed development path. They were incapable of adopting to agriculture or pastoralism (Passarge 1907:132). Passarge concluded that the only policy in a settlement situation was to exterminate them: "What can the civilized human being manage to do with people who stand at the level of that sheep stealer? Jail and the correctional house would be a reward, and besides do not even exist in that country. Does any possibility exist other than shooting them?" (Passarge 1907:124, author's translation).

Schultze, the renowned and influential geographer-anthropologist who occupied the Chair of cultural geography at Jena and coined the term *Khoisan*, summed up:

> If we consider the natives according to their values as cultural factors in the protectorate, then one race is immediately eliminated: the Bushmen. The Bushmen lack entirely the precondition of any cultural development: the drive to create something beyond everyday needs, to secure or to improve systematically and permanently the conditions of existence, even the most primitive ones like the procurement of food. In the course of centuries he has come into contact with cultures of all levels; in conflict with them he has often enough had the knife put to his throat; tireless missionaries have attempted to save him from such struggle, to protect and to join him as the modest member to a civilized community; but the Bushman has always run away. He feels better out in the Sandveld behind a windscreen of thin leaf thorn-bush than in a solidly built house with a full pot and regular work — as long as he is *free*. Colonists cannot count on such people; they let them live so long as they at least don't do damage. But when they don't fulfill this requirement, they have been killed off like predatory game. The idea has been considered to preserve the Bushmen in reservations as the last remnants of the primordial past of the human race, just as elsewhere attempts are made to save endangered animal species. But we won't be able to afford the luxury of leaving fallow the required land areas and everything else which man requires for the maintenance of the species without inbreeding. (Schultze 1914:290)

But even those more liberal academics opposed to what Seiner stood for framed their pleas for a Bushman reserve precisely in terms of the scientific value of Bushmen as a unique race. The Kalahari was seen as the last asylum of the *vertreibenen Ureinwohner* as von Luschan put it when he first mooted the notion in 1908 of creating a Bushman reserve in the "interest of science." The *Deutsche Kolonial Zeitung (DKZ)* took up the theme and argued that the suggestion was also applicable to Namibia (*DKZ* 1908:91). The following year, Lt. Gentz, an officer with many years of experience in South West Africa, made a strong plea: "With the deathknell of these people ringing, one wishes that there was a reserve for them, as there are for the lazy Herero and Hottentots. A reserve where they can live in peace and where they can maintain their lifestyle so important for scholarly research" (*DKZ*, 1909:452).

Dr. Siebert, a government medical doctor, also made a strong appeal.

> (Bushmen) are unsuitable as settled employees and the relinquishment of their nomadic lifestyle spelled their doom. While they were of little economic value, they were of large scientific value. And even the Cameroons had a law which protected gorillas by placing them in reserves. (November 24, 1911, State Archives, Windhock ZBU 2043)[4]

While Seiner was expounding on the nature of "bastardization," the *Landestag* passed a law which not only banned mixed marriages but nullified all previous such marriages as well.

Deviance Amplification: From Difference to Genocide?

The parallels between these events and those which happened in Nazi Germany are striking, and indeed Hannah Arendt has controversially (see Gann and Duignan 1977 for a critique) argued for lodging the origins of totalitarianism in the colonial experience. Certainly events in Namibia *anticipated* those in Nazi Germany to a remarkable degree. Indeed a number of criticisms of Arendt's thesis are voided when it is noted that, like anthropologists, colonial administrators differentiated between *Buschleute* and *Eingeborene* in their discourses and that the focus of genocide is frequently on those labelled as "vagabond" Bushmen, "wandering" Jews or Gypsies, people who are believed to be beyond the realm of ordinary social control.

The Bushman discourse was premised on their alleged fundamental *unassimilability* in which genital distinctiveness played a central if, at times, submerged role. As a largely male-dominated discourse, Bushman studies demonstrated the power of *males*. Surely there can be no better display of the deployment of power than making people strip to have their genitals measured in 19th- and 20th-century Europe? George Mosse would argue that this male fixation was intimately connected to the nature of bourgeois respectabil-

ity and German nationalism (Mosse 1985). Interestingly, most of the partici-
pants in the great Bushman debate rapidly established radical conservative
credentials. Seiner, Poch and Passarge were well-known activists for restor-
ing greater Germany and many of the most prominent Nazi racial-hygienists
cut their academic teeth on the Bushman debate (Proctor 1988; Muller-Hill
1989; Weindling 1990). Indeed, the last scientific article written by the most
renowned racial hygienist Eugen Fischer concerned Bushman genitalia.[5]

Portrayals and policies toward Bushmen and Jews are frighteningly simi-
lar, and there are striking parallels of Bushman and Jewish imagery in this
scientific discourse. Muller-Hill (1988) has noted that the sexuality of mental
patients and Gypsies alarmed and frightened German scientists for a long
time and argues that hating and exterminating Jews had its origins in ill-com-
prehended aspects of sexuality, which is why the extermination of Jews and
Gypsies took on an almost ritual-like quality while the Slavs were worked to
death. While there is not enough evidence to postulate a definite connection
between this genitalic fixation and proclivity towards totalitarianism, recent
work by Claus Thewelweit on male fantasies is suggestive and this topic cer-
tainly bears further investigation.

The relationship between the dehumanization of the other and genocide is
well established, but what has intrigued recent commentators on Bushmen is
how dramatically their image has changed from that of "Vermin" to "Harm-
less People." This change is generally attributed to two factors: first, since
Bushmen no longer constituted a "threat," colonizers could afford to beauti-
fy them; secondly, perhaps in a rather self-congratulatory tone, anthropolo-
gists conciously worked to alter the image. There are, however, a number of
problems related to this simplistic approach. For example, in Namibia the
first white commercial hunters had a generally favourable image of the Bush-
men, while at the Cape at the same time they were regarded as "obnoxious
weeds." It was only with the arrival of white settlers in Namibia that a dis-
tinctive negative stereotype embedded itself. Moreover the social position of
the expounder of the stereotype within the social hierarchy is more important
than the notion that the given stereotype changed because of the cumulative
impact of knowledge about Bushmen. Most of the works cited to support the
thesis of the progression from brutality to beauty are aimed not at the general
public as much as at a specific yet diverse metropolitan audience. As such,
the changing image appears to be more the product of the increased alien-
ation/urbanization of the writer than portrayal of the actual situation. Indeed,
working through archival material, it is clear that the stereotypes held by
farmers on the frontier zone have not changed that much. If anything, the di-
vide between those who think that Bushmen were good workers and those
who think the opposite has deepened. During the German colonial era these
contradictory tendencies were already readily apparent. These differences are

also reflected in academic work on Bushmen. The point is that the image of the Bushmen, whether they are portrayed as vermin or beautiful people, has *always been that they are ambiguously, strikingly different* (Guenther 1980). Our point is not to debate whether anthropologists can do anything but emphasize difference by the very nature of their intellectual enterprise. The point is simply that anthropologists should be constantly aware that their work can be used, perhaps as unwitting handmaidens, in the project of destroying people. It can take many forms as in contemporary South Africa where over the last decade there has been a strong emphasis on the romantic "pristine" Bushman image. Perhaps a major reason lies in the realm of international politics and the recently ended, low-intensity guerilla war in northern Namibia coupled to Black unrest in South Africa. Such romanticization exonerates the beleaguered Whites, in their own eyes, from accusations of racism. As David Maughan-Brown points out in his excellent discussion on this topic, the "noble savage" thrives in times of colonial war because there is a need for a statement that all is not spoiled in situations of destruction. Apart from catering to the nostalgia for the good, old days, the "Noble Savage" serves as an ideological compensatory mechanism when the previously pacified colonized revolt and disturb the stereotypes of the colonizers (Maughan-Brown 1983).

In sum, this paper is a plea and a demonstration of the necessity that the current debate should enlarge its scope. Rather than be exclusively concerned with the implications of research for our own intellectual positions and prestige, we should also consider the implications of the debate for those who are labelled Bushmen. The moral is simple: we should be aware that academic words have actionable consequences.

Notes

1. Figures calculated from membership lists published in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* and *Man*. Academics actively involved included Virchow, Poch, Fischer, Fritsch and von Luschan. A representative sample of work on this topic would include Fritsch 1880; Friedenthal 1910; von Luschan 1906; von Luschka, Koch, Goette and Goertz 1868; Poch 1911; Schultze-Jena 1928; Seiner 1913; Seiner and Staudinger 1912; Virchow 1886; 1887; and Werner 1906.
2. Nor has the issue of Bushman sexuality been relegated to the backroom of history. In a more or less submerged form it is still present. Consider the following statement by the late Carleton Coon:

> The usual pubertal form of the feminine nipple, with its swollen aureola, is exaggerated among Bushmen girls, to the extent that the nipples look like bright orange balls loosely attached to the breasts, a startling sexual attraction. . . . Another Bushman specialty concerns the female genitalia. Owing to a deficiency of growth in the labia majora which thus fail to seal the vaginal entrance, the inner lips fall through the gap. As a Bushman woman grows older, her inner lips protrude all the more, and they may ultimately hang down three or four inches. Despite much study, no one really knows to what extent this sexual feature is a product of nature and to what extent of artifice. It is quite possible that both factors are involved.

> According to early accounts, all unmixed Bushman males have penises which pro-
> trude forward as in infants even when not in erection, but this is not always true. An-
> other oddity of Bushmen is monorchy, or the descent of only one testicle, but this also
> is not universal among Bushman males. (Coon 1965:112-113)

Most sordidly of all I understand that there is a Bushman pornography video ring now operat-
ing in Botswana which is being investigated by journalists from the *Vrye Weekblad*, an inde-
pendent South African alternative newspaper. Paul Myburgh's acclaimed film *People of the
Sand Face* also has a few scenes in it showing genitalia although these scenes do not enrich
his analysis.

3. Indeed in a surprising change of role Seiner tried to sue an experienced settler newspaper edi-
tor for libel because the latter accused him of presenting reports laced with fantasy. In the li-
bel papers the editor, Kindt, obtained sworn statements from Pater Bierfort, a Catholic mis-
sionary, on the Kavango who pointed out Seiner's numerous elementary linguistic *faux pas*.
Other expert witnesses testified to Seiner's *übernervoes* and overanxious state: he was prone
to take exception to the smallest thing and punished his *bambuse* (factotum) once with 25
lashes. Bierfort, who served as his interpreter, called his article on the *Buschmanngefahr* pure
Erfindung (State Archives, Windhock B53/12 Seiner vs Kindt. GW 556).

4. See also missionary philologist Vedder in evidence before the South West Africa Constitu-
tional Commission:

> Their language alone justifies the preservation of this primitive race. . . . You have re-
> serves for game, you have reserves . . . for the Hereros, the Ovambos, and the Okavan-
> gos, but you have no reserve for Bushmen, yet historically and scientifically Bushmen
> are entitled to far greater consideration than any other of our native tribes. . . . The dif-
> ficulty today is, however, that his lands are gradually being taken from him. . . . He has
> been prohibited from trapping or shooting in parts which he regarded as his own for
> generations. (*The Cape Argus*, September 3, 1935)

5. In it he directly pointed out the simian similarities (and even assured his audience that during
periods of sexual arousal the genitals of young Bushman women became a deep red! [Fischer
1955:63]—How did he know? Participant observation? He concluded that the distinguishing
characteristic of the Bushmen was the natural *tablier*. Other indigenes might have it but
amongst them it was a question of artificial manipulation! Fischer, of course, was studying
The Rehoboth Basters at the time that mixed marriages were banned in Namibia.

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THE SPANISH MISSION CHURCH IN CENTRAL NEW MEXICO: A STUDY IN ARCHITECTURAL MORPHOLOGY

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Abstract: This paper is a case study of architectural morphology: the emergence of a hybrid form from the fusion of two archetypes, the European Christian church and the Pueblo Indian kiva. The author suggests that, contrary to common perception, the Spanish mission church in the American Southwest is in some important respects formally and spatially more closely related to the kiva than to traditional church forms. The focus of the observations in this study is the family of mission churches in central New Mexico.

Résumé: Dans cet article, il s'agit d'une étude de cas de morphologie architecturale, à savoir l'émergence d'une forme hybride issue de deux archétypes: l'église chrétienne européenne et la kiva des indiens Pueblo. L'auteur suggère que, contrairement à la conception générale, l'église des missions espagnoles du sud-ouest américain est, à certains égards, plus proche des formes architecturales de la kiva que de celles de l'église traditionelle. L'ensemble des églises des missions du Nouveau-Mexique central a servi de base à ces observations.

A few churches represent almost all of what remains in New Mexico of 17th- and 18th-century Spanish colonial architecture. Four of these appear much as they did in the 17th century: Isleta (1629), Acoma (1644), Zuñi (circa 1660) and Zia (1692); five others are in ruins. Of 12 churches built in the 18th century only five have survived 20th-century efforts at modernization. Seven others from the 19th century conform in varying degrees to the conservative tradition of earlier construction. Most of the churches were built of adobe brick. The exceptions were four built of stone in the early 17th century and now in ruins: the three missions of the Salinas Valley (Abó, Quarai and Las Humanas) and the mission of San José de Jemez at Giusewa (Bunting 1976:54-59). From this family of buildings, some in ruins, some substantially altered, and from others close to their original condition, we can discern

much about the intentions of their builders and methods of construction (Figure 1).

Figure 1
Locations of Spanish Mission Churches in Central New Mexico
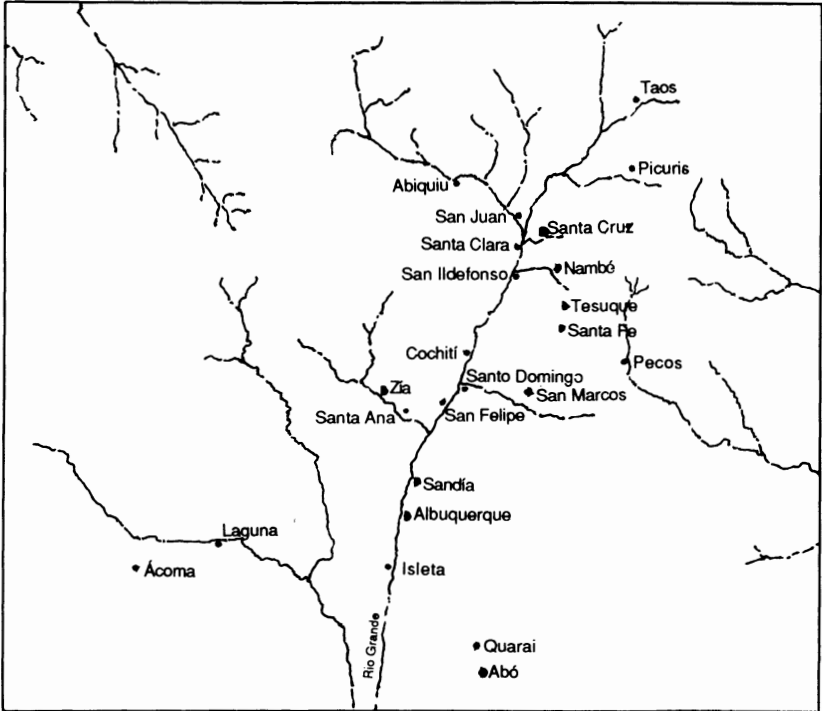
Many studies of Spanish mission churches in the Southwest have carefully documented the history and appearance of these remarkable structures. Building on this foundation of research, my intention is to suggest why New Mexican churches are so radically different, spatially and formally, from their 16th-century European predecessors. The most common explanation is that the climate and a primitive building technology dictated a stripped-down, back-country version of a European church form. Certainly, these were major factors in the morphology of the mission church in the Southwest. But there were other factors as well: competing ideas about form and space and different ways of conveying these ideas symbolically.

If the churches are studied on the assumption of cultural parity instead of from a Euro-centric perspective, they begin to reveal some lessons in the way architecture expresses culture. Specifically, in this case, we find the creation of a new architecture as the result of cultural stress in both the Spanish colo-

nial and the indigenous Indian societies. Much of the aggressive, alien architecture of the supposed winner in the colonial contest was absorbed, subverted and irrevocably transformed by the purported loser — the native Indian vision of sacred space and form.

Illusions of Dominance

"Everywhere in this land the emblem of the Cross is raised aloft. . . . It is said that in no part of the Christian world is the Cross found so often, esteemed so highly, adorned so richly, and made so large." This was written in the early 16th century by Fray Toribio Motolinía and typifies numerous accounts by writers in colonial Mexico in which there appears genuine astonishment at the enthusiastic devotion to a Christian symbol by the purportedly converted pagan Indians. The devotees of the Cross seemed to find an excuse to erect it almost anywhere. By 1539 there was such a profusion of crosses across the countryside, at almost every crossroads and even in private patios, that the bishops felt it necessary to outlaw all crosses but those in places of public assembly (McAndrew 1965:247-254).

The Spanish long attributed the Indians' ardent veneration of the Cross to the inherent virtues of Christianity. They did not realize that, in fact, the Cross was a pre-conquest symbol of great antiquity. Long before the Spanish arrived, the Indians of Tlaxcala, for example, called the cross "Tonacaquahuitl," roughly translated to mean "the tree that sustains our life" (Kubler 1961:27). The highly abstract form of the cross fit easily into the Native American practice of symbolizing complex ideas simply. There is a suggestion here that many deeply rooted indigenous beliefs among the Indians subjected to the Spanish conquest were not effaced or substantially distorted.

To illustrate the point further, the church of San Xavier del Bac near modern-day Tucson, Arizona, is decorated with a great rope in sculpted plaster. The rope circumscribes the entire interior at the cornice line and was, no doubt, installed by the Franciscan friars to symbolize their order. It girds the church just as the rope around each friar's cassock ties him to his vows of the order. The Papago Indians, for whom the church was ostensibly built, see this particular design motif in a different light. To them it symbolizes the great beneficent serpent which holds the terrestrial world together and bestows water upon its thirsty denizens.[1]

Likewise, many symbols of alien European beliefs were readily accommodated and absorbed by a profoundly powerful native mythic tradition. Europeans were, and to a great extent their heirs still are, preoccupied with the superficial effect that their aggressive culture had on a relatively passive people. They have not fully acknowledged the degree to which European ideas were changed by Native American cultures.

As in the case of the Cross, imported Spanish architectural ideas were quickly assimilated by Indian builders who changed their meanings. On the evidence of an enormous body of work, they clearly approached their new building projects with zeal and imagination despite the underlying system of oppression and coercion. However, the resulting meaning of the architecture was not necessarily what the Spanish intended it to be. An appreciation for the flexibility of meaning in forms as they are transmitted across cultural boundaries is the basis for understanding architectural morphology, or the transformation of building types. The changes which took place in the meaning of the European church type in New Mexico provide us with an excellent case study of this phenomenon. A standard form, representative of a presumed cultural supremacy, was altered to the extent that it became virtually absorbed by the indigenous cultural geography. The result of such a transformation was, as in the case of the New Mexican mission churches, a hybrid form that retained throughout its own historical tradition the enormous tensions of its contradictory genesis. This phenomenon is revealed in two basic aspects of architectural physique: the spatial effect that emerges from the plan and the formal composition of the façade.

Kiva as Church and Church as Kiva

In the construction of mission churches in New Mexico the severe limitations imposed by available materials (mud brick and timber) and by native labour necessitated a divergence from that of the original European church model. This is indisputable since we can easily observe a close affinity in material and building technique between the mission churches and nearby pueblo architecture. However, the emergence of a church form suited to the specifics of life in the Southwest is rooted in something even more fundamental than material and technique. It is conceptual in nature, a sense by the people of that time and place of what was appropriate for sacred space in a traditional Indian culture.

From the Indian point of view, the typical mission church in a pueblo conveys a binary message. On one level the church is a monument to Spanish colonial oppression; it was purposefully built entirely out of scale with nearby buildings and arrogantly assumes the central position in its pueblo. However, on a more subtle level, and not by accident, the churches share certain spatial qualities with the indigenous ritual architecture of the kiva.

Kivas are special rooms which clan, kachina and curing societies of many Southwest Indian communities still use for initiation, healing and other rituals. Elsie Clews Parsons described many first-hand accounts of the use of kivas in various ceremonies (Parsons 1939:137-44, 367, 553-860). They originated from pit houses of the earliest Indian settlers in the region. As the Anasazi and their descendants developed more sophisticated domestic build-

ings above ground, they retained the subterranean house form of their ances-
tors for sacred rites. A variety of kiva plans can be found in the Southwest.
The Anasazi kivas found on Antelope Mesa in northeastern Arizona, for ex-
ample, are rectangular or D-shaped. But the kivas of Mesa Verde and Chaco
Canyon are cylindrical (Figures 2 and 3). These prehistoric types are semi-
subterrranean and built of stone. However, many of the kivas used today in
the pueblos of central and eastern New Mexico are built above ground with
cylindrical adobe walls. In some cases, such as at Acoma, the kivas are incor-
porated directly into the rectilinear matrix of dwellings. The only exterior fea-
tures which distinguish them from neighbouring dwellings are a lack of win-
dows and a single entrance through the roof.

Figure 2
Plan of Kiva A at Awátovi, Arizona
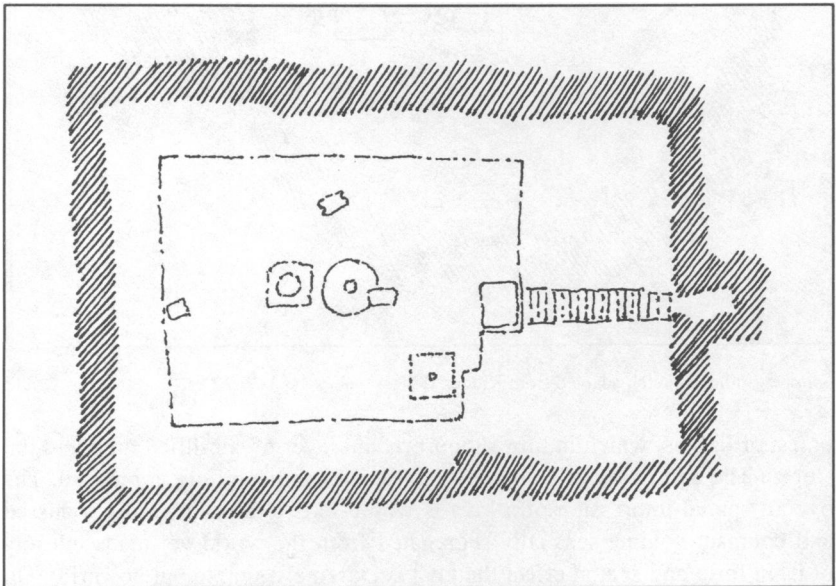
Source: Author's sketch adapted from Smith 1972.

The prehistoric kivas often had roofs made of cribbed logs used as beams
built up in four layers to represent the four levels of the sky. The Hopi, for
example, retain this custom in the construction of modern kivas (Parsons
1939:213). The beams created a shallow, corbelled dome of wood. The very
large kivas, such as Rinconada and Chetro Ketl in Chaco Canyon, used log
columns within their interior to help support the roof. Many modern kivas use
a lighter system of roofing by which beams, or vigas, support a mat of slender

Figure 3
Plan of Kiva 16 at Pecos
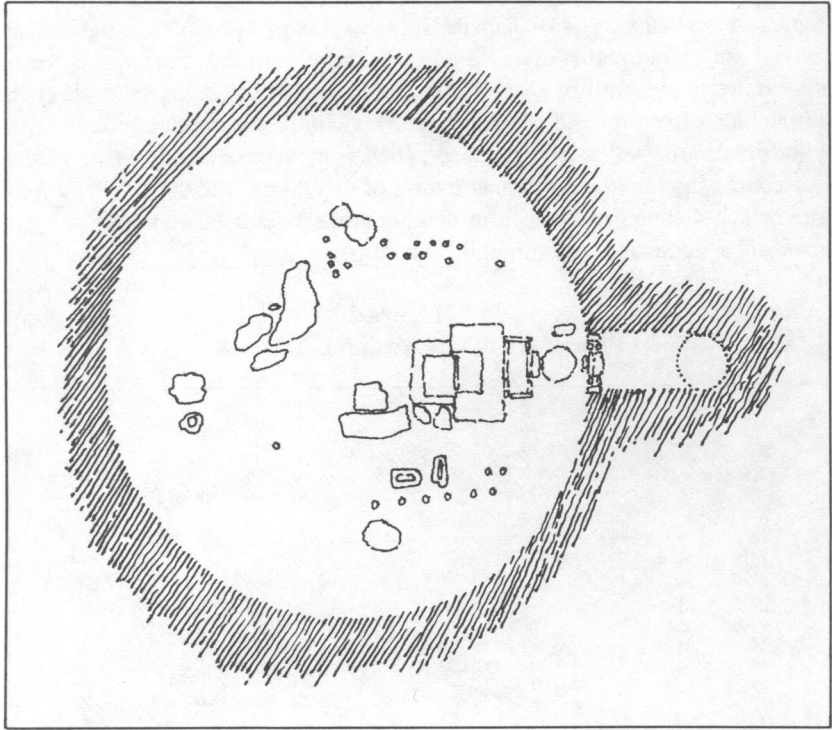
Source: Author's sketch adapted from Kidder 1958.

poles, or latillas, which in turn support a final layer of sun-dried mud and flat stones. The admission of sunlight is minimized and carefully controlled. The overall spatial impression of a kiva is womb-like: a dark, inwardly focussed and compact volume sensually segregated from the world yet made entirely of it. In form and spatial effect the kiva is extremely simple but powerful. On a conceptual plane it approaches an archetype in the Jungian sense: an idea about form which is so basic to human experience that it may be preserved and transmitted through a collective unconsciousness.

It is easy to suppose that the imposition of an axially symmetrical, longitudinal plan imported from Europe destroyed the indigenous sense of sacred space found in kivas; that the Indian architectural tradition could not survive the alien requirement for processions down the centre of a nave toward a distant altar. However, though prehistoric and modern kivas have more compact plans than do churches, the organization of their interiors is nevertheless similar in one way to that of the typical mission church. In most cases, the place-

ment of several important features of the kiva interior, such as the ventilation shaft, sacred stones, storage cysts, the hearth and the sipapu (a hole symbolizing the place of emergence from the underworld), together create a major axis through the centre of the plan from one side to the other. Stone benches on the perimeter of the space also reinforce the main axis. There is a clear sense of internal orientation, even in cylindrical examples, which denotes the positions of the four terrestrial directions plus the zenith through the entrance/smoke hole and the nadir through the sipapu. The six cardinal directions comprise the spatial framework of the kiva (Figure 4). North has ceremonial primacy in most cases since it is the home of Lightning.

Figure 4
A Schematic Drawing of Space Organized by the Six Cardinal
Directions Denoted in a Kiva at Zuñi
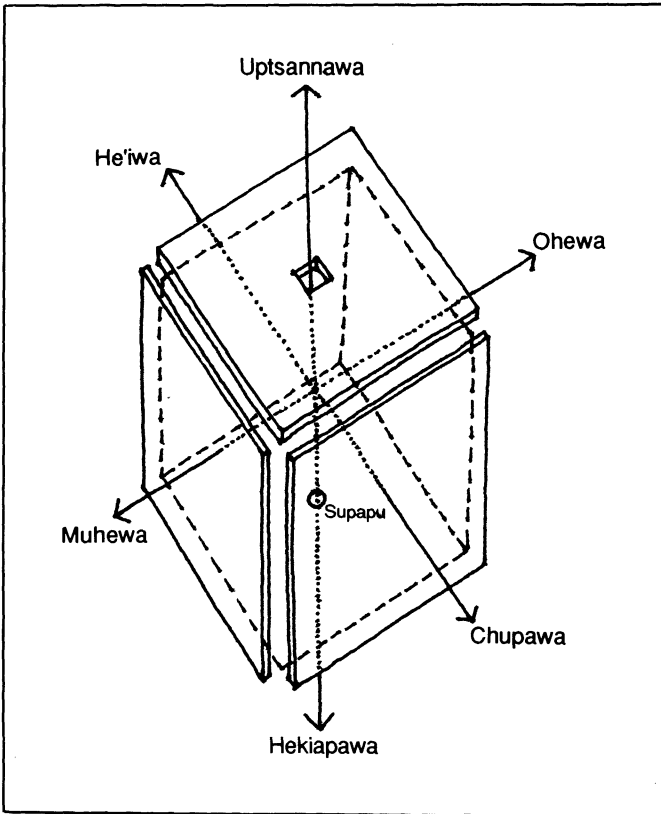
Both men and women still use the kivas together but segregation of the sexes is required. Placement of men on the right side of the space relative to a south to north axis, with women on the left, is traditional and serves to further reinforce the axiality of the interior. Though friars tried to seat families together, the custom of gender segregation persisted in mission churches also, with men and women choosing to sit on the right and left sides, respectively, of the nave. At Zuñi and Santo Domingo, burials in the "Christian" cemetery follow the same pattern (Parsons 1939:367). This indicates one of several significant linkages between the two ritual spaces of kiva and church from the Indian view.

In 1569 the Franciscan Chapter in Mexico ordered that all new churches be built on a standard plan. The order was enforced periodically with instructions to build "plain, strong and without any novelty" (McAndrew 1965:125). There were European precedents, most notably the Rule of St. Benedict which governed the austere design of Cistercian buildings. However, the plan type and building form which resulted from the absorption of Spanish ideas into the continuing Indian vernacular in the Southwest went further. The construction of mission churches exhibited an extremely simple plan and uncompromisingly utilitarian spatial vision. From a European perspective, this was not just primitive; it was a radically pure aesthetic.

The typical mission church, like the kiva it was meant to replace, had thick adobe walls which supported heavy wooden vigas. A lattice of latillas and a layer of mud completed the roof. The floor was customarily of beaten earth. Natural light was limited to only one or two small windows on a single side of the nave. These created a lighting effect closely resembling that produced by the small openings which admitted shafts of daylight into dark kiva interiors. Aside from the exaggerated longitudinal axis, the strongest European influence was a relatively high ceiling. But this feature also is very different from European models. One does not find, for example, ceilings in the original New Mexican mission churches that exceed in height the width of the nave. The width of the nave was constrained by the maximum length of available timbers for vigas capable of carrying the heavy wood and mud roof. The widest nave in New Mexico surviving up to the 19th century was that of San José de Giusema, which was 33 feet and 10 inches (Kubler 1972:31). The only larger church was the one built at Pecos by Fray Andrés Suárez in the early 1620s which measured 41 feet across at its east end (Hayes 1974:20). Though the ceilings of these churches were built higher than the Pueblo tradition would have preferred, they nevertheless created, in conjunction with the limited lighting, an extremely heavy, box-like interior volume which hugged the ground and shunned the heavens.

Another unusual feature of mission churches was their orientation. The nave, chancel and sanctuary in New Mexico normally formed a single space

differentiated only by an altar rail. A distinctly local innovation was the use of a clerestory at the junction of the nave and chancel which admitted a shaft of light to illuminate the altar. The use of this device in some of the churches compensated for the lack of light from a dome or from transepts. A clerestory was created by building the flat roof over the chancel slightly higher than that over the nave. The narrow slot which resulted was left open, was later filled with selenite, a transluscent gypsum, and eventually with glass. This was not a Spanish device but an Indian one. Clerestories were often used in pueblo construction to illuminate rooms which otherwise had no exterior exposure. The roof of an adjacent room was built lower to allow for a small clerestory to illuminate and ventilate the interior room (Figure 5). Whereas a dome could admit light from all directions, the use of a clerestory led to the practice of orienting the churches on a north-south axis. This, of course, contradicted one of the customary planning devices of Christian church planning, an east-west orientation. The orientations of the large churches at Abó and Quarai were slightly east of north to permit the maximum sunlight to enter through their clerestories at noon on the winter solstice, December 22. On that date at Abó the light fell on the floor in front of the altar, while at Quarai it il-luminated the area directly above the altar where the tabernacle would have been placed. By the summer solstice no light at all entered the churches through their clerestories (Ivey 1988:213-214). The winter solstice was close enough to Christmas to be useful to the friars. However, the use of the build-ing to signify the precise dates of the winter and summer solstices was of far greater significance to the Indians. The solar cycle had no particular impor-tance in respect to the Christian calendar but it was basic to the Indian one.

Figure 5
Section of San Miguel in Santa Fe Showing the Clerestory
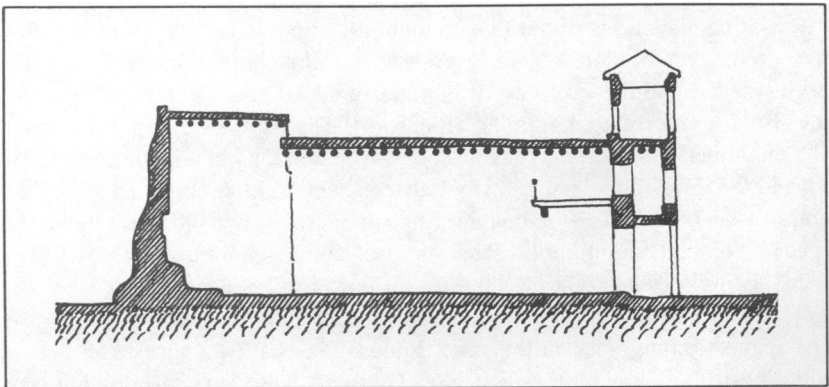
Source: Author's sketch.

It is interesting to note that though there appears to have been no rigid rule in respect to orientation of the principal axis in kivas either, the majority of the pre-historic kivas on Antelope Mesa as well as in Chaco Canyon, for example, are oriented toward the north. Most of the excavated kivas on Antelope Mesa were oriented within 30 degrees west of true north (Smith 1972:108). This was probably to direct the limited amount of sunlight penetrating the roof opening toward the north end of the space which was, as in the churches, the focus of ritual.

Figure 6
Plan of San Estévan Rey, Ácoma, Showing the Characteristic
Coffin-shape of Mission Churches in New Mexico
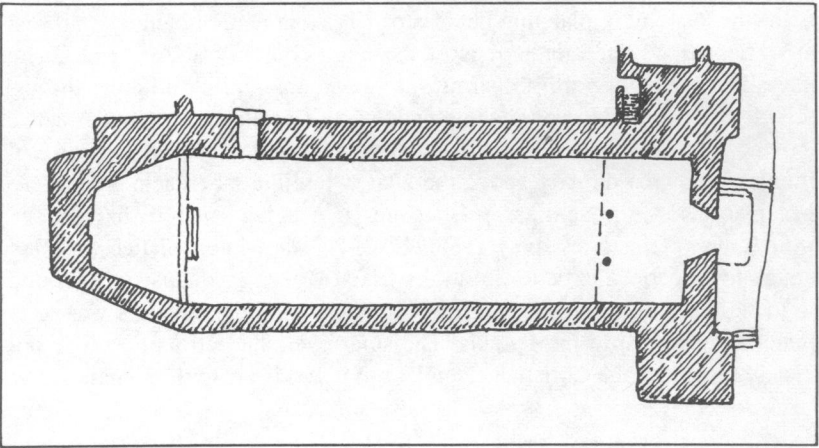
Source: Author's sketch.

Racial compositions of various communities may have had a strong influence on the type of plan that was used. The mission church plan was typically coffin-shaped and the sanctuary was trapezoidal to create a false perspective but also for ease of roof framing (Figure 6). The use of transepts was rare. The monumental stone churches of Pecos, Abó and Quarai are notable exceptions to the rule. To understand why transepts were seldom included in pueblo church plans, one has to recognize that there were two different types of Spanish colonial communities. Pueblos were comprised almost entirely of Indians; a single friar might be the only European in residence. However, villages such as Albuquerque and Santa Fe were populated mostly by Mexican and Spanish immigrants; in this case, Indians may have comprised at most a minority of the population as servants. Transepts were very rare in churches built in Indian pueblos perhaps because of a custom brought from Mexico. There, transepts were used in churches to help segregate parishioners by race.

The Spanish sat close to the altar in the chancel and transepts behind a wooden screen while the Indians sat in the more distant nave. In Indian pueblos of New Mexico, such segregation was unnecessary. But in villages which had a mixed racial population, such as Santa Cruz, one finds transepts. These articulate the chancel as a space distinctly separate from both the nave and the sanctuary (Kubler 1940:132).

Another possible reason for the omission of transepts may have been to deny an enemy the protection of re-entrant corners in the event the church needed to be defended either from marauding Apaches or from the pueblo residents themselves, as was the case in the great pueblo revolt of 1680. The fortress-church type was a common precedent in Mexico in the 16th century (McAndrew 1965:134). Though defense may have been one reason for the friars to design churches without transepts, there is no record of any mission church in New Mexico having been successfully defended. The mission church of San José de Jemez, begun in 1617, was a fortified church with stone walls eight feet thick rising five feet above the level of the roof (Sanford 1950:101).

The omission of transepts, in any case, was coincident with the Indian ideal of a compact, unitary design for sacred space, the kind of space the Franciscans could easily see in the kivas. The pragmatic factors of construction, a largely homogeneous congregation, and possibly defense may have each contributed to the elimination of the transepts. However, the provision of a sacred space that was familiar and continuous with the indigenous spatial tradition may also have been an important consideration of the friars who had to enlist the cooperation of Indian builders. In some cases, the pueblo authorities did not permit the construction of a church within the pueblo. For example, the church built at Pecos before 1620 was sited about 1 000 feet northeast of the pueblo (Hayes 1974:2-5). In another example, Fray Francisco Letrado was refused permission to build on a commanding site at the west end of the mesa, on which the pueblo of Cueloce stood (called Las Humanas by the Spanish), and was given instead the more difficult site along the south hillside below one of the principal kivas (Ivey 1988:167).

The principal resource of New Mexico during Spanish colonialism was Indian labour. In many cases the Franciscans were a countervailing force to the depredations of the Spanish colonial government and Mexican immigrants. The Church's paternalistic evangelism was often a direct challenge to the governors' exploitation of the Indians (Scholes 1937: 78-106).

Though some friars were as ruthless as conquistadors, the Indians usually saw the Church as the lesser of two evils, even if it remained simply one part of the whole system of oppression. While the governors used enslavement (the system of encomienda) to attain their objectives, the Franciscans' principal tool was a mixture of intimidation and persuasion. Though outright coer-

cion in one form or another was probably the rule of the missions, in many cases friars were in extremely tenuous positions, dependent upon a minority faction of the pueblo population to marshal help and defend them. At times this was not enough. For example, according to the eyewitness account of Miguel de Noriega, Fray Francisco Letrado was murdered at the mission of Hawikuh in 1632 because he called the Indians to Mass on one of their festival days (Hackett 1937:184). The friars' tenuous position in the pueblos perhaps inspired them to use architectural forms which were compatible with both traditional Indian beliefs and Catholic faith.

The most compelling evidence for the hypothesis that mission churches were, in a sense, an extension of the kiva tradition comes from the archaeological research of the ruins of Abó and Quarai (Figures 7 and 8). The missions of Abó (established in 1621) and Quarai (1626) were sited in existing pueblos east of the Monzano Range in the Salinas region of central New Mexico. Their planning was very similar and included a convento attached to the south side of the church. The convento included small residential cells, storage rooms, a kitchen and a refectory arranged around a small rectangular courtyard or patio. The simple convento scheme followed that employed in the European monastic cloister plan, which was in turn rooted in the Mediterranean atrium archetype. However, Abó and Quarai shared one additional unusual feature. In the centre of each patio was a kiva.

Various explanations have been offered for the presence of a kiva in the centre of an otherwise purely European plan. Some historians have suggested that the missionaries were practicing a form of "superposition" such as that which apparently occurred at the mission of Awátovi (Montgomery et al. 1949:64-67). By this argument the convento was used to surround the older kiva and thus dramatize Christian domination. Other historians and anthropologists have argued that the kivas could have been constructed during periods in which Christian control of the pueblos was lax or after the missions had been abandoned. Both of these explanations, however, are flawed (Ivey 1988:415).

James E. Ivey of the National Park Service has conducted extensive and detailed archaeological research at the two sites and has developed a hypothesis which more closely fits the available physical and documentary evidence. First, Ivey points out that superposition was not likely at either Abó or Quarai. When the missionaries arrived at the pueblos, they typically had little or no military support and no real authority over the Indians. According to accounts by the missionaries, they had to negotiate with leaders of the existing social power structure and gradually develop a following. The success or failure of missions in New Mexico depended to a great extent upon the struggle between pro- and anti-Spanish factions within the pueblos (Brugge 1969: 191-193). Despite any ideas the friars may have had about the ill effects of

Figure 7
Plan of the Mission Church and Convento at Abó, ca. 1630
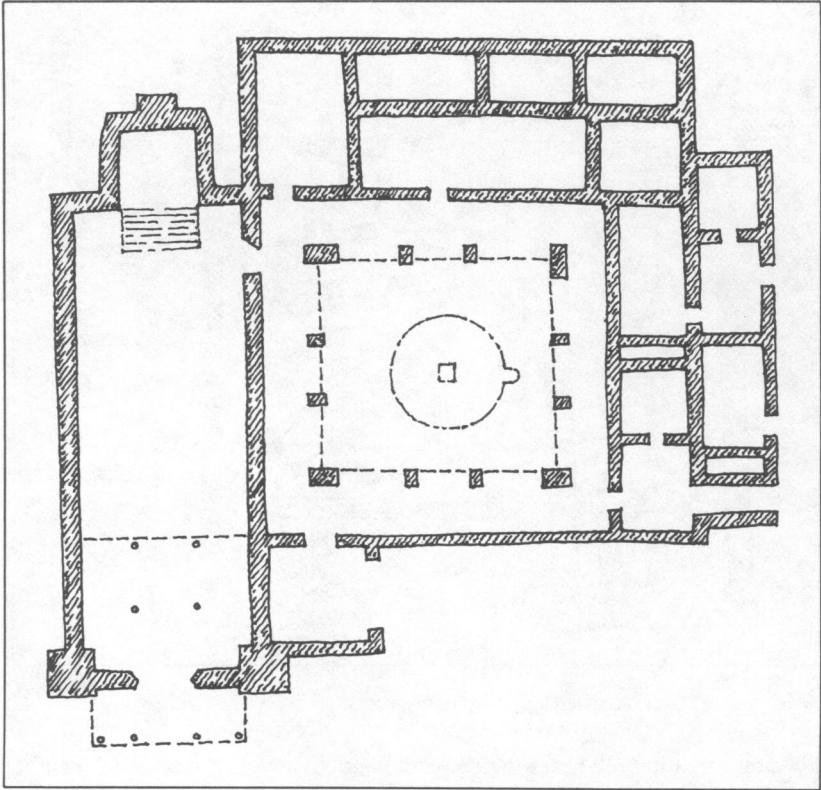
Source: Author's sketch adapted from Ivey 1988.

paganism, most of them wisely adopted a somewhat conciliatory attitude to-
ward the use of kivas, at least at the outset. Only later, during the kachina wars
after 1661, did intolerance dominate Franciscan relations with the indigenous
religions (Vivian 1979: 29). For example, there is evidence to suggest that the
founding missionary at Las Humanas apparently chose the site of the church
and convento to avoid kivas (Hayes et al. 1981:7, 36). Likewise, in contrast to
what superposition might attempt to achieve, at Abó and Quarai the careful sit-
ing of the kivas in the patio centres without any part of the Christian buildings
touching them suggests a composition intended to highlight the importance of
the kivas rather than to diminish them (Ivey 1988:416).

    Excavation of the ruins of both the kivas and the conventos at the two mis-
sions has revealed evidence that the intent was one of coexistence. Stratigra-

Figure 8
Plan of the Mission Church and Convento at Quarai, ca. 1632
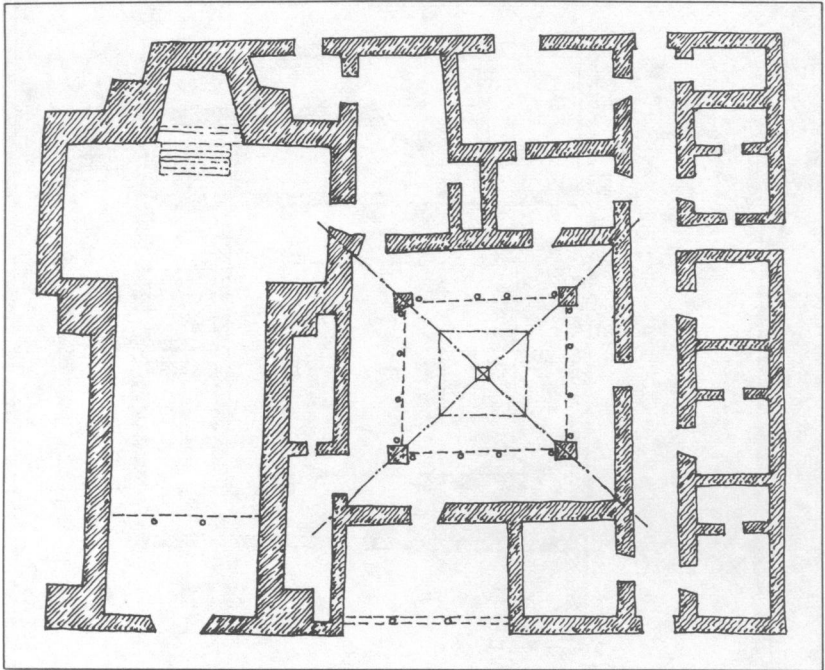
Source: Author's sketch adapted from Ivey 1988.

phy shows that in both cases the convento and kiva were constructed together on an artificial platform at the same time prior to the construction of the adjacent church. Not only does this contradict the theory that the kivas were built after the Franciscans left, but it strongly suggests that the kiva was intentionally built to be used in conjunction with Catholic ritual, perhaps even as a church itself. This possibility is not so shocking when one considers the variety of "profane" buildings which Christianity has adopted for use throughout its history from the Roman market basilica to the Moorish mosque in Spain. The latter example was even used by Diego de Vargas, the governor of New Mexico in 1693, to justify the adaptation of a kiva for use as a church in Santa Fe (von Wuthenau 1935:178-179). The Franciscans were rather eclectic in their choice of buildings used as churches. When missions were initiated, for example, a tent with a wooden table or a pueblo storeroom was suitable until more permanent accommodations could be built (Ivey 1988:420).

The kiva at Abó has another unusual quality which suggests its use as a church. First, though the layout of the interior features, such as the firepit, de-

flector, ventilator shaft and sipapu, as well as its structure were much like that of a conventional kiva, its interior height was not. Whereas kivas of the Salinas Valley were typically about five and a half feet high from floor to ceiling, that in the patio at Abó is about seven feet (Toulouse 1949:11). This was apparently an accommodation to European comfort. Raising the ceiling height strongly suggests that the founding missionary, Fray Francisco Fonte, not only permitted the use of the kiva by the Indians but actually used it himself.

The second unusual feature of the kivas at Abó and Quarai is their placement. At Abó the kiva is cylindrical and its roof is perfectly level with the surrounding patio pavement. Furthermore, its centre is within one foot of the centre of the square patio. The kiva at Quarai is even more remarkable. Unlike all others in the Salinas region, it is square and positioned exactly in the centre of the patio. Ivey points out that, following Spanish procedures for siting buildings, lines extended diagonally from the corners of the patio intersect precisely at the centre of the kiva. This kind of "compulsive" design was entirely uncharacteristic of the indigenous pueblo Indians but common among Europeans. Ivey concludes that the available evidence best fits the hypothesis that the Franciscans not only adapted existing kivas for their use (as in the Santa Fe example) as unconsecrated churches but in some cases even went so far as to build slightly modified kivas themselves until a church closer in form to European precedents could be constructed (Ivey 1988:421).

European Precedents

When the Franciscan missionaries eventually marshalled enough help to build their churches in the pueblos, they followed an austere plan devoid of side aisles and chapels. The available technology certainly was a factor in this decision. But another possible explanation for the lack of chapels may be the friars' fear that a variety of separate images displayed in chapels could rekindle polytheistic beliefs among the Indians. Whatever the cause, their extremely simple plan distinguishes these churches from their European predecessors.

Kubler suggested that the plan used for churches in New Mexico was derived from that of the Gesù in Rome, designed for the Jesuits by Vignola during the Counter-Reformation (Kubler 1940:54, 75). The Gesù was more compact in plan than most other large churches in Europe because its side aisles and transepts were absorbed into a series of side chapels.

The Gesù was a product of the Italian Renaissance and, though no doubt influential throughout Europe, its highly refined decorative style and complex structure made it inappropriate as a model for small, inexpensive parish churches. More likely, the friars in New Mexico recalled a plan type common in Spain and elsewhere around the Mediterranean. The plans of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo and El Parral in Segovia are typical of a simpler design.

In these parish churches, side chapels replaced side aisles. In El Parral the restricted openings to the chapels reinforce the unity of nave, chancel and sanctuary. The side chapels were incorporated into massively deep walls. In addition, the plan of El Parral utilizes the simple trapezoidal sanctuary to produce the characteristic coffin shape found in later New Mexican mission church plans (Figure 9).

Figure 9
Plans of San Juan, Toledo (bottom), and El Parral, Segovia (top)
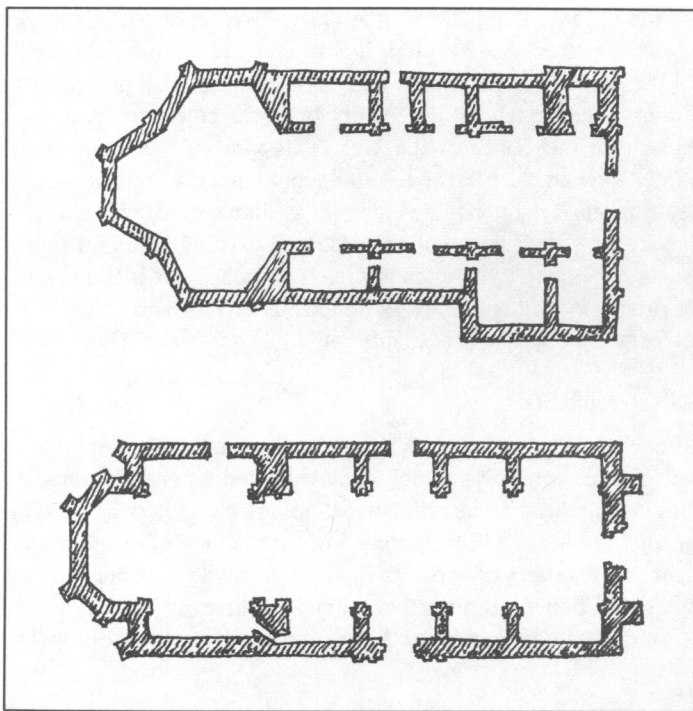
Source: Author's sketch adapted from Weise 1933.

A close relation to New Mexican churches can also be found in a medieval plan type which predates the Gesù. For example, two parochial Latin churches on Cyprus built by Cistercians resemble in plan those in New Mexico, though in other respects they are very different. St. George of the Latins in Famagusta (built in the early 13th century) and St. Catherine of Nicosia (late 14th century) each have a short nave without aisles leading to a polygonal apse. This plan is spatially economical and simple to build because it has no columns or interior walls. The two churches, though, are products of the

Gothic Rayonnant style of northern France. Therefore, their builders used ribbed vaults to span across the nave and the vaults rest on exterior buttresses to allow for extensive glazing (Panagopoulos 1979:142-148) (Figure 10). The New Mexican churches have a similar plan but their structural system led to a radically different way to define architectural space with mass and light.

Figure 10
Plans of Two Cistercian Churches on Cyprus: St. George of the
Latins in Famagusa (bottom) and St. Catherine in Nicosia (top)
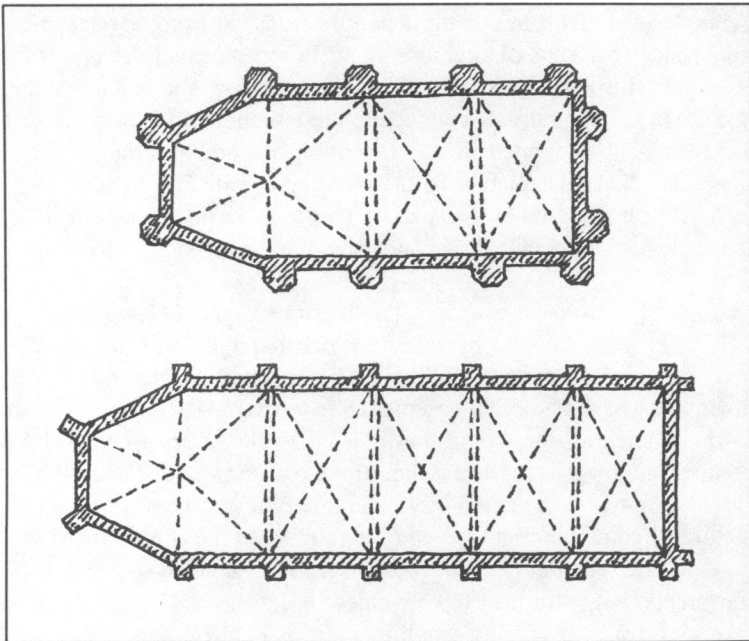
Source: Author's sketch adapted from Panagopoulos 1979.

Cellular and Seamless Space

The way in which sunlight is used to define the character of architectural space sets the mission churches distinctly apart from their European ancestors. Late Medieval and early Renaissance examples discussed above relied on large amounts of sunlight to achieve the desired architectural effect. Even the builders of the relatively simple Cistercian churches strove toward the ideal of transcendental space with high, airy volumes dramatically saturated with sunlight. The goal was to evoke spiritual salvation by escaping from the material grip of the Earth. In contrast, kivas are devoted to fixing the individual in the Earth; the Earth surrounds, bears down upon and protects the space

within. While European churches typically represent heaven as a promise of eternal life outside the body, kivas assert the powerful presence of a spirit world to be found deep within the corporeal reality of the natural world.

Though it was on a scale totally alien to Native Americans, the mission church maintained some of the effects of light and space familiar within kivas. Light was restricted to a few small punctures in the massive body of the building and space was kept unified and smoothly continuous. This compromise between European and Pueblo precedents can be seen in the plans of the churches in New Mexico. Though some geometric similarities in plan may link the Spanish mission churches of New Mexico to Europe, the mission churches reveal an important departure from the European technique of defining space by means of structure. In all European examples derived from the Roman basilica archetype, units of space were arranged in a hierarchic sequence down the central axis connecting the entrance to the altar. A cellular spatial concept was defined by the repetition of vertical structure and roof vaulting. The skeletal structure of the building dictated a relentlessly rhythmic progression along the primary axis. This most basic characteristic of European ecclesiastical architecture is not found in the mission churches of New Mexico.

In contrast to European churches, the interior spaces of New Mexican mission churches were defined by smooth, thick bearing walls which offer no sense of rhythm and no sense of direction beyond that dictated by the longitudinal geometry of the box-like volume. Interior space was treated as a continuous whole much as one would find in a kiva. The heavy roofing vigas did not compensate for the lack of rhythm in the wall structure. Their close spacing (usually on two-foot centres) created more of a surface pattern rather than a structural rhythm, an effect which only reinforced the continuity of interior space. Apertures for light in side walls were not intended to break the plan into segments, but were merely convenient holes punched through the massive flanking walls to admit a small amount of light into an otherwise dark space (Figure 11). This kind of space is unprecedented in the European Christian tradition. In its time, the idea of a seamless interior space set the small mission church of the Southwest apart from other European buildings devoted to a religious function. The unique quality of this architecture is the result of a cultural encounter in which Europeans contributed the generalized plan which the Indians then modified to achieve a specific spatial effect.

Form and Façade

Though the churches of central New Mexico appear superficially alike as bulky, simple prismatic forms, there is an important difference between two types. As the original racial composition of pueblos and villages, pure Indian or Mexican immigrant, determined to some extent the use of transepts, so did

Figure 11
San Estévan Rey, Ácoma — Interior Perspective
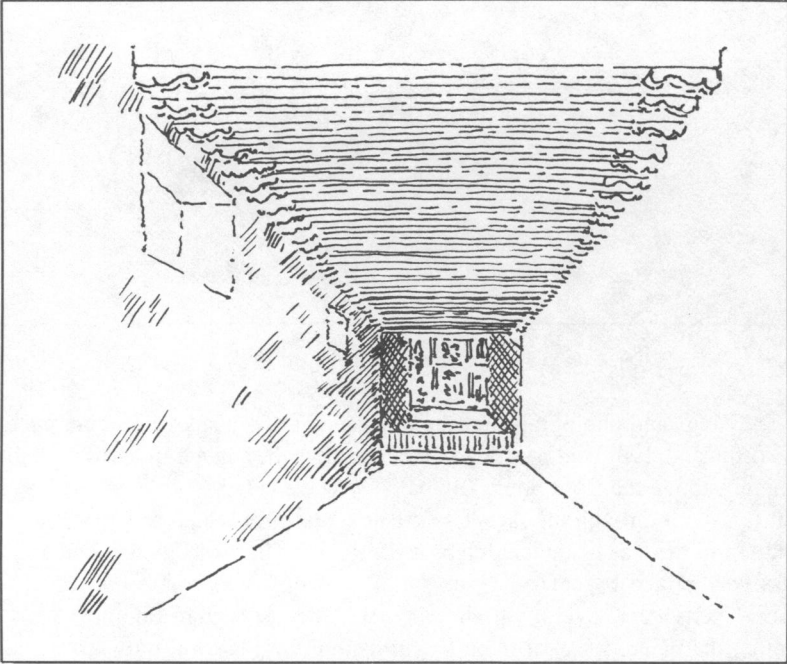
Source: Author's sketch.

it also influence the design of church façades. In Mexican villages the first churches normally had flat, unadorned façades with a small belfry. Often the only puncture in the façade was the front door, though occasionally there may have been a small window above the door to illuminate the choir loft. Examples of this type are the original churches at Santa Fe and Albuquerque (Figure 12). In contrast, churches in Indian pueblos generally have a balcony stretched across the façade. In some cases, the balcony dominates the entire exterior building form.

The use of balconies on European church façades is extremely rare, but a balcony as the dominant feature of a church façade is unprecedented in Europe. A morphology of the mission church which assumes the domination of European forms over indigenous ones will fail to yield a reasonable explanation for the development of large balconies on the church façade. However, if this anomaly is studied from the perspective of a dynamic cultural encounter, one explanation for the appearance of large balconies on the façades becomes plausible.

Figure 12
Façade of the Mission Church at Albuquerque, ca. 1776
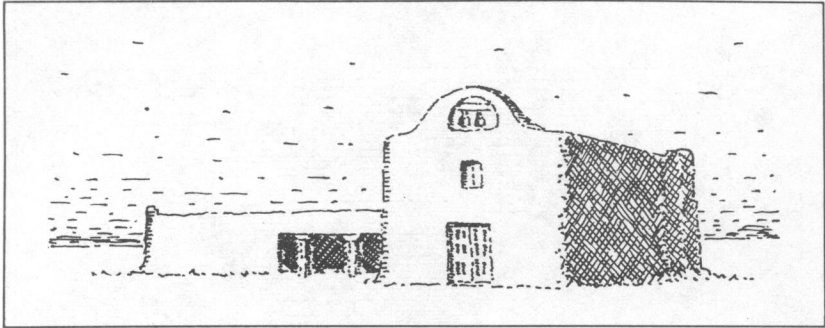
Source: Author's sketch adapted from Pierce and Dominguez 1956.

Drawings and photographs of the original church façades in Indian pueblos by 18th- and 19th-century travellers show that they generally had a shallow balcony above the front door. The balcony was made by projecting the choir-loft joists out through the façade to create a platform which was quite large in relation to the size of the church as a whole. A railing was then added and access was gained by enlarging the small choir loft window to become a low door. There were several variations on this theme. At San Ildefonso, for example, the balcony was formed by projecting the platform outward and also by indenting a portion of the façade inward. At Santo Domingo the indentation of the façade became the commanding design motif to the extent that the balcony as a whole appeared to be a separate piece set into a large opening of the elevation (Figure 13). The balconies at Picuris, San Felipe and Zia, together with their narrow roofs, are stretched between two vestigial pieces of the façade which are then enlarged to become corner towers. In the 18th century, the façade of Santa Ana was dominated by a large balcony in three segments which rested on four buttresses (Figure 14). San Estévan at Acoma is unique since its balcony is not on the church façade (which faces a cemetery) but displaced to the corner of the adjacent convento so it can face the open plaza of the pueblo.

In the context of an extremely spare and utilitarian building form, the consistent appearance of these relatively elaborate balconies, often decorated with colourful Indian designs, cannot be attributed simply to capricious formalism. A specific use must have required them. The fact that they appear on the original churches and their derivatives in Indian pueblos and very rarely on churches in Mexican villages suggests a difference in the use of the church in these two types of communities. Las Trampas is a notable exception in which a community of mixed Indian and Mexican residents built a church

Figure 13
Façade of the Mission Church of Santo Domingo
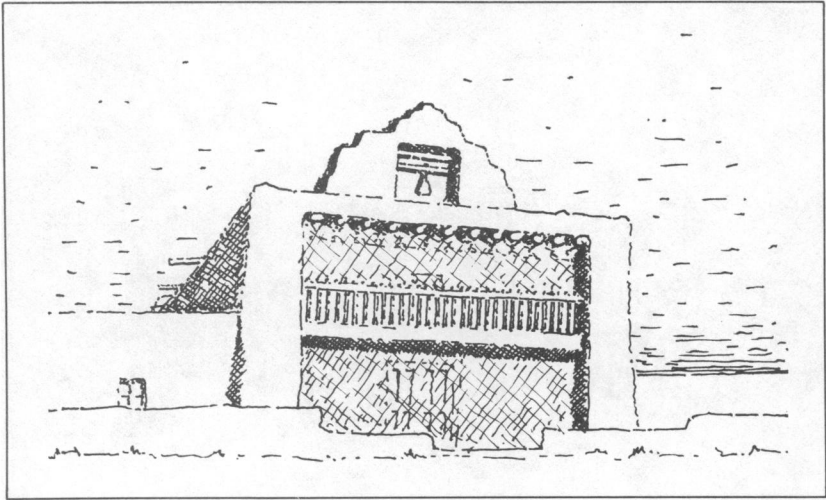
Source: Author's sketch.

with a prominent balcony. In the past, the choir sang from the balcony while celebrations took place on the plaza below (Sanford 1950:142).

If missionaries tried to create architectural plans which could mediate at least temporarily between indigenous and alien rituals, then perhaps the use of a balcony across the façade had a purpose similar to that of adapting the kiva to use as a church. Throughout the history of the pueblo missions, the Indians stubbornly maintained their traditional religious rituals in the kivas and outside on the plazas. Today it is common, for example, for Indians on their way to Mass to gather for about an hour on the plaza in front of the church to celebrate a native ritual under the leadership of an Indian priest. Similarly, in Mexico, most churches included an atrio or large forecourt in which the great Catholic dramas, or autos sacramentales, as well as the native ritual dances, called mitotes, were performed. The latter were entirely Indian in character but were nevertheless considered compatible with the liturgical and architectural form of the church. In addition, it was common practice in Mexico to say Mass outdoors for Indian congregations beneath a jacal, a temporary, light-weight, open structure of cloth or sticks. This practice was even institutionalized in church doctrine. The Council of 1585 decided to allow secular priests to say Mass only within consecrated churches and oratories but not to apply this rule to friars. McAndrew has suggested that the use of atrios and jacals in Mexico was a conscious effort on the part of the friars to provide

Figure 14
Façade of the Mission Church of Santa Ana, ca. 1880
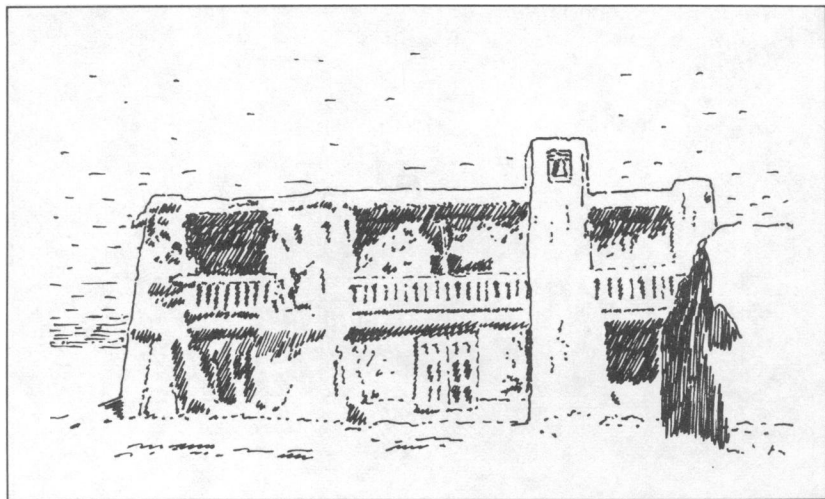
Source: Author's sketch adapted from a photograph by A.F. Bandelier.

some continuity with the Indian custom of outdoor religious ritual (McAndrew 1965:342-343). The same could be true of the balconies on New Mexican mission churches which faced the pueblo plazas.

The balcony could allow a friar to be a symbolic part of Indian ceremonies but also allow him to remain physically detached. The presence of a friar on the balcony during an Indian ceremony on the plaza below would confer a formal linkage between the church and the community while also maintaining a necessary separation. The balcony thus became a sign representing a tenuous intersection of two systems of belief. The church could retain its formal dignity but acknowledge and even include, to some extent, the separate reality of Indian belief.

The design of mission churches and conventos was highly insular. Thick walls with very few apertures surrounded dark interior spaces. Doors and shutters of heavy timber added to the overall defensive character of the buildings. The single feature of this architecture which conveyed any sense of openness was the balcony. It was, in effect, a partially enclosed outdoor room exposed entirely to the community but inaccessible from it. The spatial transparency of the balcony was in extreme contrast to the densely packed and closed spaces of the mission. The balcony thus appears to be a specific architectural gesture of controlled vulnerability and conciliation.

The situation was entirely different in villages of New Mexico dominated by Mexican and Spanish immigrants. There, congregations were confined by

doctrinal law to church interiors and were thoroughly conditioned to the European use of interior architectural space for religious purposes. As a result, there was no need for devices like the extravagantly balconied façade of Zia. All ritual was contained within the dark, sombre space of the interior.

The friars made other concessions to Indian ideas and customs besides the use of outdoor space for sacred ritual. On the level of symbolism, the Franciscan friars and the Indians found an architectural middle ground in the overall form of the church façade. The Spanish relished sharply delineated silhouettes of their façades against the sky. The Baroque and Rococco façades of Europe, which the Spaniards in America used as models, were characterized foremost by an elaborate articulation of their silhouettes. The complex interpenetration of the building mass with its surrounding void seemed to lock the architectural composition into the sky above. Many examples in Mexico attest to the successful translation of this aesthetic device to America.

Figure 15
Façade of San José at Laguna
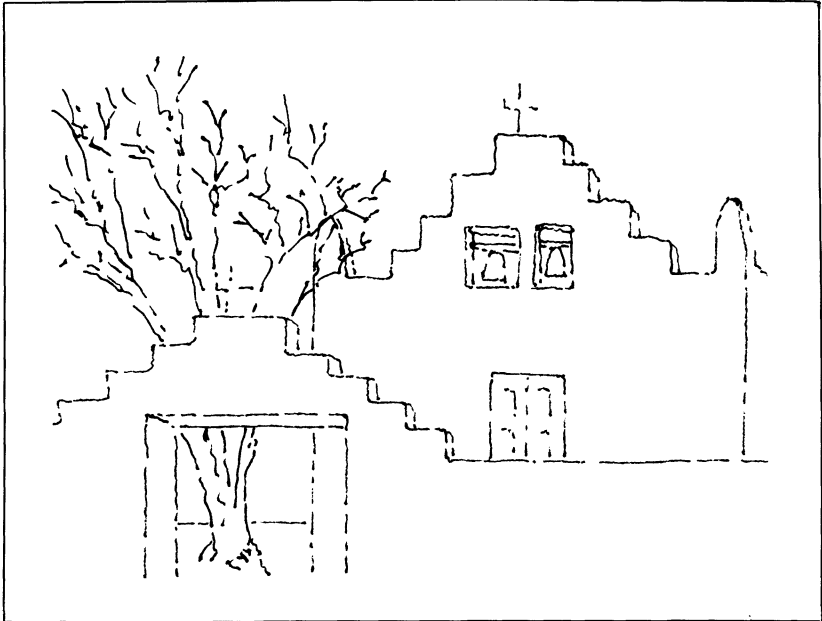
Source: Author's sketch.

In a rudimentary way the designers of New Mexican mission churches accomplished a similar effect. Instead of ornate towers, scrolls and brackets, however, adobe construction limited mission builders to a simple modelling

of the edge of the façade. Within this severe limitation, Indian ideas about appropriate symbolism became influential. The most common motif found on the façades of mission churches in New Mexico is a central parapet in the shape of a stepped pyramid. San José at Laguna is a good example. This form is easy to build and maintain in adobe. It satisfied the Spanish taste for a crisp, complex silhouette against the sky, but it was also acceptable to the Indians because the stepped pyramid is the symbol for the sacred mountain[2] (Figure 15). By incorporating the mountain symbol in the façade, Indians could subvert the power of the church and neutralize its corrosive influence on the carefully nurtured spirits which determined the fate of the pueblo.

Similarly, another motif commonly used is a pair of short horn-like towers at each end of the church façade along the top edge, For the Spanish these were vaguely reminiscent of the towers on churches they had seen back in Mexico and Spain. Furthermore, they could be easily interpreted by Europeans to be merlons, similar to the crenellations found along battlements of fortress churches in Mexico. However, to Pueblo Indians these are symbols of spirit guardians for the dead. In addition to being found today on the façades of some churches such as San José, they can also be seen painted on that church's interior and arrayed along the parapet wall surrounding the graves in front of San Estéban Rey at Acoma.

Conclusion

Architectural morphology traces the way in which a building form changes in response to shifting cultural and environmental conditions. In the case of Spanish mission churches in New Mexico we can see the transformation of a European building type pressured by a persistent Indian tradition.

Archaeological evidence has raised the possibility that the first stage in this particular morphosis was the mutation of an Indian building form, the kiva, for use as a church. In two important cases, the kiva was apparently adapted to Christian use by changing its interior dimensions and locking it into a typically European planning grid.

The second stage was the mutation of the church archetype to more closely resemble the space and form found in Indian ritual. The European penchant for defining space through structure, which results in a succession of cellular volumes, was abandoned in favour of a unitary concept more typical of Indian ideas about sacred space. The Christian spatial narrative of an extra-corporeal, transcendental religious experience became, in the hands of Indian builders, a densely compact volume which dramatized, above all, its intimate union with forces of the earth.

Indian sensibilities adjusted to new European ideas about building scale and emphasis, such as an exaggerated longitudinal axis and a higher ceiling. But the church also became an extrapolation of an indigenous sacred archi-

tecture of ancient origin. On the one hand, Indian builders submitted to the friars' architectural dictates based on European models. However, those models were subverted to more closely resemble Indian architectural customs. The result is a hybrid building type which is familiar in some respects, and strange in others, when viewed in relation to two different cultures. Climate, landscape and, most of all, the indigenous cultural idea of sacred space within the kiva irrevocably transformed the European basilica archetype. Similarly, the European ideal of the church façade as an elementary plane, which sealed the mysteries of the sacred liturgy within, was turned inside-out by the use of balconies to ensure the continuity of an indigenous Indian custom of outdoor rather than indoor religious celebrations. Therefore, the architectural morphology which resulted in Spanish mission churches of New Mexico cannot be considered exclusively from a single cultural perspective. It needs to be studied as an encounter between equal cultural forces.

Notes

1. Author's interview with Bernard Fontana, anthropologist at the Arizona State Museum, Tucson, Arizona, August 12, 1991.
2. Every pueblo is tied to the earth through a system of geographic references, the most important of which are nearby mountains. Vincent Scully suggests that part of the system is the pueblo's mission church façade. According to Scully, the façade is designed to "lock the building into" the silhouette of a sacred mountain. He compares the phenomenon to conditions at Knossos, Phaistos, Mycenae and Athens (Scully 1989:101). This probably applies too strong a European vision to the situation. I doubt that the Franciscan friars had such pretensions and the Indian way of making reference to significant objects is not through a direct visual correlation of mass or profile but rather by means of symbolism. If needed, reference to a sacred mountain was accomplished simply by the application of the symbol for mountain, the stepped pyramid, on whatever was at hand, whether it was a church or a pot.

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SOME PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY
OF OCEANIC RELIGION

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Abstract: The author notes that certain 19th-century ideas persist in the anthropological study of religion. Using the concepts of "mana" and "tapu" the author demonstrates the tenaciousness of early reifications grounded more in Western preoccupations than in Polynesian modes of thought, following lines suggested by Rodney Needham's critique of the notion of "soul substance" in Needham's paper, "Skulls and Causality" (1977).

Résumé: L'auteur de l'article fait remarquer que certaines idées du xixe siècle sont encore bien présentes dans l'étude anthropologique de la religion. Se servant de concepts tels que «mana» et «tapu» l'auteur montre la ténacité des premières réifications implantées plus dans la mentalité occidentale que dans le mode du pensée polynésien. L'auteur s'appuie sur la critique de la notion de «substance spirituelle» telle qu'elle est apparue dans l'article de Rodney Needham intitulé : «Skulls and Causality» (1977).

Introduction

Writings on "primitive religion" continue to have a highly conservative cast, in contrast to other subfields of anthropological study. Despite the 20th-century demise of cultural evolutionism, despite the deconstruction of totemism and "primitive thought," despite elegant structural analyses of ritual and cosmology, despite sophisticated recent debates about rationality, many elements of 19th-century thought regarding non-Western religions remain strong, if implicit.

My primary concern will be to characterize and cast critical light on these submerged premises and the discursive modes they shape. I shall do so by examining two concepts widespread in Oceanic religions, *mana* and *tapu*, that not only serve (in ethnological discourse) to typify Polynesian thought, but have long since passed into the comparative metalanguage of our discipline. Taking these concepts and our interpretations of them as texts, I shall exam-

ine how and why we have transmuted pragmatic orientations toward unseen beings and powers into theologies, into which we have projected Western assumptions.

My exploration of these themes follows lines suggested by Rodney Needham, in a brief but brilliant paper, "Skulls and Causality" (1977). Needham examines critically the quest for "soul substance" supposed, according to ethnological interpretations of religions of insular and mainland southeast Asia, to motivate head-hunting. The "soul substance," Needham infers, is an artifact of European, not indigenous, thought: a projection of Western logics of causality and agency and of 19th-century physicalist models of hydraulics and electricity.

Mana in Oceanic Languages and Religions

Codrington introduced the Melanesian concept of *mana* to the anthropological world, characterizing it as "a power or influence" which "attaches itself to persons, and to things, and is manifested by results which can only be ascribed to its operation" (1891:118-119). Comparative theorists such as Marett, Lehmann, Hubert and Mauss seized on this conception of *mana* to characterize the evolution of primitive religion and the nature of primitive thought.

In the decades that followed, ethnographic and comparative accounts of *mana* confirmed Codrington's view that the concept was widespread in the religions of Oceania. The centrality of *mana* in Polynesia, as an invisible medium of power manifest in the sanctity and authority of chiefs, was established in the literature. Handy (1927), explicating a mystical "cosmic dynamism" in Polynesian religion, likened *mana* to electricity; C.E. Fox (1924), describing the Arosi (Makira, southeastern Solomons) conception of *mana*, likened it to an invisible liquid medium of power in which sacred objects or powerful leaders were soaked. *Mana* as a kind of invisible medium of power became clearly established in the metalanguage of anthropology.

From the outset, there had been some disquieting ripples in this current of thought. A decade before (under Marett's influence) Codrington established an orthodox view of *mana*, he had warned that "it would be very difficult to ascertain whether . . . *mana* . . . is thought to originate in connection with . . . spiritual beings. The notion conveyed by the word . . . is vague, and the origin of the power not likely to be clearly conceived in the native mind" (1881:278-279). When a decade later he submerged his doubts, he still noted in passing that objects and acts and people could be characterized as *being* mana, as well as *having* mana. He observed that "an abundant crop on the tree or in the garden shows that [the stone used by a magician] is *mana*," to which he had appended a footnote that "an object in which *mana* resides, and

a spirit which naturally has *mana*, is said to be *mana*, with the use of the verb'' (1891:119). Hubert and Mauss noted that:

> Le *mana* n'est pas simplement une force, un être, c'est encore une action, une qualité et un état. En d'autres termes, le mot est à la fois un substantif, un adjectif, un verbe. On dit d'un objet qu'il est *mana*, pour dire qu'il a cette qualité; et dans ce cas, le mot est une sorte d'adjectif. . . . En somme, ce mot subsume une foule d'idées que nous designerons par les mots de: pouvoir de sorcier, qualité magique d'une chose, chose magique, être magique, avoir du pouvoir magique, être incanté, agir magiquement. (1902-1903:108)

But in the end, the ambiguity was resolved by conventions of anthropological discourse, not ethnographic clarification: *mana* was fundamentally a substantive.

Despite general theorizing about *mana* based essentially on a Codringtonian interpretation, the empirical bases for these interpretations have remained shaky. Hocart's accounts of Simbo (Western Solomons), Fiji and Tonga noted that *mana* in these Oceanic languages is commonly used adjectivally to describe state of efficacy — medicine or magic that works *is mana*. The subtlety of the *mana* concept in Polynesia was further clarified by Firth's paper on *mana/manu* in Tikopia:

> In this land *manu* is there in the lips of the chief. In his speech whatever he may ask for, if a chief is *manu* then when he asks for fish, they will come; when he speaks requesting a calm it falls. That is a *manu* chief. (Pa Fenuatara; Firth 1940:494)

> Again and again I hammered away at my informants trying to find what was the meaning of *manu* itself apart from the evidence of it in crops, fish and the like. But all my inquiries . . . came to nothing. Always it was insisted that the crops and the fish *were manu*. (Ibid.:497)

> To the Tikopia, *manu* I am sure has not the connotation of an isolatable principle, a power, or any other metaphysical abstraction — though it may be conceived of as a specific quality. The interpretation in terms of such abstraction can only be the work of the anthropologist. (Ibid.:497-498)

Hogbin had encountered a similar pragmatism on Guadalcanal (Solomons): ''nobody knows how *nanama* [= *mana*] works, and I gathered the thought had never occurred to anyone until I made inquiries'' (1936:245).

In a series of recent papers (Keesing 1984, 1985, 1987, 1989) I have drawn on these ethnographic ambiguities, comparative linguistic evidence, and my own field data from Malaita in the Solomons to cast further doubt on Codringtonian orthodoxies. Let us first briefly examine the linguistic evidence.

I have shown (1984) that across a vast geographical zone of Oceania, from the western Solomons to New Zealand, and northward through the eastern and central Carolines of Micronesia, forms derived from Proto-Oceanic **mana(ng)* are used in a stable complex of meanings and grammatical forms:

(1) as a stative verb (translatable with English adjectives), carrying meanings of "be efficacious, be potent, be realized";

(2) as an active verb (often with transitive or causative marking morphologically): *mana*-ize "empower, protect, support" (usually with reference to ancestors, gods, spirits);

(3) as a noun, carrying meanings of "potency, efficacy, empowerment, luck, blessing, authority, etc."

Linguistic distributions strongly suggest that the first two verbal usages lie at the root of the *mana* concept and that the noun use is (historically) derivative from the verbal usages. The distributional evidence, briefly, shows that:

(1) *Mana* cognates are pervasive in languages that can be tentatively classed as "Eastern Oceanic" (Keesing 1988): Southeast Solomonic, North-Central Hebridean, Fijian-Rotuman, Polynesian, Nuclear Micronesian, but have limited distribution in the Oceanic languages of western Melanesia and western Micronesia (which represent early splits from Proto-Oceanic).

(2) In these western Oceanic[1] languages, *mana* cognates are used as stative verbs. Thus, Tubetube (Papuan Tip) *naManaMa* "be effective, work, be good, be true, fulfill potential." The canonical usage of *mana* to characterize (magical) medicine as "effective" extends across the entire Pacific and seems to lie at the core of the concept.

(3) In western Solomons [Meso-Melanesian] languages, also distantly related to the Oceanic languages to the east,[2] *mana* is pervasively used as a stative verb (Roviana: *mana* "be potent, effectual," Simboese *mana* "be effective, propitious, favourable, true"); as a vocative in prayer (*mana tu* "bless it, Amen" in both languages); and (with transitive suffix) as a transitive verb (Roviana: *mana-ni-a*: "bless it," Simboese *mana-ni-* "grant it, bless it, cause it to come true"). Where, in Roviana, a noun form is used, it is marked as an abstract verbal noun by the infix *-in-*: *m-in-ana* "mana-ness, efficacy, potency" (cf. Roviana *mate* "die," *m-in-ate* "death," *mangini* "be hot," *m-in-angini* "heat," *malahoro* "be weak," *m-in-alahoro* "weakness").

(4) In some Eastern Oceanic languages (Rotuman, Marshallese) *mana* is used only as a stative verb (and in some, an invocation or active verb as well), not as a noun. In others (Fijian and a number of Western Polynesian languages) *mana* is used as a noun only in highly restricted senses semantically (characteristically for meteorological events, particularly thunder and/or lightning, or events seen as supernatural portents). The dominant meaning in all these languages is the stative "be effective, be potent." In some other Eastern Oceanic languages (Malaita, Solomons) the nominalized form is (as in Roviana and Simbo) marked by an affix as an abstract verbal noun (*mana*-ness, *mana*-ization).

Once this pattern where the stative (and vocative verbal) senses of *mana* are dominant is noted, further regularities strikingly emerge. The prototypical

usage of *mana* characterizes magic, particularly (magical) medicines or treatments, as "potent" or "efficacious." Ironically, this sense of *mana*, so different from the standard anthropological one, turns up in Codrington's own dictionary of Mota, the Melanesian language he knew best: the entry for *meserere* is "banana leaves made *mana* with fire and rubbed on the arms before fighting, for strength and valour" (Codrington and Palmer 1896). This usage turns up in languages separated by 4 000 (or more) years of time-distance and many hundreds of miles. In Yapese, so aberrant historically that its status as Oceanic is in some doubt, *maanging* is "effective, powerful, of medicine." Hocart, working first in Simboese, then in Fijian and then in Tongan, found that in each language *mana* was used to characterize magic or folk medicine as "potent" or "effective." Yet Fijian and Tongan separated some 2 000 years ago and Simboese is very distantly related to both, representing a split going back almost to the initial breakup of Proto-Oceanic. The stability of meanings here is amazing. Martha Macintyre worked with a folk healer on Tubetube in Papua New Guinea's Milne Bay Province who told her, *naManaMa ne nima-gu* "My hands are *mana*." Quite independently but at the same time, Barbara Herr worked with a folk healer in the Lau Islands of Fiji who told her, *se mana na liga-qu*, "My hands are manna." The Fijian includes an utterance-initial aspect marker, but otherwise each of the morphemes in these parallel utterances, in languages probably separated by some 4 000 years in time and 2 000 miles of ocean, corresponds to the same ancient Proto-Oceanic form. We could find no more striking evidence than this of the historical coherence of a conceptual system: but one very different from the one anthropologists have represented.

I have shown (Keesing 1982) how, among the Kwaio of Malaita, the concept of *nanama* is used to characterize retrospectively and pragmatically a quality of success or efficacy: something is *nanama* because it "works"; we know that the ancestors have *nanama*-d for us or *nanama*-ized us when we observe that our children are healthy, our pigs and taro gardens are growing well, our financial transactions are prospering. *Nanama-ngaa*, the nominalized form, is (like "luck") a state of (ancestrally conferred) grace inferred from positive outcomes, not an invisible medium of power.

I have discussed (Keesing 1987, 1989) how Codringtonian orthodoxies have distorted ethnographic understanding and led to pervasive mistranslations. In eastern Melanesia, two generations of ethnographers have encountered *mana* used as a stative and transitive verb and translated it as if it were a noun. In one striking case, a Solomon Islander who had studied anthropology translated a prayer in his own language, literally "make these words of mine *mana*" as "give *mana* to my words" (Bogesi 1939).

In some Oceanic religions, particularly in parts of eastern Polynesia, the nominal form of *mana* has become dominant, and the abstract verbal concept

has given way to a substantivization. *Mana* seems to have been, particularly
in New Zealand and Hawaii, viewed as a kind of medium of sacred power (as
in the classic anthropological accounts) — although the stative and verbal
senses remain in view. I have hypothesized (Keesing 1984) that this elabora-
tion and substantivization is a consequence of the emergence in eastern Poly-
nesia of priestly classes, whose role was to develop a theology connecting sa-
cred chiefs to the gods, and to legitimate their power. However, careful analy-
ses of old texts suggest that *mana* was a less central concept even in many of
the eastern Polynesian islands, including Tahiti and the Marquesas, than ear-
lier interpretations, based in part on European mysticism, had suggested.
Even for the Maori, where *mana* was clearly used to designate supernatu-
rally-conferred potency, usage was semantically complex: "*Mana* has many
and various meanings; for instance it means fulfill . . . *ka mana taku kupu i au*
(I will fulfill my word); and it means potent, as *he karakia mana* (a potent
charm); and it also means effective, as *he kupu mana tana kupu* (his word is
effective) . . ." (Gudgeon 1885:217).

   In speculating about the sociological and political circumstances that may
have led to a substantivization or hypostatization of an abstract concept, I
have drawn on recent writings of Lakoff and Johnson (1980; Lakoff 1987;
Johnson 1987) on conventional metaphor. The metaphysic that lies latent in
metaphoric scheme may be elaborated into a theology and dramatized in rit-
ual. Boyer (1986, 1990, 1993) has usefully suggested that *mana*, particularly
in acquiring this substantivized meaning, resembles a "natural kind term,"in
labelling a category seen as having some essential defining (though not nec-
essarily visibly manifest) characteristic.

   I will suggest below that our analytical errors derive partly from our over-
systematization of pragmatic religions more concerned with manipulating and
retrospectively interpreting the visible world than explaining the invisible one
that lies behind; and partly from our taking conventional metaphors and sup-
plying the metaphysic they seem to imply. Before I develop this theme fur-
ther, let me turn to the concept of *tapu*.

The Concept of *Tapu*/Taboo

The word *tabu* first entered Western parlance through accounts of Captain
Cook's third voyage. In 1777 Cook encountered chiefs at Tongatabu, Tonga,
who could not sit or eat; they were *tabu*, "which word has a very comprehen-
sive meaning, but, in general, signifies that a thing is forbidden." Later Cook
found the same term widely used in Tahiti (in its more common Polynesian
form *tapu*). In Hawaii, the restrictions associated with the sanctity of chiefs
had been strikingly elaborated. After Cook's death, King continued his diary
(Cook and King 1784 Vol. 3:10-11):

This sort of religious interdiction they call taboo; a word we heard often repeated, during our stay amongst these islanders, and found to be of very powerful and extensive operation.

On our inquiring into the reasons of the interdiction of all intercourse between us and the natives ... we were told that the bay was *tabooed*. The same restriction took place ... the day we interred the bones of Captain Cook. In these two instances the natives paid the most implicit and scrupulous obedience; but whether on any religious principles, or merely in deference to the civil authority of their chiefs, I cannot determine. ...

It is necessary to observe that ... they apply the word *taboo* indifferently both to persons and things. Thus they say the natives were tabooed, or the bay was tabooed, and so of the rest. This word is also used to express anything sacred, or eminent, or devoted. (Cook and King 1784 Vol. 3:163-164)

By 1791, the term had entered English usage, often in the form "tabooed," a misrendering from Cook's voyage of the Polynesian use of *tabu* as a stative (adjective). Sir Walter Scott's 1826 diary observes that "conversation is seldom excellent among official people. So many topics are what Otahaitians call *Taboo*."

From these earliest accounts the incorporation of the term into scholarship on primitive religion has gone in two directions: on the one hand, comparative study of the *tapu* concept in Oceanic religion and society (see, e.g., Ellis 1829; Churchill 1911; Williamson 1924, 1933; Handy 1927; Lehmann 1930), and, on the other hand, comparative study of parallel systems of interdiction carrying moral force, around the world, interdictions for which the Polynesian term has provided a general label — taboo (French *tabou*). Here I will be concerned with our interpretations of *tapu* in Oceania.

A first point is that *tabu/tapu* is found not only in Polynesian languages, but in many other Oceanic Austronesian languages, in island Melanesia. Because the concept there usually occurs without an association with hereditary chiefs and their sanctity and political power, the Melanesian usages illuminate the Polynesian ones.

For Polynesian religion, one of the best sources remains Ellis's *Polynesian Researches*, whose observations I quote selectively:

In most of the Polynesian dialects, the usual meaning of the word *tabu* is "sacred." It does not, however, imply any moral quality, but expresses a connection with the gods, or a separation from ordinary purposes, and exclusive appropriation to persons or things considered sacred; sometimes it means devoted as by a vow.... It ... is opposed to the word *noa*, which means general or common.

... The idols, temples, persons, and names of the kind, and members of the reigning family; the persons of the priests; canoes belonging to the gods; houses, clothes, and mats of the king and priests; and the heads of mean who were the devotees of any particular idol were always *tabu*, or sacred. The flesh

of hogs, fowls, turtle, and several other kinds of fish, cocoanuts, and almost everything offered in sacrifice were *tabu* to the use of the gods and the men; hence the women were, except in cases of particular indulgence, restricted from using them. (Ellis 1829)

From the earliest accounts, European observers have puzzled over the association, in a single concept, of apparently negative connotations of the forbidden and apparently positive connotations of sanctity, a problem discussed at length by Steiner (1956). Marett observed that: "Whatever is supernatural is ... *tabu* — perilous to the unwary; but as such it may equally well be holy or unclean, set apart for God or abandoned to devil, sainted or sinful, cloistered or quarantined" (1914:112).

Marett further usefully noted that some of the difficulties of English-speaking scholars in understanding *tabu* reflect a semantic focus of "sacred" in English from which French is free: *"L'idée du sacré* may be apposite enough in French, since *sacré* can stand either for 'holy' or 'damned'; but it is an abuse of the English language to speak of the 'sacredness' of some accursed wizard" (ibid.:110).

Thus Durkheim can observe that "toutes les interdictions religieuses se rangent en deux classes: les interdictions entre le sacré et le profane, celles entre le sacré pur et le sacré impur" (1906:432).

One recent direction for resolving this apparent contradiction, pursued across a wider field in relation to "taboos" in the general anthropological sense, is analysis by Leach and Douglas in terms of category anomaly. Leach's interpretation of taboo in terms of categorical anomaly will illustrate:

Whatever is taboo is a focus not only of special interest but also of anxiety. Whatever is taboo is sacred, valuable, important, powerful, dangerous, untouchable, filthy unmentionable. (1964:37-38)

It is the ambiguous categories that attract the maximum interest and the most intense feelings of taboo. The general theory is that taboo applies to categories which are anomalous with respect to clear-cut category oppositions. If A and B are two verbal categories, such that B is defined as "what A is not" and vice versa, and there is a third category C which mediates this distinction, in that C shares the attributes of both A and B, then C will be taboo. (Ibid.:39-40)

To be useful, gods must be near at hand, so religion sets about reconstructing a continuum between this world and the other world. But note how it is done. The gap between two logically distinct categories, this world/other world, is filled in with tabooed ambiguity. The gap is bridged by supernatural beings of highly ambiguous kind ... credited with the power of mediating between gods and men. (Ibid.:39)

This general approach has considerable power, although, as Needham notes, "there is no good evidence that either the conceptual appreciation of

boundaries or the psychic response to them is a constant in symbolic classifi-
cation, let alone that the common term is danger'' (1979:47). However, my
main concern here is with the ethnographic foundations of the apparent prob-
lematic whereby the positive — sacred and powerful — is confounded with the
negative — dangerous and unclean — in Oceanic religions.

I have suggested that this problematic is largely an artifact of our own con-
ceptual system, not those of the Pacific Islanders whose languages and cul-
tures we engage.

> The basic meaning of tapu in both Melanesian and Polynesian languages seems
> best rendered as simply ''off limits.'' This captures the relational nature of tapu
> in a way that ''sacred'' and ''forbidden'' do not; and it keeps us free of the
> seeming contradiction between the positive valence of sacredness and the nega-
> tive valence of ''pollution'' and interdiction. Something that is tapu is . . . ''off
> limits''; and that inescapably implies: (1) an agent; (2) a perspective; (3) a con-
> text. . . . Something that is off limits, tapu, is always off limits *to someone*, not
> in and of itself. . . . A place or act or thing that is tapu this afternoon, from the
> perspective of some people and in the context of a particular ritual or circum-
> stance, may be noa (or tapu) for *different* people tomorrow. This underlines
> why translations of tapu as either ''sacred'' or ''forbidden'' are misleading. . . .
> We steer clear of the pseudoproblem . . . of why the term refers both to sanctity
> and to the prohibited or polluted. It refers to both and to neither. (Keesing
> 1985:204-205)

The concept of *noa*, which in many Polynesian languages denotes a state
not marked off by *tapu*, has often been rendered by ''profane'' in the Durk-
heimian sense. Maranda and Maranda (1970) usefully suggest an alternative
semiotic rendering of the *tapu/noa* contrast as marqué/non-marqué.[3]

An illustration from the languages of western island Melanesia of the
misrendering of indigenous concepts of *tabu* will be instructive. The Bible
has for many of these languages been given the title ''Buka Tabu,'' supposed
to mean ''Holy Book.'' But characteristically, in these languages this meant
not that the book was sacred, but that some people were forbidden to read it.
(This highlights the overlay of Christianity and Biblical conventions which
now hides and distorts indigenous conceptualizations.)

Rendering *tabu* as ''off limits'' or ''restricted'' not only more faithfully
represents the contextual, contingent and relational nature of the term than ei-
ther ''sacred'' or ''forbidden,'' and eliminates the spurious contradiction be-
tween the negative and positive. It also avoids the false metaphysic that
emerges in some accounts of Polynesian religion, whereby *tapu* is portrayed
as a kind of dangerous radiation that emanates from sacred chiefs or sacred
objects. *Tapu* is commonly used as a stative; and only rarely and in restricted
contexts, as a noun. Yet its hypostatization as radiation-like has helped to
generate anthropological interpretations linking *tapu* intimately with *mana*.
Such a conceptual linkage may have existed in some Polynesian cosmologies

(e.g., among the Maori); but in most of Polynesia, the two concepts seem to have belonged in different universes of discourse, as they do in the parts of Melanesia where both occur.

Let me turn now to more general issues. Following Needham (1977), I believe these misrenderings of Oceanic linguistic meanings and conceptualizations reflect more fundamental distortions in the way anthropologists have interpreted "primitive religion."

Problems in the Interpretation of "Primitive Religion"

The roots of misinterpretations lie, I believe, in the 19th century when cultural evolutionists sought evidence, in the ethnographic accounts of missionaries, travellers and pioneer ethnographers, for the early forms of human religion: animism, animatism, totemism, sacrifice and the belief in a high god. Scholars such as Tylor, Marett, Frazer, Durkheim, Bastian, Lehmann and Schmidt searched the fragmentary evidence not for contemporary beliefs and practices, but the survivals that could be gleaned from them. There was a parallel search, by these scholars and others such as Lévy-Bruhl, Hubert and Mauss, for evidence regarding primitive thought. Yet another element in 19th- and early-20th-century writing on tribal religions was filtered through European racism. Dark skinned Africans or Melanesians were seen as having genuinely primitive religions; peoples with copper skin and straight hair — Indonesians, Polynesians — were often seen through a more romantic eye, attributed mystical wisdom and developed philosophical systems (often assumed to be of Indic origin).

These interconnected discourses on "primitive" (and not-so-primitive) religions, as Needham (1977) has suggested, drew heavily on physicalist models of latter 19th-century natural science, notably those of electricity, magnetism and hydraulics, to characterize the cosmologies underlying practices such as headhunting and concepts such as *mana*. The use of such physicalist metaphors and models was characteristic of the thought of the period (just as computer metaphors and models characterize contemporary discourses). Freud's hydraulic models of the psyche, metaphors reified into entities, fluids and forces, are a case in point. As Needham (1977) points out, such physicalist models for "primitive" thought may not only create spuriously systematic and global cosmology, but may introduce into the analysis concepts of cause and agency alien to the worlds we seek to characterize. Needham exemplifies this problem with the "soul substance" supposed to motivate the quest for human heads among southeast Asian headhunters and to link head-taking with the fertility of the crops. Needham, going back to texts and other ethnographic data, argues that there is (for many of these peoples, at least) no evidence for such a "soul substance" in indigenous thought: it is, he suggests, an element introduced by European scholars to interpret a seeming hiatus in

causal logic connecting the taking of the heads with power and fertility. My explorations of *mana* provide further illustrations.

The Problem of Oversystematization

Let me take first the problem of oversystematization. Ron Brunton (1980) and I (Keesing 1984) have taken the degree of global closure and elaboration of cosmological schemes as an empirical question to be investigated, and related to sociological factors, rather than as a starting point of our analysis. It is too simple to say that peoples who lack social classes and political hierarchy have undeveloped and unsystematized "theological" systems: there are too many counterexamples, from Aboriginal Australia to the tiny hamlets of the Mountain Ok peoples of New Guinea (Barth 1988). However, developed theologies have in most times and places apparently been the creation of theologians: religious specialists, members of priestly classes sustained by state resources. It is no accident that the philosophical elaborations of Pharonic Egypt, Mesoamerica, Mesopotamia, China and India emerged where and when they did. There were, of course, many less strikingly elaborated but still richly complex philosophical systems in the non-Western world. My point here is not to advance a general theory regarding such elaborations and their absence, but simply to post a warning that there are grave dangers of the anthropologist becoming the theologian of a system which may be less global and systemically coherent than our assumptions and theories lead us to expect. The religions of many tribal peoples are pragmatic, relatively unsystematized and perspectival. Concepts such as *mana* that would seem to imply a metaphysic and a global philosophy may have no such implication.

The Kwaio of the Solomons I have studied (Keesing 1982) are a striking case in point. The way Kwaio invoke explanations based on ancestral manipulations to account for death, illness, misfortune (or successful outcomes) would seem to imply a belief that the ancestors are all-powerful and that all events in the universe are manipulated and connected by the ancestors. If a man climbs a tree to get canarium almond nuts or hunt a cuscus opossum and falls to his death, it was an ancestor — angry over some violation of pollution rules — that implanted the idea in his head or caused his hand to slip. If a tree falls on an axeman or a snake fatally bites someone in the garden, it was an ancestor who deflected the axe blow or "connected" the snake's movements to the victim's. But what about the snake's movements the rest of the time? What about trees that fall harmlessly in the forest? Kwaio explanations only concern *interventions in* human life; they imply no vast web of causal interconnections where ancestors control the entire universe. Put crudely,[4] His eye is on the descendant but not on the sparrow.

The Problem of Non-existent Metaphysics

The other side of Needham's problematic is that in supplying the missing elements that tie fragments of local practice and talk into a coherent system, we may create a level of philosophical order — a metaphysic — that has no counterpart in indigenous thought. Asking questions that have no local answers, seeking conceptual coherence in what may only be local ways of talk, we introduce both alien concepts of agency and alien levels of order.

If Solomon Islanders can use concepts such as *mana* in contexts of sacrifice or prayer or retrospective interpretation of events, does this not imply that there is some coherent theory of ancestrally-conferred power lying behind their talk? Not necessarily.

My own explorations of conventional metaphors provide one kind of alternative account. Tribal peoples may "mean" nothing more cosmologically salient and metaphysical with their talk of *mana* than we mean with our talk of "luck." As Pascal Boyer puts it:

> Usual [English] phrases convey the idea that luck is a fluid or substance that some people possess ("I don't have much luck"), a scarce commodity ("some people have all the luck"), or a personified agency ("luck was not with me today"). For some anthropologist from a remote culture, it would seem natural to say that these phrases indicate the English speakers' "mystical" conception of luck as both substance and person. The beliefs, however, are clearly not there. The phrases in question organize the role of chance in human endeavor in a metaphorical way, but no one in an English speaking culture is committed to the "metaphysics" of luck that they seem to imply. (n.d.)

George Lakoff, from whose recent writings (especially 1987) I have drawn much guidance, has suggested (1989:473) while commenting on a recent critique of mine, that:

> Linguistic evidence, when used with care, can be a guide to conceptual structure. But conceptual structure does not equal cosmology. When anthropologists describe the cosmology of a culture, what they usually have in mind is a folk model of (1) the universe that is (2) all-embracing, (3) consistent, (4) conscious, (5) believed, and (6) acted on. In general, the kinds of conceptual structure that we have found do not have all these characteristics. Individual conceptual metaphors map out separate conceptual domains that are very much smaller than the universe and limited in scope, domains like time, anger, love, thought, communication, morality, the self, and so on. Though internally consistent, they are often inconsistent with one another. Though occasional conceptual metaphors are conscious, most, like rules of phonology and syntax, are not. Some are believed by at least some people, some are disbelieved, and most, though used unconsciously for the purposes of ... conceptualization, are never even considered as possible objects of belief. A given metaphor may even be consciously disbelieved but nonetheless used for understanding and acted on.

Recent writings by Pascal Boyer (1986, 1990, 1993) suggest another mechanism whereby "mystical" categories that seem to imply a coherent belief system are learned and used.

Boyer argues that categories of religious thought among the West African peoples with whom he works, particularly the Fang of Cameroun, have a kind of empty or contentless character, in that they are not expressions of developed metaphysical ideas. While some of them are embedded in systems of conventional metaphor, others are not. Boyer suggests that such concepts have a conceptual/cognitive resemblance to "natural kind" terms, much discussed in linguistic philosophy. Natural kind terms label categories, prototypically kinds of animals or plants, that are not definable in terms of attributes or distinctive features. A dog has some essential dogness whether it has four legs or two, barks or is voiceless, etc. — even though there is no cultural theory defining this essential dogness. Psychological experiments indicate that learning and using natural kind terms are based on different cognitive paths than learning and using what we might call conceptual (or culturally-constructed) categories (such as kin terms). Boyer argues that "mystical" or "religious" categories encountered by anthropologists among non-Western peoples may be akin to natural kind terms — he suggests the term "pseudo-natural kinds" — cognitively. They are learned and used, he suggests, not on the basis of corresponding belief systems or folk models, but in the way natural kind terms are. Among the Fang, people with special mystical powers are classed as *beyem* "people who see." They are supposed to be different from others in having an unobservable property called *evur*. How do Fang know how to talk about "people who see" or use terms like *evur*? What is the essential difference that defines a social category? Boyer argues that Fang talk about "seeing," or Oceanic talk about *mana*, requires no underlying theory of *beyem*-nes or *mana*-ness. A child learns the ontological status of such categories by the things people say about them: that they are qualities, or agents, or substance-like. But learning such categories, and using them, need imply no folk model of what the quality "is" or how the agency acts, or what the substance "consists" of: the "essences" distinctive of categories are inferential and undefined. Boyer's approach and Lakoff's view of conventional metaphors and conceptual structures are, I think, complementary, not antithetical. Learning to use conventional metaphors — and they so pervade languages that we cannot talk without them — is one way of learning the "ontological" status of categories. As Lakoff argues, categories as complex conceptual structures, and conventional ways of talking about them, shape our thought and experience even though they are not reflections of coherent cosmologies.

Conclusions

Anthropological discourse on tribal religions has been prone to over-exoticize, over-theologize, over-systematize. Our distortions of Oceanic religion in terms of electricity or invisible media of power, our imputation of mystical philosophies of cosmic dynamism and spiritual energy, illustrate strikingly the impress of our own conceptual systems on those of other peoples. *Mana* and *tabu* are, for some Pacific Islanders at least, everyday words of everyday life. *Mana* is a mode of retrospective interpretation in pragmatic and this-world oriented religions. A cure or a spell or an enterprise is *mana* if it succeeds; a leader has *mana* if his ventures prosper. Yet (to quote Hogbin for Guadalcanal again) "nobody knows how [*mana*] works, and I gather the thought had never occurred to anyone until I made inquiries." As Boyer observes for the Fang categories, having a developed conceptual framework — a folk model — is not a prerequisite for using the term and acting as if there were some essential quality distinguishing *mana*-ness from its absence. *Tabu*, in most of the languages in which it co-occurs with *mana*, refers not to a mystical quality or aura of sanctity, but to a boundary, a separation, and its associated dangers.

These are words that seem, for most Pacific Islanders at least, not to have embodied a coherent philosophy of the agency of gods or ancestors in the universe or the nature and sources of "power." I use that term in quotes to draw attention to the fact that our *own* usages are pervasively metaphoric. We, following channels of language laid down metaphorically, treat contextually-based relations of domination or constraint as if these relationships were an invisible substance people have more or less of. Our metaphors of "power" as substance pervasively shape not only the theoretical apparatus of political science and sociology, which are committed to defining "it" or measuring "it" or characterizing how "it" is acquired, lost and used. These metaphoric notions also shape the way we think about religion (as well as politics) among non-Western peoples. We do not "believe" that power is a substance people have more or less of; but we talk and think as though it were. Our characterizations of other peoples' world views not only structure their worlds in terms of our assumptions of agency and explanation and coherence, but impose upon them the impress of our own language and our own metaphor-bound ways of talk. Ironically, in the process we may assume of them what intuitively — as witness "luck" and "power" — we know is not true of us.

Notes

1. A geographical, not linguistic, classification.
2. And to the north and south.
3. The Marandas are dealing with a Malaita, Southeast Solomons language, Lau, in which the contrast is between *abu* (the Malaita languages underwent a sound-shift *t > 0) and *mola*.
4. And possibly blasphemously, though with good wishes to the Ayatollah.

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L'IMAGE, ENTRE L'IDÉOLOGIE
ET LA CULTURE

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On ne fait plus l'éloge de l'image. Malgré ses perfectionnements techniques, ou peut-être en raison de cette vraisemblance toujours grandissante qui semble faire sa force — et son pouvoir —, l'image interpelle et dérange les grands penseurs de cette fin de siècle[1].

Qu'elle soit imprimée, cinématographique ou télévisuelle, l'image peut servir de révélateur qui exprime, concrétise et trahit les représentations d'une société donnée et l'idéologie qui les façonne. L'image, fixée sur papier, pellicule ou ruban magnétoscopique, reste imprégnée materiellement de cette abstraction évanescente qu'est l'idéologie.

Cette présente réflexion sur l'image ne se situe pas au niveau de l'analyse technique ou esthétique. L'image en tant que telle n'intéresse pas le chercheur; celui-ci s'interroge plutôt sur le sens des rapports qu'elle entretient avec ce réel qu'elle est censée représenter le plus exactement possible. Or, l'image médiatisée ne traduit plus symboliquement le réel comme l'ont fait le dessin ou la peinture : l'image s'est substituée au réel. «En tant que simulacre, l'image précède le réel dans la mesure où elle inverse la succession logique, causale du réel et de sa reproduction»[2], écrit Jean Baudrillard.

Le caractère envahissant de l'image peut conduire à deux formes d'excès selon qu'elle exagère la réalité ou s'en détourne : nous obtiendrons des

images idéalisées ou des images manipulées. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, il en résulte une image travestie ou déformée du réel, qui peut donner lieu aux analyses les plus fertiles. On pourrait ainsi étudier l'écart entre l'image et le réel qu'elle est censée reproduire, afin de comprendre comment elle amplifie ou masque certains aspects de son modéle, et pourquoi il en résulte de telles transformations. Autrement dit, l'image devient révélatrice dans la mesure où elle ne correspond plus au réel mais le traduit autrement (en amplifiant ou en dissimulant).

> Plus généralement, ce n'est pas dans son rôle de reflet, de miroir, de contrepartie du réel, de forme représentative que l'image est intéressante, c'est quand elle commence à contaminer le réel et à le modéliser, quand elle ne se conforme au réel que pour mieux le déformer, mieux : quand elle subtilise le réel à son profit, quand elle anticipe sur lui au point que le réel n'a plus le temps de se produire en tant que tel[3].

Au cours des prochaines pages, il sera question d'images transformées, telles qu'étudiées dans plusieurs ouvrages consacrés à l'analyse du discours des medias. Les premiers titres examinent l'organisation des images en systèmes de représentations (au cinéma, à la télévision). Dans chaque cas, on observe un passage, un glissement entre le réel et ses représentations. Par la suite, deux autres livres identifieront les limites de l'image imprimée et les moyens utilisés pour la rendre conforme à une certaine vision, tout en éliminant son potentiel subversif, soit par la censure ou par la désinformation. Chaque auteur a choisi plusieurs études de cas.

Mais auparavant, il convient de souligner la parution attendue d'un *Dictionnaire de l'ethnologie et de l'anthropologie*, qui nous servira de guide et de référence pour une lecture et une utilisation anthropologique des concepts qui seront évoqués plus loin. Il s'agit d'un ouvrage remarquable, tant par la clarté de ses articles que par la pertinence et la précision de ses entrées.

Les bases en anthropologie : quelques pistes de réflexion

On ne trouve pas d'entrée au mot «image» dans le *Dictionnaire de l'ethnologie et de l'anthropologie*. Toutefois, plusieurs autres termes s'en rapprochent et permettent d'articuler cette recherche. Ainsi, sous «anthropologie visuelle», on retient la diversité des formes de l'image : estampe, gravure, dessin, peinture, photographie, film, vidéo, etc. Les images sont signifiantes et révélatrices; «[. . .] les représentations figurées reflètent jusqu'à un certain point le style et le goût dominants de leur temps. Elles représentent alors une double source d'information : sur l'objet représenté, et sur le créateur de l'image et son environnement historique.»[4]

L'objet en soi détient une signification, peut donc être interprété par l'analyse. Dans un article sur le «symbolisme», G. Lenclud affirme que «chaque société sélectionne des significations; chacune classe, réunit, oppose,

hiérarchise les objets de la réalité selon sa manière propre qui est à la fois le cadre d'intelligibilité qu'elle se donne et la condition de la communication entre ses membres»[5].

Le rapport entre l'image et l'objet nous rappelle le décalage entre les représentations et le réel. D'après P. Boyer, dans son article sur l'expression «système de representation»[6], on pourrait utiliser deux approches distinctes de ce concept : selon l'individu ou selon la société. Les psychologues parlent de «représentations» ou d'«images» mentales, recréées de façon plus ou moins complète dans l'esprit de chaque individu. Par contre, les sociologues parlent de «représentations collectives, qui témoignent d'attitudes intellectuelles du groupe, et non de dispositions mentales individuelles»[7].

Sans vouloir nier l'importance de la dimension psychologique dans l'étude de l'organisation de systèmes de représentations, l'anthropologie les considérera, selon plusieurs tendances, comme des produits d'une société, et non des individus. «Toute société élaborerait ainsi plusieurs systèmes de représentations spécialisés : du cosmos, de la totalité sociale, de la magie et de la sorcellerie, etc.»[8]

Ces compromis permettant de concilier l'expérience individuelle dans son contexte social globalisant peut trouver son expression dans la définition même de la culture, envisagée «comme l'articulation de déterminations inconscientes (registre propre à la structure sociale) et de manifestations institutionnelles»[9].

A partir de nombreuses définitions de la culture, on serait tenté de retenir, à la suite de R. Horton, «qu'on peut retrouver dans toute culture le même intérêt pour expliquer, prédire et contrôler les événements»[10]. Ce point de vue, plus proche en fait du rationalisme culturel, permet de penser que l'événement existe antérieurement à la culture; autrement dit, que la culture résulte des événements, des objets et des images d'une société donnée, bien qu'on puisse croire en la possibilité d'une certaine rétroaction.

L'origine des objets et des images qui caractérisent toute culture résiderait peut-être dans l'idéologie. Initialement, selon Destutt de Tracy, l'idéologie désignait «une science ayant pour objet l'étude des idées et, plus particuliérement, de leur formation»[11].

Dans son article sur «l'idéologie», D. Rigoulet retrace les différentes définitions données à ce terme selon plusieurs acceptions divergentes. Au début, «le mot d'idéologie sert à désigner une attitude, ''idéaliste'' si l'on veut, d'éloignement d'avec le réel»[12]. L'idéologie ne rend donc pas un décalque de la réalité; elle opère une transformation difficilement perceptible du réel, tout en conservant un certain rapport avec celui-ci.

La définition de l'idéologie inspirée du matérialisme historique sert de base aux analyses subséquentes, car elle décrit clairement le terme en reconnaissant son caractère structuré et organisé. On s'accorde à définir l'idéologie

comme «un système d'idées et de représentations»[13]. Selon K. Mannheim, ces «systèmes d'idées et de représentations» sont fixées dans le temps et l'espace. La notion d'idéologie semble évidente : «selon lui, chaque groupe placé du fait de l'histoire dans une certaine position sociale développe un point de vue sur le réel qui est l'expression de cette position»[14].

Les idéologies peuvent être classées en deux groupes : l'idéologie dominante ou «de droite», d'une part, et l'idéologie contestataire ou «de gauche», d'autre part. L'idéologie dominante légitime le pouvoir en place; l'idéologie des opprimés et des faibles imagine un monde différent, autrement équilibré, et plus équitable. «Les groupes dominants élaborent des idéologies de justification, les groupes dominés des idéologies utopiques ou de contestation.»[15]

L'image, quelle que soit sa forme, servira la plupart du temps à légitimer le pouvoir des groupes dominants sur les groupes dominés, comme le démontreront les différentes études qui seront présentées plus loin.

«L'analyse anthropologique des idéologies», selon l'expression de L. Dumont, devient possible à condition de mettre d'abord en évidence «l'idéologie de la communauté anthropologique» et celle de la société à laquelle l'analyste ou l'anthropologue appartient. Cependant, plusieurs tendances existent[16]. Retenons pour conclure, à la suite de l'article de D. Rigoulet, que «toute structure de pensée est engagée dans un processus d'idéologisation»[17]. Comme nous le verrons bientôt, rien n'échappe aux idéologies.

On serait tenté d'affirmer, pour clore cette introduction, que si la culture résulte des oeuvres, des objets, des images d'une société donnée, l'idéologie semble pour sa part préexister aux oeuvres, aux objets, aux images. Au-delà de chaque image, on peut découvrir une idéologie. Il suffit pour comprendre de revoir comment l'idéologie staliniste a dicté des 1927 les préceptes d'un «art officiel», où les oeuvres et les images se devaient de se conformer au discours dominant, créant sur le plan culturel le «réalisme socialiste»[18].

On pourrait situer temporellement le cheminement dans l'ordre suivant :

Pouvoir — Idéologie — Images — Culture

Chaque pouvoir crée son idéologie, elle-même antérieure aux oeuvres et aux images créées, qui forment toute culture. L'expression «culture de masse», calquée sur l'anglais, tout comme le terme «médias de masse», n'indique pas que ces productions reflètent ou originent de la base, mais plutôt qu'elles sont destinées aux masses. La culture populaire, dite «de masse», véhiculée par les médias de masse, constitue l'expression la plus significative de l'idéologie dominante.

À propos des images de masse, I. Ramonet les décrira comme «des machines ressassantes où s'épanouissent et triomphent, superbes et bêtes, les *stéréotypes* : figures majeures, disait Barthes, de l'idéologie»[19].

Démystifier l'idéologie dominante

Dans un ouvrage qui pourrait servir de base à l'étude des images médiatisées, *Le chewing-gum des yeux*, I. Ramonet énonce d'entrée de jeu les trois menaces causées par les images contemporaines : elle dissout l'individu dans la masse, rend celui-ci conformiste et passif, et «accrédite l'idée que les hommes souhaitent être égarés, fascinés et trompés dans l'espoir confus qu'une sorte de satisfaction hypnotique leur fera oublier, un instant, le monde absurde où ils vivent»[20].

Le propos d'I. Ramonet réside dans la dénonciation de la dictature de l'image qui, sous des formes et des situations variées à l'infini, réitère inlassablement un seul et même message, formulé selon un modèle unique. Le public, «déformé par les lois rhétoriques du cinéma commercial»[21], n'accepte plus la différence ni les discours divergeants.

> La forme bâtarde de la culture de masse, disait Barthes, est la répétition honteuse : on répète les contenus, les schèmes idéologiques, le gommage des contradictions, mais on varie les formes superficielles : toujours des livres, des émissions, des films nouveaux, des faits divers, mais toujours le même sens[22].

Ce «même sens», pour le définir, nous conduirait à cerner l'idéologie dominante. Ce qu'explique I. Ramonet à propos du film publicitaire correspondrait à l'analyse du rôle, forcément intégrateur, de l'idéologie dominante, qui «ignore les affrontements politiques, nie l'existence des classes, euphorise la conjoncture, futilise les problèmes et acculture sans répit»[23].

Le conditionnement et l'amplification par l'image

De façon plus soutenue que la publicité, le cinéma commercial sert également de véhicule privilegié à l'idéologie dominante. Selon P. Warren, le secret du star-system américain[24] résiderait dans le conditionnement du spectateur par la technique cinématographique. Grâce au montage, on peut réussir à amplifier la portée des dires, la force de conviction, l'effet du discours d'un personnage filmé en intercalant des gros plans d'un autre personnage, attentif, approbateur, convaincu. Par le processus d'identification, le spectateur adopterait ainsi l'attitude de l'interlocuteur à l'écran qui écoute et regarde, comme lui-même, le personnage principal de la scène.

Cette technique, puissante et efficace, désignée par le terme de «plan de réaction» («Reaction shot») n'est pas toute nouvelle. Elle existe depuis que le cinéma parle, on la retrouve dès les premiers films de F. Capra, qui s'inspirait lui-même du Russe S. Eisenstein, qui avait à son tour subi l'influence de D. Griffith[25].

Le culte de l'image et ses rites

Si l'ouvrage de P. Warren réussit à démystifier le cinéma commercial améri-
cain, le catalogue de F. Julien fait au contraire l'apologie des téléséries anglo-
saxonnes. *La loi des séries*[26] présente plus de soixante de ces téléséries qui
inondent depuis trente ans les télévisions du monde[27].

Sans proposer une analyse critique transcendante au-delà d'une fascination
directe et reconnue de l'auteur pour son sujet, le livre met en évidence les
règles, le contenu, l'historique et la durée de chacune des téléséries retenues :
«Arpents verts», «Patrouille du cosmos», «Mannix», «Colombo», etc.

Contrairement aux films, qui n'exigent la plupart du temps qu'un seul
visionnement isolé et définitif, la télésérie demande à être suivie de façon
régulière et attentive, afin de maximiser son efficacité. Par son caractère régu-
lier et répétitif (chaque semaine, même jour, même heure), son uniformité
(mêmes personnages principaux, même format, même durée), la pratique
qu'elle exige du téléspectateur (qui doit renoncer à toute autre activité simul-
tanée), la télésérie exige une forme d'habitude de comportement proche du
culte ou du rite : «Le rite s'inscrit dans la vie sociale par le retour des circons-
tances appelant la répétition de son effectuation»[28].

L'étude de F. Julien sur les téléséries est cependant loin d'être sans intérêt,
malgré son manque d'analyse sociocritique. L'auteur suggère quelques pistes,
mentionne l'existence de «fan-clubs» et de conventions organisés par des
adeptes de «Patrouille du cosmos» (*Star Trek*)[29]. On peut constater le même
«culte» autour de la télésérie britannique *Le prisonnier*, créée par Patrick
McGoohan[30].

Toutefois, *La loi des séries* n'a pas le mordant du *Chewing-gum des yeux*.
Dans un chapitre consacré aux téléséries *Kojak* et *Colombo*, I. Ramonet
décèle le rôle idéologique complémentaire de chaque héros : «Kojak lutte
contre les inadaptés de la grande ville; il a, presque toujours, affaire à des in-
dividus appartenant à des minorités nationales ou ethniques (ces personnes se
révélant souvent, en fin de compte, non coupables)»[31].

L'auteur poursuit son analyse et conclut, à propos de *Colombo* : «Les
riches, nous disent en substance les épisodes de *Colombo*, se croient tout
permis; heureusement que l'affable inspecteur Colombo, *avec les moyens de
tout le monde*, se charge de les rappeler à l'ordre, de les mater sans se priver
de les ridiculiser»[32].

Ainsi, la fonction des deux héros devient claire : Kojak, néo-américain inté-
gré, lutte contre les inadaptés (souvent d'origine étrangère), tandis que Colom-
bo, homme de la rue, un peu simplet, désamorce les meurtres commis par des
gens «riches et célèbres», d'où le succès encore plus grand de ce dernier.

De même, les deux ouvrages précédents cernent leur sujet d'une manière
complémentaire : l'un propose un survol historique enthousiaste, l'autre pousse
l'analyse de façon plus profonde et devient ainsi beaucoup plus révélateur.

Les images interdites ou la censure révélée

Au début de son livre *Le sauvage et l'ordinateur*, Jean-Marie Domenach affirme que «l'idéologie n'est pas seulement déformation, elle est aussi révélation [...]»[33]. À propos de la censure, il démontre l'hypothèse suivante : «[...] toute culture, à un moment donné, se définit au moins autant par ce qu'elle exclut que par ce qu'elle affirme»[34].

La thèse de J.-M. Domenach peut servir de fil conducteur pour saisir l'ampleur (ne serait-ce qu'au plan iconographique) des deux études suivantes.

Le livre *Images interdites*[35], de Y. Frémion et B. Joubert, recense des dizaines de cas de censure dans l'imprimé et dans le cinéma. Dans la plupart des cas soulevés, la censure vise à restreindre, limiter, interdire un texte ou une image, afin de la ramener à des proportions «acceptables» pour le censeur, qui agit le plus souvent au nom de la société toute entière.

L'idéologie de toute censure se range «à droite»; résolument conservatrice, elle cherche à empêcher les expressions «déviantes» de s'exprimer, au nom de la morale ou de l'ordre établi. Elle restreint en tout ou en partie le contenu d'une image, d'un texte : une publicité érotique, une caricature grotesque, une image violente, etc. Les auteurs démontrent que la censure agit et peut même «évoluer» selon les lieux et les époques. Utilisant la méthode comparative, les images sélectionnées parlent d'elles-mêmes.

La désinformation : une tentative de réécrire l'histoire

Par ailleurs, l'étude de cinéaste et écrivain A. Jaubert révèle plusieurs études de cas plus poussées et plus graves que la censure. La réécriture de l'histoire par la désinformation permet à l'image de «dire ce qu'elle n'a pas dit», ou bien de «ne pas dire ce qu'elle a dit». Dans *Le commissariat aux archives*[36], on retrouve des dizaines de cas de photos retouchées, manipulées, truquées. La portée de la désinformation est plus lourde : l'image «ment». Sa portée touche beaucoup plus la politique que la morale. Elle permet de confirmer, par l'évidence d'une image, des faits mi-vrais, mi-faux, qui n'ont pas tout-à-fait eu lieu : sur une photo, un personnage disparait, un autre le remplace; on recadre pour éliminer des «indésirables».

La désinformation désigne un processus de falsification des faits, de manipulation du réel, afin de donner à une fausse information l'apparence d'être vraie. Ainsi, le terme même prend deux aspects : il correspond à la fois à l'acte de désinformer et à son résultat.

La désinformation témoigne d'un abus de pouvoir de l'image; par l'image, elle combine le vrai et le faux, devenant ainsi plus vraisemblable. Jusqu'à un certain point, elle dit la vérité, mais pas toute la vérité, et pas que la vérité. Il existe une part de censure dans la désinformation, mais la manipulation permet de transmettre également et imperceptiblement un message idéologiquement opposé aux faits initialement reconnus. La désinformation dissimule sa contradiction entre le vrai et

le faux, elle semble «plausible». Elle sert à propager une idéologie clandestine, à vouloir rectifier les faits pour les rendre conforme à une autre idéologie. En ce sens, la désinformation procède à la fois de la propagande et de la censure, car elle élimine certains éléments pour réorienter la portée idéologique de son objet[37].

Notes

1. Voir la bibliographie commentée des *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*, vol. 82, Paris, PUF, 1987, p. 219-233.
2. Voir l'article de fond de Jean Baudrillard, «Au-delà du vrai et du faux», dans *ibid.*, p. 140.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Voir l'article de M. Oppitz, «Visuelle (anthropologie)», dans le collectif *Dictionnaire de l'ethnologie et de l'anthropologie*, Paris, PUF, 1991, p. 741.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 688.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 626.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 627.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 626-627.
9. *Ibid.*, article sur la «culture» : les théories, p. 194.
10. *Ibid.*, article sur le «relativisme culturel», p. 619.
11. *Ibid.*, article sur «l'Idéologie», p. 345.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. Voir à ce sujet notre article sur les *Écrits* de K. Malévitch dans *Études littéraires*, vol. 20, n° 3, hiver 1987, p. 160-163.
19. Ignacio Ramonet, *Le chewing-gum des yeux* (Textualité), Paris, éd. Alain Moreau, 1980, p. 12.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
23. *Ibid.*
24. P. Warren, *Le secret du star-system américain* (Politique et société), Montréal, L. Hexagone, 1989, 204 p.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
26. F. Julien, *La loi des séries*, Paris, éd. Bernard Barrault, 1987, 191 p.
27. Voir à ce sujet G. Hennebelle, éd., *Télévisions du monde*, Paris, éd. du Cerf/Cinémaction, 1987.
28. *Dictionnaire de l'ethnologie et de l'anthropologie*, p. 630.
29. F. Julien, *La loi des séries*, p. 112-113.
30. Voir à ce sujet l'excellente étude de A. Carrazé et H. Oswald, *Le prisonnier, chef-d'oeuvre télévisionnaire*, Paris, éd. Huitieme art, 1989, 244 p.
31. Ignacio Ramonet, *Le chewing-gum des yeux*, p. 104.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
33. J.M. Domenach, *Le sauvage et l'ordinateur* (Points), Paris, Seuil, 1976, p. 5.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Y. Frémion et B. Joubert, *Images interdites*, Paris, éd. Syros alternatives, 1989, 123 p.
36. A. Jaubert, Le commissariat aux archives, Paris, éd. Bernard Barrault, 1986.
37. Voir à ce sujet mon article à paraître dans la revue *Carrefour*, hiver 1994.

BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Feminity and Domination: Studies in the Phenomenology of Oppression
Sandra Lee Bartky
New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1990. xiii + 141 pp. $12.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Alan Aycock
University of Lethbridge

Bartky presents an account of her "emergence and development as a feminist thinker" in articles published over the last 15 years. The subtitle is perhaps a bit misleading, since Bartky herself notes that her phenomenonological project is complemented by, and even subordinated to, a Marxist approach, as well as by a wish to incorporate appropriate elements of poststructuralism (pp. 2-5).

As a Marxist and a feminist, Bartky intends to offer "occasions for consciousness-raising" (p. 4), as well as to represent "political interventions" in the women's movement itself (pp. 4-5). This is an ambitious, but worthwhile venture. One limitation that Bartky herself recognized, and is reflected often in her work, is an attempt to move beyond introspection to comment upon the many varieties of women's experience which she has not fully shared (pp. 7-10). This does seem to raise yet again the question of the role to be played by intellectuals in decentring movements, an issue to which Bartky does not respond.

The first and fifth chapters, which deal respectively with Bartky's own transformation as a feminist, and with the articulation of Foucaultian and feminist approaches, are by far the most interesting and successful. Where Bartky tries to extend her theorizing beyond white, middle-class experience, as in chapter 2, her work becomes rather too abstract and uneven. Her attempt to refit narcissism as a form of alienation in chapter 3 is limited by her unwillingness to attend to commodification as a significant component. The discussions of sadomasochism, shame and emotional nurturance in chapters 4, 6 and 7 would clearly have profited by reference to the work of French feminist psychoanalysts. Finally, it is surprising that an admirer of Alison Jaggar would not have seized numerous opportunities to shape a more general critique of Enlightenment thought and the androcentric liberalism which this has engendered.

Overall, I find this work somewhat disappointing: it is too abstract to represent effectively the micropolitics of women's lives and too narrow to address macropolitical issues normally encompassed by Marxist and feminist thought alike. As for evoking the diversity of women's voices, Bartky's apparent reduction of feminism to "a tale of female injury" (p. 114) seems inadequate to satisfy her own stated goals for the collection.

Gender and Power in Families
R.J. Perelberg and A.C. Miller, eds.
New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1990. xiv + 279 pp. $19.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Alan Aycock
                University of Lethbridge

It is always a little daunting to approach a review as an outsider: although one of the co-editors of this volume is an anthropologist, I found that very little of the work was familiar from the perspective of my own training in psychological anthropology. This is not to say, however, that anthropologists should find the collection irrelevant; on the contrary, it touches upon many issues which are current in modern ethnography.

Family therapy in Britain appears to comprise a range of practices which accord with an anthropological emphasis on local knowledge. Therapists arrive as strangers to a family's "culture" which they must then in some sense interpret for themselves, their clients and others. A diversity of voices is to be heard, and heeded. The ethics and consequences of intervention are foremost in the minds of practitioners. This collection, therefore, parallels numerous recent representations of "the ethnographic predicament."

Of the two introductory articles which intend to "conceptualize" gender-linked approaches in family therapy, I found the Perelberg article the broader and more successful. The four subsequent essays on "strategies of intervention" emphasize case studies in a manner that I found both lucid and fascinating. Similarly, the three articles which deal, respectively, with child sexual abuse, mental handicap and gender/power issues are illuminating, though I found the last of these somewhat unfocussed, and perhaps therefore weaker than the others. An appropriate balance is sought by two brief articles which address the roles of men in gender-sensitive therapy; more attention to case studies in these essays would have been desirable. The book concludes with discussions of the articulation of family therapies with the wider arenas of work, support groups and centres, race and class. These underscore and extend the feminist paradigms which inform the entire collection.

Perhaps the sole hesitation I have in recommending this book to persons in a variety of areas is the absence of any effort to suggest the relevance of more familiar critiques as a basis for theorizing family therapies: the names of Marx, Foucault, Laing and Jaggar are conspicuously missing. The role of French feminist psychoanalysis goes unremarked as well.

Nevertheless, this collection succeeds, I believe, in presenting a well-formulated deconstruction of the naïveté and bias disabling the dominant systems approach to family therapy.

Dialogue at the Margins, Whorf, Bakhtin, and Linguistic Relativity
Emily A. Schultz
Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990. xii + 178 pp. $37.50
(cloth), $16.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Dennis Bartels
          Sir Wilfred Grenfell College

Emily Schultz argues persuasively that Benjamin Lee Whorf attempted to provide an
alternative to the relativistic view that language determines thought, and the positivis-
tic view that there is a single, unitary Truth. Whorf's alternative, according to Schultz,
is more-or-less identical to the concept of "dialogic objectivity" elaborated by the
early Soviet literary critic, Mikhail Bakhtin — viz., ". . . voluntary assent to a unified
truth which includes the partial truths of each point of view, but is greater than any of
them taken by itself" (p. 145). Bakhtin discovered such dialogic objectivity in the
novels of Dostoevsky, which combined heteroglossia (the coexistence of many
varieties of a language) and polyglossia (the coexistence of different languages) to si-
multaneously present different socio-ideological points of view which were present in
19th-century Russian capitalist society.

Whorf's works, like Dostoevsky's, "polyphonically" combined heteroglossia and
polyglossia insofar as Whorf sought to use forms of discourse understandable to posi-
tivistically-oriented readers as well as readers with a religious or mystical orientation,
in order to show to advantage the different ontological and epistemological concepts
inherent in the grammar of aboriginal languages such as Hopi and Shawnee. Schultz's
treatment of Whorf's discourse is masterful, especially her chapter on his "non-verbal
rhetoric" (i.e., diagrams). Her discussion of Whorf's treatment of temporality in Hopi
grammar is also excellent (pp. 114-115).

Although Schultz mentions Bakhtin's discussion of the absence of developing con-
tradictions in Dostoevsky's novels (p. 123), she does not explore Marxist or dialecti-
cal materialist elements in Bakhtin's discourse. She claims that Bakhtin's discourse
was framed in such a way as to evade Soviet censorship.

Like other post-structuralists, Schultz presents an unrealistic caricature of "posi-
tivistic" scientists as unremitting adversaries of dialogic objectivity. If most scientists
were as pig-headedly positivistic as Schultz maintains, the dialectical processes which
characterize scientific discovery would not be possible.

Listening to Africa: Developing Africa from the Grassroots
Pierre Pradervand
New York: Praeger, 1989. xii + 229 pp. N.p.
Rural Communities under Stress: Peasant Farmers and the State in Africa
Jonathan Barker
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. ix + 228 pp. N.p.
African Food Systems in Crisis, Part One: Microperspectives
Rebecca Huss-Ashmore and Solomon H. Katz, eds.
New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1989. xiv + 339 pp. $54.00
(cloth), $29.00 (paper)

Reviewer: David Brokensha
             Institute for Development Anthropology (Binghamton, New York)

These three books are all, in different senses (and with very different degrees of suc-
cess), "about Africa," and they raise the basic question as to whether it is possible, in
the 1990s, to write about this vast, diverse and troubled continent, in one volume. In
examining each book, I will be asking how representative it is, how illuminating on
areas others than those directly described and how valid are the inevitable omissions.
Can one write on contemporary Africa without analyzing, for example, the disintegra-
tion of several states, especially the collapsing regimes of the Horn?; the 20 million
people who are at risk of dying from hunger?; or the insidious threat of AIDS? To ask
such questions is not to suggest that the story of Africa is contained in newspaper
headlines, but to consider to what extent generalizations are possible, and in which
areas.

Pradervand's book is concerned with village self-help groups that are trying to "ex-
press the maximum potential" of the people and thus to aid development. The author
spent several months, mainly in the Sahel (Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso) with shorter
visits to Zimbabwe and Kenya, visiting 111 villages and meeting men (and some
women) who are attempting to help their own people help themselves. In many ways
this is an inspiring story, and provides some encouragement in the generally rather
bleak picture of development in African countries. But some nagging questions re-
main: although Pradervand recognizes that the groups he met "represent the *avant
garde* . . . and are probably atypical," he does not adequately allow for this bias and
gives what is almost certainly a quite skewed picture. For example, he mentions a few
men who have given up salaried posts in order to return to their villages and help their
people, but how many men have actually done this?

Pradervand also has problems with his perception of "traditional African culture"
which at times is seen as fairly static, at others as having collapsed in one generation
(p. 76) and in other places as something which should be blended skilfully with new
elements; reminiscent of the missionaries who were described by Mary Kingsley a
century ago — "they think that people are like water-pots, you can pour out the old
water and pour in the new." The text contains many examples; "sharing and giving"
are all-important (p. 209); "the elderly are an object of respect" (p. 211); "African
village society is a gerontocracy" — these are not valid generalizations for most of
contemporary rural Africa.

However, the author does recognize some "weak points" (pp. 110-111 and Chapter
12, "Achilles' Heel"), although he is too inclined to accept at face value what people

say. What is needed, instead of a rapid tour of 111 villages, is a detailed and in-depth study of a few communities, to arrive at a meaningful analysis of self-help efforts. There is not enough attention to the influence of the state and of other external factors; there is little indication of the often increasing gap between rich and poor, even in rural areas. Many books "on Africa" exclude individual farmers; this one reverses the process and largely excludes external influences. But there is a refreshing emphasis on such matters as the need for local empowerment, on the value of self-reliance, on the significance of vitality and resilience and on the impressive creativity of African farmers. There is also a welcome recognition that modern governments have to accept some responsibility for the present depressing conditions, and that not all ills can be blamed on colonialism. Despite my criticisms, this book is a useful antidote to some of the unrealistic macro-analyses, full of gloomy and largely invalid generalizations. Pradervand does provide chatty and authentic examples of African farmers who are succeeding in helping themselves and their communities; much more is needed, of course, than sporadic local efforts, and at least here are some positive stories from rural Africa.

Barker's book presents a contrast, as it is a more systematic account by a political scientist of relations between peasant farmers and the state. This covers mainly anglophone countries, particularly East Africa, Ghana and Nigeria, and includes several valuable case-studies. (As an aside, I prefer the term "low-resource farmers" to "peasant farmers," because the latter has many connotations that may not apply to Africa). The book is clearly set out in such a way that it would make a useful text book for undergraduates, especially as a supplementary text. While recognizing the diversity (both sociological and ecological) of African farming communities, Barker also notes the common features (p. 42), emphasizing rapid social change, and the accompanying "pain and destruction" (p. 23).

Barker presents several effective models, such as the three distinct functions of production, consumption and reproduction" (p. 52), but I doubt if some of the older models retain any validity today: see, for example, reference to David Apter's comparison of Baganda and Ashanti in 1965, or Samir Amin's models of the 1970s, both of which seem now to refer to another era. Barker rightly examines closely such basic problems as limited dialogue (between government and farmers), repression, survival and, he notes, the "striking disintegration" (p. 19) in countries like Zaire and Uganda — today, one could add several more to that category, alas.

Although the author notes that "centralized schemes have a miserable record" (p. 206), he also refers to the despotic and exploitative acts of colonial governments" (p. 152). Is it not time now, generally 30 years after independence, to put colonialism in a less emotive light? And is Tanzania really a good example of a "politically more successful government in Africa" (p. 208)?

As an anthropologist, I should have liked this book to have been more informed by anthropological insights — I counted 7 anthropological references out of nearly 130, and these days we all need to take account of the perspectives and conclusions of other disciplines. Nevertheless, Barker is aware of the complexity of political organizations in rural Africa, and his book does provide a good succinct introduction to a confusing scene.

I turn now to the volume edited by Huss-Ashmore and Katz, which is probably the most successful of the three under review, in that it has precise objectives, which are clearly and elegantly realized. Huss-Ashmore's solid (10 percent of the total) introduction, "Perspectives on the African Food Crisis," admirably sets the scene, with a comprehensive and insightful review of current explanations of famine and drought. She shows the complexity of the problem, considering the interplay of environmental,

historical, biological, sociological, economic and political factors. She analyzes approaches that emphasize research on farming systems, nutrition, the household, or climate, or the macro-economic scene, concluding that "the long-term alleviation of food stress . . . will undoubtedly require many different approaches" (p. 33).

The next section, "The Context of Food Stress in Africa," consists of six essays. Michael Glantz writes of "Drought, Famine and the Seasons," with assured competence, drawing on the work of others (such as Robert Chambers) and repeating the editor's emphasis on the complex nexus of political, economic and physical themes that must be considered. He concludes that "drought is not the primary source of the African agrarian crisis" (p. 68). Anyone interested in finding out more about hunger in Africa would do well to read Glantz's essay and Huss-Ashmore's introduction, as between them they offer a masterly overview of what is a most complicated situation. (Glantz includes operational definitions of famine, reminding me of my impatience, as a young colonial administrator in Handeni, Tanzania, 40 years ago, when government regulations precisely defined the degree of human misery that transformed a food shortage into a famine; I now have a better understanding of the need for such official rules and provisions.)

J.A. Mabbutt and Brian Spooner each has a chapter on desertification. The former provides a comparative overview, again stressing the wide range of relevant factors, including decreasing rainfall, increasing population, economic decline and political strife; he estimates that by the year 2000 there will be potentially critical conditions in the rainfed croplands (p. 109). Both Spooner and Mabbutt are critical of PACD (the United Nations Plan of Action to Combat Desertification) and Spooner offers a broad historical perspective on the topic; he, too, states that "desertification is first a social and only secondarily an ecological process" and sees the solution as being "to reintegrate the marginalised populations into the larger social process, and of marginalised nations into the international community" (p. 153). Spooner cautions environmentalists on overstressing the physical aspects, and ignoring social ones, and rightly places poverty and marginalization at the centre of his argument.

The last section of the book, "Strategies for Coping with Drought, Hunger and Famine," comprises six essays. I concentrate on Anne Fleuret's chapter on "Indigenous Taita Responses to Drought," as this well illustrates the themes echoed by other contributors, most of whom are anthropologists with a deep knowledge of one particular African rural community. Fleuret describes the traditional drought-management strategies of the Taita of Kenya, using excellent data obtained from nearly 100 households, all of which included children under six years of age. She was concerned with nutritional stress, and with risk management and the exploitations of ecological variability. The Taita had many strategies, including the sale of labour, of livestock and of fuelwood and charcoal. Fleuret shows the importance of hard data in supporting her arguments, and she — and the other contributors to this section — adequately demonstrate that (in Fleuret's words) people "who are working to develop long-term solutions to questions of drought and food shortage in Africa *have much to learn from villagers* [my italics). . . . [We] must all recognise the contributions of indigenous responses, both traditional and modern, to the resolution of such problems" (p. 236). These truths, so self-evident to those of us who have spend any time in rural Africa, are often overlooked by the planners and others and need constantly to be reiterated.

This volume on African Food Systems is highly recommended to anyone wishing to learn more about what is already a major world problem, and which shows no signs of going away.

Money and the Morality of Exchange
Jonathan Parry and Maurice Bloch, eds.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. viii + 276 pp. $44.50 (cloth), $14.95
(paper)

Reviewer: Gracia Clark
University of Michigan

This collection of essays redeems money from its straw man status as the quintessentially impersonal, antisocial commodity and returns it intellectually into the realm of cultural and social construction. In commendably rich specific contexts, the essays discuss the processes through which money is defined, constituted and harnessed by charging it with intense symbolic value and political content. Taken as a whole, the volume does for money what Appadurai's *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge University Press, 1986) did for commodities. It dissolves the formal opposition between monetized and in-kind exchanges, and between monetary and non-monetary societies, in order to look critically at the actual social relations and cultural definitions involving money, in exchanges or otherwise.

Each essay crosses a different part of this boundary. Fuller's substantial critique of the *jajmani* concept documents the widespread integration of cash and markets into Indian villages hitherto categorized as non-commercial. Parry shows that giving money in Benares Hindu ritual contexts is actually less problematic than gifts in kind.

Other essays show the reassertion of cultural control over money in highly commercialized contexts, for example, areas with considerable labour migration. Toren's chapter on Fijian drinking fundraisers and Lan's chapter on Dande mediums in Zimbabwe detail rituals that "socialize" money and serve to reclaim externally generated resources for communal purposes. In fact, money is converted to this conservative role more easily than other modern items, which the Dande mediums avoid. Bloch's discussion of Merina ideas about money in Madagascar shows they also give positive spiritual value to money used for maintaining ancestral tombs.

Bloch and Parry discuss medieval and later European ideas about money as the source of this illusory universal dichotomy, both in their introduction and their chapters. A more substantial engagement with the social practice around money would have been a welcome continuation of issues raised by the European material in Appadurai's volume. They and other contributors invoke Taussig's *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980) primarily as a further example.

Sallnow and Harris contribute chapters on pre-Columbian and contemporary Andean locations that discuss Taussig's analysis more fully, along with original ethnographic sources. They bring into question the perfect monetarization of money itself, where mining involves precious metals in symbolic systems of production as well as exchange. Harris follows through more completely the interaction with different ways of generating and spending money, with markets, circulation and other forms of wealth. The enhanced symbolic and ritual value of old coins in the Andes finds an echo in Madagascar. These more socialized money objects associated with families or ancestors are more precious than their value in out-of-control, utilitarian currency.

Two essays on Asian commercial fishing villages show that money is not necessarily associated with less social control than consumption goods or use values. In the

Malay village Carsten presents, "individual male money" from sales to Chinese fish buyers becomes "shared-female-kin" money (p. 135) when handed to women who grow rice as well as buy food with kin. In Stirrat's Sri Lankan village, women sell fish and control the money from profits. Its use for household consumption is standardized by strict communal norms of an egalitarian lifestyle. Men profess disdain for money, but are deeply involved in buying major consumer durables for competitive display (p. 104). Strengthening the social order can involve dispossession of money, as in Fiji drinking rituals, or super-possession of inalienable coins, as in Imerina.

In place of the monetary/non-monetary dichotomy, Bloch and Parry propose a new dichotomy of social vs. individualized spheres of activity. They explain their contrast as between "two related but separate transactional orders; on the one hand transactions concerned with the reproduction of the long-term social or cosmic order; on the other, a 'sphere' of short-term transactions concerned with the arena of individual competition." (p. 24). One does not have to endorse wholeheartedly the universalism of this dualist conception to find it intriguing and stimulating, bringing to mind many supportive examples from classic ethnographies. Its weakness is preserving the moral vs. selfish connotation of earlier classifications of exchange systems or other social relations, simply detaching this value aspect from money as such. In fact, one wonders whether the individual vs. society opposition is not as central to Western social thought as that between market and gift, and subject to some of the same critiques.

Pacific Studies Special Issue: Domestic Violence in Oceania
Dorothy Ayers Counts, Guest Editor
Laie, Hawaii: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1990. 254 pp. N.p.

Reviewer: Ellen E. Facey
            Mount Allison University

This special issue of *Pacific Studies* makes a substantial contribution to what is, as its editor and several of the authors point out, a remarkably overdue area of concern in anthropology: the study of domestic violence.

In her short "Introduction" Counts outlines five themes that are picked up to varying degrees by the different authors: (1) the problematic, and sometimes limiting, definition of "domestic domain"; (2) the similarly slippery definition of "violence," also a culturally variant concept; (3) cultural differences in regard to social "acceptability" or tolerance of the level of violence engaged in or encountered; (4) the question of why there is so much and so extreme domestic violence in some societies in the region and so little in others; and (5) the dilemma that the anthropological fieldworker faces in coping with incidents of domestic violence, personally as well as analytically.

The volume is composed of 12 papers, plus Counts' "Introduction" and "Conclusion." Its ethnographic range is wide, but the bulk of the papers (eight) concern Melanesia: Hawaii, Fiji (two); Palau; Marshall Islands; Kiribati; Papua New Guinea (six). The collection is also diverse in terms of choice of focus, which results from the combination of several factors: the fieldworker's research focus; differential occurrence and salience of the different forms of domestic violence in the ethnographic context; and the underlying contemporary Western concern with spousal violence, which is highlighted in the comparative literature on domestic violence in North

America. Coverage, then, is narrow in regard to child abuse (Korbin) and "intergenerational conflict" (roughly synonymous to "abuse of the elderly") (Zimmer); but is wide in relation to "spousal violence" (Nero, Lewis, Counts) and spousal violence placed in a wider context of other forms of "domestic violence" (Aucoin, Lateef, Carucci, McDowell, Scaglion).

As a whole the volume is strong. Without exception the individual pieces are well and clearly written and typographically clean, and the format is attractive. As to content, if one is looking for comparative statistics, this book will be a disappointment as there are few references in it that are other than qualitative and relative, e.g., discussions of rates of occurrence of various forms of interpersonal violence in terms such as "few," "disproportionate" or "uncommon." On the other hand, if one is interested in sound ethnographic descriptions and generalizations illustrated with specific cases, events and incidents, this volume makes for very interesting and sometimes surprising reading.

Most of the authors do not seriously attempt cross-cultural comparison or provide sophisticated theoretical discussions of their materials. Among those who do, however, the most notable are Nero on Palauan wife-beating, Mitchell on the lack of violence among the Wape, and Counts on wives' suicide in Kaliai, West New Britain.

In her "Conclusion" Counts gives a succinct, but complete, review of the articles and furnishes a very helpful outline of four recurrent approaches applied in explanations of the presence and/or absence of domestic violence in different parts of Oceania (pp. 235-244). It is here that the fourth theme identified for the collection — why there is so much and such extreme domestic violence in some societies and so little in others in the same region — is addressed in the most direct and detailed way.

For a new field of anthropological analysis, *Domestic Violence in Oceania* provides a solid starting point. I would recommend it to those who want to get a sense of non-Western variation in the form and extent of domestic violence, and to those teaching the ethnography of Oceania or courses such as comparative gender relations. If used as a text, however, one ought to read Counts' conclusion first and perhaps again after completing reading the individual articles. This would allow one to realize the volume's considerable potential for working through historical and comparative ethnographic questions regarding domestic violence in Oceania and elsewhere.

Ethno-Logic: The Anthropology of Human Reasoning
James F. Hamill
Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1990. xii + 124 pp. $22.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: C.R. Hallpike
McMaster University

Most of us in the human sciences are uncomfortably aware that our research is liable to be distorted by our political beliefs, but try to discount these as the regrettable temptations of subjectivity. Professor Hamill is unusual, therefore, in unashamedly making his political convictions the cornerstone of an academic treatise on non-Western logic. The desire to build world peace led him into anthropology and cultural relativism, but while relativism showed him that all cultures are equal and that ethnocentrism, racism, imperialism and colonialism are therefore unjustified, it cannot explain

the many universals of culture. He therefore needed a model of culture that was not only egalitarian but universalistic, and thinks he has found it in Chomsky's generative grammar.

He argues that since everyone has the innate ability to learn language we therefore have an innate knowledge of culture as well as language, because all culture involves thinking: "People are equipped at birth, or before birth, with all the knowledge that they need to acquire culture" (p.11), and "every feature of culture is derived from this innate base" (pp. 46-47). Furthermore, just as there are no primitive languages, "there are no simple or primitive cultures; all cultures are equally complex and equally modern" (p. 106), and every culture contains the same amount of information to be learned. Therefore the syllogism, for example, is a universal mode of reasoning and anyone who doubts this is a "colonialist."

This theory of culture and thought seems to me to have about as much intellectual credibility as the Tooth Fairy. Chomsky has explicitly repudiated the idea that there are significant resemblances between grammar and any other known systems of mental functioning, while the evidence that no culture is more complex than any other is about equal to the evidence that the earth is flat.

Although his book is intended to show that "there is a worldwide distribution of syllogistic reasoning" (p. 103), it is an indication of the level of Hamill's scholarship that he does not refer at all to India and China, where systems of formal logic emerged independently from Greece. In these complex civilizations logic was developed by professional thinkers in the context of philosophical and theological debate, and it was in the same social circumstances that Greek logic was employed by Muslim and Medieval philosophers. The development of formal logic was a very difficult process, and it would therefore be most surprising if such forms of reasoning occurred in simpler societies. Luria's researches among the Uzbeks and Cole's among the Kpelle showed, predictably, that syllogistic reasoning is not understood by non-literates in tribal societies without formal schooling. It is also well known that it is not properly understood by members of our own society before they reach the stage of formal operations at about 12. Hamill attempts unsuccessfully to refute Luria and Cole, and claims that there are "large quantities of syllogistic data" in the literature which also refute them (p. 40). He quotes not a word of this, however, and does not even provide a single reference to any of these alleged studies.

To show that members of all cultures reason syllogistically he conducted linguistic studies in Milwaukee with two Mende speakers and two Ojibwa speakers, and a five-year-old English speaker. The Mende speakers were gaduate students, and the Ojibwa each had several years of schooling and were residents of Milwaukee. Further research was carried out among the Navaho with 19 informants, having an average of six years of schooling. None of these subjects can be compared with those studied by Cole and Luria in educational background and social experience; we are told almost nothing about the conditions in which the tests were administered; most seriously, not a single interview is published; and we are given no data on individual performances. By the standards of cross-cultural psychology this is extremely poor research, and contributes nothing to our understanding of syllogistic reasoning in non-Western society.

Educated in Romance: Women, Achievement and College Culture
Dorothy C. Holland and Margaret A. Eisenhart
Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1990. xiii + 273 pp. U.S.$19.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Mary Percival Maxwell
                Queen's University

This is an "ethnographic and sociological" study by two anthropologists. It explores why most of a sample of young women who started at two universities in 1979 dropped out or lowered their academic aspirations and career goals before graduation and failed to fulfill their ambitions.

The universities, one predominantly Black, are located in the southern United States. The authors selected a sample (N = 23) of volunteers so that half of the women at each school were planning to major in math- or science-related fields, had strong academic performance in their high school college-preparatory tracks and "had an expressed serious commitment to pursuing a career in the future" (p. 63). Students were interviewed and observed closely over the first three semesters of college and again in 1983. Seventeen informants were contacted in 1987. If any women at these two colleges were likely to achieve their academic and career goals, these doubly selected students should have. But eight years after entering college only three women appeared to be employed full-time in an occupation resembling a career: "others were working in clerical or other low-paying jobs, like waitressing or cleaning" (p. 193). Most were economically dependent on husbands.

Chapter 3 provides an excellent review and critique of the theoretical and empirical literature and would be useful as assigned reading in courses in the sociology or anthropology of education or in women's studies. The historical context and the trends in development on both sides of the Atlantic and elsewhere in reproduction theory, cultural production theory and "Practice theory" in relation to gender are clearly and concisely set out. Unfortunately, there is an excessive amount of repetition throughout the rest of the book.

From the data, the authors derived a "cultural model of romance" which pervaded the student culture and which "established 'attractiveness' as the commodity of value in an ongoing 'sexual auction' " (p. 96) and "set men up as the judges of women's claims to prestige in the peer system" (p. 106). Women were drawn into spending more and more time on the interpersonal politics of romance and less on their studies. The women had "fragile ties to other women . . . responded to their shared vulnerability to the sexual auction block, not by teaming up to oppose it" (p. 108). They rarely discussed their majors or career plans with each other and the pressure of the peer culture "led to a marginalization of or a failure to develop their ideas of themselves as having careers in the future" (p. 200). The authors conclude that patriarchy and "gender hierarchies, as they are reflected in the schools, are mediated largely by peers" (p. 222) and that "the peer culture was important ultimately in constructing women's economic marginality and their subordination to men" (p. 85).

The findings are insightful. However, in the face of women's admission to law, medicine and graduate programs in management, as well as their actual achievements in the occupational structure by 1987, it is very hard to accept this as representative of the effects of the way in which the student culture defines and structures the future of gifted women on the basis of this small sample.

Land Filled with Flies: A Political Economy of the Kalahari
Edwin N. Wilmsen
Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1989. xviii + 402 pp. $60.00 (cloth),
$17.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Peter Carstens
University of Toronto

When Sir James Frazer was appointed to the first acknowledged professorship in so-
cial anthropology in 1908, he defined the discipline as that branch of sociology that
deals with primitive man. Such a designation would be unacceptable today for many
reasons including the offensive nature of the phrase "primitive man," the trend to-
wards anthropological studies of peasant and urban communities, the belated discov-
ery that each society, culture and group is involved both directly and indirectly in a
complex arrangement of socio-economic relations with the wider world, and so on.

Having said that, might one not ask why so many contemporary anthropologists
have continued to be preoccupied with so-called simple foraging societies? The San
(Bushman), for example, are probably the most studied people in the world, a reality
that is reflected in Dr. Wilmsen's book. Why this obsessive interest in the *San* exists is
never really answered, largely, one suspects, because the author is an authority on
Kalahari foragers himself.

The central theme of this work is that the people variously dubbed San, Bushmen,
Bossiesmans, Basarwa, etc. should never have been studied as primitive isolates, be-
cause for centuries they have been involved in the political economy of the Kalahari
and southern Africa in general. Wilmsen's argument may be summarized as follows:
Nearly everything written about the San for the past 150 years is largely unsatisfac-
tory, not necessarily because the published facts are wrong but because various au-
thors (e.g., Richard Lee and Lorna Marshall) have not contextualized their research in
space and time. Often inappropriate paradigms have been used, and generally the
spirit of the writing is unsatisfactory. The unpardonable sin of most authors is their
use of a closed-system, colonial, functionalist model. Had they been more observant,
taken the trouble to read the frontier literature and archival treasures, talked with ar-
chaeologists and contextualized their fieldwork, they would have avoided their egre-
gious misinterpretations. Wilmsen writes:

> It is abundantly clear that Basarwa/"Bushmen"/San, no matter how distant in space,
> have never been historically remote from economic and social processes operating in the
> larger political entities of southern Africa but have functioned intimately within these
> processes. It is their relative position in a colonial hierarchical system — not their geo-
> graphic or evolutionary distance — that makes them "remote" today (p. 315).

History makes it abundantly clear that San society and culture has never been static.
Wilmsen, for example, draws our attention to the recent archaeological findings which
suggest that the San were once linked with the ceramic-making pastoralists. He thus
re-establishes the San with the Khoi in much the same way that other writers have al-
ready done. But why, we should ask, do so few San own cattle today? The answer
may be found in the socio-economic history of the region, notably in the hegemony of
Botswana, and the low position occupied by the San in the region's complex system
of ethnic stratification. Many San *were* able to retain significant autonomy during the

first half of the 19th century, resisting serfdom by maintaining voluntary clientship with Bantu-speakers as happened in other parts of Africa. But it was their weak social position in the whole region that prevented the San from gaining access to new instruments of power (e.g., guns and horses) introduced in the 19th century through the European trade routes.

Wilmsen concludes that the San, a people studied so extravagantly by so many anthropologists, only became subsistence foragers in recent times. The process began in pre-colonial times, continued into the colonial era and into the present.

This is an important book which has already sparked both controversy and ire amongst anthropologists. Wilmsen is at his best when he focusses on his central theme: the political economy of the Kalahari and the place of San-speakers in the system. His flirtations with Tylor, Durkheim, Tönnies, Marx and their critics adds little to this long overdue book.

Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy
Sarah Carter
Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990. ix + 323 pp. $34.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Peggy Brezinski
                Office of the Treaty Commissioner, Saskatchewan

"Prairie Indians were never farmers, only hunters and warriors. Why should they get land for farming now? They ... will only waste good farmland."

Paraphrased, these are the types of questions and comments which sometimes come to the Office of the Treaty Commissioner from farmers and other members of the public. We are in the process of assisting in the settlement of outstanding treaty land entitlements in Saskatchewan, and are doing ongoing land entitlement research with many of the bands mentioned in Sarah Carter's *Lost Harvests*. The 27 entitlement bands may soon be selecting land to expand their reserve holdings for economic development, and some provincial residents question why this is happening. *Lost Harvests* has assisted us in understanding the historical context of treaties for our own research, and it has helped us respond to public concerns about the process.

Carter covers primarily the period from the 1870s to World War I. Using the Treaty Four bands of what is now southern Saskatchewan as a focus, she explores the question of whether the failure, as it were, of Indians to become productive farmers during this period was because of cultural reluctance, as many have argued, or due to government policy. Carter begins by debating the dualism theory of labour economies, which espouses a distinction between traditional/resource or peasant economies and modern, industrialized capitalist ones. Dualism supposes that the two economies, one underdeveloped and one developed, are independent of each other. A dualist assumption, found in once-"standard" academic sources such as George Stanley's vision (*The Birth of Western Canada* [University of Toronto, 1936]) and the Hawthorn report (*A Survey of Contemporary Indians of Canada* [Ottawa, 1966]) is that the underdeveloped economy stays that way by preference or inclination: indigenes and peasants prefer family-based labour patterns which are "unproductive" in a capitalist economy.

In a sense, Carter is attacking a straw man, since in academic theory dualism is no longer widely held as defensible. She is, however, highlighting an attitude which is still defended by many members of the public and by government policy-makers, and that is why the book is relevant not only in the classroom but in the various "applications" of history and geography. Carter investigates and critiques the assumption that Indians were never inclined to farm; she does this by showing how prairie Indians have repeatedly made choices about economic strategies. The extent of pre-contact and early historical agriculture are documented, followed by a discussion of the fur trade in order to explore the post-contact era of movement onto the Plains. This leads to the treaty era and the move to reserves. At the same time, Carter presents another "solitude," as she calls it, the cultural life world of Ottawa bureaucrats and field agents from the various Departments of Indian Affairs. Gradually she brings the reader into the world of policy creation and its effects on Indian farming policy as the two solitudes crossed.

Using archival material, Carter gives example after example of how Indian bands, once living on reserve sites, tried to begin farming in accordance with a very restrictive set of policies. She shows the early and impressive successes of some bands, particularly in the Battlefords, and the gradual removal of these farmers from competition with non-Indian settlers. Through these examples Carter brings to life the tensions between treaty promises and expeditious policy, between field agents faced with starving Indians and Ottawa bureaucrats philosophically well-intentioned but ignorant, and between Indian grain farmers and non-Indian immigrants who wanted reserve land. By the end of the book Carter has developed an argument that the enfranchisement and peasant farming policies of Indian Affairs were not only at odds with the treaties, but were meant to ultimately deprive the Indian people of their land and open it to settlement. The vision of the property-owning, tax-paying Indian who had a small mixed farm, the vision which apparently drove Indian policy to allot reserves and assimilate their owners, would by early in the century become only an intermediate rationale for a deadly competition. The small assimilated Indian farmer would stand eventually to lose his land to the more competitive non-Indian settler.

There are some irregularities which can confuse the reader. Carter does not stick with the Treaty Four bands but jumps sporadically in her analysis to other regions; a few case studies could have been developed more fully in preference to the scattergun approach which sometimes appears. The analysis weighs heavily, especially in discussions of policy. The reader might find it hard to distinguish description from interpretation in some passages, and to distinguish general federal policy from the impact of selected officials. The conclusion is undeveloped; while Carter appears to let the data "speak for themselves," the presence of analysis is in fact continuous and it would be helpful for the author to summarize her material and to return to her theoretical opening. The amount of data presented and the lack of summaries reduce the accessibility of the book for non-academic users.

Overall, however, the strength of *Lost Harvests*, and the breadth of the research, produce a valuable document which will never be "outdated," will probably not be disputed and will be useful for many years to come.

Folklore Matters
Alan Dundes
Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989. xii + 172 pp. N.p.

Reviewer: John Colarusso
            McMaster University

The Dundes book is a collection of articles by this acknowledged master of folklore. These are arranged chronologically and range from 1983 to 1988. Dundes' avowed intent in drawing together this collection is to give an answer to the query of what a folklorist does. He succeeds admirably in that he has put together a wide range of topics. I shall simply summarize and discuss some of them in order to give the prospective reader a feel for the book.

"Defining Identity through Folklore" exemplifies one of Dundes' most striking attributes, his enormous erudition. He has read widely and deeply in a wide range of languages and areas, and has drawn together in this essay a wide range of seemingly disparate topics, such as ethnic, contextual and sexual identity, changes in identity and in lore, national stereotypes, negative features of identity, even matters regarding strangers and the modern problem of identification numbers. He makes a persuasive case for the changing character of identity, both within the complex setting of society and across the span of a lifetime, and the usefulness of folklore in examining this phenomenon. The references to the philosophical problem of identity, however, serve no great end. On this point Dundes seems to have confused the philosophical examination of the concept of self, that is the continuity of the experience of ego, with that of the concept of roles, the latter showing all the mutability that such a social phenomenon exhibits.

In the "Fabrication of Fakelore" Dundes inveighs against the alteration, reassemblage and selectional practices of tale recording that have characterized the work of many of the giants of folklore, from the Ossian of James Macpherson and the collections of the Brothers Grimm, to the Kalevala of Elias Lonnrot and the lore of Paul Bunyan. He insists that all variants of a tale must be recorded for a full understanding of it. His position is a venerable one within his discipline — after all, some of the major achievements of folklore have been gigantic indices of motifs and tale-types — and he makes a strong case for the claim that editorializing has lain behind many of the major 19th-century works.

"The Comparative Method in Folklore" is an important paper. This is an extensive discussion of the origin and development of the comparative method, from its (claimed) birth in anthropology and folkloristics in the early 19th century, to its loss in anthropology and its near total ascendency in folklore in the mid-20th. In fact, philology invented this powerful technique. Dundes frames the ongoing folkloristic conflict between anthropologists and folklorists: anthropologists write monadic ethnographies without reference to other cultures, whereas folklorists compare tales without independent analyses of them. Folklorists can bring perspective and time-depth to anthropology, while anthropologists can bring meaning to folklore.

"Pecking Chickens: A Folk Toy as a Source for Study of Worldview" is a small, delightfully illustrated jewel which is built around the following fascinating notion: "Worldview . . . permeates all aspects of a given culture and this is why *the pattern of the whole is to be found even in that whole's smallest parts*" (p. 83, emphasis mine).

In Dundes' hands this almost mystical notion is made plausible by the examination of a few simple toys.

As its title suggests "The Psychoanalytic Study of the Grimms' Tales: 'The Maiden without Hands' (AT 706)'' is a detailed analysis of a famous folktale in which Dundes relies almost entirely on orthodox Freudian interpretation. Part of the general intellectual perspective on psychoanalysis today is that it is a mediocre clinical tool, without an impressive cure rate, and that it is irrefutable and thus not scientific. On the other hand, if science has taught us anything in the last 400 years it is that things are not as they seem, and I for one am prepared to accept that a science of mind will also show that even our own feelings and cognitions are not what they seem. Nevertheless, I can follow Dundes only so far in his analysis of these tales. I have similar reservations regarding his interpretation of "The Good and Bad Daughters," the other tale covered in this article but omitted from its title.

Freudian overtones can be heard again in the last article, "The Building of Skadar: The Measure of Meaning of a Ballad of the Balkans," but these are minor. Here Dundes truly exhibits his great forte, the ability to provide penetrating and far-reaching interpretations of folktales, interpretations which seem disarmingly simple and sensible, but have nevertheless escaped the efforts of all previous workers. From the sacrifice of a young wife in the building of a fort or castle Dundes draws an illuminating picture of the role of women in Balkan society, their figurative immurement in traditional marriage, and draws parallels between this role and that of women in India on the basis of a similar tale found there. In the course of this brilliant analysis Dundes discusses nationalistic forces and sentiments and their role in folklore, while also refuting the theory that ballads and myths arise as the oral counterparts to rituals. In fact there is no archaeological evidence that immurement was ever practised in the Balkans, and this independent fact lends strong corroboration to Dundes' already powerful interpretation. In this last article one has the feel that folklore has almost taken on the force of hard science.

American Folklore Scholarship: A Dialogue of Dissent
Rosemary Lévy Zumwalt
Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana: University of Indiana Press, 1988. xiv + 186 pp. $35.00 (cloth), $9.95 (paper)

Reviewer: John Colarusso
McMaster University

Zumwalt's book examines in detail the academic struggle to dominate folklore that has been waged in North American academic circles from the end of the 19th century well into the 20th. This book is a well-written and prodigiously researched work. It has an enormous bibliography and a useful index. Future editions would be improved if portraits of some of the *dramatis personae* were included. The book is informed by the notion of disciplinary matrix (Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* [University of Chicago Press, 1970]), and is one of the best case studies of academic struggle and the social dynamics of science that I have ever read. It is no exaggeration to say that every student or professor of anthropology and folklore would do well to read it.

Near the end of the 19th century folklore studies had reached a sophisticated stage in Europe, and this attracted the interests of some American and Canadian academics and intellectuals. These scholars, such as Francis James Child and his student George Lyman Kittredge, were literary scholars who adopted a 19th-century evolutionary vision of folklore as a doomed remnant of the progression from savagery through barbarism to civilization that had characterized European culture. The academic fortunes and legacies of such men and women are traced out in fascinating detail. Their influences still dominate at such folklore centres as Indiana University, the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard and UCLA.

Intellectually and temperamentally opposed to them were others, such as William Wells Newell, who founded the American Folk-Lore Society in 1888. Newell was a revolutionary in that he insisted that folklore was a living on-going activity and that the lore of the American Indian had to be an important component of the North American folklore enterprise. Another gifted amateur, Fletcher S. Bassett, founded the Chicago Folk-Lore Society around the same time. Bassett's society was open to all interested parties and enjoyed enormous success at the 1893 Columbia Exposition. Nevertheless, because of a stroke of ill luck — Bassett died shortly after his congress — the Chicago Society soon dissolved. Newell, with the help of the young Franz Boas, set out to dominate the field, first by excluding amateurs, and then by excluding the "non-scientific" literary folklorists. Both Boas and Newell laboured under the notion that for folklore to be respectable it must be seen as receiving scientific legitimacy from anthropology, and must abrogate any allegiance to the "soft" humanistic fields of literary study. I myself had laboured under the notion that such a peculiar opposition between sciences and humanities was a 20th-century folly, but Zumwalt has dug through all the papers of the major figures involved and shows that this fatuous notion is old.

Zumwalt gives a thoroughly even-handed account of the rise of anthropology in North America, particularly of events centred about the imposing figure of Franz Boas. Yet it is almost chilling to read quotations from the original letters detailing the machinations by which anthropologists came to dominate folklore. Central to this program was Boas himself, who systematically set out to dominate academic activity, publishing organs and museum positions so as to insure the quality of anthropology in the main, and folklore incidentally. Despite strong opposition, he succeeded in his goals in the first two, failing only in that he never came to dominate museum activity. As part of his efforts he produced several generations of famous anthropologists. He also left behind an enormous testament of ethnography, much of it containing invaluable accounts of American Indian lore. His efforts to pull together the work of a large number of specialists into a folklore index was never fulfilled. There is irony in this particular failure, because the scholars that Boas managed to exclude or marginalize achieved their greatest success in the areas of compilations and indices.

The anthropologists under Boas saw folklore as part of a cultural whole and offered interpretations of this lore within the context of that culture. The literary folklorists were preoccupied with collection and comparisons of lore only. They persisted in their careers despite Boas and compiled some of the true monuments of folklore, not merely the enormous collections of lore, in all its variants, but also such enormous and invaluable works as the tale-type index of Kaarle Krohn's student Antti Aarne, updated and expanded by Kittredge's student, Stith Thompson, and Thompson's own six-volume *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955-58). Their goals were and largely remain the comparison of variants and the identification of the general lineaments of a proto-tale and its point of origin.

The wall between anthropologists and folklorists was a permeable one, with both groups participating in the American Folk-Lore Society, though with the anthropologists generally in ascendancy, at least until the early 1940s. Zumwalt makes it clear here too that Boas sought the membership of the putatively unscientific literary folklorists in order to bolster the numbers of his society. It seems that there were more folklorists than there were anthropologists, despite the fate of the former to be members of English or literature departments. Further, some of these folklorists also collected and studied American Indian lore, so that their exclusion would have been without ostensible grounds.

The main thrust of her conclusion is that the time for this strife is past. Folklore can benefit from the temporal and geographical perspectives provided by the folklorist, and by the interpretative cultural context offered by the anthropologist. As in some of the hard sciences, it is time now for folklore to be investigated by teams of scholars made up of individuals with complementary training and talents.

I was not prepared for the sort of ugly politicking that Zumwalt has documented, though I hasten to add that she has done so in the most objective light. Yet herein lies the importance of the book for it will force the reflective reader to assess the course of her or his own career, and to ponder the nature of academic achievement and the significance of scholarly work. Until I had read this book I had little appreciated how much we and our academic environment are the products of a few lucky individuals, not only intellectually gifted but also politically ambitious, who asserted their egos and visions at the expense of those of their colleagues.

Anthropology and Politics: Visions, Traditions, and Trends
Joan Vincent
Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990. x + 570 pp. $40.00 (cloth)

Reviewer: Sally Falk Moore
                Harvard University

A large, encompassing account of the work in anthropology that addresses the political domain has long been needed. Since Balandier's very useful and brief *Political Anthropology* (Presses Universitaires de France) of 1967 (English version 1970), there has been one attempt at a text-like review, Lewellen's 1983 book, also entitled *Political Anthropology* (Bergin & Garvey Publishers). Apart from a somewhat updated bibliography, Lewellen's essay represents no particular advance over Balandier's version of the field. Balandier divided his book into a brief history of the subdiscipline, a chapter on the political sphere, three on the relationships between power and, respectively, kinship, social stratification and religion, one on the traditional state and one on modernity and change. His presentation was incisive and in the context of the period, critical.

Vincent's book is an entirely different project. The presentation is somewhere between that of a compendious chronological annotated bibliography (see p. 9 where Vincent indicates that that was her initial purpose), and an attempt to sketch the sequence of historical settings in which anthropological writing on political subjects took place. Vincent starts in the 19th century and ends somewhat abruptly with a short chapter on works from 1974 to the present. Given the length of the book, it is not a

work that anyone is going to sit down to read from beginning to end on a winter evening. Instead, I suspect that it will be most useful as a reference work for those teaching in this field, and for subsequent historical analyses of particular periods in the development of anthropology as a whole.

Vincent goes to some lengths to present the positive contributions of most of the works she analyzes. Her overall thesis is the broad consequence of her historical method, the contention that "The objective world fashions the anthropology of politics as much as anthropology constructs and reconstructs the world in which its practitioners find themselves" (p. 63).

One of the commendable aspects of this volume is its serious effort to trace the course of several national streams of thought and to note their points of difference, parallelism and contact. Vincent addresses developments in American anthropology with as much liveliness as in those in Britain, and here and there gives France attention as well. Vincent also follows a number of topical threads simultaneously, as these weave in and out of the monographs. For example, she gives considerable space to shifts in the anthropology of law, notes changing degrees of attention to history, and marks the shifts in model from the ethnographies of the colonial to those of the postcolonial world. Vincent has a strong interest in Marxist and other materialist approaches, in critical theory, in feminism and in the issues these raise. Yet she clearly dislikes some of the cruder forms of this line of discourse, saying of the 1960s to about 1980, "Megaconcepts like exploitation, domination, and imposition tended to take the place of both causal analyses and explanation" (p. 396). She says of the recent decade that "It would be too simple to characterize the 1980s as a period when two paradigms clashed: on the left, Marxism; on the right, interpretive anthropology" (p. 424). She perceives the current state of affairs as one of eclecticism in which a great deal that was once designated as Marxist anthropology has passed into the mainstream, and in which what is explicitly called Marxist anthropology has developed innumerable subversions of itself (my pun, not hers).

This book is the product of many decades of reading and reflection. It is the summing up by a teacher and analyst of a century of change in an academic field. Vincent's extended commentary on this passing scene does not culminate in a new theoretical framework, nor does it offer any radically new interpretations. Still, there is no book in the field that covers this territory, and this is one that has been mounted with considerable care. To those who know the field well, much is familiar, and inevitably there are places where one might wish to argue about particularities of emphasis or conception, or where the absence of boldly original interpretation makes the text less exciting than it might have been. But this material has not been drawn together previously in this way. There is no single work in the field of political anthropology that attempts anything on the scale of this descriptive, historical compilation. Those wanting to learn something about the shifting conceptions of politics that have appeared in anthropological discourse cannot do better than to begin by consulting this book as a reference. Vincent's views are clearly and simply stated. Her meta-Marxist vocabulary is a gentle, thoughtful form of the genre. Her general approach to the history of the field may be summed up in her statement, "For a hundred years the anthropology of politics has, as Redfield put it, *followed* capital; in the 1980s it began to confront it head on. . . . As the 1980s progressed, it became more and more apparent that one could find Marx's analysis valuable, and even know Marx's writings intimately, without being a Marxist" (pp. 399-400).

Papers of the Twenty-first Algonquian Conference
William Cowan, ed.
Ottawa: Carleton University, 1990. vii + 395 pp. N.p. (paper)

Reviewer: J.V. (Jay) Powell
University of British Columbia

It is always dangerous to generalize, but possibly it is not so risky if one generalizes about accepted insider perceptions. One of those recognitions is that the Algonquian Conference regularly has the widest topical coverage of the annual meetings which look at a single North American linguistic grouping. Whereas someone would feel distinctly out of place giving an ethnographic paper at the Athabaskan, Salish or Hokan conferences, which focus pointedly on language, at the Algonquian Conference you can hear papers on educational systems, Native land use, aboriginal economic practice and museum exhibits, along with your syntactic constraints and reduplication. And that tantalizing topical mélange is exactly what happened at the 21st Algonquian Conference, held October 27-29, 1989, in St. John's, Newfoundland. Hosted by Memorial University of Newfoundland, it was attended by 77 registrants and included 40 papers. Twenty-six of them are included (arranged alphabetically by author) in this publication.

Here is another generalization. After reading my way through such a volume of proceedings, I regularly feel more edified than I do as a result of sitting through several days of papers being *read* one after the other. Whatever the reason for this effect, it makes a strong case for doing exactly what I have done with this volume: giving it a good read-through rather than simply ticking a few articles for immediate reading and then shelving it as a reference book.

A third generalization is that conference proceedings are the most difficult books to review (even harder than *Festschriften*, where one can at least dwell on the biography of the person being honoured). One has only 500 words to summarize a volume. It is apparent that the richness of this volume is as much in its picture of the range of Algonquian research being conducted and completed as it is in the actual contents of the articles. Accordingly, an easy way to characterize that range is simply to summarize the first few articles:

1) A large group of Micmacs, by the late 19th century, had adopted a peripatetic pattern that conformed in many of its dimensions to that of European groups such as the gypsies (Abler).

2) *Michif*, with its verb phrase from Cree and its noun phrase from French, may have arisen as a result of a process of "relexification" whereby the predicates derive from a single language if it has verbal forms that are completely made up of bound morphemes (Bakker).

3) Research on the notion of competence among Native people of all ages in Big Trout Lake (Ontario) makes it clear that mainstream school techniques are motivated by a very different sense of what "knowing" and "thinking" are (Bennett and Berry).

4) The Round Lake (Ontario) Study, which has been going on for 30-plus years and has published various completed studies is still trying to make sense out of a great deal of data on "fostering" or childrearing by other than their own parents (Black).

5) Archaeological researchers at Lake Temiscouata (Quebec), using various techniques, have begun to accumulate a ceramic data base which they hope will eventually allow them to determine the ethnic identity of the area's inhabitants over time (Chapdelaine and Kennedy).
6) Interviews of First Nations people regarding post-secondary education in Ontario have resulted in a sensitive set of recommendations aimed at a more equitable education system and Native involvement proportionate to Native representation in the population (Common).
7) Attawapiskat (Ontario) Cree land use shifted after Contact, and particularly during the last three decades, but many traditional aspects of economic practice and life style continue — at least in insider perceptions (Cummins).

This, although it covers only about a third of the volume, gives a sense of the range of topics covered in these proceedings. As Cowan says in the Introduction, the conference contained "an interesting mixture of history, ethnology, archaeology, linguistics, economics, religion — everything you could possibly want to know about the Algonquian peoples but were afraid to ask." Year after year the Algonquian Conference gives us evidence that, for all our varying interests and perspectives, we are developing a comprehensive picture of these peoples and their past.

Aggression and War: Their Biological and Social Bases
Jo Groebel and Robert A. Hinde
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. xvi + 237 pp. $14.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Clayton A. Robarchek
            Witchita State University

The editors of this volume were signatories of the Seville Statement on Violence and their stated objectives are: (1) to summarize in non-technical terms the main part of the evidence on which the Seville Statement was based; and (2) to provide an overview of empirical research on aggression and war. The book consists of five topic areas entitled "Aggression: The Reality and the Myth," "Biological Mechanisms in the Individual," "Individual Aggression and Prosocial Alternatives," "Communication and Group Processes" and "The Macro Level: Societies and Nations."

While the individual chapters are interesting and sometimes informative, the net result is disappointing. Since there are 16 chapters and a conclusion, space limitations make it impossible to review, or even comment on each one here. In general, however, most are rather brief, characterizing and summarizing the results of research that argues against innatist (or in favour of learned) views of human violence and war. They provide an overview of the conventional wisdom concerning the sources of human violence. This is a useful and worthwhile endeavour, and one of the editors' stated objectives. The problem is that (with the exception of the section on the biology and physiology of aggression) much of what is summarized and presented is the conventional wisdom of 15 to 50 years ago.

It is, for example, difficult to conceive of an entire volume devoted to the biological and social bases of aggression and war that includes not a single reference to either sociobiological or ecological-functional explanations of war. One need not agree with either of those approaches to feel that they (and perhaps more importantly, the argu-

ments marshalled against them) raise issues that, at the very least, need to be considered. Thus the various authors devote a great deal of effort to refuting "instinctive" or "biological" arguments for the origins of aggression, but the arguments are mostly straw men that begin and end with Sigmund Freud and Konrad Lorenz. The effect is to render much of the discussion simply irrelevant.

What is perhaps most disturbing is what appears to be a complete ignorance of the existence of current anthropological research on war and peace. It is not as if the authors simply felt that comparative and cross-cultural studies were irrelevant, since there are occasional (usually apocryphal) references to "primitive societies," and citations of some anthropological works of two and three decades ago. There is, however, no mention of Ferguson and Farragher's comprehensive bibliography, *The Anthropology of War* (The Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, 1988) or of any of the dozen or more edited collections devoted explicitly to the issues of non-violence, violence and war.

In sum, while the book may be useful in countering some of the simpler biologically deterministic views of war often held by the general public, those with a specific interest in the subject of human violence will find little that is new, or even current.

Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989
Paul Tennant
Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990. xvi + 288 pp + index. N.p. (paper)

Reviewer: George W. Wenzel
            McGill University

As someone who must confess to the barest knowledge of aboriginal issues in British Columbia, I read Paul Tennant's book with great interest. In the preface of this extensive work, Dr. Tennant notes that his intent is not to test academic theory, but to provide a comprehensive history of the struggle by British Columbian Indians to gain control over their lands and to "remedy some of the [historical] deficiency" that has inhibited "informed public debate" (p. ix). In the main, these goals are achieved here, although not at some cost.

Aboriginal Peoples and Politics certainly lays out the history of Indian-White antipathy over land in the province. Beginning with the Douglas Treaties (Chapter 2), Tennant relentlessly documents the means used by colonial, provincial and federal forces over 150 years to deny aboriginal British Columbians even relative justice in these matters. Given the extensive historical evidence presented here, the negative views espoused by contemporary provincial politicians on the justness of Indian claims leaves one nothing but breathless.

Although the land conflict history itself is informative, this book also is illuminating in the way it treats the evolution of B.C. Indian internal politics, at least in the case of the Manuel-Calder-Wilson era. Information, such as appears in Chapters 10 and 12 through 14, is the type of material that is lacking on Native political dynamics in most other areas of Canada.

One major element of the book is disturbing, notwithstanding its explicit avoidance of "academic theory." This is that analysis of the land claims question is conducted solely in terms of an explicitly narrow framework. The reader is never exposed to any analytical thread but the author's. As a result, if this work is aimed at the undergraduate, serious effort to supplement its analytical failings must be made.

A number of lesser things also bothered me. The anthropology of both the coastal and interior tribes, touched upon mainly in the first chapter, is sparse to a fault. Thus, the rich complexity of B.C. Native society is obscured. Equally bothersome are what appear to me to be contradictions between some of the book's sub-arguments. In "The Politics of Survival," the role of Protestant missions in the preservation of potlatch ceremonialism is noted, but later Tennant states that some missionary magistrates vigorously prosecuted potlatch offenders. Likewise, on p. 72, Tennant states that " 'anomy' was everywhere" among B.C. Indians, while earlier the strength of Native traditional society, especially on the coast, in the face of White colonialism is emphasized.

This book has two very strong elements. The first is how modern B.C. Indian political cohesion and solidarity developed in a most hostile environment. The other is the facts of Indian-White relations over land in the province. The latter suffers, however, in my opinion, from a lack of broad analytical perspective. Despite these criticisms, Tennant has provided us with a useful, if unfortunately limited, examination of the B.C. land claims question.

Anthropology and Development in North Africa and the Middle East
Muneera Salem-Murdock and Michael M. Horowitz, eds.
Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990. xi + 360 pp. $42.00 (paper)

Reviewer: Paula Chegwidden
　　　　　　Acadia University

Anthropology and Development in North Africa and the Middle East is a collection of 15 articles about rural development in 10 countries. The common theme in most is the documentation of the role anthropologists (or social scientists in general in some cases) had or should have played in designing or assessing some aspect of rural development policy.

All but one or two of the articles are clear and detailed, but the volume does suffer from a problem common to most such collections, how to make it relevant to an audience wider than regional specialists. The editors make some very general points contrasting development in this region to sub-Saharan Africa, since the first two volumes in this series on rural development have focussed there.

Two of the pieces here do make more general points with very great effectiveness; both show how World Bank approaches to rural development have been seriously flawed, in part because appropriate research was not done or was not heeded. In "Agricultural Development and Food Production on a Sudanese Irrigation Scheme," Victoria Bernal shows how concentration on cotton production has had disastrous effects on the availability of food in the Sudan. Zulkuf Aydin's critique of the Corum-Cankri rural development project in Turkey demonstrates how overreliance on expensive inputs and assumptions of rural homogeneity have increased, rather than decreased, ru-

ral poverty. In a third article, Gunter Meyer describes the fate of farmers displaced by the giant Euphrates dam in northeast Syria. He does not himself make a more general critique but the comparison with other similar dam projects around the world could be made by an informed reader.

The other articles vary in length and the extent to which they specifically discuss the actual or potential contributions of anthropologists. The first has a very intriguing point which is not explained in enough detail to be clear. Alice Morton describes the two quite different notions of appropriate research held by an indigenous Moroccan research institute and the USAID Moroccan office. The other two articles on Morocco discuss unintended consequences of agricultural policy in two rural settings, which could have (by implication) been avoided by more appropriate research.

The three articles on Tunisia describe economic change in three regions, covering such issues as water use, differential access to resources among farmers and tourism, without focussing directly on what anthropologists did or could have done to change the research situation. Dawn Chatty describes the gradual integration of the nomadic Harasiis into the modern Omani state. She too describes her research results rather than specifically discussing the role of the anthropologist.

Three articles, one each on Libya, Egypt and Israel, do focus on the contribution of the anthropologist, although all three articles are shorter, providing less detail than most of the others. Charles Swagman and Daniel Varisco provide an interesting contrast in articles about the Yemen Arab Republic. They both discuss the anthropologist's role in rural development policy, but Swagman shows the disadvantages when the anthropologist is expected to be a field officer as well, while Varisco describes the frustrations when the anthropologist is not supposed to implement his/her recommendations.

This is certainly an interesting collection, but if the editors had clearly reiterated and tied together the points made about the role of anthropology in their introduction, it would have been a more generally useful volume.

Dependence and Autonomy: Women's Employment and the Family in Calcutta
Hilary Standing
New York: Routledge, 1991. vii + 198 pp. $16.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Doreen Marie Indra
              University of Lethbridge

Hilary Standing's study primarily deals with the effects of "women's entry into employment on intra-household relations in an urban Third World context [Calcutta] in which there has been little tradition of female employment but where economic pressures have brought a recent increase in the proportion of women entering or seeking waged work" (p. 1). Of particular concern to her is the impact of women's employment on urban Bengali familial ideologies. Standing also tangentially addresses the larger issue of whether and to what degree involvement in paid labour supplies these women with "the conditions or pre-conditions for their greater emancipation . . ." (p. l).

Chapter 1 introduces the issues, the methods used and a brief background to women and labour in Calcutta. Data were collected during 12 months in 1981-82, with two

short visits in 1984 and 1985. A mix of survey method and informal interviewing was employed. Bela Bandyopadhyaya and Standing carried out the research ''collaboratively'' (p. 16). Standing's focal population was composed of women (and some men) in 114 households, most selected from a random sample of 2500 households identified in the 1976 Calcutta Poverty Survey because they contained women working outside the home in non-domestic contexts. It is not clear, but appears that the formal interviews themselves were primarily done by two research assistants. Neighbours and kin were also more informally queried, though, explicitly, individual households rather than localized communities formed the central focus of inquiry.

Chapter 2 provides some socioeconomic background information on these employed women. This chapter demonstrates a marked difference in the style of workforce participation of women from middle-class West Bengali origins (about one quarter of sample households) and those in the 54 households that were refugee in origin, most having previously belonged to the ''landowning, professional and urban-middle classes in the then East Bengal [now Bangladesh]'' (p. 24). Women in the former instance were employed almost exclusively in teaching and other professional occupations. Deriving from households with less certain income, refugee women however appeared to secure work wherever they could find it, primarily in unorganized factory and tailoring jobs. Standing asserts (p. 24) that the work force participation rate of refugee women is much higher than among other groups, based on the observation that 47 percent of her sample households are refugee in origin, though they comprise but 15 percent of the general Calcutta population. Her small sample size however limits the confidence one can have in this conclusion. The occupations of women from poor proletarian households are not clearly identified until the next chapter. This chapter also includes a brief analysis of household composition and demographics, household and women's incomes and women's motives for entering the labour force.

Chapter 3 examines women's employment options through time, current working conditions and work histories. These are shown to be highly class-specific and unequally remunerative. For instance, poor women typically do home-based piecework or are engaged in ''self-employment in sweated conditions,'' while college-educated, middle-class women are typically found in the public sector.

Chapter 4 follows this with a brief history of urban household organization in Calcutta and an interesting look at the effect of women's employment on the household division of labour and a brief commentary on women's employment and ideologies of domesticity. Reported levels of housework were virtually the same in all classes, and predictably, employment did not necessarily lessen women's household burdens. There was no clear indication that men in any way increased their own household efforts to lighten the workload of women.

Chapter 5 looks at how women's earnings are controlled and dispersed. Chapter 6 considers the ideological implications of paid employment for women, suggesting that the majority of women did not feel that their employment had any effect on how they were treated by other family members or on family status, though a majority felt that their influence in the family had increased as a result. A majority, however, also were dissatisfied with their current employment, often citing low pay and uncertain working conditions. Chapter 7 attempts ''to situate the issues in a wider historical context through an examination of the relationship between changes in family form, the construction of female dependency and women's employment in Bengal'' (p. 14). This chapter is primarily historical and macrosociological, though it is complemented by a

number of paragraph-long case studies of particular women. A brief summary conclusion, a good bibliography and an effective index end the book.

In an overall sense, *Dependence and Autonomy* makes a significant contribution to the literature on urban South Asian working women, and by extension to the larger discourse on gender, work and household relations. One of its central strengths is that it firmly situates the women under investigation in a historical context of gender, household, family and work in Calcutta. Indeed, the writing strategy of beginning each chapter with an historical and sociological run-up to the survey data is very effective. This strategy helps one get an understanding of how particular historical moments create female dependency differently, and how in the present instance access to paid work does not necessarily produce a single, linearly related effect on the form and degree of women's autonomy. Another strength is Standing's keen appreciation of the multifaceted nature of the issues she is considering and her unwillingness to ram her data into an overly simplistic theoretical mould. This comes through on virtually every page dealing with the contemporary material, where one finds a host of key issues, implications, intervening variables, qualifications and analytical questions interspersed among the empirical findings. Moreover, Standing is to be commended for creating such a complicated and varied set of data, and thereafter not trying to oversimplify it. This approach reinforces the advances that feminists have made in regard to analyzing and deconstructing family and household in South Asia and elsewhere, presenting confirming instances of the benefits of detailed intra-household analysis disaggregated by gender and role.

The main qualifications I have about this book are methodological and stylistic. Having decided to base the study primarily on a formal survey of women in 118 unconnected households scattered throughout Calcutta, Standing places herself on difficult methodological terrain. Such a sample is far too small to say anything certain about Calcutta working women in general (as Standing usually appreciates), yet because it lacks a highly local social or geographical base it is not amenable to the kind of detailed ethnographic investigation that would have allowed Standing to delve deeply into individual women's lives and ways of seeing. Perhaps the foreclosure of the latter option led Standing to employ a writing style that rarely allows her subjects to speak forth from the text. Individual women enter primarily through examples that are a paragraph or less, and even then the author firmly maintains control over the discourse. Even short quotations are rare, and most of the analytical discussion is oriented towards the survey data. This results in Standing painting primarily the broad picture, in which one gets a good sense of the breadth but little of the depth of women's experience, whether as part of the waged or unwaged labour force. I would also have liked to see a few of the central orienting concepts made more problematical, most notably "household" and "autonomy."

Overall, I would recommend this book to a number of audiences. The most central one is that concerned with gender, household and family in South Asia. It also provides important baseline data for those involved in urban development, again most particularly in South Asia.

Deviance: Anthropological Perspectives
Morris Freilich, Douglas Raybeck and Joel Savishinsky, eds.
Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey, 1991. 241 pp. $47.95 (cloth), 16.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Richard A. Brymer
              McMaster University

This book represents one of the first compilations of original anthropological research on deviance. It consists of an introduction to the newly emerging Anthropology of Deviance, followed by three papers that set out various theoretical models, six substantive chapters and a conclusion.

The introduction suggests that anthropology is a latecomer to the field of deviance, and then moves to a discussion of the philosophy of science and "models" for research. Little prior anthropological or sociological work on deviance is discussed, and the three models are introduced.

Freilich's chapter presents the SAPS (Smart and Proper Strategies) model which is an extension of Mertonian, Parsonian and 28 other dichotomous models, as well as his own intellectual journey through deviance. The resultant nine-cell typology locates almost any form of deviance within it. Exceptions, when encountered, revise the typology. One hopes that the SAPS model will be more successful than prior models. Raybeck's model critiques labelling theory by referring to variations in societal scale and "hard" vs. "soft" deviance. Scale refers to levels of societal complexity and deviance as a part of that complexity. The hard/soft distinction consists of a functional notion of hard deviance as a threat to the social order, and non-threatening deviance as soft. I am more comfortable with the former than the latter: the latter requires that a culture be destroyed as proof of the model whereas the former merely requires that the culture shift to a new level of complexity, with deviance as a part of the new complexity. I have seen more societies shift than die, thus I would rather focus on emergent change and reorganization than on functional death; but this is the debate. Savishinsky's model conceptualizes deviance as neither dysfunctional nor typological, but as a proactively constructed, organized and even celebrated event. He uses a Goffmanesque metaphor of "staged' deviance to analyze drinking, dog-fights, movies and tourist "baiting" as normal everyday activities, to be explained by the same models used to explain everyday life.

My biases are much more taken with the six substantive chapters that ethnographers provide than with the models proposed to account for them. Rose's chapter on witchcraft in Swaziland critiques various oversimplifications of witchcraft. Given the multiple audiences involved in witchcraft, a European legal system *and* a Swazi customary system, witchcraft is *very* complex. Using Freilich's SAPS model, she can put *some* order into this complexity and elicit patterns. Using "Occam's razor," its utility may be tested. Kilbride's chapter on child abuse and infanticide in Kenya focusses on macro and micro change. At the macro level a decrease in the status of women in Kenya has led to increased vulnerability of women to unilateral and less negotiable charges of deviance, and an increased rate of deviance. At the micro level women and their family units still retain some ability to negotiate child abuse/infanticide in a multilateral fashion.

Caton's chapter deals with power relations between servants and their tribal masters in Yemen. Servants are a devalued and deviant group, yet they are often wealthy,

pragmatically important and agents of social control. Such paradoxes lead us to wonder if deviance is either hard or soft. Caton's perplexing data suggest that organized deviant subcultures do not threaten social order but enhance it, as do data in the next two chapters. Nanda's discussion of Hijras' careers in India also suggest close ties between deviant subcultures (the term is not used) and the straight world. Hijras (trans-sexual? homosexual prostitutes? religious functionaries? all of the above?) are closely tied to straight Indian culture. Another paradox! Shaw *does* focus on the deviant subculture of Taiwan youth gangs and their ties to straight society. This subculture elaborates the values of personal freedom, universal morality and equality derived from a prior "knights errant" model in Chinese history. The subculture uses these values to justify their relation to, and demarcation from, straight society. These values and the subculture are in turn partially accepted by the straight society.

Gaffin's piece on clowning and story-telling in the Faroes illustrates the construction and control of deviance in a small-scale unit embedded in a larger society. Small-scale units handle deviance internally and avoid reference to the bureaucratic institutions of the larger society.

In sum, I have more quibble with the theories in this book than with the ethnographic data. My preference is to put off theoretical debate until we have more data, because the anthropology of deviance is a *very* new field. To this end, I would recommend this work to *all* anthropologists who have an interest in the new subdiscipline, and even more so to sociologists of deviance who *need* it as an antidote for their theories derived solely from an examination of deviance in large-scale industrial and post-industrial societies.

The Rebels: A Brotherhood of Outlaw Bikers
Daniel R. Wolf
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. 372 pp. $29.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Elliott Leyton
                Memorial University of Newfoundland

Perhaps I spend too much time with international police, and too little among criminologists: but at the close of the 1960s cult film, *Easy Rider*, a romanticization of two biker cocaine dealers, a redneck in a pickup truck won my heart by instantaneously reducing the number of dealers by two. Wolf's unique examination of a bikers' club does nothing to change my mind on this matter, but the book is a significant anthropological achievement and a major contribution to the sociology of deviance.

This study of one of North America's 900 outlaw bikers' clubs goes right to the heart of the mentality, the *sensibility*, of those who dress in such outlandish costumes, parade such rebellious personae, provoke the hatred of so many police officers, induce interesting speculation on their sources of income and strike fear in the hearts of honest citizens as they noisily prowl the highways of this continent. The working-class author's credentials and honesty are impressive: a long-time biker himself, he says he "rode my motorcycle in anger; for me it became a show of contempt and a way of defying the privileged middle class that had put me down and had kept my parents 'in their place.' I felt that the Establishment had done me no favours and that I owed it even less" (p. 10).

Wolf would not renege on that negative commitment. He states in his acknowledgment that his aim was "neither to condemn nor to glorify bikers," but Wolf is clearly deeply smitten by the style of life (indeed, he is a long-time participant), and he goes well out of his way, if not to glorify, at least to *sanitize* the culture of bikerdom — especially its routine and savage violence, its sources of income and its ugly treatment of women. Perhaps he had no choice, given the potential petulance of his informants.

Wolf knowledgeably guides us through first contact with a bikers' club, the intimate relationship of the men with their "hogs" (motorcycles), the details of recruitment to the club — learning the acceptable interactional styles and internalizing the demands for absolute loyalty — and ultimately earning members' "colours" and full acceptance in what he engagingly calls this "participatory democracy." This is followed by a most interesting chapter on the increasing number of women bikers, not just as tag-along girlfriends, but as individual bikers. "Gangbangs" and other degradations of female camp followers are unconvincingly sanitized as: "The portrayal of these masculine (dominance) and feminine (submissive) traits is not as deviant as may first appear." Uncontrolled drinking and brawling are glossed as "the subculture's concern for male prowess": in the words of one club member, "a good bar-room brawl is good for club morale . . . the guys were sure as hell in an excellent mood after it" (p. 203). The hysterical public and police reaction to a "club run," a long-distance trip, is related with a barely concealed glee. The clubhouse-cum-armoury in which they live is glossed as "more than a fortified refuge, it is primarily a social centre for good times" (p. 248). He skates rather lightly over biker economy, based among other things in theft (but of course mainly "to provide themselves with replacement parts or bikes" [p. 267]), hired muscle, pimping and drug distribution: Wolf insists his bikers are "outlaws, but they are not professional criminals. . . . [L]aws were sidestepped, bent, and broken, but rarely for profit" and "criminal acts were usually confined to minor misdemeanours" (p. 268). Fierce turf wars (sometimes in other clubs accompanied by multiple killings) are described as variously motivated, perhaps by "personal pride," or "group power," even "public relations," "and, for some clubs, criminal profit" (p. 314).

The literate text is complemented and enriched by the many photographs, as well as the handsome book production; and one cannot fail to see the guiding hand here of the University of Toronto Press's Virgil Duff, whose succession to the editorship has been accompanied by the publication of a number of fine volumes in the sociology of deviance, including M. Cusson's sadly neglected but brilliant (and exquisitely translated) *Why Delinquency?* (1983). Wolf's *The Rebels* is a fine example of what symbolic interactionism tries to do in sociolgy, and it extends the foundation of an anthropology of deviance; it is certainly destined to become a classic.

Road Hustler: Grifting, Magic and the Thief Subculture. Expanded Edition
Robert C. Prus and C.R.D. Sharper
New York: Richard Kaufman and Alan Greenberg, 1991. 336 pp. N.p. (cloth)

Reviewer: John Phyne
            St. Francis Xavier University

In this expanded edition of a work previously published in 1977, Robert Prus and his
key informant, Sharper, provide an interactionist analysis of the world of professional
road hustlers and compare them to magicians. Hustlers are involved in "systematic
cheating" in card and dice gambling. Whereas "rough hustlers" are amateur gam-
blers, "professional hustlers" are completely immersed in hustling as a deviant ca-
reer. They use impression management in controlling gambling encounters ensuring
that their definition of reality is accepted by the "suckers."

However, this deception is contingent upon a division of labour within a small
group called "the crew." The "mechanic" specializes in handling the equipment.
The "shoot-up" man is the expert social chameleon. He convinces "suckers" to en-
gage in gambling and "cools out" or calms down those taken. The "muscle man"
protects crew members in those rare situations when other gamblers suspect cheating.
Finally, there are the "boss" and the "contacts man." The latter is responsible for
finding outlets for gambling business. He contacts "sponsors," or legitimate business
people in various towns and cities, to gain invitations to annual events, conventions
and stags. Despite this division of labour, most hustlers are able to adequately occupy
multiple roles.

Like hustlers, magicians must successfully manage the art of deception to an audi-
ence. Craft magicians (who use few devices) are most comparable to hustlers. Both
relate to small audiences and constantly strive to ensure their definition of reality is
accepted. The audience is critical because the accomplishment of magic is an inter-
subjective process. Craft magicians and hustlers acquire skills through interacting
with other magicians and hustlers. They rely on a subcultural context to successfully
engage in the social construction of deception.

Prus and Sharper use the social construction of deception in deviant (hustlers) and
non-deviant (magicians) contexts to develop a microsociological theory of generic so-
cial processes. This emphasizes the relevance of the human experience, self-reflection,
intersubjectivity, the negotiation of reality and the reflexive relation of researcher and
respondents in understanding the transituational and transcontextual quality of social
life.

Through the use of comparative ethnographic materials, Prus and Sharper make a
valuable contribution to microsociological theory. However, their dismissal of all
"positivist" research (and inattention to other macrostructural accounts) is the short-
coming of this work. Macrostructural research points to the relevance of social organi-
zation in providing the context for subcultural processes. Deception cannot be reduced
to a variety of micro-contexts. It is informed by a broader ideological and cultural dis-
course which permeates life in capitalist and other industrial contexts. Prus and
Sharper are correct in that ". . . once one permeates the deviant mystique, it becomes
apparent that one does not need one social psychology for the deviants and one for the
normals" (p. 168). However, we need to pay attention to broader social constraints
which provide the context for all social interaction.

The Queen's People: A Study of Hegemony, Coercion, and Accommodation Among the Okanagan of Canada
Peter Carstens
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. xxvii + 304 pp. $55.00 (cloth), $22.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Noel Dyck
             Simon Fraser University

This book combines ethnohistorical and social anthropological perspectives in an attempt to elucidate what the author identifies as the forces of hegemony, coercion and accommodation in the lives of the Okanagan Indians of British Columbia. The first part of the book examines the Okanagans' historical relations with fur traders, missionaries, settlers and the governments of British Columbia and Canada. The second part considers various aspects of social life since the 1950s in one of these reserve communities. The most useful sections of the book are those which (1) detail the long-standing and growing significance of off-reserve wage labour for band members, (2) recount the means by which Okanagan territory has been appropriated by non-Native settlers and government agents and (3) analyze the structural constraints which currently inform the roles of band chiefs and band managers.

In a short review it is not possible to discuss all of the difficulties encountered in the book. To begin with, the segmented organization of the book (prompted by what the author refers to as a "diasynchronic" approach) places the responsibility for integrating the treatment of various substantive themes primarily upon the reader. Thus, the analysis of the role of chief mounted in Chapter 7 is not picked up again until Chapter 12. The scattered and unarticulated use of a variety of theoretical concepts — ranging from hegemonic incorporation to patron-client relationships to anthropological models of factionalism and of peasant social organization — contributes to the book's analytical impenetrability. The author has been poorly served by editors and manuscript assessors who should have insisted upon a greater effort to achieve conceptual integration and clarity. Carstens' spirited but seemingly *ad hoc* critique of the many published sources upon which his study heavily depends tend to obscure rather than to illuminate the problems that his extended research among the Okanagan has sought to address.

What seems to guide this study is a version of historical determinism erected upon an underlying acculturationist perspective which depicts the fate of the Okanagan as having been effectively decided by the beginning of the 1860s. The fur trade, missionaries and the gold rush are claimed to have produced "structural and cultural changes which could never be reversed" (p. 52). The radical and unalterable changes which are said to have taken place in the personalities of individual Okanagan and in the "conscience collective" of their society are interpreted as placing the Okanagan under the hegemonic spell of the white man and his institutions. In the clearest statement of this position Carstens concludes that this "conscience collective had two parts, an Indian part which they were learning to despise, and an unreal fantasy part, based on their observations and misunderstanding of the strangers who came from afar, like white giants" (pp. 52-53). From here it is but a short step to conclude that the Okanagan suffered from a naïve trust in their bond with the British crown (p. 64), a failure to understand the power structures of the provincial and dominion govern-

ments (p. 83) and "no more than a sort of false consciousness about the past" (p. 130).

Carstens implies that the Okanagan were swept along by forms of non-Native coercion which they could not comprehend, let alone resist or modify in a strategic manner. Within this conceptual straitjacket, the Okanagan are analytically stripped of the capacity to do more than fall victim to various forms of accommodation, the ravages of factionalism and a relentless pursuit of individual status and prestige. Indeed, the actions of the Okanagan both in the past and the present tend to be attributed to the personal characteristics and alleged eccentricities of individual band members. Non-Native policies towards Okanagan lands and communities, on the other hand, are said to be "based on institutional decisions and are not merely a function of personalities" (p. 55). Yet missing from this book is a systematic treatment of the cumulative experience of the Okanagan in dealing with important factors such as the attempt to subject them to the "Durieu system" of Catholic mission settlements, the impact of residential schools and the evolving system of socio-economic relations between Okanagans and whites in off-reserve settings. In short, this study suffers from limitations in its methodological approach and theoretical perspective and tells us less about the survival of Okanagan bands as communities than one might wish to know.

Working Women: International Perspectives on Labour and Gender Ideology
Nanneke Redclift and M. Thea Sinclair, eds.
London: Routledge, 1991. x + 242 pp. $57 (cloth), $17.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Susan Vincent
                University of Saskatchewan

One of the major themes of feminist research is the work that women do and how it is perceived. This collection of articles adds to this literature mainly through the insights provided by descriptions of a variety of case studies, rather than through a theoretically rigorous analysis.

Several of the contributions constitute partial blueprints for future action. This comes across particularly clearly in the chapters by Leonard on women's support of the Kent miners' strike, by Walton on women shop stewards, by Lyon on income-generating development projects of women, by Castelbourg-Koulma on a Greek women's project to break into the tourism industry and by Cholmeley on founding a women's bookstore in London. These chapters document real attempts to improve women's position and influence and, by describing the successes and problems involved in these processes, provide concrete paths for similar projects to take.

The case studies also provide insights into real situations so that, for example, in Broadbridge's chapter on women in retailing in a London department store we discover the kinds of skills women who work in the hosiery department actually do need. This kind of information is crucial for countering the argument that women are paid less because they work in unskilled jobs by pointing out that the definition of skill is gender-biased. The importance of gathering clear and correct information on women's choices and activities is further underlined in Hoodfar's article on why educated middle-class Egyptian women have returned to wearing the veil — it is not a return to traditional values, but a new response to the cost of Western-style clothing and, ironi-

cally, allows them greater freedom because of the women's perceived adherence to traditional ways.

But Hoodfar's article is also an example of the shortfalls of an approach that relies heavily on perceptions rather than on theory. She wants to argue against the idea that veiling is indicative of the oppression of women but, whether women veil "voluntarily" or not, since they do so to avoid charges of immorality and to ease their husbands' insecurities over their working, they are at least colluding in an ideology which restricts women's lifestyle choices. Further, despite the claim made in the introduction (p. 1), there is little attempt to link gender ideologies to structural and material conditions. Luck's contribution on the segregation of library jobs is an exception and also tries to deal with women's domestic commitments as a reason for their limited options at work.

This collection will be most useful as a consciousness-raising exercise for women engaged in labour markets as it presents an alternative vision of the work-place experience, and as a source of data to work out some of the connections between material, structural and ideological factors which influence women's position in the work force rather than as an answer to these questions. Finally, there is a value in a collection of articles on quite different topics from the questions that are raised from the conjuncture of information.

Mararoko: A Study in Melanesian Religion
Mary N. MacDonald
New York: Peter Lang, 1991. xvii + 591 pp. $85.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: John Barker
            University of British Columbia

Mararoko is the collective name for six settlements, each centred upon a man's house, occupied by Kewa-speakers in the southern highlands of Papua New Guinea. Mary MacDonald first became acquainted with the Kewa between 1973 and 1977 while a Roman Catholic missionary at a local catechist-training college. She returned through the 1980s as a member of the Melanesian Institute, an ecumenical pastoral centre in Papua New Guinea, and as a doctorate candidate. *Mararoko*, the book, reflects MacDonald's vocation and her continuing commitment to the Kewa people. She places her approach to Kewa religion as "somewhere in the intersection of history of religions, anthropology and theology" (p. 4). MacDonald, however, does not dwell upon such abstract concerns. Her attention lies with Mararoko and its inhabitants. The book provides a roaming description of the changing contexts and contents of local religious life and attitudes, enlivened by anecdotes and narratives concerning individuals. Upon finishing the first part of the book, I felt as if I had attended a loosely organized slide show, in which the presenter's narration nudged me along from one striking picture to the next.

In Part One, MacDonald leads the reader on a winding tour through Kewa cosmology, notions of gender, experience of colonialism, storytelling, rituals and pig exchanges. While she does not explore these subjects at length, MacDonald tells stories about individuals that illuminate familiar cultural institutions in surprising ways. Her account of three healers — two traditional medical practitioners and one aid post ord-

erly — is particularly interesting. MacDonald's treatment of Christianity in this section is also novel and welcome. Rather than opposing Christianity and indigenous religion in the abstract, as many secular academics continue to do, she accepts that Christian elements today form part of the Kewa's common-sense world. It is a world in which ancestral ideas and attitudes, such as notions of spirits and sorcery, also play their part. Unfortunately, MacDonald does not complete her account of Mararoko religion with details of the official Christian presence in Mararoko. She provides little information on church services or the clergy and only passing comments on villagers' attitudes towards the church and its teachings.

The second part of the book, running to more than 300 pages, presents the English translations of 188 Kewa texts in the order MacDonald recorded them between 1981 and 1983. Most are folktales, but the collection also includes histories, spells, songs and descriptions of customs. Apart from a few endnotes and references in Part One, the author lets the narratives speak for themselves. While many of the stories are entertaining, I expect that only experts (including Kewa readers) will possess the background knowledge to appreciate most of the texts.

The book appears to have been hastily prepared. It is overly long, with an unacceptable number of typos and print that too often fades away into thin grey. One must also wonder about the inflated price of the volume, which places it well outside the ability of even the wealthiest Kewa to afford to read their own literature.

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David Counts is Professor of Anthropology at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. With Dorothy Counts he has carried out extensive field research among the Lusi-Kaliai of West New Britain Province in Papua New Guinea. Recently, he has begun research among retired North Americans who live full-time in recreational vehicles. He is co-editor with Dorothy Counts of *Aging and its Transformations* (ASAO Monograph No. 10, University of Pittsburgh Press) and *Coping with the Final Tragedy* (Amityville: Baywood). Along with Richard Brymer he edited *The Anthropology of Deviance* (*Anthropologica* XXXIII)

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Donald Hanlon is an Associate Professor in the School of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee. He has a bachelor's degree in architecture from Cornell, an M.A. in architecture from the University of Washington and an M.B.A. from the same university with a specialization in architectural education. His research has focussed on architectural artifacts as a means of understanding the relationship between architecture and culture contact. Some of his recent work has discussed Islamic architecture in an area of China characterized by the interpenetration of Tibetan, Mongolian and Persian as well as Chinese influences. He has published articles in the *Journal of Central Asia* and the *Journal of Architectural Education*.

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Roger Keesing taught at the University of California at Santa Cruz and the Australian National University. Most recently he was Professor of Anthropology at McGill University. He wrote many books and articles in such fields as ethnosemantics, linguistics, the study of kinship systems and the anthropology of religion. His publications include *Elota's Story* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston), *Kwaio Religion* and, with T. Corris, *Lightning Meets the West Wind: The Malaita Massacre* (Oxford University Press). *Custom and Confrontation: The Kwaio Struggle for Cultural Autonomy* (Chicago) appeared in 1992. His sudden death occurred while this volume was in press.

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291

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References Cited

Lévi-Strauss, Claude
    1962   La pensée sauvage. Paris: Plon.
    1964   Le cru et le cuit. Paris: Plon.
    1967   Les structures élémentaires de la parenté. Paris: Mouton. Publication originale en 1949.
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