

"no cases of true mental disorder were observed in the villages among natives leading their own normal life . . . [A]part from brief maniacal attacks which I shall presently record, the psychoses do not occur except as the result of the stresses set up by white influence, in other words, as the consequence of conflict of race" (p. 106): the theme of the deleterious effects of colonization on indigenous people, which is still very much alive.

A. Irving Hallowell's "The Function of Anxiety in a Primitive Society" (1941) is a classic psychological functionalist piece that rewards rereading; it presents a more sophisticated argument than I had remembered. Erwin Ackerknecht's "Psychopathology, Primitive Medicine and Primitive Culture" (1943) is a review essay that develops his concepts of the autopathological and the heteropathological, still useful—indeed, still with us in other terms. The influence of Ruth Benedict's early relativistic formulations of the relations between culture and mental illness is particularly strong here. (At this point, I found myself wondering why the editors had not included some of her work, perhaps instead of Ackerknecht's paper.) Lévi-Strauss's "The Effectiveness of Symbols" (1949) is a necessary inclusion in a collection of this type. However, as the editors emphasize in the introduction to the piece, "the essential mechanism [of symbols to cure] is rather mysterious" (p. 162). P.-M. Yap's "Mental Diseases Peculiar to Certain Cultures: A Survey of Comparative Psychiatry" (1951) is a worthwhile read, with one of the best concise discussions of the normality-abnormality distinction, following on the work of Ackerknecht. George Carstairs's "Daru and Bhang" (1951) is an excellent piece on the sociocultural dimensions of the use of psychoactive substances, examining the differences between two castes in India; it would be a good starting point for the study of this theme. George Devereux's "Normal and Abnormal" (1956) is by far the longest paper in the collection, constituting more than 20 percent of the book. It is a necessary inclusion in a collection of this type, a densely argued piece on an essential topic, worthy of multiple readings. Grace Harris's "Possession 'Hysteria' in a Kenya Tribe" (1957), like Carstairs's piece—perhaps more so—is an excellent point of departure for further study of possession. Raymond Firth's "Suicide and Risk-Taking in Tikopia Society" (1961) was another of my favorites, with engaging case material and especially useful for didactic ends because of its explicit examination of Durkheim's familiar taxonomy of suicide from the perspective of Tikopia. Victor Turner's "An Ndembu Doctor in Practice" (1964) is an especially interesting discussion of ritual healing, excellent for class use in spite of a complex discussion of Ndembu kinship relations involved in the case material. Finally, there is H. B. M. Murphy's "History and the Evolution of Syndromes: The Striking Case of Latah and Amok" (1971), a cogent argument for change in at least some features of some afflictions. It is the most recent paper of the collection and will be an effective stimulation for discussion of the historicity of mental illness, as well as background for further reading on amok and latah.

Six of the 16 readings in this collection were published before 1941 and I find to be mainly of historical interest; perhaps they would not be among the first choices of one preparing an upper-division or graduate survey course of the anthropology of health or of transcultural psychiatry, but they do give a good sense of what have been and continue to be some of these disciplines' principal questions and answers. There is something of an emphasis on a psychodynamic perspective, perhaps a function of the age of the pieces. This emphasis is warranted given the insight we continue to receive from this perspective. However, my impression is that North American students are not likely to appreciate these pieces and to regard them as old-fashioned or worse.

Finally, there are so many mechanical errors—typographical errors, misspellings, erroneously pasted text, etc.—that this edition should not be considered a finished product. Some pages have multiple errors, and a few sentences are unintelligible. There was no notice accompanying the review copy indicating that it was a galley proof, but it is clearly not ready for publication in the form I read. Its indicated price is appalling, and this combined with the mechanical errors makes it difficult to justify for library acquisition, let alone course adoption. A good research library should be able to obtain most of the readings without much difficulty. ❧

Gender and Anthropology. Frances E. Mascia-Lees and Nancy Johnson Black. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 2000. 128 pp.

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In 1989 Sandra Morgen outlined the impact of feminism on the anthropological study of gender in her introduction to *Gender and Anthropology: Critical Reviews for Research and Teaching*. Two years later, Micaela di Leonardo undertook a more detailed analysis and assessment in her introduction to *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era* (1991). Whereas both essays provide excellent appraisals of gender and anthropology and the impact of feminism, their intended audience is professional anthropologists. Their essays would be tough going for most undergraduate students, especially those taking a course in gender who are not anthropology majors.

In *Gender and Anthropology*, authors Frances Mascia-Lees and Nancy Johnson Black provide a concise, critical, and lucidly written guide to the last 30 years' research and theory in gender within anthropology that is explicitly directed to undergraduate students. As stated in the preface, their goals are twofold: "First, we want to introduce students to how anthropologists using different theoretical orientations have approached the study of gender roles and gender inequality" (p. xii), and "our second concern is to provide students

with techniques of analysis that will help them make their own critical assessments of studies of gender" (p. xiii).

Second-wave feminism of the 1960s and 1970s made women visible in a new way, leaving in its wake new ways of looking at the relations between the sexes and the power of politics and oppression. There was an immediate response within anthropology, a discipline that with a few notable exceptions had taken gender for granted as universal—part of the cultural landscape but not a category of social organization that might prove a fruitful subject of inquiry in and of itself. Sociocultural anthropologists led the way with ethnographic accounts of women's lives, of gender roles and behaviors, and of the relative status of the sexes. At the same time, biophysical anthropologists sought to uncover the evolutionary sources of mating behavior and the roles of males and females in primates and, by extension, in humans. Somewhat later, linguists began to investigate speech patterns among men and women in same-sex and mixed-sex groups and how the very structure of speech might reveal and shape the status of the sexes. Finally, archaeologists began to realize the invisibility of women in archaeological research and to look for evidence of gender relations in past societies.

This new awareness of gender generated a massive amount of ethnographic research and theoretical exploration from the 1970s to the present. Data collected by earlier ethnographers was reexamined, and new data was collected in societies ranging from small hunter-gatherer groups to the largest industrialized cities. Studies of human evolution and of kinship were both given new energy and direction. Although the surge of new research was sometimes directed by theoretical propositions and hypotheses based on general models of gender relations, no single coherent general feminist theory or set of theories emerged from this corpus of ethnography. In fact, theoretical constructs such as the private/public dichotomy, the binary opposition of nature/culture, or the universal subordination of women were not well supported by the data. This left anthropological scholars with the challenge of how to organize, present, and evaluate this body of research and theory for themselves and their students.

Although Mascia-Lees and Black begin with a brief overview of the historical context of the study of gender in anthropology, the role of feminism, and the North American women's movement, they organize the topic of gender and anthropology by the major theoretical orientations used by anthropologists to study gender. This approach carries several advantages. First, as the time period covered is relatively short and the breadth of questions and perspectives anthropologists have applied to the study of gender is great, to group by theoretical orientations provides a sense of how lines of inquiry develop over time through scholarly dialogue. Second, each perspective can be viewed critically by itself, then integrated as each chapter adds another perspective. Finally, linking research and theory is important when looking at gender, argue the authors, "because scientific research is so valued in contemporary society, it is often diffi-

cult to accept that it is affected by factors external to it" (p. 19). Furthermore, it is often difficult to separate popular or "folk" theories from those derived more self-consciously and systematically from research.

This latter point is instrumental to Mascia-Lees and Black's second goal. Because gender represents one of the key differences present in all known societies, theories about differences between men and women, both unconscious and unexamined and self-conscious and formally organized, abound. Thus, argue the authors, understanding and identifying anthropologists' theoretical perspectives is key to student's critical evaluations of scholarly work and popular ideas.

On both counts, Mascia-Lees and Black accomplish their goals. With one exception, they identify and explain clearly and succinctly the major orientations to the study of gender by anthropologists: evolutionary, materialist, structuralist, discourse analysis and sociolinguistic (which includes post-structuralism), and reflexive. Each chapter presents a brief outline of the orientation and its basic principles, cites examples of ethnographic research guided by that perspective, and concludes the chapter with major controversies and critiques. The chapters on materialist and evolutionary perspectives are the most thorough, succinctly defining important issues like essentialism, biological determinism, and the impact of colonialism on gender. The chapter on psychological perspectives is the briefest and significantly omits a discussion of the work of Margaret Mead, whose *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935), represents an early attempt to integrate a Freudian psychology of drives with social learning theory, and the authors discuss both perspectives in this chapter. By providing critiques of each perspective, the authors model a critical approach that students can then apply to a more detailed examination of ethnographic and theoretical works mentioned in the text.

The brevity of each chapter and the necessary simplification of the arguments actually make it a useful adjunct to undergraduate study and an affordable volume as well. The book could be assigned along with one or two ethnographic articles for a one- or two-session unit on gender in an introductory course or a diversity course; students could select an issue within one of the chapters to research for classroom debate; or the entire book could provide the scaffold for a semester-long course of study, with students assigned to read related ethnographic works cited in each chapter. Class discussions and lectures could explore the "complexities, ambiguities, and nuances" (p. xi) of ideas and issues that the authors could not include in such a short volume. The excellent reference list includes major works on gender by anthropologists from the last thirty years, some popular works that have impacted anthropological thought, and a beginning list of ethnographies from a wide range of cultural groups. *Gender and Anthropology* would be a valuable resource either as a supplementary text or for reference on reserve in the library. **B**

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Global Culture/Individual Identity: Searching for Home in the Cultural Supermarket. Gordon Mathews. New York: Routledge, 2000. 228 pp.

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Much has been written in the social sciences on globalization and its impact on both national and individual identities. For many, this issue manifests itself in the overall relativization of identity and its negative consequences for the state. It is here that group identity becomes problematic because citizens have at their disposal a plurality of choices to define themselves; choices that oftentimes conflict with and compete with the state. Gordon Mathews continues this line of research by focusing on how people form and comprehend their cultural identity. Mathews argues that the traditional anthropological definition of *culture* (the way of life of a people) must be updated to include the information and identities available to citizens through what he terms the "cultural supermarket." By expanding this definition, Mathews attempts to gauge how people construct and negotiate their cultural identities.

Mathews argues that national identity is being eroded today, not by ethnicity but by the global material and cultural supermarkets. While money defines the material supermarket, the cultural supermarket, which may contain also commodities, also promotes information in the form of television shows, books, etc. The material and cultural supermarkets saturate the globe with products, information, and potential identities that have reached epic proportions. While state-led cultural identity evolved over several centuries and involved coercion through the law, cultural identity through the market has taken a mere 20 years and entails seduction through advertising.

Mathews argues that culture shapes the self at three levels of consciousness. At the taken-for-granted level, we are shaped by our language and various social practices, while the *shikata ga nai* level involves the external force of the state that requires us to act in a given way. These two levels comprise the traditional definition of culture, as a way of life of a people, and it is here that national identity is cultivated. These two levels are either beyond our control or they are beyond our full control but within our comprehension.

Last, the cultural supermarket allows us to freely choose the ideas that we live by, but these choices are constrained by an array of variables such as gender, social class, religious belief, ethnicity, and citizenship. The self has full control and comprehension at this level, and our cultural identity can be viewed as a social performance embedded in our social world, which censors our choices within the cultural supermarket.

To demonstrate this process, Mathews focuses on how three distinct groups negotiate their cultural identities while struggling intellectually with the inherent contradictions between the state and the market. He asks the broad question, What does it mean to be Japanese, American, Chinese? His sample consists of Japanese artists and musicians, ranging from the very traditional to the more avant-garde; conservative Christians and American Buddhists in the United States; and intellectuals in Hong Kong grappling with the transfer of their island from England to China on July 1, 1997. He interviews approximately 40 subjects per group for several hours each, and he includes as subjects his students in the Hong Kong sample.

In the concluding chapter, he focuses more specifically on nine subjects to determine their location on the spectrum of possible identities. Mathews then situates these findings within the theories of globalization, postmodernization, and nationalism. Not surprisingly, Mathews finds that none of his subjects illustrate the global caricature of actors whimsically altering identities at will. Instead, all feel compelled in some manner to illustrate the validity of their chosen path.

Mathews also uncovers the illusory nature of the freedom associated with the cultural supermarket. He argues that we are constrained by our social context, where society inevitably defines what is bought and sold in the cultural supermarket. In addition, our perceptions and ideas about the cultural supermarket are also socially embedded. For instance, while most of the subjects Mathews interviewed believed that the cultural supermarket was wholly influenced by America, there was some disagreement among the Japanese and Chinese regarding the nature of this influence. Some saw it negatively as the ultimate destruction of their cultural particularity, while others saw America in an overly positive light, as their overall standard of comparison.

While this book addresses an important topic, and Mathews has undertaken an ambitious project, there are several crucial problems with this research. First, I am perplexed at Mathews's choice of groups to examine. For example, he concentrates on nonelite Japanese artists because they may see themselves as "interpreters, preservers, and creators, through their work, of Japanese identity: thus, they may be particularly self-conscious as to what that identity may mean. Second, artists, more than most other groups in Japanese society, reveal the rapidity of change in Japanese senses of cultural identity" (p. 35). While this assertion may be so, and I am not convinced that it is, I am not sure why other groups could not have just as easily met the above criteria.