

prejudgment as to order of priority or significance.

In his chapter on social norms, Elster's best in my view, he sets forth two opposing paradigms. One is Adam Smith's orientation toward rationality, optimizing behavior, and instrumental self-interest. The other is Emile Durkheim's, which stresses continuity, tradition, and cultural norms. Here, Elster demonstrates his skill in guiding the reader through a thicket of concepts while staying on his path, in spite of tricky footing. He points out that motives to conform or not to conform to social norms involve the full scale of social relations. Some norms, like legal norms, project the individual into the larger society. Private norms are more complex, involving unconscious, obsessive, and irrational impulses. Motivations crisscross the Smith/Durkheim paradigms.

Elster hypothesizes that there are no societies, only clusters of individuals held together more or less by cohesion. Seeing society as clusters of individuals conforms to Elster's micro perspective. Within this perspective he uses deictic discourse, explained by Borgmann (*Technology and the Character of Contemporary Life*, University of Chicago Press, 1987, pp. 176–182). Deictic discourse is based on the notion that to outline and highlight the crucial features of something is a kind of explanation.

Elster cites envy, opportunism, corruption, and credibility as the cement that holds society together, along with self-interest, altruism, and social norms. Each society will be glued together for better or for worse by a particular mix of motivations stemming from envy, opportunism, corruption, and credibility. This may seem like thin fare to anthropologists used to the meat and potatoes of culture, institutions, and tradition that make up societies. These are too general for Elster. He takes them into account, but they do not capture the dynamic of social behavior that he uses for his models.

Elster asserts in his conclusion that his basic ingredients of social glue make up the cement, more or less, in all societies, combined in innumerable ways (p. 287). This is a bold statement. It needs to be backed up with empirical case studies. It contradicts Elster's own view that the social sciences cannot aspire to social physics, in which a few simple propositions can be used to explain broad social phenomena.

Ironically, *The Cement of Society* comes apart at the end because the conceptual glue is unsubstantiated and, in my view, too thin to deal with the immensity of social phenomena, historically, anthropologically, and sociologi-

cally. I would still highly recommend this book for its richness of argument and its originality of ideas.

Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis. Renato Rosaldo. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1989. 266 pp. \$21.95 (cloth).

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Conceived more modestly, this could have been an affecting intellectual memoir. But it really is as ambitious—and tendentious—as its title suggests, so it has to be judged accordingly.

Rosaldo begins well, recapitulating his fine analysis of Ilongot head-hunting—this time in the light of his own grief and consequent rage at his wife's sudden and tragic death during fieldwork. His summary of how older Ilongot men, subject to major personal losses, emerge from grief with a rage that, mixed with younger men's always potent anger, can stimulate head-hunting, is convincing and powerful. He feels that ethnography must have emotional force as well as descriptive thickness; his does.

But then he turns to familiar observations echoing other critical anthropologists. A classic period of ethnography is defined (1921–71), and words like dull, distanced, defamiliarized, normalized, and objectivist are used formally to devalue it, yet only three or four exemplars are cited. Astonishingly, he refers to “the classic anthropological style most influentially exemplified by Ruth Benedict in *Patterns of Culture*” (p. 27)—a lively instance of speculative interpretation, but not an ethnographic example. Isolated passages from Radcliffe-Brown, Jack Goody, and Godfrey Wilson serve as the basis for dismissing a half-century of ethnography. Yet the book includes much cultural debris. The observation “Life is what happens while you're making other plans,” on a refrigerator magnet; a nervous letter to Ann Landers, and her predictable reply; the fact that dogs in the developing world are not coddled as ours are; and that old chestnut, the toothbrushing passage from “Body Ritual among the Nacirema” (Miner, 1956), are all deemed appropriate subjects for a major work of culture theory.

Not that they couldn't be, if something new or interesting were said about them. But they become brief stopping points on a meandering path that seems to lead nowhere. Rosaldo dwells more on some writing by evidently big-

oted amateur "ethnologists" than on real ethnographies. A chapter on three Chicano narratives is one of the book's strong points, but their relationship to ethnology—which has also used narrative, even before 1971—is only hinted at. Observations on cultural imperialism, including its manifestation in the university curriculum, complete the book. For a text that levels such harsh criticism at the writing of others, the style is careless and uninspired, and the work poorly organized. (It is also sloppily edited and printed; in my copy for example, two lines at the bottom of page 25 are repeated at the top of page 26.)

In a telling footnote (p. 231), two interpretive anthropologists are said to concede that an excess of their approach "could well prove debilitating to the discipline." But while some write books such as *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* (George E. Marcus and Michael M. J. Fischer, University of Chicago Press, 1986) and *A Poetic for Sociology* (Richard H. Brown, Cambridge University Press, 1977), others have been plodding on with their contributions "in the classic mode"—a mode admittedly limited and flawed, but with much more to offer than Rosaldo believes. This great tradition of ethnography has been practiced and handed down by people with varied talents and many limitations, doing the best they could, and expecting their students to do better. And so they have, decade after decade.

Meanwhile, the facts in these ethnographies—imperfect, of course—have become grist for the mill of real social analysis. The irony of critical anthropology is that it obscures the contributions of its practitioners from themselves. Driving through the rain with a physicist, Rosaldo was asked what anthropologists had discovered. "Do you mean something like $E = mc^2$?" (p. 33), Rosaldo replies. When the physicist says yes, Rosaldo can only utter a platitude about description.

He might have said, "We have discovered a strange conversion of our own, almost like Einstein's one about matter and energy: grief can turn into rage. It works differently in different cultures, and we'll never be able to quantify it, but it may just turn out to be a law of human nature." This, with Rosaldo's description of Ilongot rage, would have produced one enlightened physicist.

Critical anthropology has not yet made all of us as timid as Rosaldo is about our own discoveries. To the extent that it had a legitimate task, that task is now done—a fact underscored by how little this book adds. Perhaps the book's best use would be as critical anthropology's swan song.

Daughters of the Desert: Women Anthropologists and the Native American Southwest, 1880–1980: An Illustrated Catalogue. Barbara A. Babcock and Nancy J. Parezo. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988. 241 pp. \$39.95 (cloth), \$19.95 (paper).

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This publication, as stated in the acknowledgments, is not a book but, rather, is both a catalog of a museum exhibit and:

part of an on-going multi-faceted project which has also included a public conference, an oral history project, . . . videotape, scholarly conference, a book of essays . . . designed to generate a comprehensive assessment and re-vision of the role that women anthropologists and scholars, as well as artists, philanthropists, and activists have played in understanding and interpreting the Native American cultures of the Southwest during the past century. [p. 1]

The catalog begins with a four-and-one-half-page introduction, which includes a full-page map of Arizona, New Mexico, and northern Mexico, showing the location of 26 Amerindian groups. While the Jicarilla, Mescalero, and Chiricahua Apache, as well as the Zuni and Western Keresan are marked, a label—"Rio Grande Pueblos"—is all that indicates the presence of the Tanoan-speaking or Eastern Keresan pueblos.

After that a set format is followed for each entry: a black-and-white photograph of the subject and, on the facing page, two columns of biographical information, the first giving a general life history, the second listing education, research, and professional activities, each column ranging from, say, 150 to 400 words. There are then one to four pages showing germane exhibit material (with brief identifying text)—photographs, letters, pottery, jewelry, pages from field notes or publications. The women are grouped into sections: "Understanding Cultural Diversity" (three subsections grouping those who worked with the Pueblo, Navajo, Papago/Yaqui), pp. 25–88; "Interpreting the Native American Folklore and Ethnomusicology" (pp. 89–110); "Applied Anthropology" (pp. 111–122); "Archaeology" (pp. 123–156); "Arts, Crafts, and Museums" (pp. 157–184); "Photography" (pp. 185–202); and "Novelists, Poets, and Popularizers" (pp. 203–223).

In all, 45 women are included (the contents page lists them in alphabetical order for easy