

Book Reviews

LLOYD, Timothy C. and Patrick B. MULLEN *Lake Erie Fishermen: Work, Identity, and Tradition*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990. xxv+185 pp., preface, map, 105 photographs, glossary, bibliography, index, \$19.95.

Through the presentation of a body of fishermen's stories, *Lake Erie Fishermen* conveys a visceral sense of the eastern Great Lakes commercial fisheries, while providing insights regarding personal experience narrative, the expression of occupational identity, and the evaluation of occupational groups. The clear and concise interpretations of the stories and the sympathetic portrayals of the tellers make the work enjoyable, fruitful reading for a broad audience, from the commercial fishing people themselves, to their sportsfishing and administrative foes, to hardened academic specialists in a variety of fields. Commercial fishers may find the book as useful in the courtroom as teachers will in the classroom.

In 1983, Timothy C. Lloyd and Patrick B. Mullen began interviewing western Lake Erie commercial fishing people about their work. Perceived as 'sympathetic and interested representatives of the outside world...and thus a means for the fisherman to communicate his point of view to that world,' they struck a responsive nerve (p. 172). Through 1985 they listened carefully to the way that active and retired fishers, trap-netters, seiners, and gill-netters, fish house workers, and on a couple of occasions, fishermen's wives, talked about their work. They succeeded in reaching 'all areas of the western lake (Toledo to Vermillion) and all parts of the occupation...fishermen at all chronological stages...and levels of work...' (p. xii).

When Mullen and Lloyd first started out, they fished for a range of traditional expressions, but as their fieldwork progressed they found themselves persistently netting one species: personal experience narratives. Moreover, they noticed that, 'A fisherman talking about his work tends to make his occupational life into a series of stories, and those stories reveal who he thinks he is' (p. 161). Through their stories, the fishermen additionally explained the nature of their work on Lake Erie, past and present, and told what they thought of their work - what they liked about it, what abilities and qualities it took to do the job and do it well, and how their way of making a living is threatened by public misperceptions, government regulations, and competition with others for fish and the lake. So doggedly did the fishermen tell personal experience narratives and, within them, convey shared values and attitudes, that Lloyd and Mullen saw the stories as 'a significant element in their traditional lives,' instrumental in passing on traditional knowledge and in shaping and expressing occupational identity (p. xxv, 2, 161, 164, 173).

In *Lake Erie Fishermen* Mullen and Lloyd present well over 100 of these narratives, from 18 of the 35 people they encountered on boats, at fish houses, and at home. They organized the narratives, and the book, partly according to the main themes that recurred in the stories, feeling that the etic categories they perceived were close to the 'native distinctions (emic) fishermen would make' (p. xii). Thus they grouped the stories in chapters about work technique and custom, the past, local characters, hazards, stereotypes and in-group identity, and conflicts with the public, game wardens, sportsfishers, and pleasure boaters. The volume is not the traditional ordered and annotated collection of key personal experience narratives, however. Rather, Lloyd and Mullen have skillfully interlaced the stories with commentary that interprets them within the thematic and analytic frame of each chapter and provides relevant contextual and biographical information about the tellers. While each chapter is relatively self-contained, all drive at the same basic point - how the fishers' personal experience stories express occupational identity as well as a multiplicity of subordinate individual and group identities. Because the contents of each chapter are of interest from a number of analytic and thematic perspectives, I have chosen to summarize them in some detail below.

The brief preface swiftly covers the pair's fieldwork methods and handily summarizes the bodies of scholarship from which they draw, while furnishing good photos of the people whose stories

they present in the volume. For readers not fascinated by the intricacies of fisheries biology, economics, politics, and technology, Mullen and Lloyd offer a terse synopsis of contemporary Lake Erie commercial fishing and its history, in their Introduction. Similarly in the first part of the following chapter, they compress descriptions of the three current types of commercial fishing techniques into four pages of text surrounding 46 pages of 90 photographs of fishing boats, equipment, locations, and men at work, mostly in modern times.

Respectfully, Lloyd and Mullen begin the presentation of fisher stories in the first chapter with ones that stress the intelligence, dexterity, strength, and hard work required to do a good job. The narratives reveal aspects of the fishing process that fishers consider most important: designing, making, mending, and setting nets, navigating, locating fish, and predicting the weather. Notably they confirm the observational acuity that is so common to professional fishers elsewhere: the ability to judge distances and see minute details across vast stretches of water, to evaluate and know the lake bottom, and to interpret the behavior of water, wind, fish, and birds. Moreover, the stories affirm the good judgment, pragmatism, and aesthetics that fishers must exercise, and the pride they take in a job well done. Importantly, Mullen and Lloyd observe that even in this occupation that seems so removed from an artistic arena, art is integral to the job. Fishers do work 'better than it needs to be done' in response to:

...the deeper human need to make 'aesthetically satisfying patterns' that is the root of all art... creating such work goes beyond achievement in technique. It puts technique in the service of personal emotion and occupational pride (p. 67).

As Lloyd and Mullen wind up this chapter, they touch upon a few superstitious behaviors and connect the lake fishers' lack of an extensive magical folk belief system with the relative safety of their jobs compared to offshore ocean fishers. They also note the involvement of women in the occupation, but more in providing food for men with legendarily huge appetites than in contributing substantially to net work, fish processing, maintenance of a shoreside base, cultivation of incipient fishers, and the overall perpetuation of the occupation.

The second chapter, 'The Past,' continues to address the notion of what it takes to be a good fisherman, but particularly through retired fishers' perceptions of their pasts. Classic 'starting-out stories' that establish a fisher's pedigree - often through family connections - overlap with 'golden age' stories that idealize past fishing compared to the present 'fall from grace.' For the retired Lake Erie fishers the past was a time of clearer water, more fish, and less governmental restriction, tempered by more primitive technology and harder work. While fishing was better then, it was by no means easier and it required tougher, more dedicated men. Even one contemporary fisher echoed this sentiment, voicing an adage current across the Great Lakes: 'The old days, we had the wooden boats and iron men. Now we got iron boats and wooden men' (p. 89).

In the third chapter, through stories about the notable people in their world, fishers again tell what kinds of personality traits, personal habits, abilities, and attitudes towards work they most highly admire. Two of the characters provide a good contrast of the extremes of desirable and undesirable characteristics. Fishers use the eccentric Jib Snyder both to define the negative fisher stereotype of the smelly, dirty, lazy, alcoholic and marginal type, and to distance themselves from the unseemly portrayal. In contrast, through stories of Clifford Baker, a slick, shrewd, and successful operator who evaded the law while running liquor across the lake to Canada during Prohibition, fishers not only specify positively-perceived qualities, but glorify an outlaw hero image with which many identify. Mullen and Lloyd liken Baker to well-known American outlaw heroes and explain that the fishers find the type so appealing because they see themselves as 'working men made outlaws in some sense by the times' (p. 112).

Stories in the fourth chapter, 'Hazards,' again address idealized fisherly attributes, particularly the ability to maintain control in the face of danger. Fishers paint themselves as gritty outdoorsmen hardened by exposure to extremes. Survivors, they tell about narrow escapes, more of people who

made it than of those who did not. They explain classic encounters with freighters or foul weather coupled with inadequate equipment or boats encumbered by large catches. A good number of the stories are distinctive to the Upper Midwest-Great Lakes region as they revolve around troubles with ice, not only the problem of boats and equipment icing up as on the open ocean in polar latitudes, but of navigating around, through, and over ice and of traversing frozen inshore waters by car or truck in order to fish through the ice on foot.

The last two chapters of stories return to some of the themes discussed earlier, but deal more directly with images of fishermen. Chapter Five, 'Identity,' includes narratives that show 'the way fishermen see themselves but also the way other people's views influence their self-image,' (p. 125) and it specifically treats negative and positive stereotypes. Demonstrating their cognizance of outsiders' negative perceptions of them, the fishers tell stories that counter or modify the image of the lazy, dirty alcoholic. They emphasize drinking habits that do not interfere with work, voice attention to cleanliness in an unavoidably dirty job, and advocate the American work ethic, promoting a positive view of themselves as responsible, hard workers. 'In the blood' stories and accounts of rejecting factory jobs that represent confinement (by buildings, routine, and management), affirm their addiction to fishing and their predisposition for the job.

The following chapter covers narratives that define the fisher more indirectly, by contrast with rival groups. Lloyd and Mullen invoke the concepts of oppositional and differential identity and show how fishers fix their position and boost their own image in stories that emphasize the negative characteristics of game wardens, sportsfishers, and pleasure boaters. The narratives tell about the unfairness of game wardens, their uneven enforcement of laws, and their favoritism towards sportsfishers. They point out both wardens' and sportsfishers' ignorance of fish and the lake and the triviality and unjustness of many laws. In contrast, they promote the fisher's cleverness in outwitting wardens and his superior morality in beating the system successfully through the legal process. Mullen and Lloyd encountered such a wealth of game warden stories, they speculate that narrative offers one of the few ways that fishers can legitimately express intense hostility toward their foes.

In the final chapter, Lloyd and Mullen once again touch upon 'golden age,' 'starting-out,' and 'in the blood' stories as well as positive and negative stereotypes as they review, in the light of relevant scholarship, the many types of identity, and the oppositional and differential dynamics, that Lake Erie fishers express in their personal experience narratives. They reiterate how an individual subscribes to an overall identity as a commercial fisher, yet defines himself and his peers more specifically depending on 'age and the corresponding stage of his occupational life, his social and economic class, his family background, his personal traits, and his religious, ethnic, and family values from outside the occupation' (p. 165). They stress the interdependency of individual and group identities, the multiplicity of identities that any one narrator projects, and the flexibility of a person's identities throughout the life cycle.

In conclusion, Mullen and Lloyd see commercial fishers faced with many of the same difficult circumstances as loggers, oilmen, and others whose occupations are based on natural resources. They suggest that, as Lake Erie fishers have faced increased opposition and the potential extinction of their line of work, their identity has become stronger – and the expression of it greater:

The personal experience narratives and occupational commentary of commercial fishermen on western Lake Erie are thus a symbolic manifestation of their struggle to maintain personal and occupational identities in the face of social changes that may be destroying the occupation itself (p. 172).

Lloyd and Mullen modestly claim that 'The heart of the book is made up of the fishermen telling their own stories in their own words with some description of the contexts by the authors' (p. xxiii), but clearly the thrust of their presentation is to address the verbal expression of occupational identity and the formation of identity through stories. In this regard, Mullen and Lloyd have contributed solidly to the folkloristic study of identity and the analysis of workers' culture by showing how a

range of identities are expressed in a body of occupational narratives and by elaborating types of identity and the dynamics by which identities are shaped. By not singling out commercial fishers as necessarily distinctive (as they usually are), but by likening them to other kinds of American workers, Lloyd and Mullen have made their observations on identity hypothetically applicable to the narratives of any occupational group, indeed perhaps of any group.

Yet because of the subordination of the commercial fishing material, questions remain regarding the distinctiveness of commercial fishers as an occupational group. There are characteristics of commercial fishing as an occupation and commercial fishers as personalities that may account in part for the heightened paranoia, pessimism, and self-preservation that would lead to a greater incidence of personal experience stories and the elevated expression of identity among them. That is, without comparative evidence to conclude otherwise, Lake Erie commercial fishers 50 to 100 years ago may have projected similar concerns and portrayals. Without further inquiry into the nature of commercial fishing and its practitioners, Mullen and Lloyd's correlation between the expression of identity, the prevalence of personal experience narratives, and the threatened status of the occupation may be too simple an equation.

Lloyd and Mullen nevertheless have contributed to the evaluation of commercial fishing culture. Citing 'the relative lack of attention paid to individual expression in the existing work on fishing cultures' (p. xxii), Mullen and Lloyd excuse themselves from the more exhaustive, ethnographic approach characteristic of fishing studies. While they may be too quick in reasoning that more thorough ethnographic work has been or is being accomplished, their book is like a distillation of an ethnography. It captures in large part the essence of what it is to be a Lake Erie fisher. In fact, to a great extent the book encapsulates what it is to be any commercial fisher who operates on a similarly modest scale on the Great Lakes or in other parts of the United States.

Because their focus is not on divining the nature of fishing as a kind of work that attracts certain types of personalities, prescribes certain behaviors, and provides certain kinds of encounters with the elements, material world, and rival groups, Lloyd and Mullen do not make the book as comparative across fishing (sub)cultures as it could be and accordingly, they do not attempt to establish either a 'job classification' or a set of topics that commercial fishers repeatedly bring up. Thus some topics are missing or suppressed, such as narratives about boats and engines. In one story, for example, Mullen and Lloyd delete a litany of boat names that is so characteristic in American commercial fishermen's discourse. While the connection between a fisherman's identity and the calibre of his equipment is present in the volume, Lloyd and Mullen appear to have overlooked its significance. Fishermen give boats – especially larger ones like gill-net tugs – particular identities, they identify past periods in their lives by which boats they were working at the time (just as a mother may connect past events to the births of her children), and they assign identities to themselves and their peers according to the characters of their boats. Equipment is, after all, critical to the act of fishing, and the ability to manipulate it successfully is integral to the fisher's skill. It is not surprising that fishers pride themselves both on their ability to handle equipment and on the nature of the equipment itself – boats especially. Even so, the book is a remarkable benchmark of the kinds of stories that commercial fishers do tell, and the kind of work that small-scale commercial fishing is in the United States. It also offers a timely, cautiously sympathetic summary of the kinds of problems facing commercial fishers across the country.

While Mullen and Lloyd do not develop the question of why personal experience narrative is the predominant means of verbal expression among (these) commercial fishers, they certainly do suggest the importance of narrative in these men's lives, and by extension, in ours. They present fishermen's stories that serve a variety of functions. On the most elemental level, some appear to sublimate pent-up hostilities and frustrations. More aesthetically, others help order a person's life, turning the day-to-day into history and art, as Edward D. Ives suggests so eloquently on the book's dust cover. Yet others work conservatively and socially to pass on and perpetuate traditional lore and to project and safeguard a shared experience.

This body of stories, and the clear interpretations Lloyd and Mullen give them, will prove valuable and suggestive for classroom use, whether the subject is narrative, occupational culture, or expression of identity. True to oral expression, however, language in the narratives is sometimes both collapsed and esoteric. At times referents and terms are not abundantly clear (even to an outsider familiar with the occupation), and neither the glossary, photographs, nor the minimalist description of fishing equipment and techniques can adequately clarify matters. Rather than confirm the opacity of commercial fishing as an occupation or of commercial fishers as narrators, however, this lack of communicability can be attributed to the limitations of the medium. The written word, diagrams, and still photography can no more flesh out work technique and the occupational context than they can capture dance. Thus for classroom purposes, a videotape of Great Lakes commercial fishers at work would ideally accompany the book (and the book would feature a filmography of the ever-growing number of films and videos that represent the subject).

While outsiders may stumble occasionally over the 'private code' in the narratives, insiders should have no trouble understanding their own stories nor Mullen and Lloyd's plain writing and down-to-earth interpretations. Beyond the usefulness of this volume to folklorists, the book should function among Lake Erie fishing people and fellow commercial fishers as a welcome testimonial to their concerns, presented in such a way that it offers insight as well as a powerful political tool for communicating to outsiders and engineering social change.

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VAN DER ZWAAG, David L. and Cynthia LAMSON (Eds.) *The Challenge of Arctic Shipping: Science, Environmental Assessment and Human Values*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.

Commercial interests have historically taken a number of navigators into arctic waters. While these commercial pursuits continue to grow in scope and number, government officials become more dependent on arctic waters and resources to develop national interests. As a result of this increased activity, a primary objective for commercial entrepreneurs, policy makers, and cooperating scientists, has been the development of safe, dependable, year-round shipping in the Arctic. But, because of the unknown effects that year-round navigation may have on the region and, conversely, the unknown repercussions that the gruelling winter months may have on shipping, year-round arctic navigation remains experimental.

Beyond the limitation of knowledge about continuous arctic shipping, other obstacles exist. First, there are drawbacks in the scientific techniques available for learning more about year-round navigation and the region. Second, there are disagreements among scientists and decision makers about which technologies and approaches would be the most appropriate for mastering the information needed to expand arctic shipping and to conduct necessary environmental assessments. All of these limitations result in a time of uncertainty, during which a number of actors with opinions about year-round arctic navigation draw upon their own interests, priorities and values to influence decisions about shipping and environmental assessment policies.

The Challenge of Arctic Shipping illuminates the problems of uncertainty operating in northern shipping ventures. It is a collection of essays written by an impressive array of experts with concerns and opinions about navigation in the region. Through the use of specific examples involving the effects of shipping or attempts to apply research to decision making, the authors have provided readers with differing, and often conflicting, viewpoints about the shipping enterprise.

In part one of the book, the link between shipping and scientific inquiry is explored. First, Cynthia Lamson, Associate Director of the Oceans Institute of Canada and one of the book's editors, provides a sweeping account of the history of arctic marine science (broadly defined as the pursuit of

knowledge in the Arctic) since the time of Eric the Red to the present. Then, other authors give attention to: (1) attempts to understand the impact of proposed shipping activities on the physical environment and the effects of the environment on these activities; and, (2) the scientific quest to understand the implications of year-round navigation on marine mammals and seabirds in the Arctic. Robert Lake and Brian Smiley, both involved with research at the Institute of Ocean Studies, offer two of the volume's strongest entries in their respective chapters on the physical environment and sea mammals. Both point out the peculiar limitations of data and data collection in the Arctic, such as marked seasonal and human biases affecting information, and varying quality of techniques for collecting and processing data. Smiley presents the most reasonable and fundamental of recommendations for improving science: an honest evaluation and pursuit of the values that foster good research. These include *patience and trust among biologists, oceanographers, and indigenous people who collect information about the Arctic; commitment and funding for research and project monitoring; and education of the public and scientific community about marine life and the ocean.*

Part two presents various perspectives on ways in which Arctic shipping should be managed according to groups that have stakes in the region. These are the viewpoints of the oil and gas industry, indigenous peoples, and the governments of the Northwest Territories and Canada. Robert Dreyden of Chevron Canada Resources and spokesperson for the petroleum industry, complains that the environmental review process for arctic matters 'resembles closely a carnival pool of balls,' in which young children clamber about in three to four feet of small coloured balls, without ever making any significant progress (p. 103). In other words, the process offers few benchmarks and standards with which those involved in arctic navigation can measure progress. He feels that the oil and gas industry is singled out for special treatment regarding marine transport since it is required to undergo environmental review which often delays or prohibits industrial shipping, while research and government-owned vessels are not subject to such scrutiny. Therefore, the review process represents a political and economic rather than a scientific enterprise. Conversely, in another chapter, a representative of the federal Environmental Assessment and Review Process claims that this process has contributed much to the scientific and decision-making regime of arctic shipping. He adds that although some concerns remain about the process, it is one of the most credible internationally. Meanwhile, representatives of the government of The Northwest Territories and indigenous people of the region offer their views on ways in which their respective groups could and should participate in decision-making concerning arctic shipping and the environment. The conflicting visions and recommendations for solutions presented in part two make one thing clear: the fundamental issue concerning arctic shipping is not about finding the most appropriate technologies for learning about the effects of shipping on the region; it is about social control. That is, the group or coalition of groups that can control decisions about shipping, can also direct the nature and pace of the development of the Arctic region.

Part three takes into account that project- or issue-based approaches to assessment and decision-making may do more harm than good to the region in the long run. Its authors suggest that it 'is possible to reconcile ethical and political considerations through an appropriately designed system that draws on a wide-range of science-based experience in ocean development and management' (p. 217). Such consensus-based decision making would surely lead to 'Kingdom Come,' according to co-editor, David Van der Zwaag. He suggests that a number of 'emerging signposts,' such as reasonable approaches to assessing risks to the environment and public education about the strengths and drawbacks of such approaches, indicate that decision makers may be heading in the right direction; yet, 'Kingdom Come' is still a distance away.

The Challenge of Arctic Shipping cogently presents the probabilistic nature of the arctic shipping enterprise. Although it nicely lays out the various conceptual frameworks of actors with high stakes in the region, it could be more deliberate in its analysis of the power relationships among these parties. While it is important to understand various perspectives, it is equally important to learn ways of balancing power among interest groups before actual consensus-building can occur. Had

the editors made provisions for sociological theory or social science research to provide the basis for some of the discussion, issues of power dynamics may have been attended to more thoroughly. The final three chapters do present solid recommendations for solving some areas of disagreement among interest groups through risk analysis and various management strategies. Van der Zwaag, especially, offers a sensitive discussion of the subjective realities involved in risk analysis and the limitations that these factors place on 'objective' decision-making. However, these suggestions could have been anchored more solidly in a broader literature about power and decision making in large organizational contexts. For instance, anthropologist Mary Douglas and her colleague, Aaron Wildavsky, support a 'cultural theory of risk perception.' They maintain that ideas about environmental hazards are culturally determined and reflect moral, economic, political, and other subjective factors operating among decision makers and disclose forms of social organization within which decisions are made. Further, Van der Zwaag's recommendations could have been enhanced with a deliberation on lessons learned from other large-scale change and decision making processes which have occurred in other regions of the world.

The book, also, would have benefited from an anthropologist's view of the effects that shipping and industry could have on indigenous people of the Arctic region. Although readers are provided with an account of Inuit concerns about the management and expansion of navigation, (e.g., concerns that rapid change will disrupt the lives of young people, worries that people will leave and be alienated from the community), further consideration of ways that shipping has changed or may change Inuit culture would have been useful. Ironically, part one of the volume is devoted to the study of effects that arctic shipping has had on non-human life, with no discussion about what is known, or what may be learned, about the effects on humans. If approaches for studying the impacts of shipping on indigenous people have not been developed, this volume might have provided the opportunity to introduce such plans.

Despite its exclusion of social scientists from the discussion of social dilemmas, *The Challenge of Arctic Shipping* is an important book for those interested in navigation, research and human values. It artfully frames the most important public policy and management issues facing the region; offers sensitive insights to the limitations and values of science; and provides compelling recommendations that, if followed, could improve the decision-making system while enhancing scientific input into the environmental process. Further, it offers a thorough case study from which managers and social scientists can draw in their pursuit of understanding human behavior in the face of uncertainty and large-scale institutional change. Not only Canadians, but a watchful world should pay close attention to the strategies and consequences that evolve from the circumstances described by these authors. The outcomes of the Arctic experience will hold lessons in policy and management for other nations and people.

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RUDDLE, Kenneth and R.E. JOHANNES, (Eds.) *Traditional Marine Resource Management in the Pacific Basin: An Anthology*. VHV (UNESCO/ROSTSEA, Contending with Global Change, No. 2). Jakarta (Indonesia): Jln. M.H. Thamrin No. 14, 1989. vii+410 pp., maps, figures, tables, b&w photographs (paper) n.p.

This useful volume is a collection of 15 papers (plus a brief Introduction by the editors), all but 5 of which were originally published in the early 1980s but, the editors point out, warrant reissuing since there has been a continued demand for the materials.

In this region of the world, as everywhere else, there is increasing production of fisheries management plans. But this region of the world, unlike others, contains many fisheries that are only now becoming part of a capital-intensive exploitive approach (indeed, some, just as recently, have only now entered a commoditization system). As such, there is a more urgent need to record the

wide variety of indigenous fishery management schemes that exists; not only do such data provide alternative ways of managing nature (to which Western-oriented managers are ethnocentrically blinded) but, more importantly, these local systems are frequently the basis for resistance to and intended/unintended subversion of both development management schemes. Thus, the editors give, as the *raison d'être* of the volume, the need 'to contribute to the growing body of documentation on traditional systems of fisheries management' (p. 1). All well and good, especially considering the excellence and broad utility of these papers despite their regional specificity. However, one wishes that the editors had labeled themselves as 'compilers' since, in point of fact, that is really what they have done. Aside from a tantalizing and brief comment concerning their plan for a future volume (see below), their Introduction is simply brief abstracts of the papers, listed as in the table of contents. Further, if that table of contents has any thematic ordering, it escapes me; e.g., papers dealing with the same (or reasonably so) geographic locale, type of fishery, or theoretical issue (such as accommodation to development) are in widely separated areas of the volume. In short, the 'editors' seem to have done little more than collect a group of previously-published papers, add some new studies, and publish them in a single volume. It's this sort of cavalier 'editing' that has tended to give such publications a second-class standing in the scholarly world – and more editors deserve to be taken to task for such performances.

This said, let me reiterate that, with only two exceptions, the papers are, absolutely first-rate. It's impossible within these space constraints to do justice to individual papers (most of which average 30-35 pages) but each one of them constitutes an invaluable resource for fisheries scholars and managers, whatever their own research loci or purpose. The geographic range is wide: Micronesia, Melanesia, Polynesia (including Hawaii), Japan (plus Okinawa), Singapore, northern Arnhem land (Australia) and looks at 'tribal' as well as peasant and urban maritime communities.

To briefly summarize, the reprinted papers are: Maritime claims by aboriginal groups in northern Australia [reprinted but revised] (S. Davis); Traditional management and conservation of fisheries in Kiribati and Tuvalu atolls (L.P. Zann); Territorial regulation in the small-scale fisheries of Itoman, Okinawa (T. Akimichi); Do traditional marine 'reserves' conserve? A view of the Indonesian and New Guinean evidence (N.V.C. Polunin); Tokelau Fishing in traditional and modern contexts (A. Hooper); The continuity of traditional management practices: The case of Japanese coastal fisheries (K. Ruddle); A traditional base for inshore fisheries development in the Solomon Islands (G.B.K. Baines); Marine resource use in Papua New Guinea: Can Traditional concepts and contemporary development be integrated? (A. Wright); and Aquaculture in ancient Hawaii (B.A. Costa-Pierce). The new papers are: Keeping the Sea: Aspects of marine tenure in Marovo Lagoon, Solomon Islands (E. Hviding); Traditional marine resource management among the Nenema of Northwestern New Caledonia (M.H. Teulieres); Assessing traditional fishing rights systems in the context of marine resource management: A Torres Strait example (R.E. Johannes and J.W. MacFarlane); Adapting traditional marine tenure and management practices to the modern fisheries framework in the Cook Islands (N.A. Sims); and The traditional management of the *Kelong* in Singapore (C. Chou G.H.).

The foci of the papers vary considerably. Some emphasize the range and depth of the indigenous knowledge of marine resources; others concentrate on the way in which resources are managed – 'traditionally,' until recently and as the traditional system accommodates to change, or in terms of current attempts to control fishing according to Western management techniques. Controls range from taboos grounded in religious beliefs and social practices that rely on relatively informal social pressures, through gear restrictions and ecological constraints, to principles of catch distribution and market dynamics.

There is an extraordinary range of tenure arrangements discussed – ranging from family/lineage/clan, through village councils (and, more recently, cooperatives or associations) and chiefs, up to regional/state legal arrangements. In some cases, the sea and land tenure arrangements are coordinated; in others, they operate in distinctive (even, it seems to me in some cases, rather disjunctive) ways. The contributors are not all in agreement as to the explicit functions of either tenure or any other 'management' system; one underlying question is the extent to which such

systems are designed to conserve resources – or maintain with relative stability whatever the elders, chiefs, elite, or other figures with public power determine is the proper status quo. Similarly, there is disagreement as to whether such ‘traditional’ systems (and my use of inverted commas indicates the extent to which one must be suspicious of how ‘traditional’ such systems really are) are totally dissonant with, impede but cannot resist, or can be utilized to assist in the introduction of current development or management schemes. Given the wide range of resources exploited, niches utilized (e.g., lagoon, inshore, estuary), type of gear employed, organization of work groups, and utilization (e.g., for subsistence vs. commercial export), such differences are, to some extent, to be expected. I would have liked to see the editors, however, address the issue of the extent to which such analytical disagreements might be the result of these kinds of differences (as well as the historical conditions that vary for each study) versus a fundamental methodological or theoretical schism. The editors do indicate that another volume (representing the next stage of the on-going research) is in preparation and it will have the aim of:

distilling general principles underlying sea tenure systems, as well as highlighting the processual aspects of sea tenure in their continual adaptation [and] attempt to evaluate system comparatively and measure their performance, to provide options for contending with global change (p. 1).

That’s welcome news – but, as already noted, the editors might have seen fit to provide some of these principles, comparisons, evaluations, measurements and options in this collection of papers.

To sum up: I strongly recommend this collection regardless of areal or topical focus. Though the title might lead one to think the material is narrowly focused on ‘traditional marine resource management,’ the papers provide material on technological and socioeconomic change, on development and decline in particular fisheries, on cognitive views of nature (and the problems that can arise when attempts to manage fisheries are made by those with differing views of this), on the extent to which management is always embedded in a complex sociocultural matrix and subject to a wide range of equally complex ecological networks, and much more. Anyone working in fisheries would be wise to order a copy.

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NIEUWENHUYS, Olga *Angels with Callous Hands. Children's Work in Rural Kerala (India)*. Boskoop: Macula, 1990. 306 pp. (Ph.D. thesis, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam).

In the past decades numerous articles and books have been published on child labor in Third World societies. The greater part of these studies are dedicated to a particular aspect of this phenomenon, such as its moral, legal, demographic, cultural, or economic importance. A few, however, are characterized by a more holistic approach. Nieuwenhuys’s study on children’s work – a term she prefers to child labor – in rural Kerala fits into the second category. The author takes the view that the assumption that children’s work in peasant societies is morally neutral is unfounded. To put it more sharply, she questions the idea that work done by girls and boys in rural areas is ethically unobjectionable because of its supposed economic insignificance. She wants to clarify precisely what kind of work children do and how these activities are perceived and valued. The questions she poses and tries to answer relate to the contribution of children’s work to maintaining the household and the local and regional economies, the relation between domestic activities and remunerated work, the lack of appreciation for children’s work in the economic field, the importance of seniority and gender for the organization and social evaluation of child labor, and, last but not least, the combination of and relation between schooling and work.

The study moves from the local level, the village of Poomkara (a pseudonym), to the regional and the federal level in the state of Kerala. Data about the village were collected during anthropo-

logical fieldwork, those pertaining to the wider society mainly from secondary sources. The fieldwork took place from 1977 to 1980 and during a part of 1983. General information on the local community was collected by such means as a census, a prolonged budget study, production figures, oral histories, and informal talks. Specific information on the visible and ‘invisible’ work of children was gathered through systematic observation and in-depth interviews. The length of the stay in the field and the need to use such varied techniques points to the complexity of the subject.

The study consists of three parts. The entire first part deals with the coastal village of Poomkara (4,500 inhabitants) which lies not far from Kayamkulam in the Alleppey district. It starts with a description of the local community, which consists of Muslims (71%) as well as Hindus, and a description of the importance placed on education. As elsewhere in Kerala, schooling is highly valued, and schools are frequented on a large scale. However, education is not an alternative to children’s work. On the contrary, for the poor who constitute the greater part of Poomkara, the children’s contribution to the family’s livelihood is indispensable. Consequently childhood has, as Nieuwenhuys says, two faces: on the one hand the hours spent at school, on the other the, often equivalent, time allocated to work. The greater part of a child’s day is taken up by both of these activities. When there is increased competition between the two types of activities, as often happens during secondary education, then the number of drop-outs from school rises sharply.

In the first part, we also get a general picture of the horizontal and vertical ties between relatives, members of different castes, classes, generations, and ethnic groups that arise to retain or secure a means of livelihood, and which result in the work claims that are placed on the children. Approximately 42% of the local families are almost landless, while 35% do not possess more than one acre. As a result, the majority of the households depend wholly or in part on non-agricultural activities. In poor households, boys and men spend the same amount of time on domestic chores, while girls, on the average, spend two-thirds of the time of adult women. As for paid labor, boys work as many hours as women. Also wealthy families depend on supplementary incomes. They, however, have the option of investing in continuing education for their children.

The core of part I, if not of the whole book, is the chapters on children’s work in artisanal fishing and coir making. They contain an elaborate explanation of the role (generally boys) in catching and trading fish and of the participation (generally girls) in the predominantly domestic production of coir yarn. For centuries fishing in Poomkara has been practiced in two ways. During high season (April-October) one fishes offshore with a large encircling net; in the off-season, people fish with a large beach seine. That the fishermen are poor can be seen from the fact that they do not own a single piece of fishing equipment. All the boats and nets are in the possession of a few wealthy villagers. In Southeast Asian countries one often sees that fishermen control part of the capital goods which then entitles them to all kinds of rights. Here fishermen are entirely dependent of the caprices of their patron. Furthermore, children’s work is the sheet anchor of the greater part of the local fisheries, although it is not recognized as such: ‘Most often, however tangible the returns of these activities are, what they do has no name’ (p. 91). For a pittance teenage boys do all kinds of odd jobs on the beach or participate in the shore fishery. By these means they provide for their own subsistence, earn their school fees, and contribute to the family sustenance. Especially in slack periods, children’s work is a cheap alternative for adult fishermen.

Children also contribute substantially to the diet and income of their families by small-scale fish vending and foraging. The choice between fishing and trading seems primarily governed by inclination. Generally speaking, trading is more highly regarded than fishing, and poor parents will first try to encourage the entrepreneurial capacities of their sons. Foraging fish, that is to say picking up fallen fish, begging for a small portion, or pinching fish is a widespread custom in Asia. Nieuwenhuys not only demonstrates its economic importance, but also dwells at length on the social and cultural significance of this practice.

What children do outside of school or instead of school is to a large degree defined by gender and seniority. Boys are sent out to support themselves and their relatives. Girls primarily perform

subsistence and commercial activities within the domestic circle instead of income-generating activities outside the household. Age is a decisive factor in determining what kind of work is undertaken.

In the second part of the study, the results of the research on children's work in fishery and coir-making in the village are compared with information gained from secondary sources to learn how representative it is of those sectors in the whole of Kerala. What has been found for Poomkara is confirmed: the domestic and traditional commercial economy of Kerala depends to a great extent on rural children's work. What is seen in terms of labor and property relations on a local level for fishery, for example, is parallel to the relations in the society at large in spite of all kinds of technological and cultural differences. Nieuwenhuys also considers the influence of modern fishing techniques on artisanal fishing. Unlike what Galtung (1980) and others think, she points out how these sectors are highly interrelated. The increasing commercialization and modernization of fishery in Kerala has even resulted in an expansion in the traditional ways of fishing, and with it an increase in children's work. Of special interest are her ideas about the direct relationship between the increase in children's work and the way the traditional and capitalist modes of production are attuned to one another. Unfortunately she relies on the rather dogmatic ideas of French Marxist anthropologists concerning the interaction of modes of exploitation instead of the for this context much more relevant and profound theory of Wolf (1982:73-100).

The subject of part III is the relationship between children's work and education in respectively the colonial and post-independence period. First, the influence of international, national, and regional ideological and socio-economic developments for changes in opinions about schooling and children's work is made explicit. Second, the compatibility of education and work for children of the poor is explained. All emancipation ideas and movements notwithstanding, there still exists an enormous gap with regard to education and children's work between the ideal and reality. The increased amount of schooling has hardly liberated children from domestic and commercial tasks. Nevertheless, education contributes to rising self-awareness and critical capabilities of the 'angels with callous hands.'

Nieuwenhuys has written a very interesting book. It is replete with data and ideas on a topic about which until now too little has been published. However, it is regrettable that the central questions are not worked out in a more systematic and consistent way. More than once the author gets sidetracked which, however interesting, distracts from the argument. It is also a pity that (in the book at any rate) the results from the fieldwork and those from secondary sources are not equally balanced. Relatively more attention is paid to events and developments on the higher levels of society than on the local level. Further, the analysis of children's work would have had even more significance if the findings from the study on the society at large were tested more explicitly at the village level. In that way the interrelation between developments on different societal levels would have received more emphasis. Finally, a chapter on recent developments would have made the study more up-to-date. However, these few shortcomings do not offset the merits of this study, which should be read by everyone who is interested in children's work and India.

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VAN GINKEL, Rob Elk vist op zijn tij: Een historisch-antropologische studie van een Zeeuwse maritieme gemeenschap, Yerseke 1870-1914. (*Out With the Tide: A Historical-Anthropological Study of a Zeeland Maritime Community, Yerseke 1870-1914*). Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1991. 143 pp. ISBN 90-6011-716-6.

The economic and social transformation of a maritime community in the Netherlands is the focus of this historical ethnography by Rob van Ginkel. Originally researched as an MA thesis at the University of Amsterdam, this attractively produced volume is highly readable and is also enlightening for its many period photographs. In the absence of an English translation, however, it is not likely that scholars outside the Netherlands and Belgium will be able to benefit directly from van Ginkel's work. For this audience I am happy and honored to produce a brief review.

The village of Yerseke in the southern province of Zeeland, the Netherlands, is the site of van Ginkel's primary research. During the period in question, at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the economy of Yerseke was transformed from one centered on open-access fishing to one centered on the cultivation of oysters and mussels. The difference between being 'hunters of the sea' and 'farmers of the water' is a substantial one, van Ginkel asserts in the opening pages of his essay. The transformation from one mode of subsistence to the other in Yerseke, with all the concurrent changes in the social and cultural life of the community, is traced through six succeeding chapters. The essentially chronological organization of the book provides a logical narrative of the changes under study.

Despite a lengthy history of recurrent flooding, common to many coastal areas of the Netherlands, the position of Yerseke and neighboring Yersekedam on the Eastern Scheldt (an inlet of the North Sea) provided a rich habitat with substantial possibilities for exploitation of marine resources. By 1870 the populations of Yerseke and Yersekedam totaled some 1200 individuals, with a fleet of nearly fifty boats. At this time specialization was the exception rather than the rule, most fishermen harvesting various mussels, oysters and fish as became available. Likewise, though periodically laws were passed regulating the areas in which it was possible to fish, in general the sea remained a commons for all to make use of. In the off seasons the fishermen of Yerseke earned a living through agricultural labor and the transportation of sugar beets. Despite these varied occupations, in van Ginkel's assessment Yerseke must have been among the poorest fishing communities in the Netherlands as of 1870.

It was the shift from open collection to the cultivation of shellfish on prepared beds that created, as van Ginkel says, 'a Zeeland Klondike' in Yerseke. In the first fifteen years of shellfish cultivation the population grew to over 2700, and by the end of the 19th century had reached 4333, with 160 boats. In addition to demographic changes, within Yerseke itself the agricultural realm was declining as the focus on maritime activities grew stronger. Houses and schools were built, Yerseke acquired a post office and telegraph station, street lighting was installed, and rail lines were laid. In short, the community of Yerseke within a generation moved from being a poor fishing village to a respectable town with a solid infrastructure. Connections to the outside world were strengthened through the export of shellfish to various European nations.

Not all benefitted equally from the changes, however. While there were 'oyster barons' who grew wealthy from the 'gold in the water,' others were unable to profit from even 'a drop of the golden rain.' Though immigrants were coming into Yerseke in substantial numbers, the unemployment and underemployment of laborers within the community resulted in many leaving for the United States, where they clustered in the town of West Sayville. Women and children worked long hours in the shellfish beds, but still many households in Yerseke were classed as 'poor' according to administrative and church records. In addition, the increase in various kinds of crimes in Yerseke and Yersekedam resulted in their being dubbed 'Sodom and Gomorah' by orthodox Calvinists. By

1914, the population of Yerseke had dropped down to just over 4000, and the social structure gradually came to resemble that of other communities in the region. The concluding section of the book traces Yerseke's eventual integration with the Netherlands nation as a whole.

The greatest strength of van Ginkel's study, which I have only sketchily summarized here, is its synthesis of local with regional, national, and international factors. Appropriately rejecting anthropology's traditional tendency to portray village communities as isolated units, the author attempts at every point to tie Yerseke into the broader economic and political scene. Empirical details are provided which could enable a reader to come to his or her own conclusions about van Ginkel's analysis.

A second strength of the study is its copious use of archive materials, particularly photographs, which lend an appealing concreteness to the picture of life in turn-of-the-century Yerseke. For Dutch readers, background information on these materials is not as necessary as it might be were the book written with a more international audience in mind.

If the book has a weakness, it is in my opinion the relative lack of attention paid to the realm of ideas, beliefs, and values. The focus, perhaps necessarily, is restricted to economic, demographic, and social factors. Though van Ginkel's stated intent is to chart a course between idealist and materialist standpoints, the overall tone of the volume is clearly tilted toward the latter. One might also have appreciated a glance toward life in Yerseke today and/or a bit of comparison with other villages that went through similar boom periods. Since van Ginkel has consciously chosen to restrict himself to Yerseke 1870-1914 only, however, one can hardly hold that against the book. Perhaps we will see more of van Ginkel's work that will tie this research to broader theoretical issues.

In short, this is a thoroughly researched, if specialized, piece of work. It will be most useful to scholars pursuing issues of rapid economic change in maritime communities, and less useful to those interested in more general ethnographic portrayals. Hopefully a translation will eventually appear so as to make this study accessible to a wider academic audience.

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SLIGGERS, B.C. & A.A. WERTHEIM (Eds.) *'Op het strand gesmeten'. Vijf eeuwen potvisstrand-ingen aan de Nederlandse kust. ('Stranded'. Five Centuries of Sperm Whales on the Dutch Coast.)* s.l.: Walburg Pers (in collaboration with Teylers Museum, Haarlem, and Zuiderzeemuseum, Enkhuizen), 1992. 120 pp., ill. ISBN 90-6011-773-5.

Probably the most famous whale in literary history, Moby Dick is of course unique. Yet he belongs to an old and notorious lineage which goes all the way back to his biblical ancestor who swallowed Jonah. In a European historical context whales, unlike porpoises or dolphins, have retained this frightening aspect for centuries; they inspired emotions ranging from awe and respect to outright fear and terror. This was especially the case when whales left their natural surroundings – as frequently happened along the eastern coast of the North Sea – and were found, dead or still alive, stranded on the beach or stuck in shallow coastal waters. However, these were by no means the only reactions they provoked, judging from the Dutch language-publication *'Op het strand gesmeten'* (*'Stranded'*). This beautifully produced and generously illustrated catalogue accompanies an exhibition of prints, engravings, paintings, written descriptions, parts of skeletons and artefacts made of whale bone on display in the oldest Dutch museum of natural history, Teylers Museum in Haarlem and subsequently in the Zuiderzeemuseum in Enkhuizen. Focusing on the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, several authors discuss pictures of stranded whales made by Dutch artists, as well as a range of contemporary interpretations and reactions.

Such events, it appears, occurred irregularly but rather frequently throughout the five centuries covered by the book, with the still unexplained exception of the years 1781-1937. The huge carcasses attracted large numbers of spectators, whose presence on the beach turned some of these

occasions into a fair. Besides the general public, 'professionals' attended the handling of the carcasses, supervised auctions, or dealt with the parts that could still be used: in particular the blubber, the so-called spermaceti (located in the upper part of the sperm whale's head), the valuable teeth, and the rare ambergris (which could sometimes be found in the intestines).

During the 16th century the motif of the beached sea mammal moved from the background to the centre of the pictures, and in the course of the 17th century it became an enormously popular theme. The same copperplates were used again and again to illustrate several different strandings. The picture of the sperm whale which landed on the beach near Katwijk in 1598 – drawn by Goltzius and engraved by Jacob Matham – enjoyed an exceptional success. For most of the 17th century it served as a model for the representation of many other such events and it continued to be copied until the 19th century.

In a detailed discussion of both pictures and related texts, the authors trace gradual changes in contemporary interpretations. Whereas 16th and 17th-century artists tended to point to the ominous character of the strandings and to the coincidence with other disasters (such as the birth of monstrous babies or animals, the appearance of comets and other unusual meteorological phenomena, or the death of princes), taking these as a sign of the displeasure or even wrath of God, their 18th-century successors seem to have lost interest in supernatural explanations. Instead, they emphasized the commercial value of the animals, while at the same time drawing attention to the interests of science; not that during the 16th and 17th centuries the pursuit of anatomical and physiological knowledge was totally absent: in fact, contemporary pictures abound with human figures measuring the whale from nose to tail – not excluding the jawbones and the penis – and exploring its (exaggeratedly cavernous) jaws. But by the late 17th century anatomy and zoology had become institutionalized; professional scientists had taken over research.

The book's introductory essay on the ethology and physiology of sperm whales shows how much, or rather how little we still know about these animals. Among other things it informs us that only male sperm whales visit the North Sea and adjacent parts of the Atlantic Ocean on their long-distance journeys – which explains why no female whales or calves ever stranded on the Dutch beaches. But the problem of why these animals lose their bearings at all has by no means been completely solved: one explanation blames a defective sonar organ (perhaps caused by illness). How these whales are able to dive so fast without suffering from changes in pressure remains equally mysterious. Nor has the function of the spermaceti in the animal's head been sufficiently explained.

During the past five centuries whales have turned from horrendous and ominous Leviathans into objects of commercial value and scientific interest. But it seems that several centuries of research have not succeeded in completely demystifying whales.

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BRØGGER, Jan *Pre-bureaucratic Europeans: A Study of a Portuguese Fishing Community.* Oslo: Norwegian University Press: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture. 1990. 151 pp., maps, figures.

This book is a study of the fishermen and women of Nazaré, a bustling port on the western coast of Portugal about 150 km. north of Lisbon. The beach of Nazaré is well-known to both Portuguese and international tourists and the town of approximately 8,500 people has a lively economy and culture based on fishing and tourism. Fishermen living inland had, for centuries, fished from the beach and stored their gear in fragile wooden huts on the shore, but it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that they began to make permanent homes on the site of the present town. At the same time, the beach was discovered by the bourgeoisie of nearby towns and tourism has, since the beginning, been an integral part of the economic and social life of Nazaré. Thus, for more than a

century, two social classes have dominated life in Nazaré – the tourist developers and their clientele and the fishing folk. *Pre-Bureaucratic Europeans* is based on fieldwork conducted in Nazaré in 1978-79 and during later visits between 1981 and 1983.

There has been little written about the small locally-based fisheries of the Iberian peninsula and a study of Nazaré would be an important ethnographic case. Brøgger's interest, however, lies less in the social and economic organization of the Nazaré fishery than in his concern with how Nazaré can contribute to our understanding of '...the great transformation of European society from communal life of the Middle Ages to the alienated life of modern industrialism' (p. 140). He finds in Nazaré a society characterized by what he calls 'pre-modern' social relations evidenced by two particular practices: continuing beliefs in the supernatural and the maintenance of matrifocal household arrangements.

Despite his own cautionary note to anthropologists working in Europe about the importance of history, Brøgger seems to conflate history with social evolution for he views social relations in Nazaré as a relic – a survival – of medieval times. Anthropological research since the 1960s in developing societies has revealed the multilinearity of developmental processes and reaffirmed notions of culture as process, culture as under continual contestation and negotiation, and culture as capable of embodying contradiction, conflict and irony. Brøgger, however, chooses the nineteenth century Tönnies model that describes social change as a linear process of change from the close-knit community, the *Gemeinschaft*, to the large-scale cosmopolitan community, the *Gesellschaft*. The world view of the Nazareno is, according to Brøgger, an 'intact' *Gemeinschaft* (p. 13) and *Pre-Bureaucratic Europeans* is devoted to proving this. Brøgger links his work to Norbert Elias' concept of the 'civilizing process' explaining that he uses the term 'pre-bureaucratic' to describe the 'demeanour of authentic Nazareno [which] would, by most middle class Europeans, be recognized as rustic... In order to avoid the somewhat derogatory term rustic, we have chosen the term pre-bureaucratic to describe the non-urban style of behaviour which may still be observed in certain folk communities in Europe' (p. 46). According to Brøgger, 'We may confidently assume that the manners, behaviour, and attitudes of the Nazareno indeed exemplify the rural European style of the pre-modern era' (p. 45). Brøgger further argues his choice of the term 'pre-bureaucratic' by explaining that he is referring to how 'personal face-to-face relationships dominate everyday life...to a degree which make the influence of modern market relations and bureaucracy insignificant' (p. 13). Brøgger chooses, then, not to elaborate the history and development of market relations and the economic system of domestic fisheries production in Nazaré. He does not discuss the century of relations the fishing families have had with the state through taxation, licensing, military conscription, and the recruitment under Salazar of Nazareno fishermen for the state's Grand Banks cod fishing fleet. Nor does he discuss the impact of a century of male emigration from Nazaré or of tourism. He mentions only peripherally the class consciousness and socioeconomic stratification of Nazaré. As a result, the town and its people are, as it were, frozen in time. As we recognize that there is clearly a fascinating story to be told, the reader becomes increasingly frustrated with what ultimately amounts to the homogenizing and exoticizing of the people of the town of Nazaré through the author's insistence on containing his rich ethnographic material within his constraining theoretical objective to characterize Nazaré as a *Gemeinschaft* society.

There is one chapter (22 pages) on the fishery. In a brief introductory discussion, Brøgger contrasts fishing and peasant societies and argues that, unlike peasants, domestic fisheries producers in Nazaré enjoy unlimited access to the resource and that instead the critical factors are access to equipment and luck. He describes local fishing gear and techniques and illustrates these with a number of drawings. This chapter also describes the crew recruitment process and relations between crew (*camaradas*) and skipper-owners (*mestres*), and provides an interesting discussion of the combination of skill, luck and charisma that defines a successful mestre. The remaining chapters of the book are devoted to arguing the case that Nazaré represents a classic *Gemeinschaft* and focus on the two practices that Brøgger identifies as especially 'pre-modern': the maintenance of matrifocal households and beliefs in the supernatural.

Relying on the work of European family historians who maintain that the nuclear family emerges and prevails in industrial societies, Brøgger argues that in Nazaré the family system has retained 'the communal character of the medieval European family' evidenced by what he refers to as 'matrilineages' and 'matriarchies.' He describes the survival of what he calls the 'pre-modern communal family' in Nazaré as the result of 'female dominance': 'The reason why the Nazareno family has not followed the general trend of modernization seems to be female dominance' (p. 141). Brøgger describes how the women of Nazaré are astute businesswomen both as fish vendors and in their capitalization on opportunities to rent rooms to tourists; how they develop and maintain strong ties with their daughters through their shared work in these economic enterprises; and how men are marginalized from management roles in the household. Rather than analyse these women's roles within the local context of the fishing economy and society and the long history of male emigration and seasonal migration to the Grand Banks, Brøgger, following the framework of historians, describes these roles as anachronistic. Yet the patterns of uxori-local residence, female sibling vicinality, female dominance and economic autonomy that he describes, far from being throwbacks to medieval communalism as he argues, have been found to characterize the households of such diverse and contemporary socio-economic conditions as the industrial working-class of East London, rural and urban African-American households, as well as the Caribbean and West African informal economies that are very much part of the new international division of labour. Closer to Nazaré, Lisón Tolosana described uxori-local residence and female inheritance patterns in fishing communities in Spanish Galicia; I have described fishing households on the north coast of Portugal as 'women-centred'; and, Pina-Cabral has described the agricultural peasant households of northwestern Portugal and the bourgeois households of urban Porto as 'matrifocal.' Unfortunately none of this literature is cited.

Three chapters are devoted to supernatural beliefs about disease, misfortune and destiny (and in the case of fishermen, luck). There is some fascinating material on the practices of white witches (*bruxas*), all of whom are women, and in particular a detailed description of the cures and spirit possession performances of one bruxa. These chapters will be of interest to the increasing number of anthropologists who are studying alternative and New Age healing practices in Europe. Again, it is unfortunate that none of this literature is cited – especially the work of Pina-Cabral in Portugal. Where Brøgger treats the survival of white witches as anachronistic in Nazaré and likely to disappear as a wage economy becomes more viable, Pina-Cabral has described how important the bruxas continue to be among both rural and urban, working and middle classes in the Alto Minho of northwestern Portugal.

In conclusion, it is regrettable that the author did not choose to situate his study of Nazaré in the abundant and vibrant ethnographic literature of Portugal, Iberia, and Southern Europe – a field of anthropological endeavour that has burgeoned since the late 1970s. Doing so would have enabled the ethnographic data to come to life. The short bibliography, however, contains only one reference to a Portuguese article (that is unpublished) and only three references to southern European ethnography. And, as noted earlier, there are no references to the extensive comparative literature on fishing communities.

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