

Today's workforce is clearly multicultural. This multicultural workforce has special needs and problems, and many of them are tied to cultural differences in perceptions and patterns of work. Intercultural sensitivity courses and workshops, especially for the business community, and Franco's book, *Samoan Perceptions of Work: Moving Up and Moving Around*, are attempts to address these issues.

Franco uses an ethnohistorical approach to review the perceptions of work of one rapidly growing migrant group—Samoans. He begins with a detailed description of work in Samoa in the traditional and aboriginal period. This section draws heavily on European accounts from the early contact period. Next Franco discusses work in what he calls the "transitional" phase. This section deals with work, culture change, and economic and sociopolitical issues in Western and American Samoa from 1830 to 1985. Much of the information, especially the material on government and cannery work, is still relevant. Finally, Franco turns to contemporary perceptions and patterns of work, focusing on Samoans in the United States and New Zealand, with special attention to Hawaii. The stylistic change in this section is a little disconcerting at first, but seems to reflect significant changes in the source material. This section presents a lot of demographic information and is the only section with tables.

Franco argues that most studies of work and migrant adaptation use a deficiency perspective, one that places most of the emphasis on structural issues, that is, external political and economic factors. "[These] arguments place immigrant communities in a deficient and exploited [and, I would add, passive] position" (p. 6). Franco believes an "alternative competencies" approach, such as that proposed by Howard and Scott (p. 9), is more valuable and useful, and that an understanding of Samoan perceptions of work can help us better understand the Samoans' adaptive strategies. This approach suggests an interesting, and potentially controversial, perspective: that Samoans may be purposeful, active participants in their lives rather than merely passive recipients.

The alternative competencies approach is coupled with Wallman's model of "work as a social transaction" (p. 2) and turns the reader's attention to such things as the importance of the resources produced and their value, incentives for work, identity issues, and the time dimensions of work. A distinction is also made between "incentives to work" and "incentives to working well" (p. 3). Using the processual approach, Franco suggests that at different periods—traditional, transitional, and contemporary—elements of these four dimensions have differed to some degree. Nevertheless, some elements seem to transcend time and changes in work circumstances and work patterns.

The material on incentives is especially interesting. This dimension is also the one most consistently well developed for each period. While survival is an obvious incentive, for Samoans one paramount incentive is that work, especially when it is viewed as *tautua*, or service to the kin group, provides a mechanism to "move up" in the social, political, and economic system. Service (*tautua*), and

thus work, has its social, material, and political rewards.

In contemporary settings, especially in Hawaii, the primary incentives to work also include money, group work with Samoans, fair treatment by employers, and the opportunity to "move up," that is, to improve one's status through job promotions, regular salary increases, or other recognitions of service. In other words, with proper employee incentives, there is the potential to move some of the concept of *tautua* from a kin-group orientation to an employer-employee orientation. This suggests the possibility of an evolution of this social transaction in response to changing socioenvironmental factors, including migration. Franco identifies the primary disincentives as communication problems (especially those associated with language competency) and real or perceived discrimination in the workplace. The worker's job performance and sense of loyalty to the job are presented as products of the balance between incentives and disincentives.

Franco offers some suggestions for those who employ or work with Samoans. This material is of obvious value but could be more fully developed. People who work with migrants, especially Samoans, are desperate for information and suggestions on how to understand, motivate, and work with these people. The currently available material, much of which is identified in this section, has not met the need.

Unfortunately, those people, like employers and intercultural sensitivity trainers, who might most benefit from a work like *Samoan Perceptions of Work* (especially the section on contemporary work issues) are the least likely to be attracted to the volume. It is clearly an academic treatise in presentation and style, although the typescript format and minor editing problems detract from its professionalism. While the style of presentation suggests it was produced for a limited special-interest audience, employers (especially those who employ Samoans), and intercultural sensitivity trainers would be well served by an exposure to the material. Samoan scholars should find the book useful, as it reviews a significant body of Samoan literature. It should also be of interest to those involved in economic development, migrant adaptations, and Pacific politics.

***Dutch Dilemmas: Anthropologists Look at the Netherlands.* JEREMY BOISSEVAIN and JO-JADA VERRIPS, eds. Assen/Maastricht, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1989. v + 186 pp., tables, figures, notes, bibliographies.**

JULIA ADAMS
University of Michigan

Dutch Dilemmas is a wide-ranging but uneven collection of essays on aspects of contemporary Dutch society and culture. The book arises out of and addresses a general conjuncture facing anthropologists, and particularly those from Western European countries. Post-World War II decolonization has encouraged a turn toward metropolitan social relations as objects of analysis, while seismic

social changes have occurred in the metropolitan societies themselves. The Dutch trajectory has involved a gradual process of "depillarization," a breakdown of the striking sociocultural configuration whereby Protestant, Catholic, Liberal, and Socialist "pillars" (*zuilen*) each structured their own set of functionally equivalent institutions. The contributors to *Dutch Dilemmas* grapple with different dimensions of these epochal changes in the context of providing an introduction to the Netherlands, loosely built around three common themes: religion, ethnicity, and political economy.

In the articles by Niek Miedema, Mart Bax, Peter Meurkens, and Jojada Verrips, religion is treated as an "independent variable" with a formative, complex impact on identities and practices. Miedema attempts to unravel the paradox that the *zwaren*, fundamentalist Protestants, have the country's highest rate of premarital pregnancy and "enforced marriage." Bax addresses the interesting question of why the Netherlands underwent a "respiritualization" in the 19th century, in contrast to an opposing European-wide trend. Meurkens argues that a new ideological orientation pioneered by the Brabantine Catholic clergy after 1850 "determined the form of demographic, economic and cultural changes" (p. 42). Verrips claims that religious affiliation and belief systems influence the character of the unions that barge workers join and the bargaining tactics they adopt.

The strongest of these essays, Bax's "Fighting with Sacraments: The Evolution of a Roman Catholic Regime in Dutch Brabant," is a nuanced Weberian analysis of the causal impact of fissures in the Roman Catholic leadership structure on the rural population, inscribed within a larger context of evolving domestic and international power relations. While most sociohistorical accounts focus on the general process of "depillarization," Bax notes the need for complementary studies of the varied rhythms of change *within* each of the four "pillars" since the 1950s.

The rise of immigration in the postwar Netherlands forms the background for two articles on ethnicity. Lodewijk Brunt examines the "ethnic infrastructure" established by Turks and Moroccans in working-class neighborhoods in Utrecht, while Mies van Niekerk and Hans Vermeulen discuss the experiences and ethnic identities of Surinamese girls in Amsterdam. Both essays conclude on a very tentative theoretical note (pp. 136, 151), but integrate historical analysis and rich interview data in constructing an ethnographic picture of shifting, often embattled, communities.

Several articles examine various aspects of the Dutch political economy. Gerrit Wildenbeest's "Recent Farmers' Protest in a Dutch Municipality: The Legacy of the Past" analyzes farmers' reactions to government efforts to convert part of Gelderland into national parkland in the early 1980s, and offers convincing evidence for the claim that rural protests were a legacy of the "modernization strategy" adopted by the landed gentry vis-à-vis their tenant farmers. Wildenbeest's well-argued essay is particularly interesting in the context of the contrast between "backward" Gelderland and the modal Dutch pattern of precocious agrarian capitalist development (pp. 83–84). In "Dutch Bargees and the

Problem of Solidarity," Jojada Verrips deploys a detailed class analysis in order to explain why bargees' unions have proven to be historically unstable. Rob van Ginkel examines the consequences of privatization for oystering in Zeeland in his ambitious "'Plunderers into Planters': Zeeland Oystermen and the Enclosure of the Marine Commons." Ginkel makes a good argument against neoclassical economic conceptions of oysters as "rational satisficers or maximizers," and the oystering industry as exemplary of the "tragedy of the commons" (pp. 91–92, 100–101). And Kitty Verrips focuses on dimensions of the lived experience of Eckenaar tenant-farmer families in her "Mentality and Power Balances in Salland."

The intersection of gender and work is the frame for one of the less successful pieces, Anna Aalten's "The Accidental Businesswoman: Gender and Entrepreneurship in the Netherlands, 1950–1975." Dutch women have one of the lowest rates of labor-force participation in the industrialized nations of the West; of the women who do work, only a minute fraction are owners (p. 153). Why? What is the impact on women? What prompted the entrepreneurial women to follow a distinctively deviant path? The personal narratives Aalten quotes are suggestive, but do not begin to tap possible causal explanations.

Rounding out the collection is Anton Blok's "Chimney Sweeps as Symbolic Mediators," which makes imaginative use of documentary and iconographic evidence to argue that the liminal structural position sweeps occupied in the early modern period was at the root of their ritualized "infamy" and luck bringing.

The strong points of the collection are its attention to the mutual influence of social structure and culture and its focus on the important Dutch case, which is too little known in Anglo-American anthropology and sociology. A number of the articles lack conceptual, theoretical, and methodological rigor, however. In "Orthodox Protestants and Enforced Marriage," for example, Niek Miedema provides only an ad hoc list of possible explanations for the phenomenon, without criteria of adjudication or integration. Other essays tend toward unsupported assertion in place of argument and demonstration. Peter Meurkens' "Catholic Ethics and Private Behavior in Old Kempenland" asserts rather than shows that moral codes were tied to specific social practices (see, e.g., p. 46), while Kitty Verrips' essay on Eckenaar tenant farmers substitutes post-hoc rationalization for evidence (pp. 55–56).

More generally, one may doubt whether such a specialized, and in many cases awkwardly written, collection really constitutes "an introduction to Dutch society," as the jacket blurb claims. If *Dutch Dilemmas* introduces the work of Dutch anthropologists to a wider circle of Anglo-American social analysts, however, it will have served an important function.

Little Bit Know Something: Stories in a Language of Anthropology. ROBIN RIDINGTON. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1990. xvii + 281 pp., photographs, appendix, references, index.