

wellspring of inner contradictions of the folk imagination, involving a dynamic balancing of ambiguous and dichotomous forces. Drawing liberally on the ideas of Russian literary theorist and philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin, Gilmore explains that carnival and its songs contribute to an ongoing cultural dialectic; carnival is a true “ideological hybrid,” heteroglossic in Bakhtin’s terms, upholding and extolling the hierarchies carnival also mocks and reviles.

For most of the 14 chapters, Gilmore applies these ideas to various dimensions of gender symbolism, evinced especially in the coplas. Using a dynamic “topographical model of human experience” (p. 136), Gilmore offers insight into the remarkable plasticity of the symbolic codes underlying Andalusian rural culture. He shows how hierarchical evaluative schemes are fused with sexuality and spatial orientations and govern in turn the relations between things and people. Transferences and inversions of values and status interlink the critical domains of the female-centered domestic domain of the household; the “all-male world apart” of the neighborhood or tavern; and, finally, community space, which mediates the social norms, taboos, and boundaries that define use of public places according to sex. The drama of carnival is inextricably related to the myriad other social dramas—between rich and poor, men and women—played out in symbolically charged arenas of everyday life. Gilmore uses an explicit psychoanalytic spin in his analysis of the complex and subtle dynamics of gender identity inside and outside of carnival. His psychoanalytical take is cogent, if at times a touch heavy-handed in its assumptions. Nevertheless, Gilmore is meticulous and eloquent in his analysis; the premises and categories with which he works are always painstakingly clarified and contextualized.

Although their analytical approaches to carnival are markedly different, both authors make a point of attending to the significant current transformations of Andalusian carnival. They address, for example, the rising participation of women in festival activities, which reflects gradually altering gender roles in the larger social milieu. They also discuss the increasing appropriation of carnival by local governments, which has involved promoting competitions among copla composers and results in a dilution of Andalusian carnival’s customary spontaneous, subversive spirit. Despite

these changes, both authors concur that the recognized social salience of carnival in Andalusia has not diminished.

The impersonal and formalistic writing style of both ethnographers might strike some readers as off-putting, especially in view of detailed discussions of the intrigue of local history and the often intimate aspects of people’s lives. Mintz and Gilmore do not explore their own interaction and involvement in these lives; this lack is surprising considering the extensive time both authors conducted research in Andalusia. Yet this deficiency does not undermine the great value of the ethnographies. A satisfying richness resonates from both works, saying much for the value of the unparalleled expertise and understanding achieved through years of research in the same fieldwork area. The two books together provide a rich ethnographic picture of the Andalusia of yesterday and today, lending much credence to the classic anthropological view of ritual as being a mirror of the heart and soul of cultural and social life.

“Keeping the Lakes Way”: Reburial and the Re-creation of a Moral World Among an Invisible People. *Paula Pryce*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999. ix + 203 pp., appendixes, notes, references, index.

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In this ethnographic case study of the Arrow Lakes (Sinixt) repatriation movement, Paula Pryce documents how a First Nations group exercises transnational identity, offering original conceptualizations of diaspora, of prophecies, and of home. Pryce’s focus on what it means to have a home is intensified by an unusual vantage point; she was born in the Slocan Valley of British Columbia—the site of the repatriation efforts—and she grew up unaware of aboriginal peoples’ presence or histories there. In 1994, as she approached an Arrow Lakes encampment to begin fieldwork, Pryce realized “this was my home in a way I had not understood it before” (p. 5). This premise wraps her study with an allegorical significance that is both its strength and its weakness.

The Sinixt case is particularly complicated because, in 1989, when the repatriation movement began, there were no Arrow Lakes people living in the Slocan Valley. After a century

of resisting warfare and violent exchange with settlers and authorities, the people had dispersed. Some Sinixts settled on the Colville Reservation of Washington State, some on the Okanagon Reserve in British Columbia, and a few remained in the Slocan Valley. By 1937, only one elder remained; after her death in 1953, the Arrow Lakes band was declared extinct by Canadian authorities. Despite their legal extinction in Canada and their invisibility to the permanent settlers, Sinixt elders today recall traveling to that homeland in their youth. The attachments held, and when excavation for a mountain road exposed human remains in the valley in 1989, Sinixt band member Robert Watt moved north from the Colville Reservation to protect burials and human remains. Today, a Sinixt-led group maintains continuous occupation of the Slocan Valley in tipis, and they have successfully reburied remains not only from the original site but also from other locations. *Keeping the Lakes Way* documents their leadership and the links between reburial and identity.

Pryce provides background on the Sinixt disappearance and reemergence by summarizing linguistic and ethnographic data in one chapter and ethnohistoric data in another. She argues that the Sinixts' distinctiveness was erased in comparative ethnography, just as overt violence and then colonial administrators removed them from being recognized as an autonomous legal entity. She suggests that, from 1850 to the 1890s, the Slocan Valley became first a haven and then a danger to the Sinixt, and the theme of seeking refuge foreshadows the present reoccupation.

In a third chapter, Pryce examines prophecies, interlacing concepts of the 19th century's Prophet Dance with the attachments the Arrow Lakes people have today with their ancestors' remains. The blend of ideas here more clearly comes from Pryce than from the Sinixt. She writes with clarity and delicacy, provoking reflection that effectively frames contemporary repatriation issues. In her chapter documenting specific Sinixt claims and the politics of repatriation, Pryce describes ancestral connections as multiple layers of historical consciousness. Her analysis here illuminates the local discourses, and she includes enough statements from movement representatives to bring out local humor and pathos. She writes deftly of the irony that the living Sinixt are expunging their invisibility in order to protect the

dead who became visible in excavation and display. The life of the dead is an area of great political, cultural, and personal sensitivity for all involved in reburial issues. Pryce does not discuss how much the ethnographer controls the boundaries of this discussion, and how much the Sinixt do.

The primary weakness of this study is its ethnographic thinness. Pryce details the Slocan Valley and provides photographs of the Arrow Lakes encampment, but nowhere does she discuss the everyday life of the camp and how life there might express the utopian desires of the Sinixt leadership. What are the gestures and practices that characterize these particular peoples' cultural work, and how do these articulate with what people say about cultural identity? How do the Arrow Lakes leaders handle their dealings with adversaries and allies, and how do they distinguish themselves in practice from those native movements they characterize as sellouts? How are the Sinixt language and discourses translated among themselves in comparison to the translations made for outsiders? The moving, genuine sounding voices of activists and elders suggest deep and complex life histories, but readers are left only with hints and their imaginative inclinations.

This study also cries out for critical discussion of links with environmental and repatriation activism elsewhere. The author's references to environmentalisms, new age symbolism, and Native American Church teachings position these ideas as if they existed entirely outside a core of Arrow Lakes cultural expressions and initiatives. She refers to recognized tribal governments as if they were simply antagonists, rather than being complicated entities with their own issues of representation and sovereignty. To leave unexplored how this repatriation movement is affected—if not prompted—by significant alliances between First Nations peoples and environmentalists is to leave unexamined the very questions that a general readership will bring to this book.

Despite its limitations, Pryce's work invites further ethnographic discussion of repatriation efforts, calling explicitly for anthropological writing that advances the self-determination of First Nations peoples. Broader, more contextualized analysis of contemporary repatriation movements requires that there first be more studies with the reflective attention that Pryce

has given to the First Nations people who call the Slocan Valley their home.

Gender and Migration in Southern Europe: Women on the Move. *Floya Anthias and Gabriella Lazarides, eds.* New York: Berg, 2000. ix + 263 pp., notes, bibliography, index.

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In this second volume from a 1995 conference called "Nation and Migration in Southern Europe," contributors revise the model of single males migrating from the Mediterranean to north Western Europe that dominated the literature on European migration from the 1960s through the 1980s. They instead focus on female migration from non-European Union countries to Southern Europe in the 1990s. Increasing numbers of women from Eastern Europe (Albania and Yugoslavia), Asia (the Philippines), Africa (Gambia, Morocco, and Somalia), and Latin America (Brazil, Dominican Republic, and Peru) characterize the new immigration to Cyprus, Greece, Italy, and Spain. Except for British female expatriates living on the Costa Brava, many of these women come alone to work in the service sector, primarily as maids but also as entertainers or prostitutes. These arrangements preserve the gendered social relations—or the much-debated patriarchy—of the Mediterranean countries as indigenous women join the work force (Anthias, p. 16). The researchers in *Gender and Migration* make a valuable contribution to the literature on this new migration; but the studies, which vary in method, disciplinary boundaries, and theoretical approach, also vary in quality.

Most of the contributors are either sociologists, researchers working in Italian, European, and Gender Studies, or (in the case of Victoria Chell) immigration policy. As might be expected, their studies are Eurocentric and often policy-oriented—of interest to scholars of ethnicity, nationality, and citizenship, as well as migration and gender. Anthropologists will find useful the general social scientific cases whose authors acknowledge, but do not engage in, postmodernist analyses or the debates over transnationalism, globalism, identity, reflexivity, or representation that have marked recent anthropological study of migration, nationality, citizenship, and belonging. Despite

their critiques of earlier migration theory, the authors pose questions still framed in enduring dualisms of push-pull, assimilation (integration) and pluralism, or structure versus agency.

In the introduction, Floya Anthias and Gabriella Lazarides set forth a framework that emphasizes how migrant women are positioned in the processes of marginalization and exclusion. Anthias then draws on her study of women migrating to Cyprus after 1974 to portray flexible labor markets oriented to the service sector that successfully evade states' weak attempts at regularization in southern Europe. She explicitly calls for more qualitative and less economic approaches, ones that detail the agency of the women, the complexity of their lives, and the range of experiences among groups whose differences defy macrolevel generalizations. The content of the studies and the sociological method employed by most of the book's authors work against Anthias's objectives to the extent that they base their articles on surveys, statistics, and scripted interviews, rather than participant observation, life histories, or the subjects' own voices. Apart from British expatriates and Filipina economic migrants, most groups studied are fleeing civil war or severe crises of political economy and face abroad extremely limited options, discrimination, servitude, and even bondage. With notable exceptions, readers will find little ethnographic material that brings the migrant women alive as active agents or that illuminates their daily lives as live-in maids, entertainers, or prostitutes.

The shifting foci of chapters grouped by country complement each other and offset the sense of repetition arising from the broad similarities among cases. In her chapter on Greek Cyprus, Anthias raises important conceptual issues concerning patriarchy; citizenship; and the mixed, complex motives for migration among the diverse groups, ranging from educated brain drain from the Eastern block to illegal migrants in the informal sector. Lazarides compares the positions of women from Albania and the Philippines in Athens, noting the methodological constraints of studying refugees and illegal migrants that made taping or even note-taking problematic. Iordanis Psimmenos's more ethnographic chapter on the sex trade of young Albanian women, also set in Athens, conveys a sense of place through vivid testimony of undocumented adolescent girls