

MANY FACES OF GENDER: ROLES AND RELATIONSHIPS THROUGH TIME IN INDIGENOUS NORTHERN COMMUNITIES.

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Reviewed by Alice B. Kehoe, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Following the editors' good overview of gender research by anthropologists working in the North, this volume is divided into three sections and a synthesizing discussion. Part I, "Contemporary Research" presents Henry Stewart discussing Netsilik *kipijuituq*, a hitherto-unreported variant on Inuit beliefs about the malleability of gender; Lillian Ackerman stretching the geographic range a bit with a report on the independence of Plateau women (drawn from her new book, *A Necessary Balance: Gender and Power Among Indians of the Columbia Plateau* [University of Oklahoma Press]); and Carol Zane Jolles using the life of Linda Womkon Badten to illuminate St. Lawrence Island Yup'ik. Part II, "Historical and Ethnoarchaeological Approaches," gives us Rita Shepard on Unalakleet River and Jennifer Ann Tobey on Deg Hit'an house changes concomitant with Christian mission intrusions, and Lisa Frink on Chevak Yupiit women's management of resources. Part III, "Material and Spatial Analysis", a label that could include Shepard's and Tobey's chapters, has Barbara Crass surveying and analyzing child and infant burials in the Arctic; Greg Reinhardt questioning how "women's" and "men's" tools came to be located within an archaeologically excavated house; Brian Hoffman explaining that Aleut women gave up eyed bone needles for ones with a grooved end which caught the thread, in order to do finer embroidery; and Peter Whitridge discussing Late Prehistoric metal use in the Central Canadian Arctic, where men more often than women had iron-bladed tools.

Hetty Jo Brumbach and Robert Jarvenpa's concluding discussion emphasizes the late and limited colonization of the Arctic, allowing persistence of indigenous cultural patterns that makes the region, in their words, a "laboratory of change." Issues they point to include: a prevalent lack of attention to indigenous children, a topic which Crass and Stewart address in this volume; the importance of focusing on processing and storage rather than merely on subsistence procurement among non-agricultural societies; and Ackerman's perspective that matrilineal com-

munities' in-marrying men found a refuge in *qasgis/kashim*. The buildings' central position may translate not as dominance but as marginal. Brumbach and Jarvenpa nuance the argument by asking whether the Central Inuit *qargi*, with whaling materials described by Whitridge, might have seemed more important to the men who used it (as well as to ethnographers) than to the community women working in their own houses. One thinks of nineteenth-century American convention that men away from the home were more important to public life, while women ultimately would be more influential through bringing up sons. There is a psychological angle here, too, in that pulling boys away from women's homes gave them some breathing space. The most parsimonious interpretation is simply that whaling requires crews of men (upper-body strength was really vital before rifles) and heavy equipment needs storage space, therefore, *qargi* workshops. I would also suggest that because flintknapping can endanger small children whose eyes are on the level of flying chips (personal observation when standing with a two-year-old near a knapper), knapping is more safely done away from dwellings.

Brumbach and Jarvenpa contribute, from their own research in subarctic Saskatchewan, the observation that "increased settlement centralization" required an increase in storage facilities, which appear in the archaeological record as smaller structures lacking a range of domestic refuse. Their ethnographic inquiries indicate storage structures are labeled as women's or men's storehouses. Brumbach and Jarvenpa take issue with Whitridge's notion that detached kitchens in his Thule whaling community "conceal" and "marginalize" women's work, whereas the *qargi* elevates men's work. They argue that increased specialization of tasks may lead to separation of activity loci but there is no inherent ranking of dominance or marginalization. They suggest we should not laugh off the common experience that while men boast of their importance, women firmly exhibit the crucial value of their own contributions.

This volume is quite fascinating to read. Each chapter contains good data, carefully presented and explicitly argued. The editors' guiding hands can be glimpsed, producing a high level of compatibility across a broad range of research. Because each author clearly discusses the leap from data to interpretation, the volume can be recommended as a textbook, although that was probably not the editors' chief goal. The mix of archaeological and ethnographic studies makes it a fine example of anthropology's holistic approach. Note, incidentally, that the volume is co-published in the U.S. and Canada.