

dom, as conceived here) may be why his acknowledgement that we draw life and meaning from our participation in institutions does not lead him to reconceptualize the individual. We draw individuality from a personal and unique constellation that includes (but is not limited to) memberships of different kinds of institutions—not all of which have the same end—as well as different relationships with other individuals. It is not only or always the need to resist institutions that nourishes individuality—nor is individuality so free, thoughtful, or socially unconstituted as Bailey would personify it.

But while I wish Bailey had pushed his reflections on his own institutional experiences, fieldwork, and theoretical underpinnings much further, I do applaud his recognition that “self-interest” does not explain such acts of institutional disengagement as factory workers covering for one another’s absences or their use of machinery to make their own artifacts: these are acts that he describes as indicating a “moral community.” He also notes that it is impossible to find a rational analysis of all the options in many acts of self-interest: people do not always choose the most rational path, or the one most self-centered—unless one is prepared to explain (away) every action as suiting the individual, and as therefore showing self-interest at work. If self-interest explains everything by reducing it to the same term, then it can explain nothing. Finally, and most in keeping with his animated determination not to be told how to think or how to behave (manifest throughout this book), Bailey objects to the economic understanding of the human being as “intellectually docile, a well-trained dog. It does not drag the investigator off the smooth path of rationality, which is pointed toward quantification, into the thorny scrub where people act out of spite or moral outrage or self-respect or for the love of God or, most annoying of all, just for the fun of it” (p. 145).

***Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications.* STANLEY WASSERMAN and KATHERINE FAUST. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994. xxxi + 825 pp., illustrations, tables, appendixes, references, indexes.**

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Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications can help realize the prediction that formal network analysis will ultimately prove useful to anthropology. Although not anthropologists, the authors draw on works by a number of anthropologists, some of whose contributions began decades ago when the word “network” was used as an analogy rather than as a formal concept (among them Ward Goodenough, Ralph Linton, S. F. Nadel, and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown), and others whose contributions are more recent and more direct (including J. A. Barnes, H. Russell Bernard, Jeremy Boissevain, John Boyd, Malcolm Dow, Brian Foster, Per Hage, Bruce Kapferer, J. Clyde Mitchell, Karl Reitz, Thomas Schweitzer, Karen Stephenson, Douglas White, Norman E. Whitten Jr., and Wayne Zachary).

This reviewer is worried that anthropologists’ contributions to network analysis seem to have slacked off in the past 15 years. The heavy contributors now are sociologists, communication scholars, and organizational researchers, all from discipline somewhat more mathematically sophisticated. It seems a shameful situation that should be remedied, perhaps by anthropologists who, in reading this book, will discover that they can better understand human communities if they take advantage of the concepts and methods offered.

The authors have certainly done an admirable job of communicating complicated ideas that are dependent on modern and still developing mathematical theories to an audience they know will find much of it hard going. They have gone to great pains to ease the way without lowering the level of discourse. Definitions of new concepts are stated and restated, precisely and unambiguously. A figure charts potential pathways through the book, showing which of the 16 chapters are prerequisite to others and the order in which chapters may be read by readers with varying interests. They have even labeled various sections in the text to mark their degree of difficulty or their degree of tangency to the main arguments of a chapter.

What are the contents? “The social network perspective encompasses theories, models, and applications that are expressed in terms of relational concepts or processes. That is, relations defined by linkages among units are a fundamental component of network theories. . . . [Certain] principles distinguish social network analysis from other research approaches” (p. 4). It gets more pedantic in chapter 12: “Briefly, actors who are regularly equivalent have identical ties to and from equivalent actors. . . . [If] actors i and j are regularly equivalent, and actor i has a tie to/from some actor k then actor j must have the same kind of tie to/from some actor, l , and actors k and l must be regularly equivalent” (p. 474). The hint of circularity in the concept of regular equivalence increases the complexity of writing mathematical algorithms and computer programs pertaining to it. This is also true of other important ideas where one is dealing simultaneously with units and their multiple relations. Things and relations—this combination is the essence of network analysis and the reason why its models are so useful and at the same time so complicated.

After introducing the reader to several types of formal representations for social networks, including notations, graph theory, and matrix operations, the authors describe structural and locational properties of networks, including centrality, prestige, prominence, structural balance, clusterability, cohesive subgrouping, and affiliation. The fourth part of this seven-part book examines methods for studying roles and positions in social networks, and includes such concepts as structural and regular equivalence and blockmodels. The fifth part consists of two chapters devoted to the properties of dyads and triads, a fairly specialized and well-developed aspect of network studies. Part 6 has two chapters on statistical methods for the study of social networks: chapter 15, by Dawn Iacobucci, apparently the only chapter written by someone other than Wasserman or Faust, is on statistical analysis of

single relational networks; and chapter 16 is on stochastic blockmodels and goodness-of-fit indices.

The epilogue is a chapter titled "Future Directions," in which the authors state their preference for statistical models over the deterministic graph-theoretic models that have dominated the field these past 30 years. They are optimistic about these developments not only because of the great steps that have already been made in statistical models, but also because, as they put it, "we expect that further development of Markov graph models, logistic regressions, and so on will make statistical models more useful" (p. 727). Such models, they believe, will be more "realistic" than those we have depended on until now. Anthropologists may not be as elated as Wasserman and Faust about that trend, in part because we tend to be uncomfortable with the quantification implied in statistical models, and in part because we tend to have a different perspective on what is "realistic."

Anthropologists need a book that demonstrates how useful network models are for analyzing problems that seem real to us, and a book that is at the same time readable by the majority of those still wary of the terminology of graph theory and matrix algebra. This book comes close. It can be read by anthropologists, and I urge all to do so, but its 800 pages of difficult text are daunting.

***Bridges to Humanity: Narratives on Anthropology and Friendship.* BRUCE GRINDAL and FRANK SALAMONE. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1995. 260 pp., references.**

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This edited collection is part of the trend toward reflexive, humanistic, and, in particular, autobiographical approaches to the writing of ethnographic accounts. It is concerned most directly with encounters between anthropologists and what were for a long time called their "informants." Many alternatives have recently been proposed to label the people with whom we interact during fieldwork as "informants," thereby reflecting the postmodern idea that we are all "positioned subjects." In this volume, the relationship between anthropologist and "informant" is constructed as one of friendship, hence the title's allusion to the possibility of building bridges of human understanding across cultures. Anthropologists have only recently begun to explore the degree to which the Anglo-American concept of "friendship" is either a universal in human societies, or one based upon certain culture-bound notions of selfhood and individualism. The authors of the chapters in *Bridges to Humanity* vary according to their willingness to adopt such a critical approach to cultural constructions of friendship and to explore the implications of this for the anthropological encounter. Some are surprisingly unreflexive about the assumptions they hold regarding "friendship." Nevertheless, this book includes some provocative accounts of fieldwork that might prod many ethnographers to rethink their own relationships in the field, and that will surely be of interest

to undergraduates wishing to learn more about what actually takes place "on the ground" during fieldwork. Readers may find some of the narratives a bit too self-involved or confessional, but this would depend upon one's tolerance for others' desires to share intimate details of their lives. In cases such as that described in Ruth Behar's essay on her evolving relationship with a Mexican woman whom she knew "in the field" and who subsequently moved close to Behar's home in Michigan, self-revelation is a crucial device for calling into question the conventions and fictions of fieldwork.

In the preface and introduction the editors, Bruce Grindal and Frank Salamone, tell us that this book began with the idea of updating Casagrande's classic *In the Company of Man* (New York: Harper, 1960), also about friendships in the field. They state their aims as those of "humanizing" anthropologists, not just the people from other cultures they study, and pose the issue as one of ambiguity between anthropologists as "scholars" and as "human beings." The theme of anthropologists' self-discovery through fieldwork thus becomes paramount: the editors state that the papers communicate to readers that anthropologists have emotions, that they can be friends, and that they are not "all-seeing measuring machines." I would say that, overall, some of the chapters do much more than this, and others much less. The chapters take us to far-flung places visited by anthropologists—from China (Beaver) to Trinidad (Stewart) and to Portugal (Reed). In some places, the anthropologist is geographically, if not culturally, closer to home—as in the case of Angrosino's relationship with a mentally disabled man in Florida, Ridington's work with the Omaha, and Turner's experiences in northern Alaska. Among the chapters are moving, well-written personal narratives of the sort that have hitherto always played an important (but unfortunately marginal) role in the anthropological literature: I would single out those by Kirin Narayan, Ruth Behar, Frank Salamone, and Edith Turner in particular.

This book is a refreshing change from recent criticisms of the relationship between anthropologists and their "informants" as one of exploitation and misunderstanding. It helps us remember that some anthropologists, at least, worry about issues of decency and human understanding in the field. If the volume is lacking in some wider, more global perspective on "friendship" as a cultural construction, it compensates for this by providing a window into the everyday motivations and emotions associated with fieldwork from the perspective of the anthropologist.

***Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction.* FAYE GINSBURG and RAYNA RAPP, eds. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995. xi + 450 pp.**

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The arrival of Faye Ginsburg and Rayna Rapp's collection, *Concerning the New World Order: The*