

ethnohistory, shamanism, and ritual, develops these themes to good effect in his Yagua monograph. Goulard's contribution is especially strong in its analysis of the political undercurrents swirling beneath the Ticuna's long history of millenarian movements. In addition to the analytical introduction and the three monographs, the volume includes a regional vocabulary and a glossary of kinship terms—but, alas, no general index.

If the *Guía* is able to sustain the high quality of this first volume—and there is no reason to doubt that it will, considering the distinguished roster of contributors—then it is certain to become an indispensable reference work for anyone interested in contemporary Amazonia. ♦

Patterns that Connect: Social Symbolism in Ancient & Tribal Art. Carl Schuster and Edmund Carpenter. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996. 317 pp.

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The cross-cultural survey of tribal art presented in this beautifully illustrated book is bold in scope and interpretation. Based largely on the lifelong research and writings of Carl Schuster (1904–1969), it is written by Edmund Carpenter who published an earlier edition of it entitled *Social Symbolism in Ancient & Tribal Art* (Rock Foundation, 1986–1988). The work under review here represents a dramatically shortened version of that 12-book, 3,500-page magnum opus, which includes 7,000 illustrations (many of them magnificent) and over 1,500 bibliographic references.

Having first met in 1959, and both intrigued by patterns, Carpenter and Schuster corresponded on folk symbols and tribal art motifs until the latter's death in 1969. Carpenter, who studied under Frank Speck and has a doctorate in anthropology from the University of Pennsylvania, has conducted extensive research among Arctic Canada's Eskimos and New Guinea's Papua since 1950. Schuster, who studied at Harvard and received his doctorate in art history from Vienna in 1934, traveled extensively through Asia's backlands in the 1930s. Then, and in the decades that followed, he personally surveyed tens of thousands of artifacts in some 700 museums and private collections around the world. When Schuster died he had 46 articles to his credit, yet the lion's share of his research and manuscripts remained works in progress. His archives (80,000 negatives, 250,000 prints, 18,000 pages of correspondence in some 30 languages, hundreds of files on specific motifs, etc.) have since found a permanent place at the Museum der Kulturen in Basel.

Impressed by this heroic effort to identify basic tribal art motifs and piece together the global puzzle of cultural tradition, Carpenter offered to complete what Schuster had started. It proved to be a herculean and consuming task. When the final text cohered, he no longer distinguished between Schuster's words and his own. As Carpenter explains, the "I" in this text refers to himself, though many of his judgments come directly from Schuster's original writings.

Like its earlier exhaustive edition, *Patterns that Connect* is an etymology and archaeology of ancient motifs representing a grand theory of kinship symbolism in tribal art. Its exposition can be summed up as follows: similar traditional art motifs and

designs occur in tribal and peasant cultures across the globe; through the comparative method, we can recognize basic patterns in certain widespread and recurrent "geometric" motifs or schematic designs; their occurrence in the remote corners of Africa, Asia, Australia, and America minimizes the likelihood of numerous independent inventions; their uniformity suggests a common origin in the ancient past; because of strong resemblances with Paleolithic art motifs in Eurasia, these patterns are probably "survivals" deeply rooted in a traditional culture complex far older than 10,000 years; their cross-cultural existence is due primarily to very early prehistoric migrations, not cultural diffusion; through comparisons with related phenomena in tribal cultures where meanings of analogous designs are more obvious, we may become informed about the elementary principles underlying these patterns; these principles articulate a symbolic language that can be decoded in terms of a genealogical iconography primarily illustrating social relations of marriage and descent; where original meanings of kinship diagrams were forgotten or lost, subsequent generations either imbued these patterns with alternative interpretations or simply replicated them as decorative or ornamental designs; representing an immensely conservative tradition, this iconography links Paleolithic hunters and gatherers to still-surviving art traditions in a few tribal cultures as well as peasant communities.

Organized in eight chapters, *Patterns* first discusses the widespread motif of the double-headed anthropomorphic figure and various other designs that are interpreted as the "family tree" and concern the universal question where we come from. This is followed in successive order by chapters titled "Genealogical Patterns" (hockers, zigzags, hourglass patterns, checkerboards, etc.), "Bodies and Hands as Kinship Charts" (joint-marks, fingers, etc.), "Social Bodies," "Mosaic Garments" (such as skin robes), "Compartment Robes," "Incised Stones" (interpreted as dressed ancestral spirits), and "Rebirth" (inverted pendants, gaming boards, calendric charts, labyrinths, etc.).

In their superb exhibit, the authors offer an unequalled examination of traditional art and a grand conjecture that compels us to look at it with fresh eyes. While they may not be able to offer conclusive proof of their argument, their massive evidence and erudite interpretation flatten any lazy assumptions. Deserving serious consideration, this book should be of great interest not only to anthropologists specialized in tribal or prehistoric art, but also to museum curators and anyone else fascinated by the beauty and semiotics of "primitive" art. ♦

The Political Economy of AIDS. Merrill Singer, ed. Amityville, NY: Baywood, 1998. 236 pp.

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This book brings a long-overdue focus upon the social and political determinants of the AIDS epidemic, in terms of how oppressive social relationships fuel disease transmission and limit access to resources for prevention and care. Singer, a critical medical anthropologist, notes in a preface to the volume that the collected essays grew out of a 1993 session at the applied anthropology meetings organized by Stephen Koester and Robert Carlson, entitled "The Political Economy of HIV Risk."

By addressing the social structural causes of AIDS, rather than the individual "risk behaviors" that have consumed so much public health attention to date, the authors seek to promote a greater understanding of the role of political economy in sustaining the epidemic among persons at the margins of society.

Essays are grouped into four distinct sections, each focusing upon a specific component of the political economic analysis. Section 1, with chapters by Singer and Shirley Lindenbaum, provides a theoretical foundation by situating epidemics within the larger political economic context of power and hegemony. The first chapter, by Singer, provides a useful overview of the ways in which "the structure of social relations that grow out of the system of economic production" (p. 4) are particularly relevant for understanding human epidemics, past and present. Citing historical analogies, such as Virchow's recognition of epidemic typhus as rooted in unemployment, food shortages, and overcrowding, Singer argues for a broader analytic framework for understanding the global AIDS pandemic, one which firmly roots disease transmission, delivery of health care, and prevention activities within the dominant world capitalist system. Individual-level models of prevention (e.g., reasoned action, health belief, self-efficacy), now the focus of so much AIDS prevention work worldwide, are seen as "treating targets of intervention as if they were independent beings and not members of families, peer groups, communities, and the broader society" (p. 14). AIDS has now spilled over from the traditional high-risk epidemiological categories to affect women, adolescents, and communities of color; understanding how and why this is so requires specific focus on social inequality and differential access to power and resources in developed and developing countries. Such analyses then provide a platform for action, moving "inherently conservative social systems" to reduce suffering of those afflicted (p. 25). Lindenbaum's chapter follows this theme by comparing AIDS and kuru epidemics, convincingly arguing that kuru is not stigmatized because it is "democratic" in its affliction of all members of society, whereas AIDS is an ideal "stigmatizing tool," differentially afflicting socially and geographically distinct populations (p. 50).

Section 2 examines the roles of gender, class, and race/ethnicity in creating and sustaining AIDS risk in urban U.S. communities. Chapters by Singer, E.J. Sobo, and Samuel Friedman and colleagues point out the intersecting, compounding effects of subordination and marginalization upon the AIDS risk continuum. In an important contribution, Sobo analyzes "the causes, contexts, and mechanisms of HIV/AIDS-risk denial, which enables and necessitates unsafe (condomless) sex" among poor, inner-city African American women in Cleveland. She argues that women's lack of condom use is part of a larger "psycho-social strategy for building and preserving an image of themselves as having achieved the conjugal ideal," that is, a committed sexual union with a healthy, disease-free male partner (pp. 76-79). Use of condoms, by signaling a lack of trust between partners, impedes achievement of this cultural ideal. Sobo links the self-esteem women draw from their relationships with men to notions of family romance fostered by industrial capitalism. Qualitative and quantitative data are presented which demonstrate the importance of emotional and social dependence in structuring denial of AIDS risk, with ideological constructs serving to "mediate the impact of political and economic forces on women's sexual decisions" (p. 99).

The third section deals with structural impediments to access to care for persons infected with, or at risk for, HIV. Rockwell and colleagues focus upon the limitations experienced by injecting drug users in their efforts to seek drug abuse treatment and HIV testing. Results are presented from an epidemiological study of 2,977 injecting drug users (IDU) in New York City, demonstrating significant differences in access to HIV testing and drug treatment services based on race/ethnicity and homelessness status. Multiply disadvantaged persons (African American, homeless, IDU), arguably those most in need, are also least likely to have access to medical care and AIDS services. Anthony Lemelle and Charlene Harrington follow with a chapter on the political economy of AIDS health care provision, taking aim at federal AIDS policy issues and the financing of health service delivery.

Finally, section 4 addresses political economic issues of AIDS in the developing world, with important contributions by Meredith Turshen on the political ecology of AIDS in Africa, Nancy Romero-Dazo and David Himmelgreen on issues of migration and AIDS in Lesotho, and Patricia Symonds on HIV infection among the Hmong of northern Thailand. These last chapters serve to round out an international perspective on the political economy of AIDS transmission, with specific attention to monetary policy and the spread of infection. Turshen argues that economic instability in Africa, a result of World Bank and International Monetary Fund reforms in the 1980s, "caused more workers to migrate in search of work, disrupting family life and increasing the behaviors associated with the spread of HIV" (p. 181). Moreover, the World Bank's effort to promote privatization of health care directly affected the care of persons with AIDS by reducing available treatment services and raising the cost of medical services, often forcing families to choose between medicine and food.

The book's ten chapters hold together remarkably well, complementing one another and meeting the editor's goal of focusing analytic attention on "the roles of political economy in diverse settings and populations in spreading AIDS or blocking access to resources among people who are already infected" (p. vii). Several of the studies offer original research results, utilizing qualitative (Singer) and quantitative methods (Friedman and colleagues) or a combination of the two (Sobo). All of the authors maintain a macrolevel focus upon the larger structural determinants of risk, while acknowledging the devastating consequences of HIV/AIDS as experienced at the microlevel. Some readers may find the unabashed macro-analytic approach a bit heavy-handed at times; nevertheless, the book stands as a welcome critical medical anthropological contribution to the study of AIDS at a time when individually focused prevention and care models have failed to stem the tide of this ongoing global pandemic. ♦

Amazon Stranger: A Rainforest Chief Battles Big Oil. *Mike Tidwell.* New York: Lyons and Burford, 1996. 216 pp.

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This is a biography of Randy Borman, the now rather famous "White Chief of the Cofans" (as he was titled in the September