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Will They Still Be Dancing?: Integration and Ethnic Transformation Among Yugoslav Immigrants in Scandinavia [Book Review]

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tion of social processes, of individuals constructing their realities in relationship to one another and to often ill-understood outside forces. Having talked himself into the reflexive corner, he tells of some advice he got from "a most distinguished and senior anthropologist," that "many of the fundamental problems in our discipline are insoluble," and "we must be mindful of the difficulties and just do what we can as well as we can" (p. 210). Cohen admits that "Philosophical virtuosos might find such advice a little prosaic," but "On reflection, I found it increasingly appealing" (p. 210). It is wise to listen to our elders.

Cohen situates his study in the comparative enterprise of anthropology. His descriptions of the process of historical consciousness contribute to the understanding of the construction of any historic accounts, among them the Icelandic saga tradition of the 13th century. He provides rich comparative material for the study of skippers, crews, the evolution of a modern fishing industry, kinship forms and rhetorics, the symbolism of everyday life, and the construction of personal and collective identity.

One need not agree with the assertion that "the further we distance our reasoning and methodological procedures from those of the people we claim to understand, the more we risk mystifying and misrepresenting them" (p. 212) (see, e.g., my "Reflections on the Absolute," *Anthropology and Humanism Quarterly* 12:38-41, 1987, and Singer and Benassi, "Occult Beliefs," *American Scientist* 69:49-55, 1981) to agree that we should avoid "becoming obsessed by introverted analytical concerns which are quite irrelevant beyond the narrow confines of the seminar room" (p. 212).

This work achieves its goals lucidly, contributes to the comparative literature, and offers a useful discussion of many fashionable as well as important issues.

Will They Still Be Dancing?: Integration and Ethnic Transformation Among Yugoslav Immigrants in Scandinavia. *Carl-Ulrik Schierup and Aleksandra Ålund.* Umeå, Sweden: Department of Sociology, University of Umeå, 1987 (distr. by Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm). 270 pp. SEK 295 (cloth).

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This is a painstaking study of two groups of Yugoslav workers in Scandinavia, village-based Wallachians (Vlachs) from northeastern Serbia and more urbanized Macedonians.

The authors discuss four distinctive subcultures, "Swedish" and "Danish" Wallachians, and groups of similarly divided Macedonians. Each has a distinctive pattern of adaptation to the local society. The authors' work draws upon ethnographic fieldwork in the home communities of the migrants in Yugoslavia as well as on their settings in Scandinavia. Questionnaire surveys were undertaken and are cited extensively in the text along with detailed quotations from biographically oriented interviews.

Topics covered in separate chapters are concerned with the work environment; family, including gender and generational interactions; public life, dealing with the role of Yugoslav voluntary organizations; and the function of oral tradition in ensuring cultural continuity. This publication is the result of a long-term study which has been in process since 1971. The authors bring a variety of backgrounds to their work since Ålund is herself an immigrant, originally from the Yugoslav Dalmatian coast.

General themes are developed in the separate sections of the book, "Ethno-Historical Background," "Patterns of Integration," and "Ethnic Transformation." There is a brief appendix on methodology and an excellent bibliography, and the text is interspersed with Schierup's fine photographs. While one cannot help but appreciate the enormous effort that has gone into the preparation of this volume, reading it is a frustrating experience. The seemingly endless tables of survey data, which are occasionally analyzed in some detail, do not fit in easily with the detailed quotes from background interviews. Oral tradition, principally in terms of vampire beliefs among the Wallachians, is treated more as a symbolic leitmotif than a subject of serious study.

It would have been most helpful to the reader if the results of the 189 interviews from members of the four communities were put into an appendix, while the text could have used some data on the overall size of Yugoslav immigrant groups in these two countries and associated background demographic data. We also lack information on the ways in which this sample was selected and its relationships to these ethnic groups as a whole. On another level, some of the analytical comments are needlessly repetitive and the space might have been better used to provide more contextual information on the home communities. This is particularly significant with respect to the Wallachians, who apparently continue to be closely bound to their home villages.

Most important, while we learn a great deal about the impact of the Danes and the Swedes

on the Yugoslavs, we do not get any picture of the reciprocal situation, particularly in the communities concerned. We are told that the local people are rather hostile, or at best, very reserved with respect to the Yugoslavs (the country term, meaning land of the South Slavs, is actually misleading in this instance since the Wallachians are not Slavs but speak a language related to Romanian). But this really begs the question as to whether there is a strong, culturally bound prejudice against southern Europeans residing permanently in Scandinavia.

This is one of the most telling aspects of the study, for there is a constant burden of temporariness felt by the Yugoslav workers and their families. Apparently neither length of residence, education, nor job skills can gain them permanent acceptance. The authors properly point out that the option of returning home is not a simple matter, for not only does this mean a lower standard of living but there is a real question as to whether they would be able to get jobs at all given Yugoslavia's economic problems. The situation has become even more critical since 1985 when the text of this book was prepared. Despite the above reservations, this is a useful study and a significant addition to the literature on the processes of cultural adaptation among migrant workers.

Class and Culture in Urban India: Fundamentalism in a Christian Community. *Lionel Caplan.* New York: Clarendon/Oxford University Press, 1988. 305 pp. \$59.00 (cloth).

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The purpose of this book is to describe the origin and growth of fundamentalism in the Protestant community of Madras, India. Caplan achieves this aim very well, first, by writing a good ethnography of the large Indian Protestant community, and then demonstrating why fundamentalist Christianity is so attractive to lower-class Protestants.

The Protestant population of Madras numbers about 75,000 (1981 census). Caplan spent 19 months studying three congregations from this community; two elite or middle-class, and one lower-class or "ordinary."

Caplan describes the history of the Protestant community in some detail. Christian proselytizing activities in India became intense in the early 19th century and led to wholesale conversions among the lowest economic and caste orders in south India. Entire

castes converted at the same time within a region. Thus, communities remained socially intact when they became Christians. The "untouchables" were particularly amenable to conversion, and four out of five converts came from this sector of society in some areas.

Conversion was often preceded by natural disasters, such as famine, drought, or plague. The missionaries saved many people and then converted numerous survivors. The famine of 1877 alone led to the conversion of 30,000 to 40,000 people.

The poor who had no prospects also turned to Christianity, for then they had access to land. Other benefits included food, clothing, and a formal education, allowing many families to become middle-class. Thus, Christianity provided access to power and wealth.

Many Protestants left the rural areas and settled in the city of Madras to take advantage of employment opportunities that became available around 1950. Though belonging to the same churches, the immigrants became differentiated into middle and lower classes. Caplan points out that class is a cultural as well as an economic category, and describes the contemporary class culture of the two groups in the study. The major characteristic of the lower class is that it intensifies links with its relatives and neighbors, thus restricting its social field. The middle class expands its contacts through clubs and other such organizations, opening themselves up to information by contact with other elites. The lower class tends to marry within the kin group, while the middle class forges marital bonds more widely. Further, members of the lower class are unaware that their ability to enter the middle class is currently circumscribed. They continue to believe that they can improve their lot, and fail to recognize the social barriers in their way.

Into this situation, fundamentalist forms of Christianity appeared in south India about twenty years ago, and have attracted adherents at the expense of the established Protestant churches. Part of the attraction of fundamentalist Christianity lies in its similarity to Hindu religion. Both religious groups recognize good and evil as central to their religions, and both believe that everyday misfortune is due to sorcery or evil spirits. While Hindu gods protect people from evil spirits through ritual, Fundamentalists are protected by the Holy Spirit, which has the power to overcome afflictions. The Holy Spirit flows through charismatic prophets who have the gift of healing and can overcome possession in the afflicted.