

Culture

Paula BROWN, *Beyond a Mountain Valley: The Simbu of Papua New Guinea*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995. 296 pages

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not deliver on her promise to provide an adequate historical setting. So questions like these go largely unanswered. But on the contemporary situation she is incisive and compelling.

Allison's study addresses (though much less comprehensively) another of the central problems of contemporary Japanese life, the breakdown of the balance between work, family, home and personal life as the corporation has extended its claim to the totality of its male employees' time aside from sleep, bath, and riding on commuter trains (p. 100). While work has expanded until it takes in virtually the whole of the salaryman's waking moments and the company family has incorporated his personal life, the opposite has occurred with the family, which has become "feminized." Indeed, the degree of estrangement of work from family, of salaryman from wife that can be seen in contemporary Japan is pronounced (pp. 198-201). Yet it is also true that the part-time workforce has been feminized as well, through corporate efforts to drive down labor costs. This has put the wife and the "feminized" family under terrific strain. Here, too, a fuller historical context could have aided the reader in grasping the wider significance of the corporate in constructing and reproducing both male and female sexual roles.

If Allison's complex and ultimately convincing account of the ritualized form of corporate sexuality seen in hostess clubs were distilled into a phrase or two, it might be this: it is "a system that pumps them up as super-phallic and sutures this phallicism to their jobs. Corporate life depends upon a commensurability between the penis (real) and phallus (symbolic)" (p. 29). Allison quotes a union organizer as saying that "carousing in bars and clubs with paid-for women is what powerful men do in Japan" (p. 203). The hostess-club outing at company expense may facilitate so complete an identification between the salaryman's masculine potency and self-identity of salarymen and his service to the corporation (pp. 153-156) that he may not be able to function sexually with his wife during his working career and perhaps not at all after retirement separates him from the corporate "family" (pp. 188f). In such a setting he comes to prefer sex as a purely commercial transaction, all the more desirable because the purchaser of the service feels both powerful and free, able to subject another to his will without personal obligation.

Once maleness becomes subsumed to being an ardent corporate man both at work and at play, it provides the means for an intense bonding of salarymen one to another in the work group. Allison argues that the ideological form of corporate-constructed sexuality – the "play" with the hostesses in the clubs and the explanations offered for salaryman behavior (chapters 7 and 8) – has become so pervasive that it should be regarded as hegemonic: that is, invisible because it assumes the guise of common sense (pp. 13-14). For the company, the ultimate objective of nightwork, then, is to reinforce an ideology of corporate masculinity that is so powerful as to be beyond articulation, and therefore beyond questioning or resistance. On the contrary, the subject of corporate domination seem not to feel subjected, but privileged to be able to belong to the company. In sum, maleness = salaryman = power = sex.

In conclusion, Anne Allison has produced in *Nightwork* a fine study that illuminates salaryman sexuality as one important avenue by which the large capitalist enterprise in Japan has established its dominance. Everyone interested in what makes contemporary Japan tick should read it.

Paula BROWN, *Beyond a Mountain Valley: The Simbu of Papua New Guinea* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995. 296 pages.

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Beyond a Mountain Valley is an ambitious book that grows out of Paula Brown's long career as an ethnographer of the Simbu of Papua New Guinea. Brown has worked with the Simbu people since 1958; now as professor emerita at SUNY Stony Brook, she aims to present the history of the region both as the Simbu understand it and as she and others have recorded it. Brown wrote the first major comparative study of highland societies, *Highland Peoples of New Guinea* (1978, Cambridge University Press), and she has also covered Simbu land use, intergroup relations, exchange, leadership and gender relations over her long career. In this most recent work, Brown makes a significant contribution to the growing body of ethnohistorical compilations of Melanesian experiences: "I look to the Simbu view of their own history, the imprint

of events and their perceived consequences" (p. 10). In addition, through the technique of "ethnographic montage" (p. xiv), this book makes a bold attempt to acknowledge that "there is surely no single truth" (p. xiv) to be told about the Simbu.

Through the relatively unedited exposition of selected fieldnotes and interview excerpts, Brown aims to compile a "multivocal account" (p. xiv) of how social events are turned into history. This intent bears elaboration. Action, structure and event are interrelated, according to Brown, and events do not make themselves: "An event is a happening interpreted – and interpretations vary" (Sahlins, 1985: 153 cited in Brown, p. 1). By collating stories, reports, life histories and intermixing them with sporadic ethnographic description, she attempts to let those who saw and heard events "create" history for themselves. At the same time, a theoretical imperative threads through the book. Brown controls the reins of the story by privileging two particular realms: the role of leaders in building histories; and experiences of early contact. In other words, although Brown claims to move away from her subjective judgements of "what actually happened," she offers the reader instead a guided ethnohistory of Simbu narratives.

Fortunately for the reader, the events and interpretations of the Simbu reward a close scrutiny. The book naturally divides itself into two parts. Chapters 2 to 6 include stories, interviews and fieldnotes about early contact: Simbu response to airplanes; the power of the gun; the role of fear in pacification; and the long-term reverberations that follow from the killing of two Catholic missionaries. The Simbu have built a history on locally important events. For example, war administrators thought that a dysentery epidemic of 1943-1945 that was responsible for thousands of deaths was a salient historical marker, whereas the Simbu neither recollected nor valued that episode. Instead what really matters still is the cataclysmic experience of the first airplane and the force of early Australian pacification, remembered by the Simbu as anything but benign. Chapters 7 to 10 detail events that happened after Brown began her fieldwork. Responses to new technology and ideas, labour migration and life stories of Simbu leaders engaged in development activities are some of the highlights of the more richly detailed second half. One of the most revealing life stories is that of the leader Kondom who, through a resolute commitment to the development process, ascended lead-

ership ranks to attain prominence at a regional level. Each of the three leaders profiled took on mythic personas as their identities came to meld with the events they helped bring about, whether those events were big pig feast orations or the opening of coffee plantations. Brown concludes that "events are identified in legend and tale through personalization" (p. 256), that is, heroic images cumulate and come to embody pivotal aspects of social change.

What is good about this book – the sheer richness of detail – is also its main detractor. The clutter inherent in ethnographic "montage" remains part of the text. Transcripts are hard to read, the editing is choppy and the narration uneven. At times ethnographic detail provides useful background, but too often the reader lacks adequate context in which to situate verbatim statements. However, overall *Beyond a Mountain Valley* offers a valuable compilation of indigenous accounts of historical change laced in a provocative theoretical framework, and it provides New Guineaphiles with a particularly welcome addition to the growing body of work on leadership and early contact.

Reference

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