

In short, *Understanding and Counseling Ethnic Minorities* will be of interest to anyone who works or plans to work with members of a minority group. For professionals who want a systematic approach to understanding the various problems of counseling ethnic minorities, this book will prove invaluable. My only criticism of Henderson's work is that it was not published earlier.

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RAYMOND L. HALL (ED.). *ETHNIC AUTONOMY -- COMPARATIVE DYNAMICS: THE AMERICAS, EUROPE AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD*. Pergamon Press: New York, 1979. \$32.50 hardcover; \$9.95 softcover.

Hall has done us a service in putting together this wide-ranging collection of essays on ethnic separatist movements. The volume is particularly timely because of the twentieth century paradoxes of the drive for global unity and nationalism, and nationalism and a blossoming of ethnic separatist movements. (The book is not unique. See, e.g. Chester L. Hunt and Lewis Walker, *Ethnic Dynamics: Patterns of Intergroup Relations in Various Societies*, Learning Publications, Inc., 1979.)

The impetus for this comparative study of ethnic movements came from the editor's long interest in social change resulting from large-scale ethnic movements, (see, e.g. Hall's *Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason*, Pergamon Press, 1977) and from his realization that a satisfactory analytical model of ethnic autonomy could not be derived from the United States experience alone but required a comparative international perspective.

Hall accordingly defined his subject, ethnic social movements for self-determination, under the general heading of "ethnic autonomy" which included nationalism, secessionism, irredentism, schism, and separation, and proceeded to invite specialists to write on selected case studies illustrative of the theme. At a symposium held to discuss the contributions, the authors agreed that the collection could not claim coherence or comprehensiveness, but "the ultimate purpose of this volume should be to provide extensive information about the important and complex topic of ethnicity and ethnic movements, as well as to facilitate more rigorous thought, analysis, and research regarding them."(xii)

The book is organized into five parts. Part I, entitled "Conceptual Overviews of Ethnicity and Ethnic Dynamics," is intended to serve as a conceptual base for the case studies which follow and is a general discussion of some dimensions of ethnic identity with a focus on language and its role in ethnic autonomy. Part II contains case studies of racial and ethnic autonomy in North America (Native American, Black, Chicano and Quebec), Part III, case studies of autonomy and ethnicity in Europe (Northern Ireland,

Scotland, Spanish Basques, France, and Soviet Central Asia), and Part IV, case studies of ethnicity and ethnic autonomy in the developing world (Uganda, Ethiopia, West Africa, Peru, and India). Part V, entitled "Autonomy in Perspective," seeks to identify and synthesize the common elements of the case studies and place these into perspective.

Despite the editor's laudable intent, like most collections, the volume suffers from unevenness and an overall lack of integration and adequate conceptual overview. While it is clear that ethnic identity is a precondition for interethnic conflict and ethnic autonomy, it is also evident that a definition of identity does not of itself explain social change resulting from the quest for ethnic self-determination. Further, although five separate essays seek to explore the nature of ethnic identity, the subject is addressed in most general and limited terms (Segal, Cook, Dorris, and Kleitz) and the debate on its origins is left unresolved (Alverson). Without doubt, the most substantive analysis of ethnicity and ethnic identity in the volume is the chapter by Sagarin and Moneymaker on language and nationalist, separatist, and secessionist movements.

This latter essay also raises another conceptual deficiency of the volume--the place of power and the relationship of peoples in that struggle for power. Hall, in his preface, delineates some of the variables which might serve as "explainers" or "causers" including culture, economics, ethnicity, geography, history, language, patterns of domination, and religion. Further he observes: "Ethnic diversity means ethnic differences, and these differences too often contain a potential for intergroup conflict." (xvii) Although interethnic conflict is clearly only possible where at least two ethnically identifiable groups exist, it does not follow that there necessarily must be a causal relationship between ethnic diversity and inter-ethnic conflict. Hall recognizes this yet his reliance upon a definition of ethnicity as a conceptual introduction to explain ethnic autonomy without an examination of causal factors is patently inadequate. Surely the unequal power relationship, whether real or imagined, of two ethnic groups in a majority-minority relationship is a most basic precondition to aspirations for ethnic autonomy. And as pointed out by Sagarin and Moneymaker, language (along with the other variables or "explainers" identified by Hall above) is not a causal explanation for interethnic conflict but rather is a source of identity and rally symbol in the struggle for power. "It is not so much that the struggles for power will result in the revival, strengthening, and continuity of the language," wrote Sagarin and Moneymaker, "but rather that the presence of language, whether in current usage or as an historical symbol, strengthens a people in power struggles." (35)

Comparatively minor irritants include typographical errors like "economic" for "economy" (431:1) and "content" for "contend" (433:2), and incorrect terminology, "Union of South Africa" for "Republic of South Africa." (257:3) More serious defects include the editor's ethnocentrism despite his caution against the narrow use of culture-bound constructs to arrive at a universal understanding of ethnic autonomy. (xiii) For example, in his preface

to the section on the developing world, Hall writes: "Before colonialism, potential or actual ethnic adversaries had attempted to work out generally-satisfactory ecological arrangements; they usually respected each others' physical and psychological boundaries, either because there was little or no choice in the matter, or because no one group had sufficient power to overwhelm the others." (emphasis mine) (255) That ethnocentrism closely parallels his assumption that ethnic diversity contains the potential for inter-group conflict and conversely homogeneity implies less potential for intergroup conflict (xvii-xix), and his conclusion that since ethnic heterogeneity and hence ethnic conflict are products of colonialism (the modern nation state), a resolution of that has been patterned after strategies of the developed world. On the contrary, African states and chiefdoms, for example, have dealt with ethnic diversity and conflict long before European colonizers arrived on the continent.

It is perhaps regrettable that the last two essays by Sterling and McCord and McCord were not placed at the beginning of the book because these set forth the theoretical thread which might have served to integrate the individual case studies. Sterling, for example, defines ethnic separatism as "a political movement whose purpose is the parting of peoples" (emphasis mine) (413), and discusses nationalism and democracy, the role of the masses, majority-minority relations, political strategies and alliances, power, and the redistribution of wealth. McCord and McCord summarize for us some generalizations which might apply to all separatist movements but we are cautioned that because of the uniqueness of each movement these must be at an "extremely high level of abstraction and, therefore, must be conditionally specified." (433) Factors include differential access to power, uneven economic development, partial assimilation and cultural revivalism, leadership, a tradition of division and hatreds, and incomplete or ineffectual oppression.

It is significant that both concluding essays point to the need for in-depth studies which trace the historical rise of the idea of ethnic autonomy and its changes over time perhaps reflecting its age, and more case studies which could provide the bases for a truly rigorous comparative international perspective. This is especially important since as noted by McCord and McCord, "separatist movements are unique, and that any explanation of them must rely upon information of the specific historical circumstances which precede them." (433) In addition, as pointed out by Deutsch, Weiner, and others, ethnic separatist movements oftentimes transcend national boundaries and thus analyses of ethnic autonomy must move beyond the confines of the state. (Karl W. Deutsch, "External Influences on the Internal Behavior of States," in R. B. Farrell (ed.), *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics*, Northwestern University Press, 1966, 5-26; and Myron Weiner, "The Macedonian Syndrome: An Historical Model of International Relations and Political Development," *World Politics* 23:1971, 655-83.) The present collection of essays, therefore, represents a timely but modest beginning.

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