review serves less to critique the volume than to suggest that celibacy is a potentially fertile area for further comparative research on sexuality; the omissions noted should be seen as challenges to other researchers from across anthropology to address the topic in a way that is widely descriptive, deeply ethnographic, and theoretically significant.

Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma. *Circe Sturm.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. xi + 249 pp., photographs, notes, bibliography, index.

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Circe Sturm, with aplomb and sensitivity, has dared to delve into the slippery issue of American Indian identity in her new book *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma.* Sturm sets out to "examine how Cherokee identity is socially and politically constructed and how that process is embedded in ideas of blood, color, and race that permeate discourses of social belonging in the United States." She does so by paying full attention to and giving intricate ethnographic and ethnohistoric detail of the lives of multiracial members of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma (CNO; p. 2).

Sturm does an excellent job of synthesizing various writings on phenotypical difference, from the pronouncements of Pope Paul III in the 16th century to Linnaeus's 18th-century categorization of such difference in an all too simplistic color-coded hierarchy of white, yellow, black, and red (p. 45). She offers an explanation of how Europeans cum Americans, who once thought of the indigenous inhabitants of this "new land" as equals, came to view them as barbaric "redskins." Sturm's analysis of the Cherokee meanings of "red" and "white" is drawn from the fact that "in referring to [King George] as a white father and to the Cherokees as his red children, [a] speaker invoked metaphors of both Cherokee kinship and town politics to assume certain social relationships with the British. The British would be the white peacemakers, the diplomats, the fatherly providers, while the Cherokees would be the red warriors in need of material goods" (p. 46). European traders intermarried with the Cherokee as early as the 17th century, and by the time African slaves began to be the preferred objects of chattel slavery—because Indians tended to run away to go home—the multiracial Cherokee person was already in existence (pp. 50–51).

Sturm effectively chases the 100-year evolution of race from a concept that she alleges was used by the Cherokee in nation building early in the 19th century to a concept used by the U.S. federal government to find a "final solution" to the "Indian Problem" (pp. 52–53). Sturm points out that laws were passed by the first constitutional Cherokee Nation (c. 1820) that brought harsh punishment to any Cherokee who married a "negro slave" (p. 54). Such laws and associated language, however, were those of the elite, plantation- and slave-owning Cherokees, and Sturm later points to the complexity and perplexity of "constitutional law" versus "clan law" with the case of a negro slave named Molly, adopted into the Deer Clan (pp. 57–58).

The case of Molly can be interpreted as the 19th-century harbinger of the contentiousness of racial identity for the Cherokee Nation throughout the 20th and into the 21st centuries. Sturm states that this "has involved two competing notions of race" (p. 86). Both are Euro-American. One is the sense of "ethnonationalism linking blood, race, and nation" (p. 86). The second is the notion that "racial identity was tied to blood quantum" (p. 86). Yet family and community ties continually undermine these notions and force the question, "Who is Cherokee?" No matter how strong one's ties are to family, community, and cultural systems, however, Cherokee Nation law requires some form of proof of blood quantum. Sturm points out that, contrary to "traditional" ways of belonging, "the significance of blood quantum was internalized and then codified by tribes themselves . . . in the wake of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act" (p. 87).

Sturm succinctly explains the evolution of the rocky political course to Cherokee nationhood throughout the 20th century. From a principal chief in mid-century who was marginally Cherokee as well as the CEO of Phillip's Petroleum, to the current principal chief (c. 2002), who is the grandson of Redbird Smith of Keetoowah fame, the political changes within the nation have been remarkable. Sturm points out, however, that "by electing tribal leaders who are increasingly Cherokee in a cultural and phenotypical sense . . . the public face of the Cherokee Nation reflects not the tribe's demographic reality but its imagined center" (p. 107).

As a fellow researcher on the Cherokee, doing both ethnohistorical and contemporary ethnography, I find chapter 7, "Challenging the Color Line: The Trials and Tribulations of the Cherokee Freedmen," the most profoundly important and exciting section of the book. Sturm's in-depth analysis of black-Cherokees is a strong statement of what identity means for a person of African and Cherokee descent. Since the late 19th century, the CNO has resisted the efforts of black-Cherokees to attain Cherokee citizenship (p. 171). This, despite the fact that the legitimacy of the black-Cherokees' claim was demonstrated by inclusion of their names on a U.S. government recognized tribal roll, has held true through present day (pp. 194–200). Through individual cases Sturm effectively presents the depth and complexity of racial politics in the Cherokee Nation. One day, she alludes, the rejection of black-Cherokees may come back to haunt the CNO (p. 200). This is true because many of the black-Cherokees are native speakers and have, in many ways, maintained "traditional" lifeways more successfully over the centuries than the white-Cherokees. I maintain that the CNO cannot afford to ignore these people and lose their political and social support in the widely dispersed communities in northeastern Oklahoma.

I would recommend Circe Sturm's book to anyone who researches and tries to navigate the labyrinth of American Indian identity in context with covert and overt racial politics in the United States. The difficulties inherent

in such research are products of more than two centuries of a colonial force that is still in the business of determining "who is an Indian." It will continue until the federal government and U.S. "mainstream" society actually come to terms with and accept the fact that as a nation-state the United States has left a trail of broken treaties.

The Package Deal: Marriage, Work, and Fatherhood in Men's Lives. *Nicholas W. Townsend.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002. ix + 248 pp., appendixes, notes, references, index.

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A man in business attire is welcomed at the front door of his home by his wife and children (a boy and a girl). This cover image from Nicholas Townsend's *The Package Deal* captures the main theme of the book: to examine the construction of masculinity for middle-class men in the United States. Using substantive quotations from men's narratives, Townsend identifies four main elements that create the "package deal": marriage, work, fatherhood, and home ownership. The interrelationships between these make for a compelling account of the masculinity, normative cultural expectations, and conflicting tensions that create the "American Dad."

The Package Deal is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature that has turned the anthropological gaze onto North American cultural identities and cultural production. Townsend conducted fieldwork from 1980 to 1992 in a town he calls "Meadowview," in northern California's Silicon Valley. After World War II, "Meadowview" was transformed from an agricultural and cannery town to a suburban town. The narratives in the book are based on Townsend's interviews with 39 men in their late thirties who had graduated from Meadowview High School in the early 1970s. The author's fieldwork also included interviews with the men's female classmates, wives, and former teachers. At the time these men were in high school, 95 percent of the population of "Meadowview" was white (p. 18). Townsend's interviewees included five Hispanic and Asian men (13 percent of his sample). Despite this diversity, Townsend did not find that the men he talked to "had different visions of what it means to be a successful man and a successful father in the contemporary United States" (p. 20)—more on this below.

Existing scholarly work on U.S. families has often focused on the performance of gendered roles or on the conflicts or imbalance women experience juggling work and family life. Townsend nudges this discussion beyond the basic factors involved in work–life role imbalance to examine how fatherhood itself is inherently constructed on inevitable contradictions born of the cultural imperative to be both a good father and a good provider. Townsend relies on insights from feminist analysis, apparent from the bibliographic essay presented in Appendix 2. This is a careful study of a less often examined aspect of gendered identity in the United States: the everyday social construction of masculinity among west coast middle-class men. In their gendered lives the men try "to achieve their composite goal by following a culturally approved life script" (p. 29). Townsend reveals how their masculinity is constructed through the links among fatherhood, marriage, home ownership, and employment. The men's family lives are defined through this multiple lens, and contradictions and challenges abound. Townsend carefully reveals the ironies hinging on this construction of American fatherhood. One of the most fundamental is that men are required to be caring fathers precisely as demands on their work time (including commuting time) increase (p. 145). Townsend clearly lays out the interrelationships among the four aspects of the package deal. For instance, he shows how men's experiences of fatherhood are mediated by women's roles and activities (see, e.g., chapter 4), how middle-class identity is tied to occupational issues (p. 122), and how links between home ownership and the provider role bind men to choices in employment (p. 144). In highlighting these aspects of men's lives, Townsend explores the dominant cultural view of U.S. kinship and the concomitant and inevitable ties to family material circumstances.

Embedded in the men's quotations is a narrative of personal achievement and choice. This is not surprising, given the Protestant work ethic that these men embody, with its emphasis on individual accomplishment. Townsend's careful ethnography reveals how these narratives must be understood in a context of social situations and circumstances that precisely guide the kinds of choices the men are able to make. For instance, kin (often parents) assist the men in purchasing their own homes. In some cases, this assistance involves a substantial financial contribution toward a down payment. In other cases, it involves living arrangements that allow men to purchase houses (e.g., living with an aunt and not paying rent; purchasing a house with a sibling, with the agreement that the sibling will be "bought out" at a later date). In turn, the men speak about their future plans for and obligations to their parents. Some envision "joint-family" arrangements (to borrow from South Asian kinship terminology), with multiple generations living in the same household. Others indicate that they have discussed their parents' needs and preferences with their parents, to accommodate these considerations in their own nuclear family decisions. Despite these references to multiple forms of financial and social obligation and interdependence, in their narratives the men emphasize that they have bought their own homes and that they are self-made. Beyond the narrative of self-achievement, this assertion that they are self-made is also linked to what Townsend calls "the voluntaristic approach to inter-kinship obligations" (p. 172).

The Package Deal has many strengths that cannot be covered in a short review. Even so, Townsend's discussion of class status, an inevitably pervasive aspect of these men's lives, remains a less satisfactory aspect of this exploration. This is perhaps not surprising given that in "September 2000, 69% of adults in the United States considered themselves middle or upper middle class" (p. 122). This renders class a social category that is simultaneously