

⁶⁶"A feminist archaeology places women at the center of our study, while marxism places economic relations at the center of that study" (p. 132). Given the solidity of his general argument, this essentialization of the feminist critique is befuddling. Although he explicitly recognizes the fault in subsuming all forms of inequality, including gender, under class, his essentialization of the feminist project obscures the complexity of gender inequality. The goal of feminist archaeology is not merely to discover women in the archaeological record but to expose that gender inequality cannot be understood only by creating a male/female dialectic.

Overall, McGuire's chapter is well written. His arguments flow well and the chapter is easy to read, even for those not well versed in marxist theory. Any course in the introduction to archaeological theory would do well to include this piece as the introduction to marxist theory in New World archaeology.

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***Paradigms and Barriers: How Habits of Mind Govern Scientific Beliefs*, by Howard Margolis, University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1993. xii + 267 pp. \$40.00 (cloth). \$15.95 (paper).**

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Habits of mind, like physical habits, are usually not explicitly taught or recognized, are learned slowly, and are changed with difficulty, if at all. Habits of mind are efficient ways of thinking that have a strong selective value in science and in human life at large. The focus of this book is upon those unfortunate, but fairly rare, situations in science where habits of mind get in the way of under-

standing the world.

Shared habits of mind are, according to the author of this book, the essential constituents that tie a scientific community together. The author is particularly interested in the issue of paradigm shifts in science, which Thomas Kuhn had described as the bridging of logical gaps. The author proposes that paradigm shifts can more reasonably be viewed as the breaking down (or leaping over) of barriers created by habits of mind.

An example of a habit of mind that plays a prominent role in this volume is the "nested spheres" view of the sun, moon, and planets that made it impossible for followers of the Ptolemaic model to see anything reasonable in the Copernican model. It was the escape from this habit of mind, according to Margolis, that led to the revolution in astronomy in the early 17th century. Other examples from physics and chemistry are provided but, unfortunately, there are none from the social or behavioral sciences.

Kuhn's idea of paradigm shift took the 1960s-70s archaeological community by storm and provided one framework to explain what was happening at that time in the field. Attempts by archaeologists to use the Kuhnian model to understand the recent history of the field, however, have not been very convincing and may be another instance of archaeologists importing a model without really understanding it (e.g., Leone 1972; Martin 1971). Margolis would argue that if what was going on at that time was a paradigm shift then habits of mind would have had an important part in the process. We may be too close to the events in question to do a good job of ferreting out such things and probably should look farther back in the history of the discipline for possible examples.

It is claimed that the recognition of stratigraphy and time depth in the New World only occurred in the early part of this century and that prior to this time Amerind populations were assumed to have little history (e.g., Taylor 1954; Willey and Sabloff 1980). Certainly there are discussions in the 19th century literature of deep middens implying great age and of succession of cultures over time, but the propensity to talk of archaeological remains as if they were all from the same time seems to have been common. Could this be an instance of an archaeological habit of mind that created a barrier to recognizing evidence of great time depth? More careful reading of the archaeological literature in this era needs to be done to assess this possibility.

The above question brings up an issue that Margolis discusses in detail. There is a school of the history/sociology of science known as constructivists who have made quite a name for themselves in claiming that the development of scientific theories is guided more by social and political factors than by comparisons with reality. Margolis argues, again using a Darwinian perspective, that there are strong selective pressures operating that constrain theories by reality - the strongest perhaps being the scientists not wanting to look dumb in the future. Constructivists, on the other hand, would argue that there are strong social and political pressures on scientists to view the world in certain ways and that this is a more powerful force in science than reality. The author's arguments against constructivism seem convincing for the "hard" sciences from which his examples come, but there may be greater potential for the constructivist position in social sciences such as archaeology. Did archaeologists of the 19th century believe that Amerinds lacked significant history because of some sociopolitical agenda or was it related more to issues such as lack of methods and techniques. The history of archaeology may provide an interesting arena for assessment of the varying importance of data, methods, and sociopolitical context upon theory development.

This book is of importance to historians of archaeology even if it only leads us to examine in greater depth the underlying, and usually unstated, frameworks or "habits of mind" that structured the thinking of our predecessors. It remains to be seen whether or not paradigm shifts and habits of mind have a useful role in understanding the history of archaeology.

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