BOOK REVIEWS

CLIFFORD GEERTZ, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1988. vi, 149 pp., Index. £19.50.

Throughout his long career as a leading American cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz has initiated invigorating debates. In this provocative and uneven book, he views anthropology as a kind of writing. Fashioned from a 1983 series of lectures at Stanford University, its publication follows in the wake of numerous recent articles and volumes on the topic of 'ethnographies as texts', a topic which in itself has aroused controversy and, in some quarters, outright condemnation. *Works and Lives* has already been dismissed by those who regret the current attention to rhetoric and reflexivity ('narcissism') and promote a return to old varieties of 'objectivity' and rational scientific method. For those with a serious interest in anthropology of the postmodern scene, this book throws a darting searchlight on contemporary preoccupations. Its quixotic methods and contradictory arguments, however, raise important questions.

Geertz argues that the problem of writing ethnographies has been disguised as an epistemological concern, that of preventing subjectivity from distorting objective facts. The conventional view has been: 'If the relation between observer and observed (rapport) can be managed, the relation between author and text (signature) will follow—it is thought—of itself.' Against this naïve assumption, Geertz gives primary attention to 'text-building strategies'. He deals primarily with four leading figures—Lévi-Strauss, Evans-Pritchard, Malinowski, and Benedict—in his words, 'Paris mandarin, Oxford don, wandering Pole, New York intellectual'. They were selected, he tells us (with reference to Foucault and Barthes), as 'founders of discourse': those who build 'the theatres of language' where others come along to perform, more or less well.

Geertz's analysis in the following chapters shows a puzzling reversal. While he holds strongly to the interpretation of culture as multi-layered, contextual and provisional (the famous 'thick description'), he examines the discursive strategies of these 'founders of discourse', in effect, by reducing the complexity of an entire corpus of anthropological work to a single image or formula. For Lévi-Strauss, this reduction shows his work to be a mythical quest; for Evans-Pritchard, a slide show of African transparencies; in Malinowski's case, an 'I was there' technique; and for Benedict, a criticism of 'us' through description of 'not-us'. While writers in the human sciences often use a striking image to encapsulate a network of ideas, or an elegant model to clarify sets of relations, Geertz's formulaic tags do little to enrich our understanding of *how* these authors wrote works which became anthropological classics.

In his evocative, often perceptive analysis of literary styles, Geertz draws on his own repertoire of persuasive techniques, one in particular requiring closer scrutiny: his long quotations of marginal, figurative, even private texts—none of them representative ethnography—as keys to an entire body of anthropological writing. This substitution shows, at best, little appreciation of specific genres, authorial purposes or expected readers. Excerpts from Malinowski's diary once again remind us of the jarring difference between his intense personal anxieties during fieldwork and his confident, romanticized ethnographies. Several pages of a mildly Swiftian essay on 'The Uses of Cannibalism', written at the very beginning of her career, introduce the chapter on Benedict to demonstrate how her anthropological writings reveal the moral purpose of presenting exotic ethnographies as a mode of criticizing her own society. But this does little to illuminate why *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*—written as a wartime assignment to bring about greater understanding of the enemy—was long considered a masterpiece by scholars in Japanese studies.

For his study of Evans-Pritchard, Geertz highlights a brief narrative of a military operation carried out during World War II on the Akobo River in the Sudan, written near the end of E-P's life and published in a military journal. Geertz asserts that this text represents 'a nutshell image of the limits of E-P's discourse that are, as are anyone's the Wittgensteinian limits of his world', a statement that runs the risk of refutation on several fronts. Geertz sums up the literary qualities of this tale as 'Akobo Realism', the point of which is to demonstrate that nothing, no matter how singular, resists reasoned description'. This military story, however, has no memorable images and little visual quality, characteristics which Geertz then takes up (with cogent insights) as central to E-P's literary style.

Throughout his book, Geertz's arguments are skewed by the prominence he gives to peripheral texts in his demonstration of the particular literary qualities of eminent anthropologists. The sceptical might point out that travel writers give vivid and convincing descriptions of people's lives in exotic worlds (as did Malinowski); retired British military officers write of skirmishes and battles in polished public-school prose (like Evans-Pritchard's narrative)—but none has produced anthropological classics.

Perhaps even more telling, Geertz takes divergent, unsystematic moves through complex levels of literary analysis from the counting of commas (as few as possible, mechanically placed, in E-P's writings) to sequence structure ('the passion for simple subject-predicate-object sentences of the British'), from qualities of tone and irony to thematic organization. This turns literary examination into improvised and arbitrary manoeuvres: diverting, questioning and revealing, but also idiosyncratic and incomplete. A literary approach to ethnography requires, surely, the recognition of a specific genre that has resemblances with, but is different from travel writing, diaries, satiric essays, military accounts, or novels—a genre that has acquired through its historical development, local traditions and institutional legitimation its own professional standards and rules.

Despite its fashionable topic and wide-ranging references, this book has a slightly out-of-date quality, perhaps because the book came so long after the lectures on which it was based. The arguments considering ethnography as a literary genre have moved on, to confront significant political and epistemological concerns that Geertz only hints at in this slim volume.

HELEN CALLAWAY

JAMES CLIFFORD and GEORGE E. MARCUS (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* [Experiments in Contemporary Anthropology / A School of American Research Advanced Seminar], Berkeley etc.: University of California Press 1986. ix, 306 pp., Bibliography, Index. £25.00 / £8.50.

Writing Culture is, ironically, the title of a collection of essays in which some of the authors have clearly argued that the holistic connotation of the term 'culture' is untenable. The essays are mostly attempts to extend literary criticism, or in the editor's phrase 'literary therapy', to ethnography. Essential to this criticism is the role of the ethnographer in making text, and thus the textualization of his or her lived experience in the field is the focus of most of the essays. However, this literary practice is claimed throughout to be examined in pursuit of power relations. To write an ethnographic account is viewed as establishing one's own authority by speaking on behalf of, or representing, the peoples studied.

However, the way the contributors to this volume have challenged the authority of the ethnographer falls, broadly speaking, into two different and even incompatible categories. Despite the unanimity of all the contributors in making rhetorical reference to the power relations within which the ethnographer conducts his or her fieldwork, those who address themselves specifically to these relations are in the minority (prominently Asad, to a lesser extent Rabinow). The rest of the authors question the ethnographer's authority mainly on a more abstract, epistemological basis. They are seriously sceptical as to whether it is possible to give an objective picture of the people studied. Thus, these authors deny the observer the ability to observe, and the ethnographer the power to describe a culture, and regard any attempt to construct a picture of another people's culture as manipulative. Hence the argument that the term 'culture' is used by the ethnographer solely to bring coherence to his or her unreal, totalistic representation of 'the Other' (Clifford). The real purposes for which the ethnographer uses his or her 'representation' are as a 'rhetorical function' (Crapanzano), an 'allegorical register' (Clifford), or to tell his or her own 'story' (Tyler). In this way, the ethnographer's subjectivity—which is often connected with a certain subjectivity: 'Western traditions', 'Western thinking', 'bourgeoisie'—is then marked out by its non-equivalence to the experience of the people.

This intersubjective play is geared to a rejection of the subject/object division, which is itself defined too positivistically to recognize the distinction between the objective and the subjective. Hence the rigidity with which the dichotomies of truth and falsehood, I/we and them, science and fiction, description and narration and the personal and the impersonal, are upheld.

This is also a verdict against interpretative anthropology. The ethnographer's voice is reduced to an expression of his or her own, with little if any significance to the people studied. Given the multiplicity of voices, of which the ethnographer's is one, his account is thus regarded as no more than 'an intersubjective dialogue' (Clifford). Hence the emphasis placed on the ethnographer's personal account of fieldwork (Pratt), or autobiography and psychoanalysis (Clifford and Fischer). Rejecting any objective criterion against which the ethnographer may translate the studied culture into his own, these authors cherish a unharnessed subjectivism which can hardly be checked against anything but an internal logic. The rhetorical dismissal of classification, totalization, explanation and interpretation does not prevent the authors from employing holistic notions such as world-system, political economy, ethnicity. They have enhanced the ambiguity of these notions by mystifying the way a personal experience can be related to sociological analysis. 'Transcendence', 'evocation' and 'vision' are indicated by some (Clifford, Tyler, Marcus and Fischer) as the way by which the passage can be made. However, as one author reminds us, what is evoked is 'beyond truth and immune to the judgment of performance. It overcomes the separation of the sensible and the conceivable' (Tyler, p. 123). It is from a similarly obscure position that another contributor, George Marcus, can advocate a world-system approach and yet be sceptical of any order one might infuse into the system to relate its parts to one another.

The reader will, however, find some reward in those few contributions which tend to relate texts to their cultural contexts. It is particularly to Talal Asad's credit that the rhetoric of power relations finds its way into the analytical examination of cultural translation—a unavoidable part of the ethnographer's job. Instead of trying to convince one, rather inconsistently, that a theoretical construction is reducible to the factors which determined it, he proceeds to take them into account. The unequal terms under which the ethnographer embarks on the translation of a dominated culture into his own is the subject of his essay. He argues that the institutionally sanctioned role of unravelling the meaning of discourses in a culture has to be challenged. But such a challenge could only be effective if ethnographic texts become more accountable to the people of whom they are an account. These accounts have to reproduce the 'coherence' of the discourses of the people studied. Their truth has to be recognized by the people.

This is a book in which many of its contributors sound prophetic rather than analytical. Their often convoluted arguments bring more confusion than clarity into an important area of social research.

MANUCHEHR SANADJIAN

PAUL STOLLER, *The Taste of Ethnographic Things: The Senses in Anthropology* [Contemporary Ethnography Series; gen. eds. Dan Rose and Paul Stoller], Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1989. xv, 156 pp., References, Index, Illustrations. £28.45 / £12.30.

This tantalizing exploration of the anthropologist's relation to the Other provides a refreshing, optimistic and creative outlook on the perennial dilemma of ethnographic representation. Based on more than seven years' fieldwork amongst the Songhay of Niger, Stoller concocts an anecdotal mêlée of sights, sounds and smells that flavour the natives' inner world. His exegesis is a masterly example of concision and ingenuity, narrating both mundane and extraordinary incidents that occurred during his initiation as a Songhay sorcerer. The events themselves are mulled over in the light of past and present philosophical, artistic and literary traditions.

The book is divided into four sections. The first challenges the conventional construction of anthropological texts that fail to admit or include the implications of sensory detail, particularly taste, in their realizations. The second and third sections focus on the place of visual and aural perceptions of Songhay socialization as determined by political space and sound or noise in possession ceremonies. The fourth rehashes and re-evaluates the anthropological biases in modes of interpretation, reportage and literary styles.

Despite this quadripartite segmentation, two main ideas surface most forcibly. Initially, Stoller laments the sensual myopia of the anthropologist and emphasizes the centrality of human sensation in understanding the feelings and actions of the people under study. By concentrating on the senses, which anthropologists have previously ignored or undervalued, he goes on to attack the hypocrisy of the anthropological exercise by which 'we do not usually write what we want to write', but instead create an artificial academic language that, to some extent, betrays the true nature of the anthropological experience.

For too long the anthropologist has been allowed to dismiss the role of the senses in shaping visions of the ethnographic present. Of course, human sensations provide their own philosophical tangles for modes of conceptualization, but they also offer alternative horizons for the stylistic formation of authenticity, voice and authority in ethnographic texts. The crux of Stoller's argument resides in the recognition that sensual symbolisms are not superfluous to the ethnographic message. To support this view he challenges the Aristotelian premise that nature is on the outside, and instead advocates the invention of metaphorical images of nature through which the reader can visualize and think about the Other's world. Thus, creating a social concept of the taste of good or bad sauces, which he sampled in the Songhay village, may be perceived as a metaphorical indication of trust or mistrust, love or jealousy, favouritism or indifference, played out through intention and interaction. Similarly, it is not in what is said, but in the sounds of the words that power is both transformed into knowledge and transmitted from one person to another.

The only weakness in the book lies in the all-too-brief and rather disjointed discussions of how to read these metaphors in relation to the conventions of representation in ethnographic realism. Passages concerned with the quality of style, voice and language in anthropological discourse are fleetingly interspersed throughout and resurrected as the concluding material in the final chapter. Indeed, it is somewhat ironic that the place of ethnographic narrative and film in ethnographic representation are curtly brushed aside, since not only does the text read as part narrative, but Stoller focuses intently on Songhay perceptions of him as the son of the French film-maker Jean Rouch.

Stoller's philosophical stance is based on achieving a utopian fusion of mind and object. The key to this finely tuned state of awareness is a prolonged stay in the field. Longevity of interest and experience is considered to reduce the synapse between the anthropological claim to truth and the realization of the text as a rhetoric of rational authority. The result is a coagulation of Heidegger's hermeneutic built on the notion of truth as self-presence which precedes meaning, and the Derridean 'free-play' of deconstructing the self within the text. Meanwhile, he also rejects the inward-looking glance of self-reflection in the writings of Marcus, Cushman and Tyler. Thought is thus itself metaphorical, and the expression of sensual experience in Songhay life is a language derived from the conscious metaphor. In addition, Stoller analyses seemingly inexplicable incidents such as the mystical fragmentation of a perfume bottle as if a logical metalanguage exists which can distance itself from rhetorical thought to enable him to survey the consequences of his sensations.

This book provides an admirable account of the instability of human nature, and attempts to construct meaning from a Sartrian ideal of a constant critique of Self and Other. In this respect, Stoller avoids a reductionist analysis of language, truth and meaning by deviating from the Derridean intention to provoke and confuse and instead aims to establish a common ground for an anthropological appreciation of human sensation. Thus *The Taste of Ethnographic Things* is an eminently digestible recipe of Songhay socialization, peppered with provocative musings on the anthropological endeavour. As such, it declares the necessary abolition of the dull, insipid and lifeless text, and by doing so, challenges the very essence of the ethnographic genre. However, if this is the taste of anthropology to come are we moving dangerously towards an ever greater blurring of the indeterminate edges of ethnographic styles, or worse still, encouraging the dominant voice of an ambiguous purple prose?

FIONA MAGOWAN

TIM INGOLD (ed.), *What is an Animal?* [One World Archaeology 1; ser. ed. Peter J. Ucko], London etc.: Unwin Hyman 1988. xviii, 184 pp., Notes, Tables, Figures, Illustrations, References, Index. £28.00.

One of the central problems of anthropology that has been brought to light in recent years is the way in which philosophical presuppositions are central to any anthropological writing, particularly when that writing is said to be objective and scientific. *What is an Animal?*—a collection of papers from the World Archaeological Conference of 1986—can only be commended for its inter-disciplinary breadth and for the juxtaposition of critical essays written from the perspectives of philosophy and biology, with those of a more anthropological bent.

Most of the philosophical essays of this volume are, perhaps not surprisingly in the late 1980s, unified in their critique of Cartesian rationalism and its stark dualisms of animals as automata, and humans as rational purposive soul- or mind-carrying beings. However, although perhaps equally unsurprising for such interdisciplinary philosophical essays of the 1980s, there is a lack of reference to empiricism. They are written as if David Hume had not written in 1739 in *Of the Reason of Animals* that 'no truth appears to me more evident than that beasts are endowed with thought and reason as well as men; the arguments in this case are so obvious that they never escape the most stupid and ignorant'. That Cartesian views still require criticism two-hundred and fifty years after Hume, says much about a pervasive blind faith in the scientific rationalist viewpoint concerning animals, and about its resurrection in biology and anthropology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, contrary to all empirical and rational evidence.

Mary Midgley points, quite rightly, to the 'species solipsism' inherent in the 'rationalist' point of view and to the origins of the word 'animal' in the Latin *animal* and the Greek *zoon*, both of which meant living being. Tim Ingold takes up Morgan's view of the lodge-building beavers' rational superiority over certain irrational members of the human species and points to Donald Griffin's work concerning the mental awareness and language of bees. Edward S. Reed outlines the approach of ecological psychology, which deals with the world as the habitation of animate, autonomous and purposive, creatures—as meaningful environment for both man and beast, rather than a purely physical world that includes animals, subject to a lifeless mechanistic causality.

In the anthropological contributions, the philosophical arguments are turned towards the application of this Cartesian dualism in structuralist anthropology. Thus Richard Tapper notes, in his essay 'Animality, Humanity, Morality and Society', that the straightforward Cartesian dualism familiar in the West, yielding the homologous appositions culture : nature :: people : animals (:: male : female :: reason : passion), is perhaps historically rare and the denial of it currently popular. Although Tapper accepts Lévi-Strauss's 'shibboleth' that 'animals are good to think' with, he notices that they are also good to teach with and places variations in the way they are thought of in what he terms the 'human-animal

relations of production'. However, his critique of Lévi-Straussian writing concerning animals and humans is limited.

Tapper insists that 'analogues [between people and animals] remain metaphoric, they are not identifications'. But surely, when shepherds in an area with wolves claim that wolves are thieves they are pointing to, at least, an identity of purpose between wolves and (human) thieves, namely that both steal from shepherds: as far as shepherds are concerned, wolves are thieves. When similarly, but not identically, they claim that thieves are wolves or apply the word for wolves to (human) thieves, they are surely pointing to a relationship of identity between (human) thieves and wolves, at least in their concern for their main property holdings. Or, perhaps, they are violating our rules of identity. If all of the bracketed '(humans)' can be removed, of course, structuralist metaphorical restatements in our language may be completely nonsensical in terms of their usage of language. In any case, any attempts to catch such usages of animal vocabulary with the 'metaphorical safety net' can only be seen as one of the many ways of avoiding possible problems with Aristotelian laws of identity.

The avoidance of such problems stems from the legacy of structuralism, still present in this volume, albeit in a Marxoid-Structuralist form in Tapper's article. This structuralism divorces speech from its situation; and, having fixed or hypostatized it as Thought or Language, it then deals with these as a fixed, duolithic closed system, as can be seen in the Introduction in Tim Ingold's diagrammatic 'representation' of Western thought. The Marxoid variant opens the system to relationships of production, but still at the outset severs these relations from Thought. What is lacking from any such 'analyses' is an attempt to comprehend any particular example of speech or uses of language of that situation, for example the uses of animals in insults. Tapper does not recognize any situation other than thinking or teaching. The possibility of a plurality of different and similar relations in speech and its situations is ignored by the underlying dualism. None of these problems is solved by introducing, as Tapper does and as is common in anthropology these days, yet another dualism, that of Self and Other. In this instance—of human relations with animals—the introduction of this dualism surely replicates, with a slight transformation, the Cartesian division between man and beast which is criticized throughout the volume.

Perhaps the most interesting article in the collection is 'Human Animality, the Mental Imagery of Fear, and Religiosity', by Balaji Mundkur. Mundkur sees what he terms 'elementary fear of animals' as what anthropologists would term a universal, present not only in humans but also in anthropoids, and he associates religious symbolism of animals with it. He deals, in passing, with physiological and neurological perspectives on physical aspects of consciousness, but their association with 'fear', 'anxiety', and 'emotions' enters the article as an unproved prejudice. Throughout much of the article, 'fear' and 'anxiety' are used in an almost synonymous juxtaposition, yet he does try to differentiate between them, and it is when he does so that the historically specific Kantian view of the subject

comes into play: 'we may distinguish between anxiety and fear as emotions provoked by spontaneous internal stimuli and actual dangers respectively' (p. 148).

He moves from such statements, that are in fact overturned by his subsequent use of the words, to the whole edifice of rationalist thought that has developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and thus destroys any possibility of empiricism in his attempt to come to grips with relationships between states of mind and being, and religion and animals. 'Native' explanations of dreams, hallucinations and so on are not even considered: we are expected instead to have recourse to explanations based on faith in the subconscious, although quite what his subconscious is we can only guess at—it is specifically not the Freudian one. An empiricism which views hallucinations, for example, as in some sense existants, rather than figments, is not even considered, and is already precluded by the use of the term 'hallucination'. Rather, the essay veers towards a discourse concerned with pathologicality, neurosis etc., that is governed by a determination to invalidate some other peoples' experience by rendering it 'irrational'. His ample statistics on dream fears, anxiety, phobias or whatever, are only drawn from American data, where, given the discourse within which they are collected, it is particularly easy to wheel in talk of 'tension', 'stress', 'sensitivity', 'anxiety', 'apprehension', 'frontal cortex', etc. The inevitable conclusion that 'intrinsic religiosity...is embedded far less in the finer emotions than in fear and anxiety' (p. 177) has been begged in every other word of the essay and in a whole series of empirical questions left unasked. Mundkur thus provides an impeccable example of the discourse of Scientific Rationality. It seems to me that it is the dominance of this discourse, above all else, and above any attempt at empiricism, that may account for the impasse in the study of religion noted in the opening of his essay.

Nevertheless, despite its many deficiencies, this collection of essays does provide a useful, although often implicit, critique of much neo-Cartesian writing about animals.

TONY FREE

RICHARD FARDON, *Raiders and Refugees: Trends in Chamba Political Development 1750-1950* [Smithsonian Series in Ethnographic Enquiry; ser. eds. William L. Merrill and Ivan Karp], Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press 1988. xvii, 406 pp., Appendixes, References, Index, Figures, Maps, Illustrations. $27.50.

This book, based on the author's Ph.D. thesis, provides the historical perspective to complement Fardon's forthcoming monograph on Chamba religion. The theoretical discussion is a considerable advance over that of the Ph.D., but the meat is the same.

Fardon links his task to the problem posed by Leach's *Political Systems of Highland Burma*. However, while Leach was concerned with tracing similarities between culturally distinct groups, Fardon's problem is the opposite of Leach's. 'The Chamba' are heterogenous to such a degree that they would not be grouped under a single name were it not for the fact that they have been so grouped, and also assert for themselves their single identity. Different groups of Chamba speak two unrelated languages, have kinship systems which are variously double descent, matrilineal or patrilineal, and also possess a variety of political organization ranging from the lack of chiefship and 'ritual involution' found in Mapeo (where most of Fardon's fieldwork took place) to either ritualized or conquest chiefship.

Fardon proposes a historical solution to this puzzle, gathering together many themes to show how the contemporary situation has come about. In order to preserve Chamba agency within a historical account, Fardon invokes Chamba notions of 'sociability' which inform social action to 'hold the argument together' (p. 24). In essence, the argument is that Chamba communities have developed broadly, in response to Fulani slave raiding and to the Sokoto Jihad, from what he terms 'consociation' to 'adsociation'. These terms he defines as follows: 'consociation' assumes unity despite apparent difference; 'adsociation' assumes difference despite apparent unity. Each of these has elective affinities with different idioms of organization. This results in sets or clusters of associated features, and the possibility of change between clusters. 'Consociation' goes together with Chamba refugee communities, matrilineal clanship, ritualized chiefship and the speaking of Chamba Daka. 'Adsociation' is associated with Chamba raider communities, patriclanship, conquest chiefships and the use of the Chamba Leko language.

Two central chapters examine Chamba kinship, clanship and marriage, complementing the author's earlier comparative analysis of exchange marriage (in the pages of *Africa* in 1984 and 1985). Comparison of the terminologies of different Chamba groups with those of their immediate neighbours enables Fardon to relate changes in the kinship systems within Chamba to the different histories and elective affinities of the groups which may all be called (and now call themselves) 'Chamba'. Fardon is explicitly Weberian in his conclusions, although he strives to avoid Weber's 'fatalism' (p. 309). His examination of kinship stands as a model for those working with groups which operate double descent or cognatic systems. However, this reader would have preferred diagrams rather than the tables which Fardon uses to present the vocabularies.

The period covered by the book ends at 1950, as Fardon argues that it was around then that Chamba ceased to be agents in their own history, as they were in the period Fardon considers. Chamba notions of sociability no longer affect their history due to the combined results of colonial rule, education and subsequent Independence. Remarks in the conclusion suggest that 'Chamba identity' has been constructed by educated Chamba after they had ceased to be agents in their own history. The suggestion that only once the cultural multiplicity of the Chamba was no longer important in their history did the recognition of their identity emerge,

parallels Ernest Gellner's account in his *Nations and Nationalism* (1980) of the development of nationalism; but Gellner is not cited.

For those interested in the region, this book provides an important summary of one of the more puzzling groups which straddle the Nigeria-Cameroon border. Non-specialists will find much of interest in the introduction and conclusion—for example, a very sane summary of the relationship between the writer and the 'subjects' (a term which Fardon eschews) of ethnography (pp. 293-4). Two remaining cavils: the figures are badly placed in the text (e.g. the map of Chamba expansion occurs in the chapter following its main citation, and Figure 13 should be placed two pages later); and some of the theoretical arguments are made unnecessarily obscure. For example: 'Chamba terms for difference between people and their practices have to be seen as members of sets and in relation to adjacent sets that may appear non-ethnic. The rather arbitrary distinction between, say, patriclanship and ethnicity, which emerges in many anthropological studies, would have no counterpart in distinctions recognized by the Chamba, as they would rather see a difference in degree of difference.' I am still unclear what is meant by the final phrase.

DAVID ZEITLYN

RENEÉ HIRSCHON, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe: The Social Life of Asia Minor Refugees in Piraeus*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1989. xx, 248 pp., Appendixes, Notes, References, Index, Plates, Illustrations, Tables, Glossary. No price given.

When, in the autumn of 1972, during Reneé Hirschon's fieldwork in Yerania, 'The Greek Catastrophe' (that is, the forced migration from Asia Minor in 1922 of over one-and-a-quarter million Greeks) was commemorated with a series of public events, the atmosphere was, as she writes, rather 'spiritless and attendance very small'. An elderly woman, bitterly remembering the hardships of Athens's refugee quarters, remarked, 'They forgot us for so many years. Now what do they want of us?' As the writer explains: 'partly as a result of changes in the wider society, and partly through the ever widening time scale between the younger and the...heritage of their place of origin, the refugee world was disappearing' (pp. 247-8).

Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe closes with the words of another woman: 'Our refugeeness is disappearing...we experienced it, but it is like a fairy story to our children.' However, that experience, and the different phases and circumstances of the refugees' adaptation to life in crowded and precariously built urban quarters, have certainly found a lasting chronicle in Hirschon's ethnography.

'Asia Minor Greeks', she writes, 'present a limiting case of ethnicity, where objective grounds for distinction are minimal, since they have the same language

and religion as [other] Greeks...but a different cultural heritage and tradition.' The way in which the refugees maintained a separate social identity over three or four generations is explored in great depth, and the vicissitudes of their economic and social adaptation, from the early years of their precarious settlement in Piraeus, are vividly illustrated through individual life histories.

The writer's descriptive accounts of the district of Yerania, and of the quality and rhythms of life as it unfolds in the houses, the neighbourhood streets and the markets, are like the work of a film camera, carefully focused on surface realities, but ultimately conveying some of the inner depths in the minds of her informants. Social practices, family traditions, moral attitudes and networks of exchange and solidarity are the main forces through which the group's identity is maintained, and adjustment takes place with great resilience and endurance.

A strong sense of personal worth, more directly related to competence and dignity in the management of family life than dictated by occupational status, maintains the cohesion of the community. One example of continuity, and of the 're-iteration of cultural percepts in the new context', is that of practices related to marriage and, in particular, the primary importance of housing as an essential endowment for daughters. Paradoxically, while the severe shortage and poor quality of housing is the clearest sign of refugees' dispossessed status, the house, as locus and symbol of continuity, as a bulwark against all adverse circumstances, remains the principal item of dowry. Honour may appear to be 'dormant' in some respects (as, for example, in relation to the employment of women outside the home, which goes counter to its traditional dictates), but, as emerges from the writer's careful analysis of sex roles, and from her juxtaposition of honour with other principles or considerations of practical order, it still remains a very strong normative value. Women's roles as mothers and wives are strongly based on ideals inspired by the figure of the Virgin Mary, while their principal domain, their homes, expresses a strong religious orientation.

In her introductory chapter, Hirschon points out 'the close correspondence between dogmatic precepts enshrined in formal theology and the everyday understanding of religion'. For this, she offers as a historical explanation mainly the fact that under Ottoman rule, 'ethnic, linguistic and economic divisions were subordinated to religious identification'. Thus, religion provided a 'total cultural milieu'. 'Though not consciously articulated,' she writes, 'formal doctrinal precepts are existentially woven into peoples' understanding.'

In the second half of the book, social relations between families, affines and neighbours are further analysed in the light of religious customs and faith. But, although we learn a great deal about the refugees' beliefs from Hirschon's accounts of life in Yerania, and from her in-depth description of open/closed states, a brief summary of Orthodox ecclesiastical doctrine might have lent greater force to some of her general statements on her informants' religious attitudes. For instance, her claim about the 'absence of separation between the "sacred" or "spiritual" and the "mundane" or "secular"', as well as going counter to many anthropologists' assumptions, may lead to conceptual difficulties.

One example is Hirschon's analysis of Yerania's household interiors. Initially struck by an 'apparently irrational and impractical attitude', she eventually found that 'the key' to their understanding 'lay in the house's symbolic attributes, where practical or rational considerations are subordinated to metaphysical issues. In non-Western societies the house is recognized as a "cosmic building", a "transcendent space". Yerania homes too cannot be understood simply as secular structures; the use of space and furnishings was patterned on the symbolic world and expresses a sacred dimension in everyday contexts' (p. 136). Or, as the matter is summed up in the concluding chapter, 'The sacramental qualities of household furnishings have been discussed: tables, beds, and chairs have more than a practical function and represent the values of commensality, of conjugal unity, and of hospitality. The tangible world can be seen as imbued with spiritual values, expressed through peoples' everyday actions, both overtly and in unconscious ways' (p. 245).

Not only the sacred icons found in all Yerania's homes, but also chairs, tables and beds can, then, be seen as the fixed points on which peoples' religious and community lives are plotted. However, given such a clear-cut distinction between Western and non-Western house interiors, where exactly do we place our borderline? And if we examine house interiors and furnishings from the viewpoint of their symbolism, we must then observe that 'rational' interior spaces, like modern apartment or office blocks, may be no lesser purveyors of meaning than any Oriental home, Indian pueblo, or African compound, although their intimations of transcendence may be more diffuse and less doctrinally articulate. Thus, while Hirschon's study implicitly shows the shortcomings of functional interpretations, where spatial arrangements and furnishings are described as 'patterned on the symbolic world', or conveying 'a symbolic significance superseding mundane considerations', the case does appear somewhat overstated (p. 136).

Another assertion, which anthropologists working in Greece, or in other parts of the European Mediterranean, may find debatable is the alleged absence of 'superstitious belief' and 'folklore' (see, for example, Du Boulay's *Portrait of a Greek Mountain Village* and Herzfeld's *Anthropology Through the Looking Glass*). A detailed example from Hirschon's ethnography is a passage in which she describes the way in which, a few days before the wedding, 'the marital bed was itself celebrated': 'Young...friends and relatives of the couple were invited to the new home to a party "for the bed".... The bed would be made up by young unmarried girls.... Sometimes one of the men present would try to undo their work so that a struggle over the sheets would take place. Everyone present would throw money on to the bed and then refreshments were served' (p. 138). But relating that ritual—one which we would expect any Christian church to regard as superstitious and strongly redolent of sympathetic magic—in the context of her discussion of the sacramental character of marriage and procreation, she seems to overlook any distinction between church and folk traditions.

These are, however, small points of contention. By stimulating new debates on important theoretical issues, the book makes essential reading for anyone with

an interest in Mediterranean Europe. Its absorbing accounts of the history and sense of identity of Asia Minor Greeks, and its high level of documentation and exposition, make it a very valuable contribution to 'ethnicity' and refugee studies.

LIDIA SCIAMA

EDWARD LIPUMA, *The Gift of Kinship: Structure and Practice in Maring Social Organization*, Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press 1988. x, 288 pp., Glossary, References, Index, Maps, Tables, Illustrations. £27.50.

Melanesia is known as the home of 'loose structure'. Africanists' models of descent could only be applied there with great difficulty and little conviction, while structuralist analyses often seemed forced. Recent ethnographers have instead emphasized, by turns, the centrality of residence and of living on one's own land in the definition of self, the pivotal role of exchange, the indiscrete nature of 'religion', the prominence of the individual, the priority of siblingship in social organization, and the importance of innovation.

LiPuma's achievement is to have integrated many of these seemingly disparate aspects into a working whole, by applying the work of Bourdieu and the later Sahlins to the study of the social organization of one people. His 'generative theory of Highland societies', based on the Maring example, takes account of both social structure and its reproduction in practice. In so doing, it avoids the pitfalls of either a single-minded symbolic anthropology or economic materialism. By arguing for the inseparability of the symbolic and the material, norm and action, structure and practice, he presents a coherent, credible picture of why Maring do what they do.

The unifying analytical thread of his approach is the local conception of social reproduction which is embodied in the flow of substance (grease via men, blood via women) through the reproduction cycle. His structural understanding of group formation is grounded on the opposition between sharing and exchange: members of the same clan share, those of different ones exchange. These notions of substance and of forms of exchange constitute the primary generative scheme for the construction of the social system; it is only in practice that this structure is brought to life in such a way as to reproduce the clan and other social units.

For the author, his account is adequate to its ethnographic object because: (1) it is constructed on the basis of cultural categories and generative schemes; (2) it is able fully to encompass the range of practices (e.g. food taboos and bridewealth) constitutive of the social system; and (3) it demonstrates how the society symbolically and materially reproduces itself. This highly suggestive model will be of great interest to all Melanesians. My only qualm is that, as LiPuma confesses, he puts the local notion of substance to explanatory work in contexts

where the Maring are silent, where they do not produce any cultural exegesis. It will be up to other ethnographers of the Highlands to see if this interpretative leap can be justified, to examine whether this imaginative departure from informants' statements can generate the processual model he constructs.

JEREMY MACCLANCY

SYBIL WOLFRAM, *In-Laws and Outlaws: Kinship and Marriage in England*, London and Sydney: Croom Helm 1987. 218 pp., Appendix, Bibliography, Index, Tables, Figures. £25.00.

While in the Middle Ages one was prohibited from marrying cognatic relatives up to and including third cousins, now there are very few prohibited relations except for those considered to be in the direct line (i.e., parents, siblings, grandchildren; also some affines: parents-in-law, step-parents, though these restrictions appear to be on the way out). We see, then, a situation where affines have become increasingly less restricted. The author traces the turning-point in this trend to the hard-won Deceased Wife's Sister Bill (1907).

The debate over the deceased wife's sister raises questions about the relation between the laws of the state and popular opinion. The strong resistance to the Bill seemed to arise from particular living situations; sisters used to take care of each other's children and therefore spent a great deal of time in each other's houses. It was feared that if this sort of union were legalized, husbands might act with impropriety toward sisters-in-law and make a useful and necessary social arrangement impossible. Supporters of the Bill pointed out that these reservations were 'based on a view of the domestic morality of Englishmen and Englishwomen that was perfectly monstrous.... Men do not speculate in that way on their wife's death.' What perhaps did prove decisive for the passage of the Bill was a gradual lessening of the felt ties uniting one with affines and all relatives generally. The author demonstrates this by examining the relaxation of mourning customs—understood as an expression of relationship more than of grief—in the late nineteenth century. By 1910, Bernard Shaw claimed that he never wore mourning, not even for his closest relatives. And after World War I the custom seems to have died out altogether.

In the second part of the book, the author examines the popular as well as the learned and legal opinions justifying the incest prohibition on the one hand and those explaining the high rate of divorce on the other. Divorce in England was first made possible in 1700, but the number of divorces shot up from three to 158 per year in 1858 following the Matrimonial Causes Act which made divorce feasible in all layers of society. Now more than 100,000 divorces are granted each year. Lord Evershed claimed that this high number, which has increased steadily

since the eighteenth century at an exponential rate of 3-6 per cent per year, may be attributed to the emancipation of women. The author convincingly rubbishes that claim and supposes there to be no particular cause except the incidence of divorce itself: 'the more divorces there are in an individual's environment, the more likely it is that he or she will obtain one also' (p. 155).

Since the passage of the Incest Prohibition Act of 1908, sexual intercourse between children and their parents or grandparents, and between siblings has been punishable by 3-7 years of penal servitude or 2 years' imprisonment. From a glance at the date of this legislation, one would expect that this ruling was made in response to arguments from the fields of genetics and eugenics which began to flourish around the turn of the century. At the very least, legislators would surely have tapped arguments current then, namely that deformed or imbecilic offspring are the likely result of incestuous unions. Actually these issues hardly surfaced in the parliamentary debates leading up to the passage of the 1908 Act. Instead, the Bill was promoted as a means of deterring incest among the urban poor, and also as a step which would bring England into line with Scotland, where incest had been an offence since 1567.

Apparently, political expediency mediated against any serious examination of the reasons for banning incest. One must therefore turn elsewhere to understand why incest should be prohibited. What have anthropologists been able to come up with? Interesting explanations have been offered, but none of these can account for the range of configurations found in different societies. All we may conclude, and even this with qualifications, is that 'societies generally forbid marriage between those customarily living in the same household' (p. 178).

The task of refuting refined positions (such as Lévi-Strauss's) and hypotheses built from vast data samples (such as Murdock's) must have been enormous, and an author should be admired for attempting this and then condensing the whole exposition into twenty intelligible pages. Some might think this a preposterous undertaking on the part of an author who holds the post of University Lecturer in Philosophy at the University of Oxford, but Wolfram was, in fact, trained as an anthropologist at Oxford in the 1950s. Under the supervision of Louis Dumont, to whom this book is dedicated, she completed a D.Phil. thesis entitled 'The Explanation of Prohibitions and Preferences of Marriage Between Kin' (1956). Apart from an article in the first issue of *L'Homme* (1961), the results of this research were never published. Clearly this prior work accounts for the author's familiarity with the vast anthropological literature on kinship, as well as for her ability to summarize the arguments succinctly.

That we should have incest and marriage prohibitions, and that these should vary from society to society, or even within English society over time, is not the author's point. What interests her are the types of explanations given for the particular phenomena. She observes that

> there is a tendency to assign causes to rules and practices which are not favoured while those which are favoured are commonly assigned a useful purpose. The marriage rules and other rules or practices of primitive societies were not initially

> seen as rational, and during the period that they were not, historical explanation predominated. The growth of functionalist modes of explanation was probably as much the result of increased respect for the rules and practices of other societies as of disillusionment with 'conjectural history' (p. 190).

Such an assessment, besides commenting perceptively on the history of anthropology, highlights the fundamental similarities between popular explanations of custom ('that's the way the ancestors did it'; this rite serves to accomplish x) and learned anthropological ones.

What Wolfram shows in her two penultimate chapters is that most explanations of kinship phenomena (divorce, incest, marriage prohibitions etc.), both popular and professional, are misguided yet tenaciously (irrationally?) held to. The example of divorce was given above. Similar confusion surrounds the interpretation of marriage rules. New theories are advanced all the time, but the safest pronouncement is simply that marriage arrangements are infinitely various. As concerns English society, Wolfram offers the proposition that incest, divorce and marriage regulations are best viewed as category markers which serve to communicate a sense of identity or distinctiveness amongst group members. Elegant support of this may be had if one refers back to the explanations most frequently found persuasive in the parliamentary debates on divorce, grounds for divorce, or the relaxation of marriage prohibitions: (1) these changes brought England into line with Scotland; (2) they promoted equality between the sexes; (3) they made available to the lower classes what was available to the élite. All of these were just ways of tinkering with categories.

The real object of this book turns out to be explanation itself rather than kinship. Functionalism arises as a subsidiary culprit, for its theory has induced anthropologists to pursue misguidedly utilitarian explanations. The author's confidence notwithstanding, latter-day methods such as interpretative anthropology will find it difficult to avoid functionalist explanations altogether, because this is a common mode of thought for informants. Traces of functionalism, albeit at a psychological level, are still apparent in the most sophisticated forms of structuralism—take the writings of Dan Sperber, for whom 'apparently irrational' beliefs evidently operate to manage areas of cognitive uncertainty.

For its treatment of familiar data and terminologies this book may prove an excellent entry into kinship studies for those who normally baulk at the subject. Those interested in the history of British anthropology, particularly the presumptions about kinship which anthropologists would have taken into the field with them, will find it full of relevant information. *In-Laws and Outlaws* will also raise a number of questions in readers' minds about how they do and how they should explain their own customs. In this last respect it is a far more fruitful contribution to reflexive anthropology than many books which advertise themselves as such.

CHARLES STEWART

AKBAR S. AHMED, *Pakistan Society: Islam, Ethnicity and Leadership in South Asia*, Karachi etc.: Oxford University Press 1986. xi, 260 pp., Index, Figures, Tables. No price given.

This is an interesting collection of recent essays on rural societies in Pakistan. Mainly written in the early half of the 1980s, while Professor Ahmed was serving as a Political Agent on the North-West Frontier, his articles reflect a critical period of Pakistan's contemporary history: the era of Zia and of Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The interpretation of revitalized Islamic rhetoric and conflicts of local and national allegiance thus form recurrent preoccupations that give this book overall coherence.

Most valuable are Ahmed's fine-grained documentations of particular cases of conflict, illuminating the competitive uses of religious ideology and ethnicity at a local level. It is therefore welcome to have reprinted in one volume some of his outstanding ethnographic essays on these topics: the 'Hawke's Bay Case', of messianic mass suicide in 1983 (ch. 4, from *Man*; Vol. XXI); 'Order and Conflict in Waziristan' (ch. 5), a conveniently concise synopsis of his *Religion and Politics in Islam* (1983); 'Mor and Tor' (ch. 3), on Pakhtun sexual honour and vengeance; and a fascinating study of emergent ethnicity in Hazara (ch. 6). There are also two historical surveys of British-Pukhtun relations on the North-West Frontier that serve as a useful introduction to the neglected field of 'Phathanist' romantic discourse in British colonial literature, still evidently flourishing in Pakistan government circles. For these contributions alone this book can be recommended to all those interested in contemporary South Asian Islam and ethnicity.

These fine ethnographic essays are, however, interspersed with some less successful abstract theorizing and popular journalism. Among the latter are two newspaper articles on the northern districts of Chitral and Gilgit (chs. 2 and 12) which rely on the very tropes of Kiplingesque adventure and exoticism that Ahmed critically disparages elsewhere. The opening chapter on 'Islam, Ethnicity and Leadership in South Asia' also indulges in rather abstract ideal types, where competitive interpretations of Islam are reduced to a triad of historical alterations: between orthodox legalism ('type A', embodied in Zia), syncretic and romantic Sufism ('type B', personified in Z. A. Bhutto), and rational-liberal modernism ('type C', Jinnah and Ayub Khan). These oscillating 'models', whose genealogy is traced back to the Moghuls, are supposed to supersede current Orientalist 'labels' for fundamentalist or liberal varieties of Islam, 'which do not take into account the complex and dynamic interplay of local religion, cultural and ethnic factors' (p. 9). But I find Ahmed's Hegelian system scarcely more illuminating, in contrast to his genuine explication of rival interpretations of Islam in actual cases of factional or inter-tribal conflict (Shiah and Sunni in Hawke's Bay, Wazir and Mahsud definitions of *jihad* in Waziristan). Also irritating is the reiterated jargon about an 'Islamic district paradigm of socio-cultural processes', presented as a 'predictive model' (p. 74). But these are cavils more about style than content,

the latter always of interest in Ahmed's ethnography, based upon a personal and pragmatic involvement with the peoples he writes about.

Social anthropology in Pakistan is still very largely a one-man show, and we see here its unusual foundations in a personal career combining practical administration with academic scholarship. One product of this now rare combination is a refreshing forthrightness of moral evaluations, in contrast to the evasions of critical judgement characteristic of contemporary scholastic anxieties about representing the 'Other'. Ahmed has few doubts about the functions of anthropology as a reformer's science, as an indispensable tool for national development and relief agencies (ch. 10), even for rooting out stale old custom within tribal codes, where women are purportedly bought, sold and killed in games of male agnatic rivalry and 'excluded from certain rights afforded to them by Islam' (p. 310). Ahmed also makes explicit his sympathies with the industrious 'Aryan ethic' of Punjabi peasant cultivators (chs. 9 and 13), in preference to the 'conspicuous consumption' and 'wasteful' antagonisms of the tribal Pakhtun and Baluch. But while applauding his intellectual honesty, one has deeper reservations about Ahmed's representations of ethnicity and regional dissatisfaction with central government on the North-West Frontier. A brief chapter on Baluchistan (ch. 11) fails to get to grips with the horrendous treatment of the Baluch people since their annexation by Jinnah in 1948, fuelling separatist demands that Ahmed assures us are 'now subdued' (p. 189). A rather different perspective on this region is offered in Inaytullah Baloch's *The Problem of 'Greater Baluchistan'* (Beiträge zur Südasien-Forschung 116, Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1987), representing what Ahmed describes as 'extreme Baluch') who 'see Islamabad as colonizers'. Yet we are informed by Ahmed that 'Baluch society was essentially nomadic. It was fiercely inturned and isolated. It produced no great cities, no marble wonders, no centres of learning' (p. 188). And then one begins to sympathize with those absurdly romantic frontier colonialists, who at least privately consented to tribal chauvinist demands for a 'civilization [that] has no other end than to produce a fine type of man.... Therefore let us keep our independence and have none of your *kanun* (law) and your institutions...but stick to our own *riwaj* (custom) and be men like our fathers before us' (E. Howell, cited p. 122).

It is, of course, easy to employ the *regard éloigné* of academic scholasticism to sneer at such candid exercises of genuinely applied and committed anthropology in a most turbulent and unstable region of international politics. With few exceptions, the essays in this book are provocative, original, intellectually stimulating, and sometimes infuriating—a fruitful mixture for further debate about post-colonial anthropology and development.

PETER PARKES

VALENE L. SMITH (ed.), *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (2nd edn.), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1989. xii, 279 pp., Reference List and Bibliography, Index, Plates. £34.95 / £16.15.

This is the second edition of a book first published in 1977. It gains from the historical perspective its various authors are able to take on the original case-studies. Of the original fifteen individual contributions, only one has been omitted. The remaining essays are grouped into the following categories: 'Tourism and Leisure, A Theoretical Overview'; 'Nascent Tourism in Non-Western Societies'; 'Tourism in European Resorts'; 'Tourism in Complex Societies'; and 'Towards a Theory of Tourism'. The broad range of theoretical interests are complemented by the geographical diversity of locations, which include Alaska, Panama, Polynesia, Indonesia, Spain, the United States of America and Iran. Theoretical aspects of tourism covered include the sacred element, whereby vacation involving travel becomes the modern equivalent of an unusual religious festival, and contrastingly, the imperialistic side of tourism, a result of metropolitan centres having power over touristic and related developments abroad.

Tourism is shown to have many effects on local host populations, and examples are given throughout of misunderstandings and behaviourial changes, as with the Eskimo's screening of their butchery activities. On a more positive note, the Kuna Indians seem to have gained control over tourist development, having evolved a strategy using both ethnic and ecological emphases. On the other hand, the publicising of the 'Alarde' festival in Fuenterrabia in Spain has led to a loss of authenticity and its evolution into a consumable event.

A good example of the double-edged character of tourism is illustrated by C. F. Urbanavicz, who writes of the Tongans' pleasure at the arrival of a shipload of tourists injecting cash into their economy, and their great relief when the tourists finally depart. Oxford during the summer vacation comes to mind. Indeed, we can all empathize with both hosts and guests who feature throughout the studies in the book, and this empathy serves to strengthen its impact.

Whilst *Hosts and Guests* contains a selection of wide-ranging material, it seems to lack depth in that there is not enough grassroots ethnographic material, and no discernible consistent line of thought. Although James Lett, in his epilogue, stresses that the uniquely holistic and comparative perspective of anthropology unites the contributors, this does not affect the criticism that there is a lack of academic rigour. Nevertheless, *Hosts and Guests* provides a stimulating introduction to its subject, the anthropology of tourism, which is ripe for development.

DON MACLEOD

RAY RAPHAEL, *The Men from the Boys: Rites of Passage in Male America*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1988. xvii, 201 pp., Notes. £15.95.

The Men from the Boys has a simple message. In contrast to what takes place in 'traditional' societies, male rites of passage in America do not appear to succeed. The criterion of success is the permanent transition of the masculine 'self' from a culturally defined state of boyhood to manhood. The author's intent is to show that a belief in the 'inclusiveness' of manhood can lead to a more fulfilling life in society. Thus Raphael's task is to compare and contrast the 'inclusive' features of successful male rites of passage with the 'exclusive' features of rites of passage that are unsuccessful.

We are presented in the first chapter with a brief review, ethnographically illustrated, of anthropological explanations of rites of passage from boyhood to manhood. Examples are given of societies having 'traditional initiations', where the transitions which occur are described as being appropriate in meaning and symbolism, are mandatory and firm, and create men from boys who, by and large, become socially secure with their new knowledge and status. Intense ritual procedures occur, usually involving high levels of stress and frequent pain. Through such rituals, Thonga, Poro, Ojibway and other men arrive at maturity because 'there is no place [in these homogenous primitive cultures] for the uninitiated'. A brief discussion compares the biological, socio-psychological and spiritual theories used to analyse rites of passage, but the brevity and apparent triteness of this section, just six pages long, will no doubt disappoint many readers, especially when the remainder of the book depends heavily on the assumption that 'traditional' rites of passage are very effective. Raphael admits that success 'is not often emphasized in the anthropological accounts, but it is tacitly assumed' (p. 13). He is more concerned with the modern fascination with male rites of passage than with the validity of theories, each of which 'encapsulates some kernel of truth' (p. 12).

The modern fascination stems, at least in part, from Western societies' paradoxical twin demands of 'eternal adolescence' and the concept of 'the real man'. If one were to transit into a state of social maturity equivalent to that of the tribal examples, one would lose the youthful qualities so cherished and demanded of 'real men' by modern society. The compromise solution is that modern tests of masculinity, while often quite serious, are only simulations or, in many cases, games. In this process, the youthful state one is supposed to be departing from actually becomes part of the prescribed qualities of the 'real man'. The object of the initiation is no longer just to pass through and test oneself with support from one's peers and/or in conjunction with them. Instead, American men compete for the symbolically obscure goal of a much more temporary masculine success and pride. This leaves the winners of the game(s) questioning whether they have 'really' become men, and thus eternally playing out their youth in still more masculine games. At the same time, the losers become bitter and even more insecure. In contrast with the 'primitive' initiation, where everyone passes through

or 'wins', Raphael argues that there is no satisfying finality to the modern masculine rite of passage, whether the rivalry is inter- or 'intra'-personal. It is suggested that a misplaced emphasis on social Darwinism has taken firm hold of the underlying ethos.

In his middle seven descriptive chapters, Raphael lets his informants do most of the talking, adding his own interpretations from time to time. We are presented with a vast array of experiences ranging from, as the book's jacket proclaims, 'a Mr America body-builder to a practitioner of witchcraft, from, a "right stuff" fighter pilot to a draft dodger, from a self-proclaimed Don Juan to a "superdad"'.

What emerges is an image of American manhood in a state of ambiguity and with a high degree of confusion, especially when faced with the challenges of feminism and the changes in sex-role equality where, it is implied, 'nice guys' often feel as if they are finishing last. Raphael teasingly states in the first paragraph of his introduction that the American male has already passed through a guilt-ridden, apologetic reaction to feminism and is now involved in a 'Rambo-styled backlash to the hypersensitive male—but this time we're not easily fooled by macho bravado'. Nevertheless, the informants' confessions, stories, and often surprisingly complex self-analyses make the book read like a transcript from more than a few men's groups still rather guilt-ridden and apologetic, occasionally contrasting with a few memoirs of unapologetic singles-bar-hopping and stumbling pubescent adventures. Throughout the book, Raphael also manages to inject the traumatic spirit of the Vietnam War, although this is by no means the central motivating theme.

Concluding, Raphael decides that while a classical approach to rites of passage that is mandatory and prescriptive would be no more successful than matching the worst of national service and modern tribalism, it is the 'misinterpretation [by Western man] of what constitutes a proper initiation' that is the root cause of the modern-day anguish he has uncovered. While the transition from boyhood to manhood becomes drawn out and obscure with every 'imitation upon imitation' of tests of masculinity, it is suggested that the real transition may now be what is becoming virtually institutionalized in its social behaviour and its acceptance—the 'mid-life crisis'.

NEILS SAMPATH

JOHN H. MOORE, *The Cheyenne Nation: A Social and Demographic History*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1987. xxv, 338 pp., Figures, Maps, Plates, Tables, Appendix, Notes, References, Index. £30.00.

Moore's aim is to reconstruct Cheyenne social history from the seventeenth century, when proto-Cheyenne bands lived at the headwaters of the Mississippi

River in Minnesota, tracing their move through the Dakotas to the Black Hills, where they lived at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and carrying through to twentieth-century life on reservations in Montana and Oklahoma. He describes this history from the point of view of what he calls 'orthodox Marxism', which he claims is not, as common opinion would have it, committed to economic determinism, but merely emphasizes the role of human intelligence in responding to social and natural changes. Central to his argument is an attempt to establish that various shifts in Cheyenne social organization were responses to problems unresolvable in the older order.

Although a Cheyenne nation with a formally structured ceremonial camping circle and a Council of Forty-Four Chiefs came into being in the eighteenth century, the individual bands of the tribe moved and camped independently for most of the year. Some bands were greatly affected by alliances and intermarriage with other tribes, such as the Teton Sioux and the Kiowa, to the extent that they became hybridized and bilingual. Such hybrid bands might in time rejoin either of the original contributing tribes, or could indeed split, with factions joining different tribes. The social groupings forming the tribal circle were of different kinds, including bilaterally related bands and sacred or military societies. One military society, the 'Dog Soldiers' effectively became a hybrid Cheyenne/Sioux band which competed with the main Cheyenne nation for political dominance and control of land during the mid-nineteenth century and attempted to reorder matrilocal Cheyenne custom and replace it with an agnatic bias. This effort effectively ended after decisive defeats by the United States Army in the 1860s and '70s, although Moore found that these events still affect attitudes and events within the tribe in the 1980s.

The author combines documentary research with over a decade of fieldwork and teamwork concerning Cheyenne oral history and other matters. By means of painstaking and rather delicate reconstruction, he traces, with a degree of evident reliability, the continuity of splitting and joining of Cheyenne bands through their name changes from the seventeenth century to the present. By calculating firewood supplies and the carrying capacity of the soils of various historical camp-sites for providing grazing and water for herds of horses, Moore advances ecological explanations for why Cheyenne moved as they did at various times, why they settled where they did, why band sizes were as they were, and why they adopted a pattern of winter dispersal until attacks by the United States army broke up this pattern. He also traces the complexities of camping positions within the annual cycle right up to the present.

The Cheyenne of Hammon, Oklahoma, lived in tents and tipis until federal payments in 1968 allowed them to move into permanent homes, and they may have been the last of the tipi Indians. Despite acculturation and a steady drift of population into cities, population increases have meant that there may be as many core traditionalists now as ever. For traditionalists, the central activity of cultural life is the annual two-week summer encampment, when extended families live in tents within the tribal circle and attend ceremonies. Although there are continued

disharmonies within the tribe and an inability to co-operate within a modern tribal government, chiefs, priests and headmen provide effective leadership which testifies, in Moore's view, to the continuing strength of traditional organizations.

R. H. BARNES

FLORENCE CONNOLLY SHIPEK, *Pushed into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure 1769-1986*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1988. xviii, 155 pp., Maps, Tables, Appendixes, Notes, References, Index. £24.65.

East and north of San Diego and east and south of Los Angeles lie the scattered reservations of a series of unrelated southern Californian Indian peoples. Palm Springs is located on lands belonging to one of the more northerly of these groups. Unlike Indian tribes elsewhere in the United States, Southern Californian Indians did not suffer large-scale loss of land as a result of the allocation of tribal land for individual tenure, nor did individual allotment in itself lead to disintegration of tribal or band structures. Nevertheless, over four hundred years of contact with Spaniards, Mexicans and North Americans have brought many injustices upon them, exacerbated in all periods by the unwillingness of officials to treat them honestly, equably and fairly. Shipek has spent years carrying out research to support various efforts by Indians to improve their control over their land. She wrote this book for use by Indians and those working with them on problems related to reservation tenure. It is, however, less of a history than a study of the daily irritations and difficulties of minority peoples struggling to cope with contemporary California life. It is well informed and balanced, and ought to serve its practical aims to the satisfaction of those who need it.

Shipek hopes to dispel two misconceptions. The first is that all North American Indian groups had the same system of land tenure. In fact, several different types of land tenure exist today on the California reservations, and measures taken by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the state government which fail to recognize this fact are inappropriate. The second misconception is that traditional land use left the land in its natural state. Recently, environmentalists have unwittingly become a threat to the economic freedom and well-being of the Indians by trying to incorporate their reservations into nature reserves. Shipek argues that Indians have continually altered their use of land, introduced new crops and methods and sought new forms of income, and that they would certainly not welcome restrictions on their doing so in the future.

R. H. BARNES

LAWRENCE F. SALMEN, *Listen to the People: Participant-Observer Evaluation of Development Projects*, Oxford: Oxford University Press / World Bank 1989. x, 129 pp., Appendixes, Bibliography, Index, Maps, Figures, Illustrations. £8.95.

The post-modernists' debate has only served to intensify anthropology's chronic identity crisis. Thus, to find our methodology (all that some say we can call our own) used in 'new' contexts should do something to lessen our heightened anguish. According to the back cover, 'this book represents an important advance in the use of the social sciences in international development'. One could ask why, considering the history of development and the stature of institutions such as the World Bank, it took until the late 1970s for such advances to come about. Perhaps part of the answer lies in the timidity of the anthropological profession to promote itself and affirm that it has something to offer in such situations.

One is, however, never certain in reading this book exactly what the anthropological background of the author is. (The bibliography would suggest that he has some knowledge of the field.) The World Bank approached Salmen with the idea of conducting participant-observation studies in two Latin American locations: La Paz, Bolivia, and Guayaquil, Ecuador. Salmen was sent to 'gain an understanding of the projects from (the local people's) point of view'. In his account of this 'experiment' Salmen also 'describes attempts to apply the methodology elsewhere in both urban and rural projects using host-country professionals to carry out the evaluation' (p. 3).

Whatever the previous 'fieldwork' experience of the author, it had obviously not exposed him to the realities of life in a Third World country. One is mystified as to why he includes trivial details which point to the discomforts which he encountered. Early on in the text one learns of the noisy neighbours that he had to endure, and that the oppressive heat he suffered was only 'alleviated somewhat by an electric fan' (p. 30). Later one learns that he had installed a shower in his living quarters and that the house in which he lived had been graced with a cement patio (p. 56). If such details are included to point to the realities of the 'lived' experience in such communities, they would have been more effective if stated in terms of the circumstances of the permanent residents. (Salmen does make some effort to do this but his personal experiences seem to attain more prominence.) The author's presence crops up repeatedly in other ways. Images of the author's two residences are included in the photographs selected for the book. Are these important because they represent typical streets in the area, or because the author lived there? Contemporary critiques of anthropology argue for the inclusion of the first-person presence of the anthropologist and of those with whom he worked to ensure a 'realistic' portrayal. But the skewed nature of the information given here would suggest that Salmen's motives are not quite so noble.

It is difficult to determine to whom this book is directed. There are several (and far better) 'how-to' books for the student about to embark on first fieldwork. The text is not rich in ethnographic data and thus offers little for those with regional interests. It hardly seems the choice of reading for those who channel

monies to the World Bank. It is possibly of relevance to others dispatched to do similar studies (of which one hopes that there will be more).

Salmen's work has weaknesses of content which reflect his somewhat outmoded paternalistic aura. But the initiative of the World Bank to use the techniques of participant observation in their development projects better to ensure 'an appreciation of people on their own terms [to lead] to decisions which [will] improve [their] living conditions' (p. 8), is to be commended. The documentation of these efforts, even if flawed, is a necessary contribution towards the continuance of this initiative.

JULIA D. HARRISON

ALEXANDER DE WAAL, *Famine that Kills: Darfur, Sudan, 1984-1985* [Oxford Studies in African Affairs; gen. eds. John D. Hargreaves, Michael Twaddle, Terence Ranger], Oxford: Clarendon Press 1989. xiii, 244 pp., References, Index, Figures, Tables, Illustrations, Maps. £22.50.

Relief agencies and journalists have warned recently that as a result of drought about ten million people in Sudan and Ethiopia will suffer famine unless relief aid is sent quickly. The horrors of the 1984-5 famine are remembered well, and it seems that drought due to the failure of rain is becoming more common in both these countries. International relief agencies and Western governments have responded initially by allocating humanitarian aid. During such crises this essential assistance is commendable, but drought-afflicted countries need long-term strategies to cope with serious ecological problems (such as lack of rain, desertification and ecological degradation). Government officials, planners, aid agencies, international organizations and journalists will find the publication of the present volume opportune. The author contributes significantly to an understanding of the causes of famine and the strategies adopted by famine-stricken people, as well as providing insights into the kind of aid and methods of distribution needed.

De Waal undertook research into the causes and consequences of drought and famine in eight communities in western Sudan, mainly in Darfur. These varied in size, ecological conditions, social composition and economic organization, as well as in their response to the drought and famine that occurred in 1984-5. But their diversity created an economic and social interdependence which proved essential to their community and well-being. The author's methodology was based on extensive fieldwork, including structured and unstructured interviews, and on the analysis of various sources of statistical and other data, the validity of which he rightly questions. One particularly valuable observation he makes is that famine is a 'social experience', and that it is difficult for outsiders to participate in it,

however great their sympathy, concern and eagerness to render assistance. Furthermore, his analysis reflects the views and interpretations of the famine-stricken people themselves, rather than an outsider's perspective, which would lack a proper understanding of the complex conditions experience by the victims. De Waal's research represents a serious study which stands in contrast to the exaggerated journalism and superficial reports one sometimes encounters in the literature.

The book begins with a discussion of different perceptions of famine. Outsiders see it as a 'technical malfunction' which entails a high incidence of death due to lack of food; hence food aid is regarded as a fundamental requirement for rectifying the situation. In contrast, the author advocates rightly that it is more meaningful to understand the way local people perceive famine and its social repercussions on their communities. Thus, from being independent and locally autonomous with a strong sense of belonging, famine-afflicted people in Darfur experienced a breakdown in their society which resulted in their becoming dependent on outsiders and treated as social outcasts. In this context, food aid, though necessary, cannot compensate for the moral disorder which drought and famine create.

The main theme of the book is the interplay between the 'trinity' of hunger, destitution and death. Severe drought, to which Darfur is accustomed, was instrumental in causing severe food scarcity which, in its turn, resulted in famine. Frequent shortages of rain, declining grain-yields and desertification have reduced the availability of vital resources for the local population. To combat famine, people in Darfur adopted strategies of relying on the diversity of the local economy, on migration and on eating 'wild' and 'distress' foods (wild grasses, rice and finger millet, berries, water-melon seeds, etc.), which contributed partly to their survival. Moreover, people in Darfur were concerned with famine, not as a threat to their physical survival, but as a threat to their livelihood; that is, herding and farming. (This concern parallels the reaction I encountered among farmers in northern Sudan after a damaging and disastrous flood in 1988. While drought caused failure of crops, flooding destroyed fields and trees. Despite the considerable loss of, and damage to personal possessions, houses, public buildings, pumps, and above all, to trees and fields, the northern riverine farmers were more concerned with the threat to the continuity of their livelihood.)

De Waal challenges the assumed causal correlation between hunger and destitution and famine and death. The estimated 100,000 deaths which occurred in Darfur (out of a population of just over three million) were caused, according to his analysis, not by starvation but, on the whole, by the diseases which became prevalent during the famine period. In particular, the mortality rate was higher among children (especially girls) than adults, and higher among adult males than adult females. Measles, malaria, typhus, diarrhoea, pneumonia and meningitis were the main diseases. Contrary to the view that providing food will alleviate these problems, de Waal argues convincingly that had better medical facilities,

clean water, vaccination programmes and better sanitation been made available to the famine-stricken people of Darfur, many deaths would have been averted.

De Waal's analysis of relief aid in Darfur has wide implications for the response to future famines elsewhere. He argues that what is required from the cohort of relief agencies (often riddled with competition, mismanagement, misunderstanding and divided loyalties) is not, as is common, an inflated picture (with accompanying statistics) of the famine, but rather an understanding of the real situation as it exists among the people who experience it. The agencies' assessments are not, of course, deliberately manipulated, but there is a lack of proper information about the socio-economic conditions, and poor elucidation of the felt needs of the affected people. Thus, aid donors did not realize that the co-operation and mutual assistance which prevailed among the local people were far more important to their survival than the food donated by the aid agencies. While the humanitarian aid programme was welcomed and appreciated in Darfur, food aid was not an essential factor in helping people through the famine. The famine relief programme failed, as the author justifiably argues, not only because of the inappropriate form of assistance rendered, but also because food arrived too late and even then did not reach those people who needed it most. Agencies and donors should seek the co-operation of local people in determining how, and to whom, aid should be allocated. To give local people a measure of control over aid distribution will achieve better results than leaving it in the hands of officials and agency personnel. In this respect, the author demonstrates how there was a conflict of local ideologies ('Sudanic' and 'Islamic') about who should receive food aid, which unsurprisingly caused confusion among the distributing agencies. It is important for donors and relief agencies to understand the complexity of the local situation in order to ensure a 'fair' distribution system of relief aid.

The author ends his analysis with various practical suggestions as to how to prevent destitution and save lives. These suggestions are not to be forced upon people, but should be open to discussion. They include the relocation of people (if deemed necessary), better medical facilities and immunization, provisions for livestock and the agricultural sector, and an early-warning system which will provide indications of the state of rainfall, production, prices, transport etc. 'Nutritional surveillance', as commonly used by interested agencies, is not a pragmatic indicator of the likelihood of famine, as it excludes the strategies adopted by local people and the resources available to them in their attempts to cope with famine. Famine and famine relief are complex issues and cannot be solved haphazardly, just by shipments of grain. They require a realistic and broad perspective which involves commitment, long-term strategies, proper management and a variety of skills.

De Waal is to be praised for writing a scholarly study of famine. He sets high standards in methodology, ethnographic data, new ideas and practical proposals. The richness of detail and analysis are supplemented by ample and very useful figures, tables, graphs and maps. The central themes of ecological change (drought, desertification and deforestation) and its social, economic and moral

consequences will appeal to a wide readership. Anthropologists, ecologists, geographers, famine specialists and relief-agency workers will find this volume indispensable. As I write, journalists and relief agencies are forecasting another famine, not only in Darfur but also in other parts of northern Sudan. The indication so far is that the government, as occurred in 1984-5, has yet to admit it will happen. On both occasions, the reason seems to have been that famine is seen as an affront to the 'dignity' of the nation, and that this 'dignity' is further eroded when the government 'begs' for assistance and relief. It is unfortunate that people's lives should be forsaken for such mistaken and irrelevant notions. It is vital that politicians, government officials and relief agencies should embark now on considering the lessons which Alexander de Waal presents so admirably in this valuable study.

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