

## BOOK REVIEWS

MICHAEL HERZFELD, *Anthropology Through the Looking-Glass: Critical Ethnography in the Margins of Europe*, New York etc.: Cambridge University Press 1987. xii, 222pp., Bibliography, Index. £27.50.

*Anthropology Through the Looking-Glass* is a vigorous, allegorical and ironical contribution to - some would say attack on - anthropological theory. The word 'irony' even appears in the index (10 *loci*), but this comes as no surprise when one considers the influence of the eighteenth-century Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico on Herzfeld's thought. For Vico, irony was the characteristic mode of the fourth and final historical phase, the *ricorso*.

Herzfeld's version of the *ricorso* calls for anthropologists to review their practice and learn from the mistakes enshrined in earlier theories and research strategies, and even in the etymologies of words such as 'theory' (root sense of 'observation', i.e. what one would expect to be doing as part of fieldwork), ethnography ('writing the ethnos', i.e. something akin to what we *now* call theory) and empirical ('experiential', i.e. not as objective as we would like to think). In his estimation, anthropologists have dwelt too much on the differences between, on the one hand, themselves as members of European societies and, on the other hand, the peoples of other societies who comprise the main objects of enquiry. Never mind that most anthropologists would immediately reject this charge by pleading 'not a conscious motive', we are most of us already implicated by the very language - or should one say 'dis-course'? - in which we present our researches to each other. After all, anthropology is 'just another mode of expressing identity, which trivializes its own significance by ignoring this condition' (p. 185).

The remedy for anthropology's taxonomic predisposition, which pictures us as a particular 'sort' of people, and them as another 'sort', entails accepting that the people under study are also anthropologists, though admittedly not professionals, and that their theories about their own ethnic uniqueness are no less privileged than our own. We must situate ourselves in the same frame as our subjects. Paraphrasing Said's paraphrase of Vico, Herzfeld observes, 'scholars adopt a rhetoric of intellectual disinterestedness that itself serves political ends, but at the same time they tend to assume that the people they have studied lack a comparable measure of intellectual curiosity' (p. 189).

Proposed phases of social evolution representing us as civilized and them as savages have, it is true, given way to more guarded phrasings such as simple vs. complex, pre-literate vs. literate, cold vs. hot, all of which are still misdirected, if less offensively so. Herzfeld contends that even trusted tools of anthropological theory, such as Evans-Pritchard's segmentation,

have been employed to typologize *otherness*, when they could equally well be applied to Western societies. Consistent with the programme of the *ricorso*, these formulations are not to be ignored, but rather to be dealt with as 'instructive mistakes'.

*Anthropology Through the Looking-Glass* forms a part of the critical or reflexive anthropology movement, yet Herzfeld casts his net wider than the contributors to the recent collection *Writing Culture* (1986), most of whom criticize individual authors. Nor is it as exclusively theoretical as Johannes Fabian's *Time and the Other* (1983), although the two books agree on a great many points. Interwoven with his historical critique of anthropology is an exposition of Greek ethnography which the author sees as a looking-glass for the discipline as a whole.

Anthropology arose during a period when much of Europe was transformed by romantic nationalist movements. This transformation posed questions of participation in both national and European identities that had never been encountered before. Greece, which finally achieved independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1833, served at once as a lynchpin of European identity and as a whipping-boy for the various nation states. Greece ideally continued the classical tradition common to all European countries, but for those who travelled there it was hopelessly backward and oriental, 'a sad relic of departed worth' in Byron's words. The relation of European countries to Greece amounted to a searching speculation on European cultural identity which proceeded as much by revulsion and exclusion as by recognition and inclusion. The project of comparative anthropology arose shortly after, if not during, this period, and it too mediated on the same questions, although with more exotic 'savages' as a foil to 'civilized' European sensibilities.

The results of this dimension of Herzfeld's study show how Greek culture has internalized its insecurities about participation in European identity. In certain private or community-internal contexts, the people recognize and even value their *romiosini*, that flawed, possibly oriental aspect of their culture. *Romiosini* is about self-knowledge; its gleaming opposite, Hellenism, is about self-presentation. In the company of outsiders, especially Europeans, the same people will make an effort to speak a purer form of Greek and to exhibit qualities which assert an affinity with Europe as well as with illustrious ancient forbears. Herzfeld labels this predicament 'disemia', which he defines as 'not a static cultural condition, nor yet a simple listing of alternative codes, but a pragmatic contest between radically different ways of understanding social life' (p. 133).

The ethnography of Greece thus reveals certain tensions inherent in the discipline of anthropology itself. In both cases a rigid statism - and the word 'state' as Herzfeld demonstrates, exercising his Vichian flair for etymology, comports the idea of 'static' - is applied to extirpate, or at least gloss over, local variations. This holds equally for typologizing anthropological theories which reify otherness, as well as for nationalist programmes which promulgate a homogeneous culture. The detailed discussion of this issue, accompanied by rich historical and ethnographic evidence, offers a new perspective on the vexed question of

structure/praxis or rule/strategy raised by Bourdieu, Giddens and others. These antimonies govern the action of anthropologists, not just anthropological subjects.

Referring to Herzfeld, a Greek colleague once remarked to me: 'He has so many ideas; they are even pouring out from his trouser-legs'. In *Anthropology Through the Looking-Glass*, Herzfeld indeed pursues a great many trains of thought, making this a demanding, wide-ranging work which ultimately rewards the diligent reader. It will no doubt be a source of critical perspectives on anthropology for many years to come. Besides attacking the discipline's taxonomizing tendencies, *Anthropology Through the Looking-Glass* makes an incisive contribution to the ethnography of Greece and ushers in a new phase in the anthropological study of Europe, which may no longer be viewed, as it has been in the past, as too unexotic for interest. On the contrary, the study of Europe reveals clearly, as would a mirror, our *own* exoticism.

CHARLES STEWART

GEORGE W. STOCKING JR. (ed.), *Malinowski, Rivers, Benedict and Others: Essays on Culture and Personality* [History of Anthropology, Vol. 4], Madison and London: The University of Wisconsin Press 1986. viii, 247pp., Index, Plates. \$25.00

George Stocking's series on the history of anthropology continues to maintain the exemplary combination of scholarship and lucidity established in the first three volumes. Each volume provides a challenge to our narrow understanding of our disciplinary past, and with that challenge there normally comes some salutary reminder of half-forgotten precursors of today's avant-garde. This volume provides considerable food for thought for anyone involved in linking anthropology with literary theory and poetics, for those interested in applied anthropology, for those concerned with the political implications of ethnographic enquiry, and for arguments about multiculturalism and anti-racism. It also reminds us of an enduring enigma in British anthropology - the hostility to psychology and psychoanalysis - which continues to puzzle newcomers to the discipline.

As the editor explains in a footnote to his brief introduction, this volume was originally planned as a collection on 'anthropology between the wars' and only gained its eventual theme in the later stages of editing. The title itself is taken from a poem by Auden (who also crops up in a bit-part in Jeremy MacClancy's entertaining chapter on John Layard), which also serves to remind the reader of two sub-themes which run through the volume. As well as studies of American 'culture and personality' work in the inter-war years, the volume also examines dominant

anthropological personalities - Mead, Bateson, Sapir, Herskovits and Kardiner, as well as Auden's triumvirate - and *their* relationship to *their* culture: the Polish avant-garde of Malinowski's youth, the Greenwich Village bohemianism of Benedict, and Herskovits' association with the leading figures of the Harlem Renaissance.

The first two contributions are the most obviously relevant to the concerns of British anthropology. Stocking's own piece concentrates on Malinowski's brief involvement with psychoanalysis; as context, he provides a characteristically rich discussion of the early intellectual influence of Ernst Mach, a Freudian reading of Malinowski's fieldwork experience as revealed in his diary, and an account of his ill-fated attempt at ethnographic revision of the Oedipus complex. This is immediately followed by MacClancy's chapter on John Layard, who is probably best remembered for his huge Jungian monograph *Stone Men of Malekula*, published in 1942 but based on fieldwork from 1914 to 1915. Layard's eccentric progress on the fringes of British anthropology makes for amusing reading, but it is this very eccentricity - 'loony Layard' as he was immortalized by Auden - which weakens MacClancy's attempts to read some wider significance into his tale.

Bateson apart - in a nutshell, the story of *his* life - the rest of the book is American in emphasis. William Manson contributes a chapter on Abram Kardiner which is perhaps a little too close to its subject to interest the outsider. Walter Jackson's chapter on Melville Herskovits and his changing position on Afro-American culture is an excellent study which sets off all manner of resonances for the contemporary study of race, ethnicity and pluralism. There follow two chapters which, in different ways, try to pin down the important contribution of Edward Sapir to the study of culture, despite a relative paucity of major published statements. Richard Handler's route in is by way of a comparison of Sapir's poetry with that of Ruth Benedict; Regna Darnell provides a more conventional history based on the fragments of conference remarks, book outlines, uncompleted research proposals and funding applications. Both studies demonstrate Sapir's scrupulous intelligence and the continuing relevance of his critique of anthropological reifications of culture. And, while Handler's reading of the poetry never quite meshes with his broader intellectual theme, it is refreshing to read something on the relations of anthropology with literature not written in fashionably obtuse critspeak. Finally, there come two chapters featuring the odd couple of Bateson and Mead. Virginia Yans-McLaughlin charts the sometimes bizarre contribution of culture-and-personality theory to the war effort - Bateson's analysis of Hitler-Chamberlain interactions, thoughtfully forwarded to Eleanor Roosevelt by Mead, is a useful warning to those who would celebrate his tremendous intelligence and creativity without remembering his equal capacity for unworldliness. The last essay, by James Boon, is a characteristically camp and self-conscious piece on inter-war Bali.

Behind these later chapters looms the presence of Boas. The inter-war years were, as well as the years of culture and personality, also the years of the onslaught on scientific racism by Boas

and his students. There was no obvious British counterpart to this heroic episode, and we can perhaps discern a reason in the differing attitudes of Mead and Bateson to the usefulness of academic interventions in public affairs, attitudes which reflect the very different relationships between universities and the wider culture in Britain and the United States. Both were to the professorial manor born - Mead's father was an economist and her mother a sociologist, Bateson's father a famous geneticist - but where Mead's background predisposed her to a life of causes and interventions, Bateson's fitted him more for the role of detached and ironic commentator. Mead's uninhibited attitude to extrapolation - to put it kindly - at once earned her a central public role in American culture and consigned her to the outer darkness in British anthropology. How much, I wonder, of the continuing distrust of words like 'culture' or 'psychology' in British anthropology stems from a residual unspoken determination not to be confused with Margaret Mead or any of her works?

JONATHAN SPENCER

DAVID PACE, *Claude Lévi-Strauss: The Bearer of Ashes*, London: Ark Paperbacks 1986 [1983]. viii, 206pp., Bibliography, Index. £3.95.

This book is a delight, a refreshing change from tedious exegesis of obscure passages in *Mythologiques* or *Totemism*. For Pace does not dissect depressingly well-known texts, but examines the more speculative, non-technical passages in Lévi-Strauss's writings and interviews. Through careful reading, he extricates the personal and political views of this otherwise highly private individual, emphasising Lévi-Strauss's inspired championing of cultural relativism and his strong opposition to the seemingly inexorable spread of a deadening mass culture.

Pace sites Lévi-Strauss in his social and intellectual contexts: he demonstrates the jerky evolution of his thought and reveals his magisterial ability to manipulate the media and academic institutions for his own opportunistic ends. Pace brings out well the rhetorical construction of *Tristes Tropiques* and the interested nature of his attack on Sartre.

Pace is also good on the sociological reasons for Lévi-Strauss's popularity, on his rather wet fielding of Marxist criticism as he moved further to the Right, and on the important, unresolved contradictions between his public and more academic images. In the 1950s and '60s, Lévi-Strauss could have influenced public opinion powerfully by expounding his informed views on the necessary harmony between nature and culture. But he chose not to, instead teasing his public with grand statements, then retreating into his academic niche. The image this book suggests is one of a

brilliant anarchist scared to discover the profundity of his own soul, and so unprepared to state openly what he is.

It makes a good read and Pace tells his tale well. Admirably clear, though not always very profound, this book will entertain already educated anthropologists, instruct new students on vacation, and help the ignorant learn what structuralism was all about.

JEREMY MacCLANCY

PIN-HSIUNG LIU, *Foundations of Kinship Mathematics* [Academic Sinica Monograph Series A, no. 28], Nankang: Institute of Ethnology 1986. xvii, 268pp., Appendices, Bibliography, Indexes, Figures, Tables. No price given.

This unusual work displays the results of twenty years' thought on how to apply to kinship terminologies the conceptual rigour of mathematics. Some twenty-six terminologies are analysed in greater or lesser detail, starting with English, but the fundamental aim is less the elucidation of particular sets of terms than the provision of 'a general introduction to the classification and cataloguing of kinship systems'.

The author is based in Taiwan (the book celebrates the thirtieth anniversary of the Institute of Ethnology there), and perhaps this geographical fact has helped him to avoid the polemical tone characteristic of much work on kinship. In any case, he scarcely comments on the history of mathematical approaches to it; the brief section on componential analysis is neither dismissive nor markedly enthusiastic. Morgan alone is treated as an exception, apparently on the grounds that 'all students of kinship eventually acquire a kind of filial piety towards Morgan'. But nowhere does the author strive for bibliographic completeness, and a single version of each terminology is treated as adequate. The focus is firmly on the mode of analysis.

The writing is, however, by no means inaccessible to the non-mathematician (in which category the present reviewer emphatically belongs). Though using different language, Liu recognizes, as one must (*pace* Kroeber), the distinction between fundamental principles which differentiate types of terminology (such as cognatic, prescriptive or generational) and the (by comparison) far less important classificatory principles which divide up the semantic domains within such types and which give rise to subtypes. For instance, it is basic whether or not siblings are equated with cousins, much less significant structurally whether siblings are subdivided by relative age or sex, by absolute sex of ego or alter, or by a combination of these. For analysing the types a new algebraic notation is introduced which is particularly convenient for handling reciprocals. One tends loosely to think of F and S as

reciprocals, but of course they are not: for female ego the reciprocal of F is D and that of S is M. Instead of F, M, S, D, Liu therefore uses X, Y,  $\bar{X}$ ,  $\bar{Y}$ , where X can be read, if one wants to, as 'fatherling', i.e. child of a man. Thus BC is written  $\bar{J}\bar{X}$  (where J represents sibling), and its reciprocal FB is XJ. Liu also uses a particularly clear and standardised geometrical mode of displaying the types, and a handy three-dimensional model for the partitioning of siblings. Perhaps the hardest topic he treats is the contrast, stated in group-theoretical language, between non-prescriptive, non-section prescriptive, and section systems (respectively monoids, infinite groups and finite groups). Incidentally, computers are never mentioned.

There is an undeniable elegance in the approach. As the author remarks, 'who among us does not derive pleasure from seeing Wintu second cousins described by a simple Omaha equivalence rule?' Moreover, in the more obscure cases from Australia and the Pacific the clarity of presentation will surely prove useful to many. A new and persuasive solution is offered to the long-standing challenge posed by the Yolngu (formerly known as Murngin), and we are gently shown why Korn's interpretation of Bateson's Iatmul data cannot be right. Liu notes, helpfully, that prescriptiveness is indicated at least as well by cognate-cognate equations such as  $M=FMBD$  as by cognate-affine ones such as  $W=MBD$ .

On the other hand a mathematical approach has severe limitations. It obviously works best with terminologies showing internal logical consistency. More than 1000 terminologies are said to have been described, and presumably the author has selected for analysis ones which need minimal listing of irregularities. Moreover, he himself implies that his approach would have difficulties with Chinese, and one would like to see how it handled, for instance, San (Bushman) terminologies. He talks of the 'ultimate practical goal of cataloguing all kinship systems', but is this really practical? However semantically ordered they may sometimes be, terminologies are only sets of words abstracted from the lexicon, and they are no less subject than other words to the rather slow and more or less conscious processes of lexical change. Since particular language families often show a diversity of terminological types, radical typological change is possible, and at a certain point in such a change a terminology will straddle a typological divide. Presumably mathematical analysis can be adapted to handle this, but the problem is not systematically addressed. The sporadic remarks on evolutionary change are in fact not always cogent. For instance it is unnecessary to assume that in and around Australia 'personal kin terms' have been *assimilated* to a seasonal structure. I have elsewhere proposed the opposite: the congruence between sociocentric and egocentric structures was the original situation from which terminologies in most areas have moved away (see my 'Tetradic Theory: An Approach to Kinship' in *JASO*, Vol. XVII, no. 2, pp. 87-109).

One welcomes the occasional oddity. What is Gwen Raverat's *Period Piece* doing in the bibliography? Is not the subheading 'An entertaining passage from Morgan' itself more entertaining than Morgan's expression of surprise at Omaha equations? Seriously,

even if one thinks that mathematics has less to offer us than diachronic linguistics, it does cast a fresh and instructive light on the problems Morgan set us so long ago.

N.J. ALLEN

PEGGY GOLDE (ed.), *Women in the Field: Anthropological Experiences* (2nd edn.), Berkeley etc.: University of California Press 1986 [1970]. x, 388pp., Bibliographies, £10.95.

When this collection was first planned in 1965, the editor and contributors were prescient in identifying the separate but related issues of gender and reflexivity in fieldwork. The first edition came out in 1970, justifiably gaining acclaim as a minor 'classic' about women, by women, in its particular genre - autobiographical accounts by anthropologists of experiences in the field. This went out of print. Now the second edition makes its welcome appearance, with two more essays added to the original twelve and an updated bibliography. It provides more than the editor acknowledges: an invaluable archaeology of knowledge revealing various strata of disciplinary frameworks, epistemological assumptions, research strategies and professional attitudes projected by American (women) anthropologists from the inter-war period to the present.

Although the original essays were written in the late 1960s, some describe fieldwork undertaken at much earlier dates - as, for example, the indomitable Margaret Mead on her work in the Pacific islands from 1925 to 1927. With the new essays, the time period extends to 1983, spanning nearly six decades. Much of the earlier research derived its focus from 'culture and personality'. Several studies examine the problem of social change in terms of the uneasy shift from traditional to modern.

What is missing from this second edition, unfortunately, is any editorial recognition of the changing ideas within anthropology, and in particular the growth of feminist theory, which relate so centrally to anthropologists' perceptions of themselves and their work as ethnographers. In her new Preface, Peggy Golde writes: 'There was no need to update the introduction, since it was based on common themes found in the original essays and has withstood the test of time.' But this abrupt closure ignores the flourishing body of feminist analysis in anthropology, with its links to all the new directions in the 1980s loosely subsumed under the term 'post-modern', and thus fails to place the original essays in historical context. The final chapter by an anthropologist of a younger generation, Rena Lederman on Papua New Guinea, shows an epistemological leap in its author's awareness and analysis of gender.

'What it means to be a woman in the field' provides the central theme of this collection, although contributors give greater or less attention to their femaleness. Not surprisingly, the generalizations reveal few new insights. The main attraction of this volume comes from its wide range of ethnographic experience and incisive observations. Well before 'reflexivity' became salient in the anthropology lexicon, Jean Briggs narrates the growing tensions between herself (her cultural background and work agenda) and the Eskimo view of her as a disobedient and undutiful 'daughter' within the circle of the family *iglu*. Caught up in the Rwanda revolution in 1959 to 1960, Helen Codere discovered how the existing ethnography had taken the perspective of the minority ruling group; she tells how she drove herself to get data from all segments of this divided society, including life histories of women and men, young and old, rulers and lowly. Niara Sudarkasa foreshadows the later concentration on the 'anthropology of women' with her description of fieldwork among Yoruba women in Nigeria in 1961.

Reflecting on the book's title, Helen Codere remarks on how foolish the title 'Men in the Field' would sound. Ernestine Friedl, in her perceptive analysis of work in a Greek village in 1955, considers such a companion volume to be necessary. Both are right, one noting the asymmetry of 'women' as a marked category, the other pointing out the danger of setting 'women' off as a separate unit when the issue is that of gender relations. Again, other contributors argue against considering 'women in the field' as an undifferentiated category when the differences are critical - young or middle aged, black or white; single, married (with or without spouse), divorced, widowed, childless, pregnant, or with children in the field.

These essays, then, show the multiple facets of fieldwork from the perspectives of three generations of American anthropologists. They also reveal strands in the transition from the neutral scientific observer to the gendered participant, from anthropology as 'the study of man' to 'the anthropology of gender'.

HELEN CALLAWAY

AHMED AL-SHAHI (ed.), *The Diversity of the Muslim Community: Anthropological Essays in Memory of Peter Lienhardt* [British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Series, no. 2], London: Ithaca Press 1987. vi, 161pp., Tables, Illustrations, Frontispiece, Index. £15.

In this collection of essays some of the late Peter Lienhardt's colleagues and former students have come together to record their debt and gratitude to a man affectionately remembered both for his profound intellectual influence upon them and for his conviviality and friendship. The result is a volume which, by focusing on the

diversity of the Muslim world, successfully reflects some of the diversity of Peter Lienhardt's own interests, and addresses many of the issues about which he himself wrote so astutely. Thus, for example, Lienhardt's concern with the influence of Islam on other traditions, with literacy and education, and with the impact of urbanisation are among the many different themes woven through these essays.

Appropriately, these themes are first touched on in the volume by Lienhardt himself in an autobiographical extract from a work upon which he had been engaged until shortly before his death, and in which he humourously and perceptively outlines his first encounter with the inhabitants of Kuwait in the early 1950s. In addition to whatever anthropological merits it might have, the accessibility, wit and insight of this piece testify to Lienhardt's wider talents and must surely earn it a place alongside some of today's best travel writings. The essays which follow, while perhaps stylistically more conservative, are no less interesting, and the range of topics and countries covered ensures that there should be something here for everyone. Thus the papers range from analyses of the consequences of literacy and its relationship to religion in Iran and Egypt (Street, Gilsean) to a discussion of the role of religion in Sudanese politics (Al-Shahi), and from an account of saintly praise hymns in Ethiopia (Baxter) to elucidation of Iranian concepts of time and space (Singer) and Egyptian concepts of work (Ghosh). The legacy of the Arabs and of Islam on the local cultures to which they gradually spread is examined in three essays which focus on the development of towns on the East African coast (Middleton), on Islamic reinterpretations of origin myths in Senegal (Dilley), and on the influence of Islam on aesthetics in Indonesia (Hitchcock), accounts which are usefully balanced by a description of the part played by Islam, particularly by Ramadan, in the definition of identity in the religion's Arabian homeland (Yamani).

Taken individually, these essays are of a consistently high standard, and several of them advance arguments of interest to a more general readership as well as to scholars of Muslim society. Thus guided by Hoggart, Brian Street convincingly sets out the limitations of Goody's analysis of literacy and suggests some interesting possibilities for combining the anthropological and literary critical traditions, while Amitav Ghosh shows the insights to be generated when the system of production in agrarian societies is viewed in terms of 'the totality of relations which properly constitute a system of labour' (p. 116), and not just in terms of technology and technique, which is how, he claims, they are more usually viewed. Other essays also stand out for their clarity, for example, Roy Dilley's economical and well-integrated analysis of the relationship between Tukulor origin myths and social structure.

However, taken together, the essays do not develop any particular theme or argument, and without such a common thematic focus the whole unfortunately remains no more than the sum of its parts. The 'diversity' of the Muslim community once presented is left to speak for itself, and there is no attempt to develop a coherent approach to this diversity, or even to assess the work of those who

have grappled with the issue. While one of anthropology's main contributions to the study of Islam has been to illustrate the specificity of Islamic belief and practice in its local context, something which most of the essays in this book do well, the anthropology of Islam will surely have to move beyond this if it is not simply to stack case study upon case study. By limiting itself to the latter, however, this book is likely to be of substantial value only to those with an interest in the subjects of particular essays.

HASTINGS DONNAN

ANTHONY P. COHEN, *Whalsay: Symbol, Segment and Boundary in a Shetland Island Community* [Anthropological Studies of Britain], Manchester: Manchester University Press 1987. ix, 216pp., Appendices, References, Index, Illustrations, Figures, Maps. £29.95.

In editing the two collections *Belonging, Identity and Social Organisation in British Rural Cultures* (1982) and *Symbolising Boundaries: Identity and Diversity in British Cultures* (1986), Anthony P. Cohen has established himself as the leading co-ordinator of the social anthropology of the British Isles. For those of us with an interest in this growing field, Cohen's own ethnography has been eagerly awaited.

As he writes himself, it has been a long time in coming. He began his field research in the Shetland island of Whalsay fifteen years ago, and since then has made regular return visits. During this time, he tells us, the prospect of writing an ethnography of Whalsay has become increasingly daunting; informants became friends, his circle of acquaintances decreased, and generalisations gave way to a powerful sense of the individuality and idiosyncrasy of Whalsay folk. Greater knowledge yielded greater uncertainty. Rather than abandon the task altogether, however, Cohen has chosen to make this experience part of his thesis. The appearance of social conformity, he contends, is a veneer which Whalsay people subscribe to in their relations with the outside world. However, this 'apparent orthodoxy is only superficial' (p. 201); below it lies a richer, more complex discourse which elaborates detailed 'levels of individuation' (ibid.). Whalsay people themselves choose to 'protect' this more intricate discourse by keeping it hidden from the outside world. The ethnographic task is to reveal something of this hidden reality of Whalsay lives, though in doing so the ethnographer commits a kind of 'betrayal of trust' (p. 206).

Social anthropology, according to Cohen, typically deals in generalisations rather than the versatility within communities. He likens this to a concern with the *form* of a symbol as opposed to interest in its *content*. A single form may stand for many and

various things. In his account of Whalsay, he attempts to redress this imbalance. To some extent, of course, the argument that anthropology ignores variability is itself an over-generalization. Also, it is not only anthropologists who use generalizations: the 'ethos of "being Whalsa"' is a collective character ideal which Whalsay folk subscribe to, as Cohen shows well. Within this generalised community 'boundary', however, are what Cohen calls 'segmentary boundaries', in particular those of kinship, neighbourhood, and fishing crew, and it is through these that individuality is articulated. This is not, perhaps, an altogether novel position in anthropology, though it should be emphasized that Cohen is not claiming, in the manner of classical anthropology, that segmentary principles are inherent in society, but that segmentation is a means by which people allocate sense to their world.

Cohen does not present his study of Whalsay in the form of the traditional ethnography. Instead, he explains that 'The structure of this book resembles the formulation of an anthropologist's perspective in the society he or she studies, moving from naive observation, through increasing contextualization, to the endlessly ramifying connections among ethnographic data' (p. 20). And continues: 'Thus my ambitious claim is that in the progression from chapter two to chapter five, the reader is moved from the outsider's naivety to an interpretation which more closely approximates to that of Whalsay people themselves' (ibid.). This does not mean, however, that in the early chapters the reader is presented with all sorts of misguided and odd-ball theories such as a naive initiate to Whalsay society might make. In some ways this is rather a shame, for over the years Anthony Cohen has altered his views considerably, as he mentions in passing, and has had some local response to his published and unpublished works. Little of this enters the text, however, though it undoubtedly constitutes an interesting dimension of long-term fieldwork amongst people who have access to any work which the ethnographer publishes. Instead the ethnography moves, in not quite such a clear progression as implied in the above quotation, between detailed 'sketches' of Whalsay life, which always contain particular characters (e.g. 'Magnie' or 'J.J.', rather than 'an entrepreneur' or 'a fisherman', or even 'entrepreneurs' or 'fishermen'); analysis grounded in Whalsay concepts (e.g. *Wir folk* and *Yon folk*); and more abstract analysis (using, for example, concepts such as 'community coherence' and 'segmentary affiliation'). The events sketched by Cohen include the more obvious public and ritual occasions, such as funerals and sprees, as well as more apparently mundane affairs, such as a dispute over a water-main or a conversation between fishermen. The sketches are carefully detailed and often contain a good deal of dialogue, rendered in a form of Shetland dialect, which gives the reader a direct feel for the subject of the ethnography.

Whalsay, like many other areas of the British Isles, has experienced significant changes in its communications with the outside world during the last century, and particularly over the last twenty years. Large-scale commercial fishing has made Whalsay folk much wealthier than they were in the past, and the island is not

short of the material comforts of modern living. However, despite their new prosperity, Whalsay folk pursue, with increased avidity, certain activities - crofting, peat-cutting and fishing with small boats - which make little economic sense. These often entail the expenditure of a considerable amount of time and labour, and this must be understood, argues Cohen, as a demonstration of commitment to the traditional island way of life in the face of the perceived threat from *da Sooth* ('the South'). This process of vigorously maintaining and reconstructing a sense of self, termed 'cultural accounting' (p. 18ff.) by Cohen, is characteristic of communities which believe their continuity to be at risk. *Whalsay* helps to establish this as a major theme within the social anthropology of the British Isles.

In the final chapter of the book, Cohen confronts anthropology's current post-modernist *Angst*. He affirms the subjective nature of his ethnography: 'It is... such stuff as I have been able to gather and to render intelligible to myself... it is a version, my version.... But it may well not be very reliable at all' (p. 204). However, he has other niggling convictions: 'This is not to say that I believe there is a stong likelihood that the judgements I have advanced here may be demonstrably false. Quite the contrary; I am convinced of their validity' (ibid.). Cohen's equivocal stance here is evident in the ethnography too in that, although he states that his account of Whalsay is only one possible version of reality, he does not present the reader with versions he has encountered which contradict his own (such as the unfavourable response of Whalsay folk to some of his arguments about crofting). Also, it is only in this final chapter that the reader is given some account of how he carried out his fieldwork and how he was received by Whalsay folk.

The book ends, somewhat strangely, on a different and seemingly unintentional post-modernist theme, that of 'performativity'. With the end of grand meta-theories, it has been argued, the legitimisation of knowledge lies in performance, and specifically in the 'use-value' of particular ideas for the social system in which they were formulated (see, for example, Jean-Francois Lyotard's *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* [1984]). Cohen concludes his ethnography of Whalsay, then, with an illustration of the use of his segmentary approach to analysing the allocation of resources within the National Health Service.

This is an ambitious ethnography and contains a wealth of ideas about Whalsay and about anthropology in general. For this reader, some of the theoretical sections were over-long and detracted from the progression of the ethnography. In the end, I was somewhat disappointed that 'the longest sustained and most detailed anthropological study ever undertaken in a British community' (cover 'blurb') was not even more ambitious in making use of the potentialities of such long-term fieldwork. However, *Whalsay* will undoubtedly become an important text in the social and cultural anthropology of the British Isles and in discussions of identity in general.

SHARON MACDONALD

RICHARD BURGHART (ed.), *Hinduism in Great Britain: The Perpetuation of Religion in an Alien Cultural Milieu*, London and New York: Tavistock Publications 1987. ix, 251pp., Bibliography, Map, Indexes. £27.00.

The South Asian population in Great Britain is approximately 1.3 million, and about one-third of these are Hindus. They have migrated over the last thirty years for various reasons, and have settled both in consolidated and dispersed fashions. The great majority (70%) of British Hindus have their origins in Gujarat, while Punjabis (15%) and people from other regions of India comprise the balance. Perhaps 10% of the Gujaratis and Punjabis arrived via East Africa, after decades of settlement there. The caste make-up of British Hindus is diverse, with large numbers of Ramgarhias and Jats among the Punjabis, and Mochis, Patels and Lohanas among the Gujaratis. Kinship and social networks in Britain are of critical importance to Hindus, as are sectarian and organizational affiliations. Ethnic 'boundary markers' - internal and external - have waxed and waned through the years among British Hindus, witnessing at different times the fusion and fission of community identity. Caste identification has, in many cases, remained strong, while the caste *system* has attenuated. Ritual forms and religious practices have been modified, while the positions of temples and priests have changed considerably. In brief, Hindus and Hinduism in Great Britain present a fascinating set of phenomena concerning general issues of migration and ethnicity, as well as material pertinent to research on Indian society and culture.

*Hinduism in Great Britain* is the first collection of studies exclusively devoted to the subject. Along with Richard Burghart's Introduction and Conclusion, the volume presents eleven articles covering a wide range of topics. While many of the articles contribute significantly to our understanding of the transplantation of long-standing traditions, some, because of journalistic style or threadbare analysis, cause the volume to be substantially uneven.

Burghart's Introduction handsomely presents us with the conceptual problems faced by orthodox Hindus, given the dilemma of leaving the auspicious universe (India) to venture into impure space; he also neatly summarizes the history of Indian migration to Britain as well as key points drawn from the assembled articles. David Bowen then outlines consecutive phases in the development of Hindu organizations in Bradford, phases which accompanied demographic shifts in the years since immigration in the 1950s. Maureen Michaelson and Merryle MacDonald follow with articles describing important aspects of domestic Hinduism, which in Britain continues to be the primary domain of Hindu religious culture. Michaelson's piece focusses on the family practices of Lohanas, while MacDonald's - the most detailed ethnography in the volume - examines the pragmatic religious practices of Gujarati women. In a study of the Swaminarayan movement, Rohit Barot demonstrates how pre-migration patterns of intra-sect conflict are reproduced in this country, forming a basis for cleavage among Leva Kanbi Patels (and testing Dumont's ideas on the relation between sects and

castes).

Following these four interesting and informative articles, four articles are presented (two by Sean Carey and two by Donald Taylor) which give the volume a rather hollow centre. The first piece by Carey is an impressionistic essay on the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON, or Hare Krishna movement). The only merit of this piece is to tell us that some Indians in Britain now like to go, on occasion, to ISKCON temples, but no conclusive appraisals are offered. Taylor's description of an obscure ashram in Wales, run by a lone guru and a few sporadic devotees, is of dubious value to the volume. His examination of the Sai Baba movement, however, is of somewhat greater worth. While entrenched in a Weberian framework (the routinization of charisma into legal-rational institutions), Taylor's second article uncritically describes the gradual, world-wide development of a movement devoted to an individual whom some regard as a living incarnation of God. Carey's second contribution is an over-long discussion of initiation into the Ramakrishna Mission, a piece which includes much trivial material and dwells on activities in Calcutta far more than in Britain.

The volume returns to form with Kim Knott's portrayal of a temple where Gujarati and Punjabi have negotiated and 'retradition-alized' their once regionally elaborated rites, in order to practice common modes of worship. Werner Menski leads us clearly through a maze of legal concepts in describing facets of Hindu accommodation to British norms concerning marriage rites, and Robert Jackson explains how and why Hinduism has been variously depicted in religious education curricula over the years. Burghart concludes the volume by reminding us that 'changing Hinduism by redefining it is as old as Hinduism itself' (p. 255); yet he also suggests Hinduism has, in Britain, become an 'ethnic religion' in that it represents a 'ritual basis of collective identity' (p. 234), exemplified by reduced forms of worship and standardized practices which have been consequent on transplantation. Finally, Helen Kanitkar's bibliography (of over 600 items, complete with subject classifications) is an eclectic but highly useful addition.

A number of issues are absent from this collection (such as the persistence of a purity-pollution complex, the role of priests, and comparative implications), but this is due more to the relative youth of the subject than to research shortcomings. *Hinduism in Great Britain* is a welcome volume which provides many significant insights into a far-ranging and fruitful field of study.

STEVE VERTOVEC

JUDITH JUSTICE, *Policies, Plans and People: Culture and Health Development in Nepal* [Comparative Studies of Health Systems and Medical Care, gen. ed. John M. Janzen], Berkeley etc.: University of California Press 1986. xv, 154pp., Appendices, Notes, Bibliography, Index, Figures, Maps. £25.50.

Here is a book which really should, as its flyleaf suggests, 'be of value not only to anthropologists and professionals in all areas of international health, but also to scholars and planners dealing with many aspects of development in the Third World'. Anthropologists have been talking for many years about the need to take central bureaucratic cultures into consideration in the analysis of development policy and planning. Justice takes up this challenge. In the space of 154 pages (plus appendices), we are given an eagle's eye-view of the Nepalese health system, starting with the international and Nepalese health bureaucracies in Kathmandu. We then swoop down to examine health service delivery in rural areas, ascending again to look at how information from these areas is fed back into the bureaucracies, ending with a more philosophical consideration of the role of socio-cultural information (and therefore anthropologists) in the health planning process. Interspersed with this are case studies, two of which are shorter versions of articles previously published in *Social Science and Medicine*, on planning for community participation, the peon as invisible worker in the Nepalese health system, and the way socio-cultural information could make the newly created post of assistant nurse-midwife more appropriate to local conditions and needs.

That she can achieve so much in such a short space is a tribute to Justice's trenchant prose. Some of the conclusions she draws may appear as common sense to the practising anthropologist, but they should provide insights to the larger audience which the book intends to reach. Obviously, in covering such a large area of ground, some over-simplification may occur. The subject of medical pluralism, which could have made a book in itself, is confined to a few pages, and other current concerns in the development-anthropology literature, such as the role of consultants in aid projects, are similarly foreshortened. We learn far more about the 'structure' of the health bureaucracies than their 'culture', despite Justice's brave endeavours and undoubted insights in this area. Experts on particular parts of the ground she covers may quibble with the way their work is presented, but few can dismiss the general tenor of her account.

The picture Justice paints of health development in Nepal as she saw it in 1978-9 is generally bleak. The goals, structure, patterns of operation and interaction of the twin bureaucracies of the Nepalese government and the international donor agencies have been the determining factors in the operation of basic allopathic health care facilities. Donor agency policies change frequently and are often promoted without sufficient regard to the economic, political and socio-cultural reality of Nepal. The bureaucratic 'culture' of the Nepalese government is misunderstood by expatriates and is equally removed from the rural scene. New health

initiatives reach the village level, having passed through two major cultural boundaries. Health posts are poorly supported from the centre, and rely on the personality and competence of occasional exceptional individuals for their effectiveness. Grass-roots information which could be expected to play a valuable part in improving this situation has to pass upwards through the same cultural screens, facing 'the structural imperatives of all administrative organizations, which may prevent relevant information from being used, even when it is available, or in fact, even when it is common knowledge to planners and administrators' (p. 134). Much of Justice's account is quite properly written in the past tense to emphasize the rapid change in the system being observed, but, in spite of some hopeful signs, she remains ultimately pessimistic about the effective utilization of anthropological knowledge 'as long as the structure and culture of the health bureaucracies remain unchanged' (p. 154). It would be good to have similar books written by scholars researching other areas of development concern, such as the environment, agriculture or refugees, to see the extent to which Justice is describing a general problem.

More conservative anthropologists may question the nature of 'fieldwork' which took in the headquarters of international aid agencies in New York, Washington, Ottawa, Geneva and New Delhi in May and June 1978, Nepalese government and aid agency officials in Kathmandu from June to September, and twenty-four health posts and offices in ten districts across the entire country during the next twelve months. Assuming there is a useful role for anthropologists in development settings (and not, as a question in the 1984 Oxford Social Anthropology M.Phil. examination put it, somewhat prejudgementally: 'Every time social anthropologists have become interested in "applied anthropology", their interest has been short-lived. If this is true, why is it?'), such misgivings must be addressed. There can be no doubt that the more time which can be spent in data-collection, the fuller the eventual account can be. However, in the high-flying world of development planning, 'meeting deadlines is very important', and despite the fact that even with all deadlines met it can take an international agency three years to get a new project 'operational', 'planners tend to see the gathering of anthropological data as too time-consuming' (p. 135). In fact, the literature in development anthropology, particularly that concerned with 'rapid rural appraisal', has been concerned with enhancing the 'cost-effectiveness' or quality of short-term anthropological fieldwork for several years now. Short time-scales and wider geographical domains (to take in the region, the nation or even the 'international community') are vital if anthropologists are going to be able 'to take a more comprehensive approach that planners would find helpful' (p. 136). Unfortunately, these needs have generally been treated with disdain in academic circles.

Health officials also clearly had misgivings about the object of Justice's fieldwork: 'In addition to joking questions about why I did not carry a big stick as Margaret did, I was most frequently asked what "my group" was. When I replied, "the Department of Health", or "health planners", the conversation usually stopped, since this answer definitely did not meet the expectation that

anthropologists study a particular ethnic or caste group or village' (p. 136). One wonders what they will make of the finished product. This book can be seen as a damning indictment of health bureaucracy in Nepal and may only serve to further preconceived notions about anthropologists that many health professionals already hold. Insofar as the book is a contribution to the anthropology of development, rather than to anthropology in development, this is almost inevitable. Justice writes that the anthropologist's main contribution to the planning process is the acquisition of information from the grass-roots level. One cannot blame her for the broader perspective of her own work, which has gained her an assistant professorship at one of the best medical anthropology departments in the United States. However, it will not necessarily have won her or her profession so many friends in Kathmandu.

Justice is critical of a WHO *Country Health Profile on Nepal* which 'was published in English and distributed very selectively to donor agencies and government officials, but not at the district level' (p. 71). One hopes that she will persuade her publishers that they should soon produce both paperback and Nepali versions of her book so that it can receive the widespread consideration it deserves.

ANDREW RUSSELL

WARD KEELER, *Javanese Shadow Plays, Javanese Selves*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1987. xi, 268pp., Illustrations, Glossary, Bibliography, Index. £21.80 / \$10.00.

In this book, based on twenty-two months fieldwork in central Java, particularly in the areas of Klaten, Solo and Jogja, the sights, sounds, and smells of the performance of Javanese shadow plays are blended with concerns about potency, status and speech. In a most illuminating and readable narrative, Ward Keeler endeavours to catalogue the Javanese shadow theatre's appeal in a host of different registers, attempting to show just how closely 'artistic' metaphor and actuality are intertwined: in a process of resemblance and repetition, the world of the shadows, in its ambiguity and insubstantiality, is but an extension of the world of everyday encounter.

His central thesis is that 'an art form constitutes a relationship, or really, a series of relationships, that can be compared with other (i.e. social and political) relations' (p. 17). What makes such a comparison possible is the author's contention that 'both social life and aesthetics develop out of deeply held assumptions about the world, and that neither one need be seen as cause or effect of the other' (p. 18). In defining the premise of his

argument in these terms, he sees it as his responsibility 'to discern what those underlying assumptions might be, and how they shape both social life and aesthetic activity' (ibid.).

In the first chapter, the author locates the Javanese 'self' in the interplay of rules of speech and rules of practice, stressing its relational character. In this context, concern with power, status and personal sovereignty is what informs and constitutes the irreducibility of personal action. Power, status and personal sovereignty are said to be derived from the amount of potency (*batin*) a person possesses. Thus Javanese selves partake both in the world of everyday encounter and the world of mystical forces.

However, the logic of everyday encounter, a logic of selfish desires and interests, is strongly opposed to the logic of mystical encounter, a logic of subtlety and sensitivity, imperceptible forces and energies. Paradoxically, then, it seems that the more 'selfless' a self becomes the greater the potency it attains. Thus involvement in the everyday world of desire is antithetical to the enhancement of the potent self; it introduces, however, the possibility of tensions and contradictory impulses. The reality of social involvement and the ideal of non-involvement (best expressed in the ethic of asceticism) oppose each other as the two poles of human existence, which have to be balanced in the interests of potency, status and personal authority.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 are devoted to a discussion of several kinds of relationships: between husband and wife, father and son, village headman and villagers, the spiritually powerful and their supplicants. Once again the same concerns with power, status and personal authority allow the author to establish a community of meanings that centre upon the search for potency, both reflecting and determining the efficacy of personal action.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 examine the relationships that are occasioned by a performance of shadow theatre: the interaction that takes place among sponsors, performers, guests and other spectators. Again the same concerns, interests and tensions come to the surface. The potent figure of the puppeteer resembles and repeats the figures of the father and the headman, implying the archetypal relationship between the more and the less potent. Thus the performance provides an indigenously generated representation of Javanese life, while at the same time constituting a part of it.

In the last two chapters, Ward Keeler turns his attention to the more abstract notion of 'interaction', which is implicit in the relationships he has already discussed, and to indigenously exegesis of such interaction, thereby attempting to offer a brief comparison between Javanese and Western models.

Interpretation for the Javanese is rooted in a person's reserve of potency. It is a defensive technique - in interpreting signs a person attempts to control their significance. The degree to which he is successful in doing so indicates and determines how potent he is. Keeler's most interesting conclusion is that interpretation for the Javanese comes before experience, indeed it is meant to control and 'resist' experience. In contrast, in the Western scheme 'experience, interpretation and action are supposed to proceed always in that order' (p. 259).

The author's whole argument - interesting as it is - necessarily depends on three hypotheses. It is supposed that between all the relationships he explicates it must be possible to establish a system of homogeneous relations, each of them expressing one and the same central core. It is also supposed that all the differences (or at any rate most of them) in Javanese society can be reduced to a single world view. Lastly, it is also assumed that the recurrence of a specific set of similarities reflects a specific type of interaction in a variety of rather dissimilar contexts.

To admit the relational character of every identity, as Keeler does, is to treat all relations as not having a necessary character, which he does not. If potency is the underlying principle which makes intelligible the aesthetic and social practices he describes, then it follows that all relations have the same character and all identities are always the same. The specificity of the various practices is dissolved - they are but momentary realizations of a more immanent logic, which is always already there.

A further problem involves his insistence on the appropriation of signs and degrees of selfhood. The appropriation of signs through interpretation and the appropriation of selves through interaction are treated as analogous instances in the quest for personal efficacy. Thus there seems to exist a motive, a constitutive principle of selfhood, which can be fixed outside both interpretation and interaction, and consequently outside the practices within which Keeler attempts to locate it.

Whatever the case may be, this is an important and challenging book. The author's readiness to re-examine most of his own assumptions, as well as his sensitivity to the ethnographic context, offer a more sensitive and less dogmatic understanding. It also presents a challenge to those anthropologists who continue to work comfortably with an 'unproblematic notion of the self, whether as performer or spectator'.

DIMITRI TSINTJILONIS

## OTHER NOTES AND NOTICES

### OXFORD UNIVERSITY ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

1987 - 1988

After the first event of the year, which was a welcoming drinks party, the newly arrived temporary lecturer Marcus Banks was appointed President of the Society, supported by Tim Ferris who continued as Secretary. Michaelmas Term's speakers had all been invited by Mr Ferris and proved to be entertainingly varied in their approach and subject matter. At the 802nd meeting Zachary Kingdon, from the Rock Art Research Unit at Witwatersrand University, presented a paper on 'Shamanic Art in Southern Africa' which provoked much interest. He was followed in the 803rd meeting by Kathleen McDermott, from the Centre for the Study of Social Policy, Swansea, who spoke on her research within British prisons. The minutes of the meeting note that the exchange of questions and comments afterwards was 'slightly sombre', which seems appropriate. The final session of the term was addressed by David Napier, late of Oxford and now at Middlebury College, Vermont. Dr Napier spoke on Bernini's Piazza Oblique in Rome, and suggested ways in which the design of the piazza could be seen as a cosmological diagram.

The meetings for the following two terms were arranged by Dr Banks; Susan Erb replaced Tim Ferris as Secretary. At the first meeting of Hilary Term, John Baily from AFRAS, Sussex, presented a film he had made on an RAI Film Fellowship, *Amir: An Afghan Refugee Musician's Life in Peshawar, Pakistan*, and then further entertained the audience by performing some Afghan songs on the *rubab*. He was followed a fortnight later by Jonathan Benthall, Director of the RAI, who described the origins of the popular anthropology journal, *Anthropology Today*, and discussed more generally the issue of popularising anthropology. The 807th meeting was addressed by Mike Hutt from the Indian languages department at SOAS who spoke on the cultural interpretation of modern Nepali poetry and provided some very beautiful examples in translation. The final meeting of the term was addressed by Jeremy MacClancy, of the Oxford Institute, who described the historical background to his researches on political identity in Spain.

The three meetings held in Trinity Term were equally varied. The first was addressed by Felicia Hughes Freeland, from the National Film and Television School (also an RAI Film Fellow). She spoke under the title 'How to Understand a Javanese Dance Tradition', and was prevailed upon at the end of her talk to give a short demonstration. The 810th meeting featured Chris Pinney from the Centre of South East Asian Studies, Cambridge, who continued the visual theme

by discussing colonial photography under the title 'Nature and Culture in the Early Photography of Other Peoples'. His talk aroused some critical questions, but this resulted in an interesting and productive debate. A fortnight later, a former Oxford student, Malcolm Chapman, gave the final paper of the year, turning his attention to the cultural identity of the north-west of England, particularly that of the 'forgotten' Cumbrian coast.

Attendances at the year's meetings were generally satisfactory, and it can be said that Oxford anthropology was enriched as a result of the year's activities.

MARCUS BANKS  
President, 1987-8

#### FUNDING ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH

At a time when it is increasingly difficult to obtain research funds, the publication of a directory of potential funding bodies is most welcome.\* It will, at the very least, give students hope that they might be able to get money from somewhere.

The editors of the directory have compiled a list of 704 'program profiles' of sponsored research programmes in the United States, and give information on each programme under the headings: Program Description, Eligibility/Limitations, Fiscal Information, Application Information, Deadline(s), and Subject Term(s). A detailed subject index, a sponsor type index, a listing of sponsoring organizations and a bibliography of printed source materials and online databases follow.

The perhaps uniquely diverse nature of anthropological research - as humanity, science, social science - makes the search for funding a particularly difficult task. The editors of this directory are to be thanked for producing such a comprehensive guide to sources of potential funding in the USA. Its price is prohibitive for the individual student, so it is to be hoped that university departments and libraries will make it available to their members and draw their attention to it. And perhaps someone or other will soon initiate the compilation of a similar directory for the United Kingdom or, perhaps more usefully, Europe.

JEREMY COOTE

\*KAREN CANTRELL and DENISE WALLEN (eds.), *Funding for Anthropological Research*, Phoenix: Oryx Press 1986. ix, 305pp., Indexes, Bibliography. £57.65.

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