

## BOOK REVIEWS

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ALICE C. FLETCHER, *The Hako: Song, Pipe, and Unity in a Pawnee Calumet Ceremony*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1996. 372 pp., Illustrations, Index. £15.95.

This Bison Books edition of Alice Fletcher's presentation and analysis of the Pawnee Hako ceremony is an excellent example of the kind of salvage anthropology advocated by Boas, not only because it preserves a detailed account of a now extinct ceremony, but also because it rescues this valuable document from the relative obscurity of the musty annals of the Smithsonian Bureau of American Ethnology. There is a wealth of information contained in those rare copies of the annual reports to the Secretary of the Smithsonian that beg reprinting in monograph form, not the least of which are lengthy reports by Ruth Bunzel, Ruth Benedict, and Frank Hamilton Cushing. Fletcher's contribution to the long-running series rightfully deserves this accessible reprint, which will be an excellent resource for students of native North America as well as those interested in the politics of presentation brimming beneath the surface of its authorship.

Helen Myers provides a helpful introduction to the book which places the research in its historical context and fills in some biographical data on Fletcher. We learn in Myers' introduction of Fletcher's consistent championing of the North American Indian, as well as her efforts to thwart the scientific classification of native North Americans on the lower end of the social evolutionary scale. Myers also introduces us to Fletcher's key informant, Tahirussawichi, a Pawnee who had participated in the Hako Ceremony.

What is perhaps most intriguing about Fletcher's work on the Hako ceremony is her relative silence throughout the book. After a few pages of introduction, Fletcher allows Tahirussawichi to describe the ceremony in detail through the use of a graphophone, deeming it 'best not to change his method or introduce elements' (p. 25). Tahirussawichi proceeds to fill the next 252 pages of text with his description of the Hako ceremony. The fact that his name does not appear on the cover is a curious oversight, given that no less than four names are printed prominently below the title, including that of Edwin S. Tracy, who transcribed the ceremonial music. It would be an object-lesson in the problems of agency and ethnographic voice in turn-of-the-century anthropology if this were not so modern an edition that it could easily have corrected the misplaced authorship. An ironic epitaph is offered by Tahirussawichi himself in the last line of his lengthy description: 'It must be that I have been preserved for this purpose, otherwise I should be lying back there among the dead' (p. 278). One wonders if the issues of authorship which confront the reader have not unwittingly left Tahirussawichi back among the dead after all.

Tahirussawichi's description of the Hako ceremony is interrupted only by transcriptions of the ceremonial music. The emphasis on the music of the ceremony is no doubt due to Fletcher's own interest in music and is a refreshingly early recognition of the importance of such expressive forms in cultural practices. Along with the music are detailed descriptions of the ceremonial objects and the various myths which play a part in the ceremony. The result is an inspired balance between the straightforward verbal reconstruction of the Pawnee ceremony and the sensory experience of sights and sounds integral to the performance of the Hako.

The last hundred pages of the book are devoted to Fletcher's recapitulation and analysis of the ceremony as described by Tahirussawichi. She offers some insightful elaborations on symbolism, along with some conjecture on the origins and dissemination of the ceremony, but her objective is less to offer analysis than to preserve the ceremony. Fletcher certainly meets her objective, and in fact offers two texts side by side, that of Tahirussawichi and her own summary.

Fletcher's reluctance to obscure Tahirussawichi's text with her own in-depth analysis is to her credit, and as a result the rich detail of Tahirussawichi's description and Fletcher's broad summary provide an excellent resource from which to draw data for contemporary analysis. A careful read of the ceremony reveals its efficiency in establishing inter-tribal affinal kinship networks through ritual exchange. It also serves as a blueprint for Pawnee semiotics and their particular use of material culture. As a whole, this modern edition is an admirable attempt to make accessible the research of anthropologists which would otherwise, in the words of Tahirussawichi, be lying back among the dead.

RUSSELL SHARMAN

LUKE TAYLOR, *Seeing the Inside: Bark Painting in Western Arnhem Land*, Oxford: Clarendon 1996. 283 pp., Photographs, Figures, Tables, Appendix, Bibliography, Index.

Luke Taylor joins a growing list of scholars interested in the social implications of art with the publication of his *Seeing the Inside: Bark Painting in Western Arnhem Land*. Like Nancy Munn and Howard Morphy before him, Taylor's interest in Australian Aboriginal art serves as a *raison d'être* of the current cross-disciplinary enthusiasm for art and, more generally, aesthetics as a catalyst for social cohesion and the semiotic development of expressive cultural forms in the face of modernity. In his own words, Taylor is 'concerned to reveal how the activity of artists in producing works for the market can also be seen to maintain a number of key religious principles within the context of the changing conditions of Kunwinjku social life' (p. 6).

The Kunwinjku, the predominant language-group of Australia's Western Arnhem Land aborigines, form the basis of Taylor's study. After a lengthy introduction to his specific intentions, Taylor reconstructs the historical development of the art market in Western Arnhem Land. Focusing on the contributions of anthropologists and missionaries, Taylor describes how the Kunwinjku have adapted to the market for their paint-

ings and how it may have influenced the particular style and subject-matter of Kunwinjku artists. Taylor argues that as the market for bark paintings expanded, subject-matter became more representational than geometric. He also claims that many anthropologists stressed distinctions between Eastern and Western Arnhem Land art which may not have been altogether accurate, but inspired further division.

Chapters three, four, and five develop Taylor's argument for the integration of social analysis and the analysis of art. Beginning with Kunwinjku social organization, Taylor describes how individuals are integrated into the social system and how that integration affects artistic production. Based on kinship and clan affiliation, the Kunwinjku maintain a distinction between 'ownership' and 'management' of sacred places, objects, and deities. The managers, or *djangkay*, are responsible for all that is sacred to the members of their mother's brother's clan, which includes ritual painting. Among artists, Taylor distinguishes three levels of social identity which incorporate the overall, notably figurative style of Western Arnhem Land art, the individual style and technique of artists, and the general style and technique of various Kunwinjku art 'schools' based on apprenticeship networks. Though stylistic identity varies among artists, the subject-matter of Kunwinjku painting invariably falls within one or more of four figural categories: (1) major regional ceremonial figures; (2) minor regional spirits; (3) food animals; and (4) sacred ancestral deities, or *djang* figures. Taylor places these subject categories in ceremonial context to demonstrate the development of Kunwinjku art within the sacred ritual cycle.

Moving from the general to the specific, chapters six to nine offer detailed analysis of Kunwinjku bark painting, beginning with the formal components of production and leading up to the complex levels of meaning inherent in Kunwinjku figurative style. Taylor takes us through the gathering of materials and the initial stages of a painting's composition. Then the analysis turns to the various figurative styles available to Kunwinjku artists, which Taylor lists as fish, birds, crocodiles, macropods (kangaroo and wallaby), and various human forms. Taylor indicates his list is by no means exhaustive since the iconic system of representation used by the Kunwinjku is constantly expanding. This aspect of iconic representational systems leads into Taylor's analysis of what he calls transforming figures, which consist of two or more figures combined in a way to demonstrate the intermingling of the landscape, humans, animals, and deities in Kunwinjku cosmology. Accompanied by first-hand accounts of Kunwinjku myth, the examination of transforming figures demonstrates Taylor's affinity to Lévi-Strauss's views on both the flexibility and permanence of meaning. Like the bricoleur in Lévi-Strauss's *The Savage Mind*, the Kunwinjku break up and modify the representational schema through the historical process of new and influential experience, and then draw from its constituent parts to recombine meaningful aspects of style and subject-matter to produce new and creative forms. Taylor breaks with Lévi-Strauss, however, where he seeks out how abstract schema are put into action and words in a social context. Where Lévi-Strauss lacked a contextual example of bricolage, Taylor seeks to implement the concept through the material reality of Kunwinjku art and its place in the nexus of human interaction.

One of the most interesting sections of Taylor's book is his analysis of Kunwinjku X-ray painting. It is here that we begin to see clearly the inspiration for the book's title as Kunwinjku construct an 'obvious' or 'outside' meaning of a composition as

well as a deeper, 'inside' meaning that requires knowledge passed through initiation. This is most evident in X-ray art which details the internal organs of various figures (notably not human figures) in stylized representational conventions. The outside meaning refers to the basic subdivisions of certain food animals, but the inside meaning refers to the creation myths of ancestral deities, with certain aspects of internal division corresponding to the sacred landscape. The X-ray figures become maps to the initiated, documenting the adventures of ancestors across the clan land.

Taylor's detailed account of Western Arnhem Land art adds significantly to the work begun by Morphy and Munn concerning one of the most important art-producing regions of the world. His book not only documents the artistry of the Kunwinjku, but also seeks to integrate the artistic process into an analysis of social change and semiotic transformation, allowing for innovation within the confines of a rigorously traditional cultural institution. These facts will perhaps balance what at times can be mildly tedious technical descriptions, and the curious scarcity of women among the Kunwinjku, which, in all fairness to Taylor, is due mostly to their exclusion as Kunwinjku painters. An interesting follow-up to Taylor's detailed and well-written study of Western Arnhem Land bark painting might be a broader analysis of artistry in the region which would incorporate women and their expressive forms (of which examples undoubtedly exist), as well a further elaboration on Taylor's interesting analysis of how art is tied to the social fabric of Kunwinjku life.

RUSSELL SHARMAN

JEREMY BOISSEVAIN (ed.), *Coping with Tourists: European Reactions to Mass Tourism* (New Directions in Anthropology 1), Oxford and Providence: Berghahn 1996. viii, 264 pp., Figures, Plates, References, Index. £35.00/£14.50.

Based on a workshop on European Reactions to the Tourist Gaze held at the EASA conference in Prague in 1992, this collection of eight papers by mostly young scholars at the beginning of their careers includes an introduction and 'postlude' by two heavyweights in the anthropology of tourism, Jeremy Boissevain and Tom Selwyn. Geographically, the chapters examine respectively Andalusia, Sardinia, Malta, Skyros (Greece), Cantal (France), the Lofoten Islands (Norway), and Amsterdam, which although limited offer insights into events which may be applicable world-wide.

Apart from certain theoretical weaknesses and subject limitations, described below, the collection offers excellent ethnographic data to support the arguments put forward, as well as attesting to the value of anthropological research and analysis in understanding tourism and the rewards of the study of tourism for anthropology. The volume is grounded within the notion of the 'host community', i.e. the indigenous population's reaction to tourism, and many papers record with sensitivity the multiplicity and complexity of local opinions and reactions concerning tourism. Examples include Cornelia Zarkia's paper describing the different social classes on a Greek island and their varying relationships with property, where, although the poor had become

marginalized, they became the possessors of a valuable resource and entrepreneurs in the tourist sector through their fortuitous ownership of sub-standard agricultural land on the coast. Another popular theme is that of reflexivity among the host population, including the development and establishment of celebratory events and representational showcases. This is dealt with by Antonio Pedregal, who examines different festivals in Andalusia, contrasting organizations and intentions. Peter Odermatt writes about the use and symbolism of ancient remains on Sardinia and draws attention to the politics of (re)presentation, while Annabel Black notes the recovery of pride in local culture by Maltese villagers. Simone Abram analyses and deconstructs the traditional qualities of life in a Cantal village, drawing attention to the varied consequences of the commoditization of culture, the confrontation of cultural values, and the construction of history.

A reorganization of representation generates inevitable conflicts within communities themselves, as well as between locals and tourists. Mary Crain draws attention to the multivocal aspects of Spain's new appeal for visitors, drawing on a variety of qualities besides the stalwarts of sea and sunshine. Three items—a national park, a religious shrine, and a beach—provide the key magnets, which are examined by exploring the conflicting interests, including most notably ecological deterioration, which result from such development. The local people's relationship with the park, which is seen as a hunting-ground, is contrasted with the desires of conservationists to preserve and protect it against such encroachment. We learn how local people have overcome the constant pressure of tourism and have created ways of avoiding tourists in order to maintain their privacy and enjoyment of social rituals such as night-time religious processions. Nature is also a main attraction for visitors to the Lofoten Islands. Roel Pujik describes the increased development of tourism in one traditional fishing-village, emphasising tourism's dependence on fishing as an attraction and addressing the seasonal variation in types of tourists (summer versus winter) and types of visitors (tourists versus non-resident fishermen). Pujik is interested in the similarity between local people and visitors in terms of modernity, and he examines the occasionally dubious attractions of the *rorbu* or fisherman's lodge, used as tourist accommodation.

Each paper gives a rich evocation of the field site gained through long-term residence and research, and the variety of reactions and relationships with tourists is made very clear: each paper touches on subjects which deserve further expansion. Eight such themes which appear throughout the book are pinpointed by Selwyn in his postlude, including the motivations and backgrounds of the tourists, the commoditization of culture, politics, and tourism, the complexity of change, and the political and economic forces shaping the tourist industry. This section offers the reader an expert's insight into the subject and helps draw together the chapters, offering a neat conclusion.

There are, however, certain restrictions in the locational sense, in that only Heidi Dahles' chapter on Amsterdam offers a study of urban tourism in contrast to the rural and marginal focus of the other studies. Here lies a further weakness, in that the type of tourism experienced by these sites is not primarily 'mass tourism', a problematic term generally understood as involving charter flights, multinational hotels and tourist hordes. These points should be tackled directly. Boissevain's introduction does not clarify them, though it is very useful for its broad account of theoretical preoccupations in the anthropology of tourism, and it points out the irony involved in the cultural

tourist's potentially destructive quest. Nevertheless, it fails to address the issues of post-modernism and globalization, current concerns which the anthropology of tourism is in an excellent position to illuminate. A number of papers could well have benefited from these perspectives, instead of relying on MacCanell's 'authenticity' argument, which he himself has revised using post-modernist ideas.

There is also a problem with the book's focus on the question of 'coping' with tourists. The very concept of 'coping' is taken up uncritically, though it deserves deconstruction as being too evocative of a delineated subject (a person or a community) wrestling with illness or catastrophe. The contributors point out time and again that the communities they have studied are not homogeneous but consist of various classes of people with different ideas and values. In this sense, however 'coping' is to be defined, some people will cope and others will not. Selwyn's postlude concludes that anthropologists can help assess the conditions for coping or otherwise. While consultative roles are to be welcomed, this is an implicitly judgemental view, overtly positivistic. It leads me to suggest that the topic requires further hard analytical input in order to match the high-quality ethnography displayed in this volume.

DON MACLEOD

ADAM KUPER, *Anthropology and Anthropologists: The Modern British School* (third revised and enlarged edition), London and New York: Routledge 1996. £13.99.

For readers still unfamiliar with this well-known book, it is an account of British social anthropology's main trends and achievements from the 1920s to the present day, traced through the work and influence of the discipline's most influential individuals. In this third edition, the last two chapters of the second edition of 1985 are replaced by a new chapter, summarized in the last two paragraphs of this review.

Kuper begins with Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, who both published their major monographs in 1922. He gives a lucid, accessible account, sometimes funny, sometimes anecdotal, of their fieldwork methods and published work. The rest of the book is mainly concerned with the legacies of these two 'founders' of British social anthropology. Radcliffe-Brown's interests in social structure and comparative analysis dominated the monographs of the inter-war period, most notably in Evans-Pritchard's *The Nuer* (1940), which shows how social order is achieved and maintained in the absence of centralized government. Malinowski's legacy lay in the emphasis on fieldwork and in questions of 'rationality', most famously illustrated by Evans-Pritchard's *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (1937). Typically, ethnographies of this period were based on research carried out in colonial Africa. Kuper's chapter on colonialism provides a useful starting-point for anyone interested in how, until the loss of empire in the 1950s, the colonial environment affected the practical and theoretical development of social anthropology and in the (little) impact anthropologists had on colonial governments.

After the mid-1950s, with its broader changes in the political environment, British social anthropology expanded massively, offering new recruits the prospect of a professional career. Kuper's task of drawing out the main intellectual trends becomes correspondingly more difficult. He argues that 'the theoretical map of British anthropology between about 1950 and 1970 was largely, though never entirely, the same as the map of the major departments', and he follows this with a useful sketch of the characteristics of the London, Oxford, Cambridge, and Manchester schools. But despite their differences, says Kuper, the monographs were characterized by Malinowskian methods and Radcliffe-Brownian structural analysis, being focused on politics and on magico-religious systems (including witchcraft and ritual) and tending to be limited to Africa, in contrast, for instance, to the American interests in 'culture and personality'. In this way, Kuper concludes, the Radcliffe-Brownian and Malinowskian legacy dominated until the 1960s.

Kuper discusses in some detail the work—influential from the mid-1950s—of 'two key mavericks', Edmund Leach and Max Gluckman. Leach was influenced most by Malinowski, Gluckman by Radcliffe-Brown and later Evans-Pritchard, but both believed that competing individual political interests provided the 'central dynamic of social systems'. Gluckman's early work on Zulu society followed *The Nuer* model but gave new emphasis to the instability of the colonial situation. Later, he analysed tribal systems within the framework of a colonial regime, showing how equilibrium is achieved through the ritual expression of social conflicts. His analysis was of the 'total' system of interactions within and between Whites, Africans and Indians in rural and urban situations. Gluckman and his students developed the use of extended case-studies, statistics, and historical data—hallmarks of the 'Manchester school', of which Victor Turner's work on the Ndembu in *Schism and Continuity in an African Society* (1957) is exemplary. Likewise, Leach was interested in developing methods to analyse how personal interests eventually change a system, and he too emphasized how interacting communities must be seen as part of a single social system. Both were concerned with how systems persist, despite their internal contradictions, and with the power of individual self-interest. 'Perhaps', Kuper concludes, 'it was simply that this area of tension between man's interests and the values propagated by the "society" was obviously the area to investigate after the massive, dichotomous statements of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski had been assimilated.' This 'new synthesis' persisted until the disruption caused by Lévi-Strauss's structuralism, influential in Britain from the 1960s.

The disruption was a major one, for Lévi-Strauss was interested in 'how people think', with cultural categories and images, rather than with what people actually do. The anthropologist's task was to reveal underlying mental processes, of which the anthropologist's actions or a 'native' people's myths are equally manifestations. Lévi-Strauss's structuralism 'came to have something of the momentum of a millennial movement'. Kuper gives an excellent summary of those features of Lévi-Strauss's work which were influential in Britain—his writings on the structures of kinship, for instance—and of the complex debates that ensued on what Lévi-Strauss 'really meant'. He shows how the posing of the questions reflected 'traditional' empirical concerns and how Lévi-Strauss's view of culture as a symbolic system was 'reined in' to show how 'cultural categories sustain a given social structure'.

We have, then, a coherent picture of the intellectual progress of a scientific academic discipline in which elements of earlier theory inspired and were transformed in subsequent models. Kuper's book provides a useful vantage-point from which to consider recent accounts of the history of the discipline, such as Jack Goody's *The Expansive Moment: Anthropology in Britain and Africa 1918-1970* (1995), which emphasizes not so much the 'internal' intellectual tradition as the discipline's responses to the issues of the time, and the historian George Stocking's *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888-1951* (1995), the culmination of twenty-five years of archival research.

By the early 1970s, however, this intellectual coherence had been lost. The collapse of empire and the corresponding loss of the 'laboratory' raised many questions about the future of the discipline, and there was no consensus as to the answers. The first edition of Kuper's book, published in 1973, was 'in the nature of an obituary notice' and induced vehement responses from many. Peter Rivière, at Oxford, considered Kuper's portrayal of Evans-Pritchard too 'Radcliffe-Brownian' (*Nature*, Vol. CCXLV (1973), p. 395). In Oxford, at least, where, under Evans-Pritchard and into the early 1970s, there was no undergraduate teaching of social anthropology, it was as if Kuper had broken a taboo by writing accessibly and directly and divulging the 'secrets' of the profession in doing so.

The second edition of Kuper's book, published in 1983, reviewed achievements since 1972: little in the way of theory, but high-quality ethnographic explorations of issues of ethnicity, Third-World development, and applied anthropology. The second edition also has a valuable and, given the prevailing intellectual climate, courageous final chapter devoted to the 'internal intellectual problems' of the discipline: is social anthropology a descriptive and interpretative discipline or, echoing Radcliffe-Brown, a scientific enterprise, one that tells us something about the 'real' world, about the nature of human actions? Kuper's answer is that it is not a science in the sense of 'grand theory', but that it does offer a set of methods and techniques from which a practitioner can select those which have the greatest explanatory value in any given social situation. Social anthropology may never come as close to the 'truth' as the natural science; but ethnographic descriptions, testable against other accounts and against the standards of the discipline, will continue to add to a body of theoretical concepts and empirical knowledge about the human social world.

In this third edition, Kuper outlines the fresh attacks on the subject's legitimacy deriving from feminism, orientalism, Marxist critiques, and dependency theorists, and he places current post-modern concerns in context. Hermeneutic anthropology and the concomitant rejection of objective 'scientific' projects have their origins in Evans-Pritchard's rejection of Radcliffe-Brown's positivism in the 1950s and in earlier American trends. American 'cultural' anthropology, interested in such topics as the cultural patterning of personality, diverged under Franz Boas from the British 'sociological' tradition in the 1920s, gaining theoretical legitimacy in the 1950s through Talcott Parsons' work and later that of Clifford Geertz, the most influential living anthropologist, with his method of 'thick description' and his view of culture as a meaningful symbolic system. The 'Boasian tradition', Kuper writes, 'was always relativist, insistent that conceptual systems should not be reduced to some supposedly more fundamental reality, such as social structure. And the goal was...understanding,



rather than the positivist ambition of scientific explanation. Anthropology should not pretend to be a comparative sociology.' American post-modernism, 'a radical development of the Boasian programme', had its effects in Europe, particularly through James Clifford's and George A. Marcus's *Writing Culture*, published in 1986. The act of writing about culture is itself full of cultural meanings, and there is 'no single, true, objective account of a cultural event or a social programme'. The 'spotlight' was on the 'disconcerted ethnographers' themselves.

Nevertheless, other anthropological traditions have survived. The often uneasy relationship between social or cultural and biological approaches (which Kuper explores in his open-minded, well-written book, *The Chosen Primate*, 1994) may yet bear fruit: the relatively new British undergraduate courses which teach both biological and sociological sciences may generate interdisciplinary research. There are also the younger European centres of social anthropology and, since 1989, the European Association of Social Anthropologists, fertile territories for high-quality ethnographic research on such topics as minority communities and the relationship between European, national, and local interests. For a student of social anthropology today, venturing into the confusing territory of contemporary theory, this book continues to provide an invaluable introduction, with its direct, lucid style and clear landmarks.

ALISON SHAW

RAY ABRAHAMS (ed.), *After Socialism: Land Reform and Social Change in Eastern Europe* (New Directions in Anthropology, Vol. 6), Providence and Oxford: Berghahn 1996. ix, 221 pp., Figures, Tables, Index. £35.00.

This volume brings together a number of very solid essays arising out of a symposium on the Privatization of Agriculture in Eastern Europe, convened in Cambridge in 1994 by the editor. The countries covered are Hungary, Poland, Estonia (each with more than one paper), Albania and Bulgaria (one paper each), but not East Germany, Romania, the former Yugoslavia or any part of the rest of the CIS. The former Czechoslovakia is covered in one section of one paper only. This spread is still sufficient to show that the experience of these countries with privatization has not been uniform. Thus Hungary has chosen a voucher system instead of the policy of direct restitution adopted by many other countries; there has been much popular resistance to the break-up of cooperatives in Bulgaria, where they predate the communist takeover; and in Poland, the fact that collectivization was abandoned before it got very far means that there is less land to privatize, with the consequence that privatization has less political urgency than elsewhere. It is also evident that there are many areas of continuity from both the communist and pre-communist pasts, although at the same time the fact that peasant farmers scarcely used to producing above subsistence levels are now being asked to enter a world market dominated by capitalist agribusinesses clearly represents a radical shift for many.

From the point of view of an emerging anthropology of eastern Europe, two general points of derogation might be made about this book, impressive and valuable though it is in its own right. First, there will surely come a time when the present heavy concentration—amounting almost to an obsession—on ‘the transition’ in this region will have to give way to a broader spectrum of topics, which are in some danger of being neglected just at a time when restrictions on research in most of these countries have been lifted. Secondly, although placed in a series entitled ‘New Directions in Anthropology’, there is not actually very much that is distinctively anthropological about this volume, in the sense that much of it could have been written equally well by lawyers, economists, rural geographers, or even agronomists or political scientists (as the case may be). This is not entirely a result of the multi-disciplinary nature of the project but represents a continuing hazard in the anthropology of Europe, especially when one falls to discussing the political, legal, and economic aspects of social transformations. It was something of a relief, in fact, to turn to Frances Pine’s discussion of work and gender in Poland as the chapter which goes furthest in treating matters in an anthropological manner.

As a book in its own right, it is fine. For these two reasons, however, it is hardly to be recommended as a ‘New Direction in Anthropology’ that others should be following.

ROBERT PARKIN

KENNETH M. GEORGE, *Showing Signs of Violence: The Cultural Politics of a Twentieth Century Headhunting Ritual*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press 1996. xv, 339 pp., References, Indexes, Figures, Tables, Linguistic Notes. £38.00/£13.95/\$48.00/\$18.00.

The discovery of the continuing, although masked presence of head-hunting rituals in the Sulawesi highlands in Indonesia has led Kenneth M. George to a study of ritual violence. By examining the Pangngae ritual of the Ada’ Mapurondo communities, George is able to approach politics on many levels, such as local mediations of the politics of the nation-state, constructions of local identity through cultural reconstruction, and displays of gender and other significant differences. *Showing Signs of Violence* is also a contribution to studies of the construction and significance of violence and terror. Finally, it offers a new approach to the classic problem of head-hunting.

For the Mapurondo communities Pangngae is a harvest ritual aimed at improving prosperity and ending public mourning. George adds layers to local interpretations by asserting that Pangngae is also a claim of dominance over downstream neighbours as well as a commemoration of the past and a claim to continuity with the present. As the title indicates, at present Pangngae rituals only simulate the violence of the past. The trophy head traditionally taken from downstream communities has been replaced by a coconut bought in the local town market.

By building on Renato Rosaldo's work on head-hunting among the Ilongot, George shows how the case of the missing head becomes a puzzle. According to Renato Rosaldo's touching essay 'Grief and a Head-hunter's Rage' (1984), the personal catharsis that occurs at the moment of the dismembering of the enemy head is the significant motivation for head-hunting practices among the Ilongot. George argues convincingly that in the case of the Mapurondo communities, the head-hunters' motivation is communal more than individual. Both the presence of Pangngae as a necessary communal transition and the use of surrogate heads points in the direction of an explanation emphasizing communal motivations. If the hunter relied on the taking of a head to exorcise his own rage and anguish, buying a coconut would hardly have the same effect.

George's criticism of Rosaldo does not, however, question whether head-hunting can be approached as a category of phenomenon, or indeed whether Rosaldo intended such generalizations. If Rosaldo's analysis was mainly directed at understanding the motivations of the Ilongot, George's points merely expose a difference.

As is indicated in the title, the question of how the coconut can effectively replace the grotesque head underlies most of the chapters of the book and becomes a vital clue to the unravelling of the significance of Pangngae for the Mapurondo communities. George disputes traditional explanations of the coconut as a replacement invented with the advent of colonialism. His hypothesis is based on the idea that the actual head might not be so important. Many head-hunting practices, among them those of the Ilongot, do not include bringing the head home. To George there is 'nothing in a trophy skull that promotes well-being'. Instead, it is the 'doing something to a head that helps prosperity' (p. 66). The head is a reciprocating sign, an object of exchange between different human worlds and between human and spirit worlds. The importance of exchange as a theme is also strengthened by the use of the term 'going to the sea' as a euphemism both for taking a head and for trading. Trade relations between people upstream and downstream engendered conflict due to the dominance of the latter. This superiority was balanced by the yearly taking of the head. The purpose in taking a head was to dehumanize the enemy. According to George, the dismembering involved in the head-hunters' actions not only objectifies the other but produces a 'demonized and degraded other' (p. 92). The grotesque mixes terror and laughter and becomes a symbol not only of the degradation of another human being but of the disintegration of an oppositional community. George found that the practice of using surrogate heads went back to before colonization. As the taking of a real head from dominant trading partners could have caused violent revenge expeditions, the taking of a surrogate head could be described as a 'ritualized art of resistance' (p. 89). According to George, as the coconut is a prestige food associated with the coast, the association between downstream people and the coconut is confirmed.

The illusion of the coconut being an enemy head is made possible because the head is covered when presented to the villagers and is never exposed for them to view. Consequently, neither the head-hunters' violence nor the humiliation caused by the fact that no head has actually been stolen, are made visible. Showing violence, according to George, becomes a form of symbolic resistance towards a recognizably more powerful trading partner.

George does not deny that there also are personal motivations for head-hunting. In an egalitarian society Pangngae is one of very few paths towards the attainment of personal prestige. The ritual provides a measure and an ideal for local social hierarchies related to both gender and prestige. Courage and violence are not the only valued traits in the discourse of manhood. Authority and clever rhetoric demonstrated in the song cycles that follow the victorious return to the village with the enemy head is also highly significant. If a label was to be provided, Pangngae is thus for George not a rite of initiation but of consecration which institutes both gender differences and differences between junior and senior men. Through their adornments, head-hunters' are made different from other men in Mapurondo villages. Images of manhood inform the ideals of both head-hunter and rhetorician: after a while, speech displaces violence. However, Pangngae also includes women as political actors. Although women are excluded from the head-hunting ritual and only participate as passive recipients, their presence at the latter is nevertheless all-important. The end of Pangngae is followed by a women's ritual aimed at increasing the prosperity of the households.

By emphasizing the political aspects of head-hunting in relation to the communities' relationship with outside forces, George criticizes earlier approaches that selectively focused on the logic and meaning of the severed head. He stresses strongly that we must not forget the political discourse surrounding the ritual. Pangngae also entails a claim to superiority and power that refuses to acknowledge the interdependencies of the Mapurondo communities with the Dutch, Indonesians, Muslims, Christians, or the people downstream. Presently Mapurondo communities are facing outside pressure from several sources, Muslim and Christian as well as the Indonesian state. The latter includes everyone as citizens, simultaneously excluding images of local enemies. These pressures towards sameness are contradicted by pressures from the Christian churches, while the Muslims regard Mapurondo communities as marginal and pagan. Through Pangngae both dependence on and independence of the outside world are articulated. The ritual represents Mapurondo communities as an ideological enclave, at the same time that the absence of anything but signs of violence act as a reminder of their vulnerability to state control. Pangngae is an attempt to retain political autonomy in an era of subordination.

The flexibility of ritual and the commemoration of the past is valued in George's explanations. In his view, different versions of the head-hunt can be brought out from a communal repertoire in order to respond to the conditions of the present. With this broader focus, questions arise of authenticity and of the recreation of the past by a marginalized ethnic group. As George argues: 'commemoration was a political end in its own right' (p. 187). Ritual tradition is what distinguishes Mapurondo communities, and it therefore becomes the only way of reproducing the community. By using a historical approach involving the Mapurondo community in a greater Indonesian context, George reminds us that the use and execution of ritual at some level have a purpose within the given context. The flexibility of the Pangngae through time as well as its persistence is what gives the community the illusion of continuity with the past in an ever-changing environment.

In light of the many levels of politics that, according to George, are manifested in Pangngae, his underlying idea of resistance through the representation of identity and difference deserves greater clarification. The topic of resistance has been debated for

more than a decade. The term itself is recognized to be problematic and has been associated with romanticized, simplified attempts to empower marginalized groups. The same problem occurs with George's use of terms introduced by Turner and Taussig, such as 'theatre of violence' and 'mimesis', terms embedded within clear anthropological traditions which should not be used uncritically.

*Showing Signs of Violence* none the less represents a major effort to deflate the attribution of otherness implied in images of head-hunting, which, next to cannibalism, has been used to represent the peak of savagery. The book is a valuable contribution to anthropological questions of violence and terror. Finally, it reintroduces indigenous politics by placing ritual in the context of the nation-state, thus firmly putting questions of authenticity and the reconstruction of tradition back on the agenda.

GRO WEEN

SIMON PULLEYN, *Prayer in Greek Religion* (Oxford Classical Monographs), Oxford: Clarendon Press 1998. xv, 244 pp., Bibliography, Indexes. £40.00.

This is a revised version of a 1993 Oxford doctorate by a Fellow of Merton College. Following on an immense amount of scholarship, including two French monographs by D. Aubriot-Sevin (*Prière et Conceptions religieuses en Grèce ancienne*, Lyons 1992) and A. Corlu (*Recherches sur les mots relatifs à l'idée de la prière, d'Homère aux tragiques*, Paris 1966), with whom the author pursues a critical dialogue, Pulleyn not only situates the recent unresolved debates about the meaning of prayer in classical Greece, he does so in a way that is accessible for those anthropologists who are interested in prayer but for whom the Greek language is largely a forgotten grammar-school experience.

Chapter 2, on 'Reciprocity and Remembrance', contains useful comparisons with the Old Testament (much of which is younger than Homer) and with Hittite, Talmudic, and Indo-Iranian evidence. Chapters 3 ('Thanks and Praise'), 4 ('Prayer and Supplication'), 5 ('Curses and Justice'), and 6 ('Magic and Names') all proceed from Pulleyn's initial conception of what Greek prayer is constituted by, namely requests for reciprocity or favour. Only with chapters 7 ('Prayers to the Dead') and 9 ('*Sitz im Leben*') does one begin to obtain an impression of the morphology of the society. This is despite the fact that the author is at pains to situate his literary witnesses in their setting. The uninitiated reader would have benefited from an introductory chapter on Greek cosmology so as to have an overview of the spiritual geography of the orants. As it stands, one sometimes has the feeling that prayers have become an essentially literary phenomenon (p. 215). Although Pulleyn mentions sociolinguistics only once (p. 152), he is aware that there exists an overlap between prayer and other social exchange such as hospitality (called 'guest friendship') and supplication, and that these involve gesture. Although note 74 (p. 189) refers to the Roman bronze copy of a earlier Greek statue of a 'boy in prayer' and notes 73-7 refer to ancient representations

of gestures of prayer, no explanation is provided of the cover photograph, which would certainly have been relevant.

Pulleyn also discusses (pp. 178–84) the question of the gender of the orant, for the Greeks had certain exclamations in prayer that were gender-specific. However, he does not acknowledge any continuum between daily speech such as greetings (p. 162) and requests of the gods, which for him constitute real prayer. Nor does he allow himself to become pinned down to any theoretical relationship between sacrifice and prayer, which both ‘re-establish and confirm the existence of links of reciprocity’ (p. 160). Because the only prayers in Greek antiquity to which we have access are written, Pulleyn’s typology is finally based on Latin syntactic models of reciprocity (cf. p. xv): ‘give because I give/give because you gave/give because (s)he gave/give so that I will give/give so that I will be able to give/I give that you might give’.

Using a basically synchronic rather than diachronic approach spanning some four centuries from Homer to the fourth century BC, Pulleyn shows how little prayer changed in this period, even though the Greek language evolved considerably. In his Prolegomena, he admits that the stylistics of Greek literature risks compromising the validity of the *Sitz im Leben* of the examples he describes in chapter 9. For this reason he uses epigraphic examples of prayer whenever these are available, although they are also subject to artistic embellishment. Finally, in order to be able to conduct his investigation, the author had to abandon any attempt to separate art from life. For an anthropologist, it seems unlikely that a society could imagine pragmatic acts it had never performed.

Once he has observed that prayer does not always require sacrifice, Pulleyn separates sacrifice into a category distinct from prayer, and he also invests it with a definition based on reciprocal favour (*xapis*). The whole idea of storing up favour and thus gratitude on the part of a given god could well have led the author to discuss Michel de Certeau’s notion of *faire croire*, which is based on Benveniste’s analysis of the Indo-European notion of credit that structures the different etymologies of the verb ‘believe’ (*\*kred*). Instead, apparently influenced by notion of rhetorical analysis (cf. chapter 8), Pulleyn initially limits Aubriot’s broad definition of prayer as including non-verbal acts to a simple conception of invocation and request (pp. 7, 162). By chapter 9 (*Sitz im Leben*), however, he has begun to broaden his definition to prayer in the heart or soul. Ritual silence (p. 184), for instance, turns out to mean abstention from ill-omened speech. From an anthropological point of view, this has the disadvantage of focusing on the person praying and not on society, which has set the conditions for prayer in a Maussian perspective. Why does a society constantly try to please the gods? Why do the gods crave honour? It is not enough to say that since the gods were not always considered omniscient, they needed to be told what the worshipper wanted (p. 14). Many assumptions, for instance the relationship between prayer and surrender (p. 195), although recognized as unprovable, are not quite swept aside. These queries apart, for an anthropologist interested in the immense knowledge that is available on the world of ancient Greece and its oral rites, Pulleyn’s book offers a handsome synthesis.

STEPHEN C. HEADLEY

ROY ELLEN and KATSUYOSHI FUKUI, *Redefining Nature: Ecology, Culture and Domestication*, Oxford and Washington: Berg 1996. xxii, 651 pp., Notes, References, Index. £39.99/£19.99.

Ellen and Fukui's book is ambitious in its scope, attempting to bring together several major themes in environmental anthropology. It considers cultural concepts of nature, the implications of these concepts in relationships between domesticated species and human populations, and the theoretical issues concerned with cultural adaptation to the environment.

The volume can be located within the growing body of literature in the social sciences that rejects the overly simplistic 'nature-culture' dichotomy which still appears to dominate the physical sciences and popular models of the environment. Though it accepts that there may be a representational need for this kind of symbolic bifurcation, *Redefining Nature* critiques the Cartesian model in which nature and culture are 'reified as scientific concepts' and human beings seen as interacting with a separate material world. Building on earlier explorations of this issue by such writers as Mary Douglas, Pierre Bourdieu, Tim Ingold, Marilyn Strathern, Carole McCormack, and Geoffrey Harrison, Ellen and Fukui suggest that there is a need for a much more complex model in which human relationships with the environment are considered as interactive and dynamic adaptations.

In his introduction Ellen outlines some of the changes in theoretical approaches to the environment within the discipline of anthropology, and he cites Strathern to highlight an increasing appreciation of relativity and fluidity in different cultural concepts of nature: '...there is no such thing as culture or nature. Each is a highly relativized concept whose ultimate signification must be derived from its place within a specific metaphysics.... There is not a consistent dichotomy, only a matrix of contrasts' (in M. Strathern and C. McCormack (eds.), *Nature, Culture and Gender*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1980).

Thus the first section of the book presents visions of nature from different cultural perspectives. For example, Akimichi's chapter explores Satawalese marine-oriented concepts of wilderness; Feld's chapter on the Kaluli in Papua New Guinea focuses on an 'ecology of sound' and on song maps; and Frake's chapter on the Norfolk countryside considers how discourse about the landscape draws upon reinterpretations of the past to engage with current political and economic issues. Some of the chapters deal directly with the problem of popular notions of nature and culture: Ingold, for instance, argues that such a division is wholly inadequate in describing hunter-gatherer schemata, which frequently conflate human and non-human agencies or entities and see no separation between the social and natural worlds. Ingold's chapter also deals with a theme which is developed throughout the book, namely that concepts of nature are not passive but depend upon cognitive and sensory 'engagement' with the physical world.

This 'engagement' is usefully examined in a variety of ways. At the outset, Ellen proposes that we should '...examine the evidence for any underlying cognitive propensities which might generate the variety of images we intuitively interpret as conceptions of nature, even though these may vary between places and times in their degree of prominence and combinatory properties' (p. 4).

Cognitive issues are examined further in Boster's chapter, in which, through an analysis of different cultural recognitions of bird species and processes of classification, he argues that universal cognitive processes provide a measure of commonality in all classificatory systems. In considering human cognition as both 'product and agent' of evolution, this chapter also centres on the second major theme of the book, which is the recursive interaction between human constructions of nature and the physical world. As Ellen points out: 'The inadequacy of the distinction between what we conventionally call nature and culture is no better exemplified than through the examination of particular domesticates, species which owe their current genetic composition to close encounters with human populations which harvest them for food and other products' (p. 20).

This section of the book provides some excellent case-studies in which species domestication and concomitant environmental changes are related to particular cultural values and classificatory systems. Sigaut considers how activities such as commercial fishing or farming engender particular concepts and practices in relation to the environment, while Fukui's chapter on the Bodi of Ethiopia considers the role of folk classifications in the co-evolution of human and other species. Sakamoto and Shigeta explore the links between cognitive selection, ritual practices, cultural identity, and the proliferation of certain food sources and land uses. Attention is also given to the ways in which values and language affect processes of domestication: thus Richards considers how aesthetic and moral factors influence the selection of rice types in West Africa, while Tani examines how animal social relations are perceived and utilized in the domestication of animals in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. These issues are then brought together by Harris, who provides an overview of the issues of domestication and subsistence.

In the third section of the book, the co-evolution of human populations and their physical environments are placed within a model of cultural adaptation which acknowledges the 'interpenetration' of the material and conceptual worlds. Ichikawa posits that Mbuti use of the Ituri forest provides a model of sustainable use of this kind of ecosystem. Ohtsuka considers changes in adaptive strategies among the Gidra of Papua New Guinea, and Moran explores similar issues in the Amazon Basin. The final chapters highlight the analytical importance of integrating social and cultural forms in considering adaptive strategies for resource management. Dove examines the use of augury as a metaphorical tool in decision-making about the use of resources in Borneo, and Ellen considers how individual strategizing and social relationships articulate with hunting efficiency and resource management on the Indonesian island of Seram.

*Redefining Nature* therefore provides a thorough examination of issues that are central to environmental anthropology and makes a substantial contribution to the debates on them. There are a couple of aspects to the book which some readers may find troublesome. Stylistically it is a little choppy in places, and some of the chapters might have been written more accessibly, but in most instances the content makes them worth the effort. Given the lead provided on 'nature-culture' issues by such writers as Douglas, McCormack, Strathern, Munn, and Bender, it is also slightly surprising to find that, in a book of over twenty chapters, there are no female authors at all. This lack is further underlined by the use of rather out-moded terminology, for example 'man and nature'. Despite these, some might say minor, cavils, however, *Redefining*



*Nature* is a thoughtful, in-depth attempt to reconcile cultural and cognitive issues and their agency in the co-evolution of humans and other species. Its detailed and wide-ranging case-studies underscore the complexities of this interaction and provide the reader with some genuine insights into the dynamics of the relationship between humans and the environment.

VERONICA STRANG

SHARON MACDONALD, *Reimagining Culture: Histories, Identities and the Gaelic Renaissance*, Oxford: Berg 1997. ix, 297 pp., References, Index, Drawings. £34.99/ £14.99.

After a protracted childhood and painful adolescence, the anthropology of Britain has come of age. Indeed, its maturity has outpaced that of the attitudes to it still taken by so many of our colleagues in and related to the discipline, who continue to believe that anthropology depends for its authenticity on being applied elsewhere, to other cultures. The banality of this fallacy does not lie so much in its enchantment with the exotic or the distant as in its failure to acknowledge that *all* cultures are 'other' and that it is the nature of anthropological inquiry which 'others' them and those who bear them. The anthropology of Britain is perfectly capable of doing what all good anthropology must do: offer a sensible account and interpretation of a specific society and its culture, in so doing providing a means of sensitizing and refining our understanding of other societies and cultures. It is not only academics who have resisted this view—though resist it they have—but also publishers. It remains easier to publish a monograph on New Guinea than on Newcastle, unless the study in question is vogue-ish: bodies, gender, sexuality, reproduction, post-colonial/industrial/modern slants on any of the foregoing, preferably written in the deeply impressive but impenetrable prose of anthropology's—and cultural studies'—beautiful people.

Thank heavens, then, for Sharon Macdonald and Berg, who can claim credit for this excellent book. The locality is Skye; the field is Gaelic culture; the topic is Culture itself. Macdonald shows how this minority language, deprived of political and ethnic value within Scotland as a whole, and demeaned over many generations by relentless anglicization and association with impoverishment, depopulation, and sectarianism, nevertheless continues to evoke and symbolize the rich and distinctive cultural traditions of tenacious communities. I believe Macdonald's late mentor, Edwin Ardener, would have been deeply and rightfully proud of this book. It is built on a profound knowledge of and ethnographic familiarity with Hebridean cultures, to which he aspired; but it also rises above the parochial to comment meaningfully on contemporary currents in Scottish nationalism and politics and, yet more generally, on the complex interrelationships of language and culture.

Macdonald is steeped in her field. She writes with authority of crofting strategy, literature, Presbyterianism, and domestic relationships. She moves easily from discussion of the politics of the local co-operative enterprise to the politics of language and linguistic revival. Her account is all the more telling for its modesty and self-

deprecating allusions, for the lucidity of its style, and for the obvious affection and respect in which she holds the people about whom she writes. She does not make great, new theoretical claims; she does not construct opponents with whom to joust. Rather, she accomplishes that great and elusive feat of fine writing: she makes a very complex story seem simple; she appears to tell it as she sees it. The argument could well pass unremarked, not because it is unimportant, but because it is, and is correctly presented as being, straightforward. Culture and cultural identity do not lie in iconic markers of difference. They are grounded in and experienced through the everyday conditions of life. These may for some purposes and in some circumstances be elevated to iconic status; but should they become so elevated, they risk losing their potency, not least because this would be to impose a fictitious orthodoxy, a uniformity on their meanings, which are the subject of contestation in social interaction within their communities. Not surprisingly, a similar story has been told elsewhere in the anthropology of Britain and of Europe—but that is to say that the story has grasped one of the features of this cultural region, and its salience helps explain why the concern with personal and cultural identities has been so prominent in the anthropology of the region over the last two decades.

The depth of scholarship which lies beneath Macdonald's version of this narrative, and the craft with which it is told, are unmistakable. This is a very mature piece of anthropology indeed.

ANTHONY P. COHEN

GEORGE MARCUS (ed.), *Cultural Producers in Perilous States: Editing Events, Documenting Change* (Late Editions Series), Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 1997. vii, 408 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. £51.95/£18.75/\$65.00/\$23.50.

*Cultural Producers in Perilous States* is the fourth collection of interviews and conversations that George Marcus has edited for the Late Editions series. This volume looks at journalists, film-makers, artists and intellectuals working in conditions that are in some way unstable. The Late Editions series is slated to run until the year 2000 (as is indicated in the series subtitle, 'Cultural Studies for the End of the Century') and this self-consciously *fin-de-siècle* orientation manifests itself in an emphasis on change and crisis. As Marcus explains in his introduction, the series 'is as much interested in the widespread self-awareness of massive changes in society and culture globally...as it is in the facts and lived experiences of these changes themselves' (p. 1). Cultural producers, those who 'engage in intellectual work in various genres and who are difficult to pin down by any single speciality' (p. 8), are natural subjects for a series whose focus is on commentary and self-consciousness.

Marcus' determination to treat events and their representations equally reflects his background as an original proponent of 'postmodern anthropology'. He has been one of anthropology's most prolific critics in the United States. In turn, he has received

no small amount of criticism himself, and this series has been no exception. In his introduction, Marcus recounts the most common criticism, namely that the chapters lack adequate historical, political, and sociological frames. In response to these complaints, he solicited framing commentaries from the contributors to this collection. This was a wise move, for without such contextual information it would be very difficult to make sense of the book's mixture of facts, personal reflections, and conversational theorizing. The chapters are dense and reflexive, providing not only the authors' views of their subjects, but also the authors' views of themselves, the subjects' views of themselves and of the authors, and the subjects' views of the worlds in which they live.

The cultural producers considered in this volume work in various states of peril. The South African journalist Khaba Mkhize is at one extreme. Leslie Fordred interviews Mkhize as he travels to investigate a massacre in a KwaZulu-Natal village. He explains that for South African journalists, journalist imperatives of objectivity and balance are intensified by the fact that stories perceived as partisan are likely to provoke violent reprisals. Since balanced reporting is not always accurate or fair, Mkhize argues, reporters occupy very delicate political and ethical positions. In an equally perilous position is the Colombian lawyer and scholar Hernando Valencia-Villa, interviewed by Santiago Villaveces-Izquierdo. At the time of the interview, Valencia-Villa was deputy attorney-general for human rights in Colombia. He had just begun issuing human rights reports and accusations, and feared for his safety. Less than a year after the interview Valencia-Villa sought political asylum in Spain. Both of these interviews provide personal accounts of the challenges and dangers of professional truth-telling in violent political situations and offer insight into the motivations and rationalizations of people who risk their lives to report on human rights.

The other extreme is represented by successful film-makers and novelists who are imperilled by their own identities. The Armenian-Canadian film-maker Atom Egoyan explores his personal struggles with belonging and self-expression in a 'therapeutic' interview with Hamid Naficy. Naficy provokes Egoyan to find in his films a psychic peril born of frustrated nostalgia and cultural alienation, and Egoyan's success in both experimental and mainstream film production suggests that this particular kind of peril can be quite productive. Raphael Confiant, a prolific novelist from Martinique interviewed by Lucien Taylor, occupies a similar state of psychological peril. Confiant is more overtly political than Egoyan, and far less confessional, steering the interview away from personal revelations and towards questions of language and identity, diglossia, and post-colonial politics. The ambiguous national identity he experiences unites him with an intellectual community that provides rich ground for cultural production, another positive aspect of this type of peril.

The diversity of subjects interviewed in *Cultural Producers in Perilous States* is balanced by a unity of theoretical purpose which gives the volume coherence. The authors are all concerned with the effects of transnational processes on local politics, representations, and identity formations, and the cultural producers themselves frequently produce similar theoretical formulations to explain their work. Yet the rare instances when producers resist the theories posed by authors and provoke familiar academic formulations with their own immediate and practical concerns are some of the most instructive in the volume.

The dynamics of interviewing which many chapters reveal illustrate the ethnographic process. From the resistance Tom Wolf encounters interviewing Russian journalists to the mutual identification pervading the conversation between Egoyan and Naficy, the perils and rewards of ethnographic interviews are put on display. Even the two chapters not in interview form—Michael Fischer's discussion of the Polish filmmaker Maria Zmarz-Koczanowicz and Gudrun Klein's 'letter' about East German film and drama—are self-reflexive and meditative, representing the spirit of the volume as a whole. *Cultural Producers in Perilous States* is about the different ways in which conflict and change can be represented and theorized. The frustrations that accompany this book arise from an inevitable lack of contextual knowledge, for no reader is likely to be familiar with all the films, plays, novels, and political histories it discusses. If the theoretical framework at times obscures the descriptions of these works or situations to a frustrating extent, the degree to which author and producer alike share these frameworks tells us as much about transnational processes as any of the analyses presented in this book. By describing many varieties of conflict which make the world of the 1990s perilous, this collection offers an implicit explanation for the extraordinary range and depth of cultural production that has characterized the end of this century.

ELIZABETH MERMIN

WILLIAM WASHABAUGH, *Flamenco: Passion, Politics, and Popular Culture*, Oxford and Washington: DC: Berg 1996. xix, 209 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £39.95/£14.95.

Washabaugh aims to distil musical creations into verbal form in order to spotlight how politics is embodied in performance. 'Everything', he writes, 'is present at any performance' (p. 26). His book is not an ethnographic account of flamenco, but rather a historical and contemporary analysis of the political processes permeating this musical genre, resonating in the vibrations of guitar-strings, vocal chords or the multiple layers of dancers' dresses.

Flamenco music is depicted as a field of political activity and social creativity. Although the ephemeral, invisible, and transcendent nature of music fosters assumptions about its neutrality and ability to unify, its powers, like any others, are Janus-faced. Inherent in music's capacity to transcend lies its powers to divide. It is this covert side of flamenco that Washabaugh focuses on. Countering an emphasis, predominant among flamencologists, on the apolitical and conservative nature of flamenco performances, he attempts to unmask the ubiquity of underlying political interests, revealing how flamenco can be a crucial tool for the negotiation of politically charged categories such as gender, tradition, authenticity, ethnicity or identity.

The anti-essentialising stance adopted by the author influences the highly contentious notion of politics applied. According to Washabaugh, isolating political agendas in the art of flamenco implies uncovering the paradoxes, dialectics, and ironies inherent in this phenomenon. 'The term political refers to sub-politics...[a] contradictory,

multiple engagement which mixes and combines the classical poles of politics so that, if we think things through to their logical conclusions, everyone thinks and acts as a right-winger and left-winger, radically and conservatively, democratically and undemocratically, ecologically and unecologically, politically and unpolitically, all at the same time' (ibid.).

Consequently, the ironies of politics are revealed, not by considering overt political ideologies which are predominantly conscious and conceptual, but rather by focusing on bodily practices, on embodied, musical metonyms acting largely in an inadvertent and unintentional manner, showing 'how muscles, not minds, accomplish politics in flamenco performance' (p. 4). This focus on the physiological level of power games constitutes the most interesting and innovative aspect of this book. However, the analysis leaves the reader with a blurred picture of flamenco music and performances. A preliminary knowledge of flamenco is assumed, while the documentary television series, *Rito y Geografía del Cante*, consisting of a hundred half-hour programmes aired on Spanish national television between 1971 and 1973, provides the main source of analytical and illustrative material. As a result, the reader is only occasionally taken beyond the virtuality of the TV screen.

The *Rito* series is critically assessed in light of the issues addressed in each section and discussed in detail in the final chapter. The methods of cinematographic realism, claiming to project authentic images, are presented as a perfect tool for both revealing and concealing the multi-dimensionality of flamenco politics. Flamenco is depicted as both contributing to and resisting 'Franco's essentialist conception of Spanish culture' (p. 164), which dominated the political context at the time of production. *Franquista* policies deregionalized flamenco, cultivating it as a component of Spanish national identity. The *Rito* documentary, however, as Washabaugh attempts to show, opposed this centralizing force while shrewdly working according to its demands.

Each chapter of this publication addresses different political issues. The first, entitled 'The Politics of Passion', considers the historical and contemporary importance of several temporally and spatially overlapping political agendas: *nacionalismo*, *romanticismo*, *fatalismo*, *modernismo*, *franquismo*, *andalucismo* and *gitanismo*. These political currents are both served and opposed by different metonymic—that is, embodied—processes, such as orientalization, synchronization, dys-appearance or recording, which are engaged in during flamenco performances.

First, orientalization refers to the assimilation of Arab musical elements into flamenco spectacles. Although accepted by proponents of *franquismo* because of its power to attract foreign tourists, this tendency simultaneously fuelled the interests of *andalucismo*, which was opposed by Franco because of its focus on regional specificities. Secondly, synchronization is defined as the co-ordination between instrumental, vocal and choreographic artists. This skill heightens the interactional sensitivity of performers and their abilities to co-operate not only in a musical setting but also in social and communal situations. In consequence, this metonymic process became a tool for such oppositional currents as *nacionalismo* or *gitanismo*. Thirdly, dys-appearance implies the inward reflexivity of performers absorbed in their spectacle. It is interpreted, on the one hand, as a way of accessing a sense of 'flow' or 'communitas', thus serving the identity-forming agendas of *andalucismo* or *nacionalismo*. On the other hand, it is seen as a means of resisting oppressive social constraints and may therefore

act in opposition to these same agendas. Finally, the multiple implementations of recording, the re-scripting and dispersal of music by means of technology, are exemplified with reference to the *Rito* series. The interests of both *romanticismo* and *franquismo* are administered to, as flamenco artists are celebrated as national heroes. At the same time, these political ideologies are contradicted through the portrayal of flamenco's regional diversities.

A further chapter on the histories of flamenco invalidates the argument presented by four traditional histories of flamenco that Washabaugh has selected—the Andalusian, *Gitano*, populist and sociological—which insist that commercialization depletes flamenco of its aesthetic and political meanings. By considering the ironies revealed in the musical metonyms of several public flamenco events such as the *ópera flamenca* or the *Concurso del cante jondo*, the author aims to expose the omnipresence of political agendas.

Another section focuses on the pleasures of music as experienced by participants and spectators of flamenco. In contrast to unilinear accounts identifying musical responses as consequences of specific social or individual demands, Washabaugh reveals the multiplicity and complexity of musical reactions. Particular reference is made to the impacts of the recording industry, as both responding to and recreating socio-cultural and political contexts.

A chapter referring to Gypsies questions whether the *Gitano* style of flamenco music constitutes the heart of this musical genre. This inquiry touches on the issue of whether Gypsy identity is inherited or invented and underlines the constitutive role of music in articulating ethnic boundaries.

A focus on the body counters ideas prominent in Western song traditions in general and in flamencological writings in particular, which emphasise the conceptual relationship between humans and music. The importance of the physical dimension is recognized by examining how bodily habits such as rhythmic competence involve muscular memories or how musical engagement may imply an absence of conceptual and communicative intentions as a result of dys-appearance, 'the communicative dead-end...of introspective body-talk' (p. 97).

A consideration of images of women challenges traditional views of female musical practice which present simplistic contrasts—for example, between the motherly, private figure of the *madonna*, linked only to domestic music, and the public woman or whore, associated with flamenco bars and street music. Washabaugh highlights the shifting nature of gender roles in flamenco performances. Female participation in the *feria* or carnivalesque fair, for instance, although public, is not usually seen as unvirtuous.

Finally, in a discussion of music, resistance, and popular culture, Washabaugh explicates the dangers of 'single-minded, rhetorically coherent, internally consistent monologues' (p. 135), as these inevitably 'flirt with oppression' (p. 136). He argues that any depictions of resistance or power as unqualified and uncompromised blind out the ironies of politics.

This warning epitomizes Washabaugh's approach in his work, capturing both the most significant contribution and criticism of this book. On the one hand, the reader is exposed to an in-depth analysis of the politics of flamenco past and present, acknowledging the contradictions of diverse perspectives, and refreshing in its proximity to the

paradoxical, processual and multi-faceted experience of everyday reality. On the other hand, we are left with hands itching to seize a descriptive rather than interpretative piece of evidence. A more detailed account of musical and choreographic elements, bodily gestures and temporal-spatial arrangements of flamenco performances would have added substance to the argument presented, particularly in recognition of its focus on the embodiment of politics, without setting off Washabaugh's anti-monologist alarm system. In consequence, as the author promises, this book leaves the reader with a sense of socio-musical chaos and the question: 'What is flamenco?'

KAREN LÜDTKE

MARIANNE ELIZABETH LIEN, *Marketing and Modernity* (Explorations in Anthropology; series editors Barbara Bender, John Gledhill, and Bruce Kapferer), Oxford: Berg 1997. viii. 308 pp., Index, References, Figures. £14.99.

Meanings are created and manifested in many different ways. In Western societies, one of the more important ways is through the objects created by manufacturing firms and the ways those objects are presented to the public. The creation and, especially, the marketing of objects is the subject of Lien's *Marketing and Modernity*, a study of the marketing department of Viking Foods, a pseudonymous Norwegian manufacturer of prepared foods.

Lien describes a number of the marketing department's activities, such as establishing a new line of prepared meals and refining the image of their range of frozen pizzas. She is concerned with the ways that people in the department think about, reach, and justify their decisions, and in particular how they deal with the uncertainties they confront. Because of this focus, the actual industrial design and production of manufactured foods and the activities of advertising agencies receive only scant attention.

The book can be read in several different ways. Perhaps most basic is a description of food-marketing. Lien has done her fieldwork well, and she relates the activities of Viking Foods' marketing department in an interesting way. We get a clearer sense of the ways in which people in marketing go about their work, from their practical comparisons of the industrial-food potential of chicken and turkey to their search for a brand name and label for a line of foods. As Lien describes it, marketing staff are involved in the design of food and they work to master the relative advantages and disadvantages of different types of raw materials and recipes. However, there is a gap between the foodstuffs they envisage and even produce in small batches, and what can be produced commercially: recalcitrant potatoes and watery pasta dishes can frustrate their plans. In this regard, there are points in the book where it would have been helpful to know more about how food is manufactured.

A second way the book can be read is signalled in its title, as a consideration of modernity. Heeding Daniel Miller's plea for field research, Lien wants to treat modernity not conceptually, as a tale we tell ourselves about ourselves, but ethnographically, through a consideration of modern lives and institutions. To this end, she is

concerned particularly with the ways in which marketers reflect self-consciously upon their actions and their situations, and the ways in which their knowledge and perspective transcends their immediate time and place. Usefully, she situates the modernity of the marketers she describes in their larger time and place, the time of the growing importance of international trade in manufactured food, and the place of a Common Market increasingly prone to encourage international trade (albeit within its own borders). 'Globalization' takes an immediate and concrete form in the Norwegian manufactured food business.

Lien makes a sustained and largely persuasive effort to treat the idea of modernity as an analytical tool in an ethnographic context, to see what it looks like on the ground. However, that effort raises questions, not so much about Lien's project in this book as about her culturally oriented method, found in much contemporary anthropology. Because she resolutely tries to see things from the native's perspective, she does not take the opportunity to approach the natives critically and locate them socially. For instance, the uncertainties and contradictions of people in the marketing department are treated as part of their cultural milieu, which is reasonable. However, they are not treated as one consequence of the quasi-professional aspirations of marketers, of their attempts to assert specialist knowledge and skills, an assertion that would justify their claims to secure and respected status, to prestige and pay. A more critical and social perspective might have allowed Lien to see the cultural world of those marketers as a manifestation not only of modernity, but also of their occupational and social strategies.

Put most simply, while Lien sees talk of knowledge and skill, of market segments and consumer research, as part of the cultural world of marketers, it is also possible to regard it as a tenuous claim to legitimacy, a claim that is, moreover, directed outward to the world in general, or at least those parts of the world that marketers think need persuading. Seeing that talk in this way would help make sense of things that Lien finds noteworthy, particularly the ambiguous place of factual information about consumers in the thought and talk of Viking Foods' marketers. Although they commission consumer research by outside organizations, they seem generally ignorant of how it is carried out and how legitimate it is. Although they are supposed to be concerned with the mass of Norwegian consumers, commonly they base their marketing decisions on the tastes of their colleagues and friends. Their claims to legitimacy require marketers to base their decisions on empirical information about the mass of Norwegian consumers; their actual practices are, to their occasional embarrassment, much more subjective.

The point I have made can be read as a criticism of the approach used in this book. However, it should also be read as recognition that Lien's descriptions are not just intriguing, they are also thorough and provocative, so much so that they have led me into the reviewer's vice of asking the author to write the book the reviewer wants rather than the book the author intends. More fundamentally, perhaps, the topic of the marketing of factory-made food is a point of entry into an array of cultural issues that are important in the West, from those of purity (and of danger) to those of how we represent ourselves and the others against whom that representation is cast. We are indebted to Lien for investigating this topic in such an accessible and provocative way.

JAMES G. CARRIER



JUDITH KAPFERER, *Being All Equal: Identity, Difference and Australian Cultural Practice*, Oxford and Washington DC: Berg 1996. xi, 300 pp., References, Index. £34.95/£14.95.

Over the last few years public debate in Australia has, as it has at various other historical moments, become intensely engaged with issues of national identity, multiculturalism, contemporary and past indigenous and settler relations, and reform of a constitution still closely linked to the United Kingdom—in short, questions of what it means to be Australian. One positive engagement with this debate has been the recent publication of a number of monographs examining identity formation in Australia and attending particularly to questions about the nature, form, and origin of Australian national culture and identity. One of these monographs, Kapferer's *Being All Equal*, constitutes a readable, engaging and insightful, if theoretically somewhat limited discussion of contemporary projects of nation-building in Australia and how they might relate to the contemporary Australian state and people.

Kapferer begins by arguing that Australian understandings of difference and identity are, and have been for two centuries, fundamentally structured by 'ideologies of egalitarian individualism' (p. 3). She maintains that Australian social relations are organized around both a valuation of the equality of individuals and groups that expresses itself in notions of mateship, justice and a 'fair go', and an emphasis on individualistic traits such as self-reliance, physical prowess, and rights to private property. Kapferer demonstrates the pervasiveness of 'egalitarian individualism' in Australian social relations through the analysis of an astonishingly wide array of people, places, and activities and events. The book ranges over popular historiography, reconstructed 'pioneer villages' and other museums, the signification of space and particularly suburbia, the role of technical and intellectual work in official discourses on health and tertiary education, the problems of accommodating multiculturalism within public festivals, the design competition for Parliament House, and the construction of consumption and community at annual agricultural shows.

Kapferer's approach in each of these domains is to combine descriptive case-studies with an explicitly post-structuralist analysis of the way in which each domain encodes particular social relations and cultural meanings (p. 283). One of the most successful of Kapferer's analyses is her exploration of the Royal Adelaide Show. She presents a detailed description of its content and spatial organization, its displays of farm animals and produce, the skills and technology of police and fire-fighting forces, woodchopping competitions, schoolchildren's arts and crafts, and the rides and side-shows which create a holiday atmosphere. She then argues that such elements present certain 'focal meanings of contemporary Australian society' (p. 184). For example, through bringing urban Australians into intimate contact with agricultural activities and produce, the Show recreates a sense of an Australian ethos centred around rural activity, rural self-sufficiency and independence, the 'conservative "traditional values" of a rural past' (p. 195), and of the quintessential Australian as the 'rural battler' (p. 187). The Show's spatial organization generates an experience of equality and commonality, as people from different classes and backgrounds mingle in a common milieu, and organizations such as the police celebrate themselves as 'pillars of a warm-hearted community' (p. 199).

A significant strength of Kapferer's monograph is her attention to aspects of everyday leisure and work, such as the Show, as the grounds and material for identity formation. As such, she moves considerably beyond a predominant body of literature that investigates Australian national culture and identity solely through published media such as literature and film. Kapferer consequently produces a wealth of ethnographic detail that will be particularly interesting to readers unfamiliar with Australian cultural practice but concerned with the characteristics of activities such as public festivals. Her analytical approach to this material, however, renders the monograph subject to some significant criticism. In keeping with her post-structuralist perspective, Kapferer tends to treat each domain or event as a 'text' from which can be read evidence of cultural frames and social relations. Kapferer's concern to demonstrate the pervasiveness of 'egalitarian individualism' in Australian cultural practice frequently means that each 'reading' merely repeats the identification of this cultural trope rather than embedding each domain in a developing argument that explores the *process*, rather than just the characteristic frames, of nation-building in contemporary Australia. This lack of a developing argument is particularly apparent when she indicates the existence of cultural practices which might complicate rather than support dominant constructions of national identity, but fails to pursue such aspects of everyday life and public discourse in any depth. In discussing the Show, for example, she notes but disappointingly does not fully explore the paradox that the Show both presents discourses of national identity based around ideals of community and self-sufficiency, and valorizes a consumer capitalism that distances rural (or foreign) producer from consumer in a way that directly conflicts with such nationalist ideologies.

This apparent theoretical thinness may result from the ambitious nature of the monograph, which seeks to cover a very wide array of public discourse and consequently fails to examine any one of the domains in depth. This is perhaps a general problem with studying phenomena as diffuse as national identities, but I would argue that it is exacerbated by two further characteristics of Kapferer's analytical approach. The first of these is a common critique of post-structuralist analyses and relates to the way they rely too heavily on the analyst's ability to discern cultural tropes in discursive constructions. Kapferer neglects important questions about if, how, and why consumers of such discourses actually interpret and internalize them. Thus, while we may admire her virtuosity in deciphering events such as the Show, the history of building the Stockman's Hall of Fame, and Commonwealth tertiary education policy, this fails to tell us anything about whether such analysis accords with how specific audiences employ such discursive frames in producing their understanding of who they are and might be. Kapferer's approach means she can describe national cultural tropes but cannot really investigate how such tropes translate into national identity.

The second weakness of Kapferer's analytical approach is her reliance on a classical Althusserian understanding of the public domains she explores as 'ideological state apparatuses'. She conceptualizes these public domains as arenas in which the state promotes hegemonic discourses designed to subsume division and conflict engendered by social differences of, for example, class, status, wealth, ethnicity, and gender into a totalizing narrative of the nation as a coherent community. This approach depends heavily on a view of the state as a monolithic and coherent entity fundamentally separated from its subjects. Kapferer employs this understanding to develop a

conceptual opposition between the 'Australian people', whose discursive practices supposedly constitute 'culture' and are integral to an organic search for community, and the 'Australian state', whose discursive practices constitute 'ideology' and represent a spurious attempt at national integration. This Althusserian approach leaves little room for investigating how the differentiated complex of institutions—troubled by internal divisions and contradictions, and itself composed of individuals and groups variably positioned in relation to ideological formations—which constitutes the 'state' is engaged by different groups of people in the course of negotiating public discourse and national identity. That is to say, it is rather too easy to revert, as Kapferer often does, to the 'state' as an answer to the problem of how national identity and community is formed, rather than investigating how different aspects of the state are engaged in a complex way (sometimes in opposition, sometimes in alliance) with other groups in negotiating discursive formations.

In *Being All Equal*, Kapferer sets out to 'illuminate or rejig perspectives on aspects of everyday life which form an unquestioned cultural stock' (p. 5) of contemporary Australia. This she does admirably by exploring how different domains of social activity encode particular cultural frames summarized as 'egalitarian individualism'. Important are her indications of some of the problems which arise when these entrenched frames attempt to accommodate concepts such as indigenous sovereignty or multiculturalism, and she further points to some of the broader issues, such as processes of commodification, economic globalization, and cultural tourism, which both drive and complicate any contemporary process of nation-building. As such, she both provides a resource for Australians grappling with their own cultural milieu, and suggests a number of directions in which the theorizing of the nation-state within contemporary public cultural studies might develop.

Kapferer concludes her monograph with the hope that it will facilitate the Australian people's search for the 'dream of human community' (p. 282) by bringing into focus the ways in which Australians' identities are constrained and shaped by contemporary cultural forms and social relations, particularly the action of the nation-state. Yet I would argue that the monograph cannot fulfil such a laudable goal precisely because of the theoretical limitations of Kapferer's approach. In order to be able to intervene in the shaping of discursive formations, and consequently identity, it is necessary not merely to notice their particular characteristics and attribute them to unidentified entities such as the 'Australian state' or the 'Australian people'—but also, and rather, to understand the material practices through which specific social groups, including aspects of the state, negotiate the production and use of such formations.

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