BOOK REVIEWS

WENDY JAMES, *'Kwanim Pa: The Making of the Uduk People. An Ethnographic Study of Survival in the Sudan-Ethiopian Borderlands*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press 1979. xi, 304 pp. £15.00.

This book is an interesting addition to material on the peoples of the Nile Basin, partly because it deals with a group of people who are not easily definable, linguistically or culturally, within the usually accepted methods of academic investigation. The Uduk are a border people, regarded by the more powerful groups who write and make history as a source of slaves and cheap labour. The survival of the group depends upon the assimilation of *cinkina* (waifs) who become the founders of birth groups but who continue to view themselves as lost people or outsiders. The word Uduk is linked with the Arabic *'attuq*, which can be used of a person saved from illness or death, or of a child born to his mother after she has lost one or more children. The Uduk, thus, regard themselves as freed slaves spared by God. The chief success of the book lies in the way that it effectively demonstrates how the Uduk have accommodated themselves to this self-image and have transformed it into one of 'self-respect'. This is achieved by the motifs of the *cinkina* and *gurunya* which, as images, impressively dominate the book.

The Uduk are described by the author as an 'ethnographic remnant'. She attaches the name Uduk to them rather hesitantly, not only because of the diversity of ways in which people in this area refer to themselves and others, but also because of the infrequent occurrence of monolinguals which makes accepted methods for identifying and classifying ethnic groups inadequate. The book draws attention to the ability of people constantly to redefine ethnic use and the consequent problems of 'outside' definitions. The word 'Uduk' itself belongs to the language of missionaries and colonial administrators.

The chief subject of the book are the 'Kwanim Pa, the Northern Uduk, 'the people of the homelands' who have survived against powerful odds. The theme of survival is expressed in social organisation, trading relations and in myth and ritual. The significance that they attach to certain historical circumstances which fragmented and almost destroyed them has created in the Uduk a self-awareness that survival in the present is integrally bound up with their past and essential to their continuity. This theme is expressed in the interchangeable images of the *cinkina* and *gurunya*. A *cinkina* is a waif, a foundling or a lost one brought

in from the wild, whose survival hangs in the balance. She is dependent on the hosts' protection, but her existence imposes an obligation because the survival of the community depends on it. The *gurunya,* the blue-black starling, is also a creature of the wild. The use of shiny blackness in rites of liminality, in contrast to that of red-ochre in those of incorporation, reflects the historical struggle between the bush and the village. The survival of the group for the Uduk is centred on women. Physical continuity is seen as achieved through women, although men are equal contributors to the process of nourishing the child both in the womb and while it is growing. The myth of the origin of marriage depicts women as the original cultivators of sorghum, and men as *gurunya* first seen in the trees. Men are thus also creatures of the wild incorporated into society to ensure fertility.

James says that the book does not represent a comprehensive report on Uduk society; instead it attempts to deal with the nature of the link between the past and present in Uduk society. She stresses the importance of historical themes in every aspect of Uduk life. Memory of the past, including genealogies, does not go beyond the upheavals of the late nineteenth century when people were brutally subjected to slave raids with the resultant acute shortage of women and children. People were forced to hide in the forest and wander in the bush. The imagery used by the Uduk in their mythical accounts of the early days of mankind closely resembles that used to represent periods of destruction. It is in the rites associated with the *gurunya* that there is the clearest expression of the historical themes that shape the Uduk. The rites are performed to protect a child whose mother has already lost children. The child is depicted as vulnerable, as a non-person brought in from the wild but who will ultimately be incorporated into the group. This is the 'Kwanim Pa - fragile, fragmented, existing on the edge of other, more clearly-defined groups yet surviving by assimilating an amalgam of other lost groups, and adapting social and cultural institutions in the process.

The author says that this depiction of history could be regarded as a collective representation of social reality with no reference to anything outside itself. She finds it necessary to refute this by showing that what appears to be an isolated pocket of matrilineal organisation has emerged as the result of adaptation to historical pressure. The material presented in the book as a whole has indeed been carefully selected and structured so as to make this readily apparent.

The book's concern with anthropology and history, and with history and myth, will inevitably be of interest to those who find that all three are at times indistinguishable. The import of *'Kwanim Pa* lies in the implicit view that 'folk' memory is an integral and neglected aspect of the 'official' view of history rather than a distortion of it. Self-images created by people out of their own history operate in all societies, although in some they may be based on events of more intense historical impact than in others. The book successfully articulates these important issues.

PATRICIA HOLDEN

JOHN A. BARNES, *Who Should Know What? Social Science, Privacy and Ethics* [1979] Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press 1980. 188 pp., Bibliography, Index. £7.50 (also available in Paperback).

Barnes' concern is not primarily to present a set of moral answers that research workers should adopt. Instead he presents ' an historically-based framework within which the resolution of ethical questions may be considered and debated'. The book starts with a history of sociology and anthropology from a fascinating viewpoint, that of its relevance to ethical issues. Barnes sees four groups as involved in most research: the subjects, who Barnes suggests are better called citizens; the scientists, who are citizens as well; the sponsors; and the 'gatekeepers', those who can control access to the citizens themselves, such as a colonial administrator. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, citizens were seen as passive objects of study; sponsors had relatively little power as many social scientists were rich; and gatekeepers assumed that their interests and those of scientists coincided. Social scientists saw themselves as providing objective knowledge that would contribute to enlightenment and thereby improve everybody's situation. Barnes traces the breakdown of this structure as knowledge comes to be seen more in terms of power and property and less in terms of enlightenment. The changing conception of knowledge and a lessening of the scientist's power in relationship to the other groups involved in research are what have led to an increasing concern with ethical questions, Barnes argues.

Ideally the diversity of interests among the four groups involved in research should be reconciled by honest negotiation. Informed consent by citizens and gatekeepers is, however, made impossible by the scientists' need to withhold information. To explain fully the research objectives in advance, including the hypotheses or the details of behaviour to be tested by sociologists or anthropologists, would in many cases defeat the purpose of the research. Barnes argues that the ethical solution to this problem is for the scientist to seek acceptance as a scientist by the citizens and gatekeepers. A scientist's role has to be understood as involving 'professional insatiable curiosity' that makes inquiry difficult to limit. At the same time, the scientist keeps personal information confidential if it can harm the person in any way. In this connection, Barnes raises without answering the question of what limits should ethnographic films observe, for almost of necessity the medium precludes confidentiality. He asks another intriguing question in parenthesis here - what will the effects be of mass-media sponsorship on anthroplogy? Whatever solutions to the numerous ethical issues raised by the case-studies of the research process which Barnes presents, the sociologist or anthropologist must make them himself. Professional associations provide little guidance. While these associations have codes of conduct, these are like other professions' statements of principle - vague and mainly relevant to in-fighting within the profession.

The preceding summary has been concerned to highlight two main strengths of the book. First it provides an interesting approach to the history of sociology and anthropology and integrates an analysis of the two disciplines far more thoroughly than many other books. Secondly its type of solution to the problems of the contemporary research process - getting citizens to accept the scientist as a scientist is, in my opinion, the right one. To these merits should be added a clear, jargon-free, pleasant style and a fairly comprehensive bibliography of sociological and anthropological discussions of ethical issues in the research process.

However, the book is written within severe limits, some of which if transcended might alter the book's conclusion. It restricts itself largely to the world of English-speaking academics and this helps define a manageable problem. Barnes deals with ethical questions of the research process on the basis of various accounts researchers have provided of particular problems. The focus is on the form of research, not the findings produced. This leads Barnes to overlook issues raised by recent literature on the effectiveness of evaluation research. The following case illustrates a major type of problem relevant to Barnes' analysis. An evaluation was done of the effectiveness of volunteer and professional probation workers. The volunteers proved more effective. As the professionals had the power, the effect of this study was to lead the professionals to eliminate the volunteers to remove a threat to themselves. Neither favourable nor unfavourable results could have helped the volunteers to survive. People can have good reasons to be suspicious of scientists as scientists. In addition, it seems possible to base an analysis on a broader data base than Barnes uses. For instance, an examination of the response rate to random surveys could establish whether people are becoming more suspicious of sociologists. Some systematic data on gatekeepers could be gathered. For instance, what countries impose restrictions and of what type on anthropologists?

Finally, we do not need to be so defensive about the research process itself. Answering a set of well-organised questions often provides people with a chance to come to increased self-awareness. Research is listening. Research is drawing people out. Communicating research is often giving a voice to those who have not spoken out, a written record to those with none. These things in themselves make the research process one where a good social scientist respects citizens.

KEN MENZIES

ERNEST CASHMORE, *Rastaman: The Rastafarian Movement in England*, London: George Allen and Unwin 1979. 263 pp. £10.00.

The Rastafarians emerged in Jamaica in the 1930s following the coronation of Ras Tafari as the Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. Drawing heavily on the inspiration of Marcus Garvey and the Bible, it is a movement of religious and political protest with a core of beliefs of the utmost simplicity: a recognition of the divinity of Haile Selassie and an assertion of Ethiopia as the homeland to which all the believers will be eventually returned. Since the thirties the movement has blossomed, with more than 100,000 supporters in Jamaica and surfacing throughout the Caribbean as well as in the USA, Canada, France and Britain.

Cashmore's book arrives as the latest in a flurry about the Rastafarians and about Jamaicans in Britain. His contribution is another reflection of the increasing visibility of West Indians, and Rastafarians in particular, in Britain. *Rastaman* is valuable in that it is something more than the latest off-spring of the reggae music business. It is a scholarly attempt to dissect the emergence of the Rastafari cult in Britain, that phenomenon which makes it, as Cashmore says, an outrage to tens of thousands of West Indians to call them anything but African. The achievements of the book are manifold: a well-documented account of the origins of the cult in Britain and its relationships with Black Power and the 'rude boys', an authentic examination of the likely experiences which shape the typical Rastaman, and a careful explanation of the way in which the symbolic structures of Rastafari provide a coherent perception of West Indian experience in Britain. In short, it is to date the most comprehensive and persuasive account of the significance of Rastafari in this country, or indeed in Jamaica.

One of the key problems facing the anthropologist or sociologist is that of objectivity - particularly with respect to the selection of data. In the case of the Rastafarians the Jamaican literature suggests a wide range of belief. Cashmore has, properly, attempted to evaluate Rastafari within its own symbolic terms by considering particular aspects of the belief system (e.g. the wearing of locks and colours, the continued use of a modified Jamaican *patois*, etc.). In this he has been only partially successful. Yet he could have pursued an even more rigorous semantic approach and moved beyond a portrayal of belief and ritual as symbols of group identification to an understanding of their role as conceptual structures, firmly based within semantics. As Crick has put it they are expressive reflections of human beings as 'meaning-makers' (*JASO* VI, no.2, 1975, and later expanded in his *Explorations in Language and Meaning*, London 1976).

However while the aspects of the Rastafari belief system that Cashmore has chosen to emphasize are very important, the Jamaican literature clearly suggests a much wider range of belief: special Rasta festivals, proscribed foods, the importance of marijuana, characteristic attitudes about (and on the part of) women, hostility

towards western medicine. Even given the fact that the movement in Britain is relatively young and that it is characterized by 'epistemological individualism', Cashmore, at least, cannot be unaware of this more extensive belief system. It is strange then that he chose not to comment on it, especially as there is evidence that the distinctive diet, for instance, is quite widely observed among Rastas in Birmingham, the very locale where Cashmore did the bulk of his research (see J. Plummer, *Movement of Jah People*, Birmingham 1978). The most serious of his omissions is his paltry two-page treatment of women in the movement (pp.78-9). Such brevity is only partially excused by choosing to title the book *Rastaman*. The pattern of belief within the movement is highly male-centred and mother-denying and yet, by his own admission, women comprise more than a quarter of the movement. This surely requires more detailed examination.

An attempt to simplify the typical process of becoming a Rasta has produced a model that is perhaps too linear. Cashmore remarks that

> ... the process of becoming a Rastaman can be divided into four broad phases; first the apprehension of racial disadvantage and the fresh symbolic meaning this brought to blackness; next the loss of plausibility of the parents' beliefs and the structure they seemed to support; thirdly the drift to Rastafari; and lastly, the acceptance of Haile Selassie as the divine redeemer of the black peoples.

This programatic rendering of the process seems to me to be unhelpful and unnecessarily simplistic; indeed precisely the type of *post hoc* rationalization that Cashmore seems to believe the sociologist should avoid. While each of the four 'phases' may be an important strand in the experience of the young West Indian, they will continually interact and overlap to produce a total cultural experience that engulfs any phasic arrangement. This methodological flaw re-emerges in the arrangement of the book, because in attempting to segment Rasta experience Cashmore is forced within each section continually to attempt to reconstitute a total picture if the importance of each 'phase' is to be understood. Similarly, by considering the external world only in passing and only in so far as it affects the formative experience of the Rasta, Cashmore has presented the process of becoming a Rasta as inexorable, despite his protestations to the contrary. Are there then no cultural alternatives to Rastafari for the young West Indian in Britain today? In this respect a more detailed numerative approach would have been welcome. What proportion of West Indian youth join the Rastafarians in an area like Handsworth, say, and what are the reasons of those who do not?

This though is a question for further research and it would be harsh to criticize Cashmore for failing to answer all the questions when he has addressed himself to so many. Overall his book is a competent and convincing account of those 'dramatic and comprehensive changes in consciousness' occurring within the

West Indian community of England during the 1970s. While it is in many respects a defence of the Rastaman against the mounting attacks of 'Babylon', it also serves to demystify him. As such the book can only be of value to all those working within the West Indian community and, indeed, to all those interested in the tenacity of religious beliefs under the assault of secular Western values. Yet, having said that, the time has surely come to question the common assumption that the West Indian community is a culturally homogeneous entity. The fact that all West Indians are black and working class does not in itself provide them with a uniform culture. As Foner has remarked in *Jamaica Farewell* (London 1979), 'Other status distinctions and inequalities among them ... tend to be overlooked'. I believe that if Rastafari is to be understood the description must be rooted firmly within a historical context. In this respect it is only compounding difficulties to assume that all West Indians are somehow historically equal without reference to their island of origin. Cashmore notes early on in the book that the majority of the Rastas he worked with were of Jamaican descent (p.70), but thereafter he refers to them all simply as West Indians. Are we to assume then that the origin of the cultists is unimportant, that it is subsumed by the force of Rastafari? Yet in his opening chapter Cashmore clearly suggests that he recognizes the importance of the link of religious dissent in Jamaican history, from the Native Baptists through Bedward and Garvey to the Rastafarians. But that link is also evidence of the *continued* importance of religious symbols to the mass of Jamaicans in structuring everyday experience. I believe that Cashmore should have concentrated on the Jamaican element within the Rastafari movement in Britain and in a more determined manner drawn these historical threads into the present experience of Jamaicans in Britain. There is evidence that he recognizes the continuities between generations, between Pentecostalism and Rastafari, but as it stands his opening chapter, while interesting in itself, remains almost entirely unrelated to the rest of the book. Indeed approached from a historical angle we might say that the crucial point is not, as Cashmore suggests, that there is a radical disjunction between first and second generation Jamaicans in Britain (in the sense of a growing impatience on the part of the youth with the quiescence of their parents), but rather, that of the overwhelming similarity in the continued efficacy of religious symbols.

SIMON MELLOR

ALAN R. BEALS, *Gopalpur: A South Indian Village* [1962], Eastbourne: Holt-Saunders; & New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston; 1980 (Fieldwork Edition). xii, 125 pp. £3.25 (Paper).

The first edition of Alan Beals' *Gopalpur: A South Indian Village* (New York 1962) was enthusiastically received in the professional press. As Marriott wrote in *American Anthropologist* in 1963, 'By

far the most vivid, comprehensive, and unified picture of Indian peasant life in the English language is this modest-appearing community study from Mysore....' It is an indication of just how well this text has stood the test of time that these same words can be echoed with equal force now, 18 years later, in response to this new edition.

The current edition of *Gopalpur* represents the amalgamation of two works published individually by Beals; to the original 1962 text of *Gopalpur* has been appended a chapter entitled 'Fieldwork in Gopalpur' which first appeared as an article in George D. Spindler's *Being an Anthropologist: Fieldwork in Eleven Cultures* (New York 1970). The marriage of the two works is fortuitous as the addition of the chapter detailing some of the author's experiences in the field is illuminating both in its own right and in its amplification of various themes from the main text.

The first edition of *Gopalpur* was 99 pages long and in addition to the text contained one map, one glossary, four photographs, three tables and a section entitled 'Recommended Reading'. The new edition differs from the original in that the text has been extended to 125 pages (by the inclusion of the chapter on fieldwork), the original four photographs are now supplemented by a further six, and the list of Recommended Reading has doubled in size (from eight to sixteen items). With the minor exception of a prefatory paragraph entitled 'About the Author' (p.v), the first 97 pages of this edition are identical with those of the earlier edition: pagination, lay-out, maps, tables and text - even the typeface - are consistent with the earlier version.

It might well be asked why this book was re-issued when the original was so obviously satisfactory. As one of the Stanford University Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology, the original edition has been easily accessible to students of Indian anthropology. The inclusion of the chapter on fieldwork, while illuminating, was certainly not essential; those interested in it could locate it in its earlier source without excessive difficulty. As it stands now *Gopalpur* seems strangely frozen in a peculiarly constituted anthropological present. Undoubtedly were Beals to go to Gopalpur now the book he would produce would describe a village only vaguely recognizable as the subject of his 1959-60 study. The effects of two decades of government policy regarding the extension of irrigation, electricity, bus routes, education, and the Green Revolution (to name but a few) have surely resulted in profound changes in Gopalpur. However inadvertently, the re-issue of Beals' 1962 text can only serve to maintain the misleading notion of the changelessness of Indian peasant society. The village it describes can have only a partial resemblance to contemporary Gopalpur. Rather than the addition of the chapter on fieldwork, I feel that the book would perhaps have been further improved by the inclusion of a chapter on 'Gopalpur: Then and Now'. Presumably Beals has not had the opportunity of returning to Gopalpur since the original research was undertaken.

In the light of the overall value of this book, however, such criticism becomes immaterial. Although issue may be taken with the presentation of such dated material as if it were a contem-

porary field study, the book nevertheless remains a valuable contribution to Indian anthropology; taken as a historical document *Gopalpur* is clearly a classic of anthropological literature. Beals is an author of unusual perception. I found particularly effective his technique of interspersing his own narrative descriptions and explanations with local stories, songs and poems often quoted at great length. Beals' emphasis on the personal, human element (as evidenced by his treatment of such diverse topics as aspects of children's play, the role of food in the socialization process, and the resolution of personal conflict) invests this slim volume with an unexpected, but most welcome, depth. I similarly found the author's awareness of his own role in the events taking place around him most refreshing. Beals in no way tries to disguise his involvement in the daily life of Gopalpur while at the same time he never dominates the scene. In *Gopalpur* we get an example of participant observation in its most effective form - with balanced emphasis on both the participation and the observation. Moreover, because of Beals' artistry in the presentation of this material, the reader finds himself being caught up in the web of social life in Gopalpur much as the author himself was personally drawn in 20 years ago. The text is populated by 'real' people, displaying a multi-dimensionality that the author has managed to capture admirably - so much so that the reader comes away from the book with a knowledge not only of the social structure of a village in South India but also with the feeling that he knows the inhabitants of that village.

There are a number of minor criticisms which can be applied to this otherwise excellent text. Thus for example 'Beals, 1965', referred to three times in ch. 9, is left unexplained: it receives no mention either in the references at the end of the chapter or in the Recommended Reading list concluding the book. Similarly, an index and an up-dated Preface would have been appreciated. Mention of the desirability of a chapter describing contemporary Gopalpur has already been made. Criticism regarding the general lack of footnotes, references, caste names, or any attempt at a 'quantitative or systematic analysis of any topic' has been levelled in the past (thus Marriott, in his review of the book in 1963) - but I feel that such criticism is largely unjustified. The unity, comprehensiveness and coherence that Beals has achieved in the presentation of his materials on Gopalpur far outweigh such petty complaints. *Gopalpur* was never intended as the definitive work on South Indian villages. It was written as an introductory text designed to introduce the undergraduate to life in village India. In this task Beals has been remarkably successful.

STEVEN SEIDENBERG

J.M. TAYLOR, *Evita Perón: The Myths of a Woman*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1979 [Pavilion Series in Social Anthropology, general editor F.G. Bailey]. ix, 176 pp., Bibliography, Index. £7.95.

MUSICAL BOX OFFICE

EVITA is now the biggest grossing musical in showbiz history.

By next week there will be five productions of Evita on stages around the world – London, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and Adelaide – taking a total approaching half a million pounds a week.

The breakdown: London (£70,000), New York (£125,000), LA (£125,000), Adelaide (£90,000).

The show about Evita Peron opens in Chicago on Monday where it is expected to take £120,000 a week, and it's now clear the musical has done something it's heroine, Evita Peron, could only dream of — conquer the world.

Daily Mail
May 21, 1980

- Evita Perón: Housewife, Superstar - as Dame Edna Everage/Barry Humphries might graciously have allowed her; not the attribution of an anthropologist, but of a comedian who also makes sense, and nonsense, out of myths of womanhood: both express the particular need for, and use of, myths and symbols in complex industrialised societies. Allusions to drama and 'showbiz' are inevitable, and they form an interesting theme in the life of Evita from her origins to the present day. The author's principal aim, in this instance, is to examine the living myth about a recent historical figure of such significance that she still captivates audiences today, in and beyond her native Argentina, for a host of different reasons. Furthermore, it is clear that, 'People have acted on what they believed to be the truth about Eva Perón, and they have acted

as well on what they believed that other people believed about Eva Perón' (p.9). In studying the implications of this, the book makes a contribution to any debate concerning the interaction of 'image' and 'reality': a debate central to anthropology. Appropriately, Julie Taylor has deliberately presented her material in such a way that, just as in myth itself, events and their analysis overlap.

The degree to which the style of subject-matter and analysis are merged here seems to be found only rarely in anthropology and although this book remains congruent with the other volumes in the Pavilion Series of Social Anthropology, of which it is the 'latest instalment', it is a new step, and up to a point does show a remarkable degree of imagination, in perceiving a society other than through the eyes of the 'traditional monograph' writer. The book has been developed from her original doctoral thesis, undertaken here at Oxford seven years ago. It is to be noted that it follows up her fieldwork, at the outset of which, her task was to 'define the working-class myth of Eva Perón and to discover its connections with Peronist propaganda'. This of course she does, and finds it to be far more complicated than she could have ever at first suspected.

> Evita Perón, who rose from humble origins to international renown as First Lady of Argentina at the side of her husband Juan Perón, inspired such loyalty among her people that two decades after her death she remained the heroine of the working classes and political dynamite in Argentina (p.1).

Justification enough for an examination of her influence in anthropological terms.

After introducing her subject Taylor looks at the historical background,and the regimes of Rosas, Rivadavia, and Yrigoyen, in the light of the rise of Peronism. She finds in all the propaganda and ways in which events are perceived and described, the same oppositions - civilised:barbaric, man:woman, establishment:proletariat, rationality:intuition/instinct, culture:nature - and the same connections between these oppositions. These have also been present in Western European thought since the Enlightenment and the evolution of the 'noble savage', and are used in the same way to rationalize, classify and label 'revolution'. At this point it seems likely that further oppositions of right and left (political and directional), and 'normal' and 'deviant' sex could also be found, and later in the details of the mythical accounts they do in fact appear: Juan Perón is at times implied to be homosexual and Eva to be frigid, or rapacious, even vampirine.

Taylor goes on to provide us with a lucid biography of Eva Perón. She manages to present what at least appears to be an unbiased account, and it is undeniably an exciting and intriguing tale.

> Both Peronism and its enemies gradually focussed a spotlight on Maria Eva Duarte de Perón. This woman, known only in Argentina, whose last publicity notice as a radio actress

> had appeared at Christmas 1945, had involved herself before Christmas 1946 in all the complex roles which would make her a political figure of international importance in only six years. Thrilled or alarmed, Argentinians watched Eva's growing contacts with organised labour, her activities in social welfare, her feminist initiatives, and her influence in the press (p.40).

It seems that whatever the myths and the images may add or subtract Evita's power brought female suffrage, popular education and housing, hospitals and social welfare, and to some extent Juan Perón himself to the people of Argentina. Surprisingly these facts are often not emphasized in the most romanticised of images, such as that of the musical 'Evita', and are rarely pointed out even by feminist movements.

The information that Taylor has gathered makes it possible to see the process of the creation of a myth in progress, as she tells us how, after her death, Evita was kept before the public through the annual celebration of her birth, her renouncement of the vice-presidency, the pronouncement of her as Spiritual Chief of the Nation on October 17, and by her death itself on July 26 1952. The latter was constantly recalled by nightly news broadcasts announcing, 'It is 8.25, the hour in which Eva Perón passed into immortality'. It is not clear even today if her embalmed body has yet been interred.

This biography is then contrasted with the two major myths about her: 'The Lady of Hope' associated with orthodox Peronism, and 'that woman' (*esa mujer*) around whom anti-Peronists have constructed 'the Black Myth'. Later chapters examine the image of 'the masses' created by the 'myth-makers', and a further aspect of Evita's myth which sees her as a Revolutionary, wholly identifiable with the people (the derivation of this lying in the other myths themselves). In a chapter analysing the two myths and in these last chapters Taylor successfully demonstrates that there are common underlying structures and values, concomitant with the oppositions above, determining the symbolism of female power. Though, if in the light of the work of other writers (M. Douglas, V. Turner and J. Okely), we can set up 'power' as an opposite of 'order' or 'structure' - then what Taylor can be seen as speaking of are the symbolic representations of those factors which create 'power' itself; or of where 'power' is located in the social structure. The common underlying values that Taylor has consistently demonstrated are marginality, physicality and instinct, irrationality, illogic, intuition, Nature, approximation to a 'primitive' state, and, of course, their opposites. Of additional interest is the recognition of the association of them with the 'left wing', with 'the masses', as well as with 'Woman', providing good ammunition against the proposition that the images, almost universally associated with women, are in any way 'naturally ascribed'.

Taylor does make claims for her information regarding 'universal' notions of female power, and 'feminist' issues could be seen to 'cross-cut' the book. The classic images of woman as Virgin, Mother, and Whore, are implicit in the investigation.

Further material presented by the author provides useful evidence for the widely-supported association of 'Woman' with 'Nature', in opposition to 'Culture', raising questions about the stereotypes of women, of the working classes, and of the nature of images like that of 'The Lady of Hope' when they occur elsewhere.

However, despite the light that is also thrown on the recent history of Argentina, the brevity of the book's conclusion and its concentration solely on the idea of woman as anti-structure (in the Turnerian sense) and hence a source of power, arouses suspicions of the scale of the contribution that this book is really making. Taylor provides no information that could be used to call her models into question -justifiably perhaps, but it does show that she includes only certain sorts of information. This may be an unfair criticism, or it may just be an expression of surprise that a book can 'work' so well; the analysis in the end is a pleasing one.

Lastly, I do feel that the book goes some way towards demonstrating how the social world is created through the processes by which we make sense of it. In this instance by showing how the middle classes made a 'universal' idol (a myth not a person) in the image of their own values. As the accompanying newspaper clipping shows this myth-creation has not stopped with the Argentinian middle classes; the embodiment of all the features of Eva's rise to power provides an astonishing story and the base for an endless fascination for other human beings.

ALARIC PUGH

CHRISTOPHER R. HALLPIKE, *The Foundations of Primitive Thought*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1980. xiii, 516 pp., Index. £17.50.

According to Professor Hallpike, anthropological investigations of mind have amounted to little more than 'amateurish speculation'. In this respect he is certainly correct, for they have been advanced in the absence of an empirically verifiable theory of cognitive processes. By assimilating Piaget's developmental psychology to the centre of the discourse, in effect, *The Foundations of Primitive Thought* has laid the groundwork for the emergence of a whole new discipline.

Piaget maintains that knowledge develops holistically out of the dialectical, self-regulating process of a subject's accommodation to reality and concomitant assimilation of experience to existing cognitive structures. The dialectic passes through a fixed sequence of stages ranging from the sensori-motor to the mastery of formal operations (in late adolescence normally). The latter stage is characterized by the capacity to 'think in a hypothetico-deductive manner solely on the basis of the logical implications of propositions, which are quite divorced from the

constraints of experience'. Prior to this stage, at which systems of relations and their transformations can be grasped, thought is based on and in sensorily perceptible properties and configurations, the concrete appearances of things. For example, if a child at the pre-operatory stage is shown

> twelve beads, ten red and two blue, and is asked "Are there more red beads, or more beads?", he will answer that there are more red beads, partly because he cannot think of them as being simultaneously beads, and also red as opposed to blue, but also because he does not yet grasp the reversible relation that if A + A' = B, then A = B - A'.

Similarly, if the child is presented with two rows of beads in one-to-one correspondence, and then one row is spaced at greater intervals, the child will suppose that the longer row contains more beads. This is because he cannot imagine the initial and the visible state simultaneously, and therefore fails to recognize that the increase in length is compensated by a decrease in density.

Hallpike's basic contention is that the thought processes of most individuals in primitive societies are arrested at the late pre-operatory stage (about age 5 to 6). Only under 'favourable circumstances', such as having to navigate vast distances, do concrete operations develop.

This retardation is due to an environment less 'cognitively demanding' than the literate, industrial ambience we live in. Our schooling, for example, 'is based heavily on *telling* out of context rather than *showing* in context'. There is not the same dissociation in the learning process of the primitive. For him the word is inherently related to the thing he has been shown it signifies, and language remains a 'mode of action' (to quote Malinowski), not reflection. So too does the primitive's experience of the physical world tend to reinforce the tenets of pre-operatory thought. Given a limited technology, he has not the means of objectifying his sensations by perceiving things reacting on other things, instead of on his own body. He is also surrounded by 'organic processes [which], unlike machines, cannot be taken apart', or have their action reversed. Causal relations are thus not as immediately apparent to him.

Hallpike amasses a formidable array of ethnographic cases in illustration of his thesis. These range from collective representations of number and measurement to probability and accident, space and time. The primitive does not develop an operational concept of time because he reckons time in terms of social activities, such as the agricultural cycle (in which there are gaps, periods of inactivity between harvests), and other concrete indications, such as the *pars pro toto* 'sleep' for a 24-hour period, which are qualitatively unique. Because these processes are not homogenous, they are 'durationally incommensurate', hindering an operational understanding of simultaneity which is the very basis of the 'system of co-ordinations of *successive* spatial states' that is time. Primitive notions of magic and causation also come under scrutiny, and are found to be 'absolutist,

phenomenalist, psychologistic, irreversible, and static, lacking a real grasp of process'.

The above almost sounds like a string of profanities, and for those who hold the construct of the 'cerebral savage' sacred, much will seem like blasphemy. But the importance of *Foundations* lies in the staunchness of the way it displays the illogicalities embedded in the logic of the concrete, and the reasons for these. The cultural relativist position of Lévi-Strauss and Leach comes under a barrage of attacks. The world is not a continuum awaiting our language categories so as to be discriminated into things, for already by the end of the sensori-motor period (about 18 months), the child can conserve the permanent object, having formed an image, or 'interiorized imitation' of it. Nor can symbolism be understood on the analogy of language. For symbols are motivated affectively and perceptually in ways that linguistic signs are not. 'It is the specific characteristics of each symbol, not its relation with other symbols, that are fundamental'; stone is associated with power and permanence cross-culturally because that is the sensation it evokes in us viscerally. Further, with respect to classification, the primitive does not construct hierarchies of logical classes (for as the bead example illustrates, the quantification of logical class does not come readily) but Vygotsky's complexes, and

> basic object categories, such as "dog", "hammer", "chair", etc., which are given their coherence by image-based prototypes which are ... reflections of real world structuration [i.e. frequency of occurrence].

Atop the ruins of the culture structured like a language model, Hallpike is able to construct a refined and extremely rigorous framework for the translation of culture not just verbally, but experientially. To the extent that the paradigm of pre-operatory thought holds, then such words as 'all' and 'some' - which can only assume their logical definitions if classes not complexes exist and are quantified - are better translated as 'very many' and 'a few'. The same goes for numbers; 'three objects' constitute 'a triad', a perceptual configuration, not an enumeration. But is the fit between the collective representations of primitive societies and pre-operatory thought really so exact?

There are moments at which the richness of the ethnography seems to escape the strictures of Hallpike's version of developmental theory. On p.276 he surmises that unschooled Kédang would be 'actual or latent conservers' in experiments involving liquid displacements, yet earlier (p.62) he rejected the concept of latent structures. This inconsistency is telling, and raises the question of whether the stages of cognitive development are simply reproduced wholesale, or are modified in the context of primitive society. It could be that different domains of social life affect cognitive structures differently. The Australian Aborigine, unable to conserve volume, must nevertheless conserve marital alliances in order to employ his kinship terminology.

Piaget holds that there are three levels to the way we know and represent the world; that of actions and their co-ordination, that of imagery (interiorized imitation), and finally that of verbal formulation. It is the last level, the *logos*, which dominates the collective representations of Western society. The rendering of a perspicacious verbal account of an argument or event is one of the paramount values of the tradition from which we spring. It is this criterion which is then used to judge the collective representations of the primitive, which are action-, and image-, not verbally-based, and to assign him to an anterior stage of our own cognitive development. But if the primitive values the image, the symbolic expression of relationship, over the verbal, then the last two levels are inverted. Hence, there can only be an approximate fit between representations, and the judgement is only accurate to the extent that it is circular.

Hallpike himself has stressed that

> Non-verbal thought, based on action ~~and~~ imagery, is a fundamental aspect of cognitive processes, and in understanding primitive society the problem is the translation of non-verbal, image-based thought into verbal form.

It is instructive in this regard to consider the bead example. At the verbal level, the child's answer is false, but the child cannot act upon (manipulate) the beads falsely, or perceive (image) their arrangement wrongly. The problem is one of translation. For us in relation to the primitive, this problem is compounded by having to take human valuations into account.

Finally, when ontogeny within Western society is taken as the model for a phylogeny of cultures, a puzzling collapse of environmental differences takes place. It is tacitly assumed that our environment encompasses and is the logical resolution of all others, which is untenable.

The above reservations do not detract from *The Foundations of Primitive Thought*. Professor Hallpike is an iconoclast and the pellucidity of his style is exemplary. The reader will find the book a constant source of new and provocative insights.

DAVID HOWES

WILLIAM BASCOM, *Sixteen Cowries: Yoruba Divination from Africa to the New World,* Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press 1980. vii, 790 pp. $22.50.

This book,published some forty years after his original fieldwork at Ile-Ife in 1938-39, shows William Bascom's long dedication to Yoruba studies. Its title suggests a companion volume to his masterwork of a decade ago, *Ifa Divination: Communication between*

Gods and Man in West Africa, but its scope is considerably narrower. The earlier book provides a comprehensive analysis of the Ifa system of belief and the sociological factors of its practice, as well as a substantial body of the ritual poetry. This new one presents only a brief introduction to what is essentially a collection of divination verses from one source.

Sixteen Cowries reveals a system of divination related to Ifa in its mythology and form, but different in several fascinating ways. While many scholars have investigated Ifa divination, practised in various forms by different ethnic groups throughout West Africa, few researchers have looked into this alternative system of sixteen cowries. Bascom suggests the reason for this may be that this is a simpler mode and held in less esteem in West Africa, although in the Americas it has spread more widely and is more frequently employed than Ifa. He attributes its popularity in the new world to its relative simplicity; its close association with Shango, Yemọja, Ọshun, and other Yoruba gods, whose cults have proliferated abroad; and the fact that it can be performed by both men and women (apparently women outnumber men), whereas Ifa priests are always male (*babalawo* means 'father of secrets').

The main value of this book is the publication of an entire corpus of divination verses known by a single ritual specialist, Salakọ. Born about 1880, he was apprenticed to the cult of Orishala at Ọyọ at the end of the nineteenth century. By the time Bascom met him, during a second period of fieldwork in 1951-52, Salakọ was already over seventy years old. He sensed the rapid changes taking place in Nigeria, noted that fewer people were now consulting diviners and that apprentices were no longer coming forth for initiation to the cult. He agreed to recite the oral texts stored in his memory so that the knowledge he had acquired over a lifetime would not be lost.

These verses are beautifully set out with the Yoruba version printed on one side and the English translation on the facing page. Yoruba scholars have assisted both in the transcription from the tape-recording and in the translation into English. This careful preservation of a body of oral literature deriving from a pristine era of Yoruba culture marks a considerable achievement.

That said, I confess to some unease about the title: it promises more historical and sociological interpretation of this system of divination than the introduction gives. True, Bascom shows confirmation of the divining figures from his own research in other parts of Yorubaland, from Maupoil's work in Dahomey, from Bastide and Verger in Brazil and from informants in Cuba. This has to do with the congruence of transfer of the operational system and not with the social patterns of its practice. Here evidence is lacking. Little is known about the sociological aspects of this method of divining: how widespread it is (was) in Yorubaland, whether its ritual specialists are clustered in particular geographical areas or why this system has had preference over Ifa in the new world. There are also questions about women's participation. Why should women be excluded from the priesthood of Ifa yet take part as diviners in this similar system? Are clients likely to be predominantly male or female?

Is it only outside Yorubaland - in Brazil, Cuba and Spanish Harlem - that women as practitioners are found in greater numbers than men?

Sixteen Cowries, then, is an important addition to the continuing work in Yoruba studies in Nigeria and abroad: as an enduring record for the archives and as a 'divining' of future lines of research.

HELEN CALLAWAY

O T H E R   N O T I C E S

FAREN R. AKINS *et al.*, *Behavioral Development of Nonhuman Primates: An Abstracted Bibliography*, New York etc.: Plenum 1980. 304 pp., Indexes. $75.00.

As the publisher's blurb tells us, 'this bibliography contains references and abstracts for over 600 articles, chapters, and books dealing with the general area of nonhuman primate behavioral development. Emphasis is placed on those publications investigating the effects of early environmental stressors: social isolation, dietary deficiencies, stimulus deprivation, mother-infant and peer-peer separation, surgically and naturally induced neurological dysfunction, birth traumas, and various types of unusual rearing conditions. This is the most comprehensive compilation of this literature ever achieved, with references extending from the early 1900s to date. An extensive indexing system, which includes separate sections for authors, primate species, topical areas, review articles, monographs, chapters and books which deal with this material in a global, theoretical fashion, is included as an aid to the use of this volume.'

Will social anthropologists have any use for this volume? Will they, in other words, want to refer to deprivation experiments that show what goes wrong when monkeys and apes are not allowed to develop normally? I somewhat doubt it. Why not? Because, I suppose, of the lack of any clear evidence that the same kinds of developmental processes occur in humans as occur in monkeys. Humans become 'enculturated' at birth and their development is a cultural as well as an organic process. In the case of monkeys there are certain developmental stages characteristic of any given species and these underlie the special features that are situation-specific and acquired through learning.

This non-applicability of non-human primate data to man is not just relevant to whether or not anthropologists will use this bibliography but also to the *morality* of the studies abstracted for us here. In the early days of deprivation studies, in the 1950s when Harry Harlow was hitting the headlines, the rationale for these studies (and the reason they were funded) was that they would 'shed light on human development'. Have they done so? I'm not convinced they have. What has happened instead is that they have become a sort of scientific genre in their own right. Experimenter A shows that monkeys taken from their mothers at birth become depressed, mutilate themselves and reject other monkeys. Experimenter B asks: what would happen if an isolation-reared female had offspring? Experimenter C invents a 'rape rack' to which a female can be fixed while a male copulates with her. It turns out when she gives birth that she rejects and kills her offspring. The results are so dramatic that labs all

over the U.S.A. repeat the experiments: hundreds of monkeys are isolated, force-mated, and reject their offspring. The journals are full of the story. Books appear on it. Careers are built on it. Next, comes the question of *how long* a monkey must be isolated etc. etc.

All this is routinely practised in the cause of science, mostly in the U.S.A. Some would see it as the unacceptable face of primatology. This new bibliography can serve as a memorial to the thousands of monkeys involved, whose lives have been depleted in one way or another. What there is too little of is enlightened discussion of the relevance to man. Bowlby is one of the few to have really become involved in this issue: he has shown clear parallels between the non-human and the human cases. Even if we accept that homologous processes exist between man and monkey (and many psychologists do not), this still does not get us any further forward than we were before the monkey research began. All we seem to have done is to have found out a very great deal about monkeys. This was not the rationale. And the cost in terms of animal suffering has been, and continues to be, horrific.

V. REYNOLDS

Journal of the Oxford University India Society, editors Pavan K. Sukdev and Steven Evans, published once a term, price 40p per issue. Correspondence to the editors at University and Hertford Colleges respectively.

This year the India Society of Oxford has launched a new publication called, appropriately enough, the *Journal of the Oxford University India Society*. Published once a term, in a format that will be instantly familiar to long-standing readers of *JASO* (i.e. stencil-duplicated pages with pastel covers and stapled binding), the *Journal of the Oxford University India Society* fills a previously unexploited niche in Oxford. Defying easy categorisation (as evidenced by its editors' frequent alternation between calling it a 'Journal' and a 'magazine'), *J.O.U.I.S.* attempts, with considerable success, to be simultaneously an academic forum reflecting recent research on India and a topical domestic sounding-board for local events. The 'Diary of Events' contained in the Journal will provide Oxford readers with convenient information about lectures, seminars, films, concerts etc. pertaining to India. As the editors have expressed the intention of including diaries and notices from other parts of England, *J.O.U.I.S.* may soon outgrow its parochial nature. This may also be seen from the balance maintained between the local and external contributors of the academic articles, which cover a wide range of topics. The establishment of a new Journal is an ambitious undertaking. The editors of the *Journal of the Oxford University India Society* have made a successful start.

S.S.

Journal of the Anthropological Study of Human Movement [*JASHM*], Vol. I, No. 1, [New York University] 1980. 69 pp. $1.50.

The weekly series of seminars at the Department of Dance at New York University has generated sufficient good discussion in the field of the anthropology of human movement for two of its principal members to have taken the initiative to record its more important transactions in a new Journal. The first number of the new-born *JASHM*, which recently arrived at the office of *JASO*, makes interesting reading for anyone familiar with the latter. Quite apart from the fact that the editors of *JASHM* specifically indicate *JASO* as their model on page 1 - the compliment is gratefully acknowledged - even down to the details of (our former) format, the methodological preferences indicated in the contributions to the first issue bear witness to the diffusion of many *JASO* preoccupations across the Atlantic. These have principally been carried by Drid Williams, a former contributor to *JASO* who wrote her D.Phil. in Oxford some years ago and is now Editorial Adviser of *JASHM*; her work is unashamedly rooted in what some call semantic anthropology and her paper in the current issue is liberal with quotations from Edwin Ardener (reproducing his description of an Ibo handshake for the first time in print). Her principal colleague is Joann Wheeler Kealiinohomoku, of the University of Northern Arizona; the latter tends however towards the American cultural anthropological tradition, and she reiterates a dogmatic relativism, firmly rejecting 'western elitist standards' that would classify dance forms as universally 'artistic'. The graduate students' papers and reviews presented here reflect their enthusiastic sense of the complementarity of their two teachers or sources of inspiration, though whether fruitful reinterpretations of the meaning of the dance will emerge from such a symbiosis remains to be seen in future issues of the Journal. The students' own articles here are heavily ethnographic in emphasis; nor are there many anthropological references cited beyond those to Malcolm Crick, Shirley Ardener and the Oxford Women's Anthropology Group. Still, despite the morphological analyses and the profusion of notational sequences *JASHM* can certainly be recommended to any non-specialist concerned with carrying forward an interest in the anthropology of the body or the relationship between taxonomies of movement and the study of ritual behaviour.

J.W.

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