

BOOK REVIEWS

CAROLYN NORDSTROM and ANTONIUS C. G. M. ROBBEN (eds.), *Fieldwork under Fire: Contemporary Studies of Violence and Survival*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1995. vi, 300 pp., Index.

In researching and writing about her own experience of a rape attack, Cathy Winkler describes the difficulty of finding words to verbalize terror, violence and pain: 'In my writings my first drafts overuse certain words: it was horror, a real horror, truly horrific, horribly horrible...'. These adverbs and adjectives heaped on nouns hide and distance the reader from the experiential reality of violence. It is this experiential reality, examined from the point of view of both the fieldworker and the perpetrators and victims of violence, that is captured by the contributors to this volume. Violence itself, as the editors argue in their introduction, is not some fundamental biological principle of human behaviour; rather, it is socially constructed in diverse ways in settings as different as open warfare and Foucauldian ameliorative institutions. But apart from Winkler, the other contributors all discuss more 'traditional' violent settings—war zones, civil wars, state repression and violent liberation movements. The individual contributions are not simply overlapping tales, each from another 'front', but illustrate different aspects respectively of the experience of violence and terror. This is reflected textually in the unusual feature of a different subheading being given to each chapter, such as 'rumour', 'seduction and persuasion' and 'creativity and chaos'. The collection as a whole succeeds in illuminating different aspects of the experience of violence. It works too because many of these aspects are not specific to fieldwork in situations of violence.

Rumour, the sociology of knowledge of an event, is an issue all ethnographers are faced with in the field. Anna Simons heightens our appreciation of the way in which provisional understandings are constructed and reconstructed on the basis of multiple sources and prior theories, as people try to make sense of the killing of a bishop which marked 'the beginning of the end' of civil society in Somalia. Meditating on the relationship of 'history' to the rumours that surrounded that single day, she notes that the 'significance [of rumours] as mood enhancers or mood dampeners and vectors for action gets swallowed up in concern over the flurry of their results: 'events'. In turn, as these events become ordered for narrative, the tendency is to reduce, collapse, and edit out the very terror of not-knowing, which is at the heart and soul of every rumour.' Antonius Robben looks at issues of impression management and 'seduction' in the fieldwork encounter, as he shows the different rhetorical strategies—logic and reason, emotional and empathetic appeal, the revelation of 'secrets'—by which Argentinean generals and their victims attempted to convince him to write the 'truth' about Argentina's 'dirty war'. And Joseba Zulaika focuses on the differing modes of

employment and their associated tropes which compete to dominate understanding of political violence in the small Basque village he calls 'home'.

How does the terror of violence actually work? Each author asks this question in different forms on the basis of both observation and direct experience of its machinations. Linda Green describes the atmosphere of perpetual fear in conducting research in Guatemala, which led her to begin to doubt her very perceptions of reality. Carolyn Nordstrom points to the way Renamo's war on Mozambique disrupted people's basic sense of self and tradition. As one Mozambiquan told her: 'No more laughter, no more stories, no more children.... We cannot even perform the ceremonies that make us human.' Winkler gives us a micropolitics of such destructive deformations of self, will and causality in her analysis of the verbal and physical exchanges of rapist and victim. Throughout, the focus is on the 'thinkability' of terror and violence, how it is perpetrated on the mind as much as the body. This allows the authors to turn their attention also to the creativity of local responses in reconstructing lives and unthinking terror. Ted Swedenburg, through a creative interpolation of his own ethnography with Jean Genet's account, *Prisoners in Love*, gives a sense of the fun and collective effervescence that alternate with the more painful realities of Palestinian resistance, a view also captured by Frank Pieke in his 'accidental anthropology' of the 1989 people's movement in China. A number of other authors trace out the everyday symbolic and expressive acts that help people survive and that call to mind Nordstrom's optimism that local-level practices will always subvert the hold of violence: the Palestinians' use of headscarves (*kufiyas*), which has spread to south-central Los Angeles; the Mozambiquan healers (*curandeiros*), who help 'take the violence out of people'; and the poetry readings amid the bombing in Croatia, described by Maria Olujic. I must demur, however, over Olujic's depictions of 'eastern' Serbs having been brainwashed to hate their victims and 'western Croats' as sensitive humanists who have been forced to fight. Such subtle and dangerous cultural stereotyping seems out of step with the rest of the contributions.

A number of shorter pieces are appended at the end of the book, including a useful discussion of some of the practicalities of planning fieldwork 'under fire' by Jeffrey Sluka, and an interview with the Guatemalan anthropologist, activist and Jesuit priest Ricardo Falla on some of the moral issues involved in doing such work. This piece picks up on tensions within the volume overall: Robben's cautious desire not to be 'seduced' by either side, Zulaika's coming to terms with the presence of agents of violence in his own village, and Green's embracing of her ethnography as an 'act of solidarity' with victims of state terror and as a potential agent of social change. Falla gives a sense of the different kind of commitment involved in long-term research on issues on which 'you have to choose a side'.

Most of the contributions have been written in dialogue with Taussig's recent work, which provides another unifying thread without ever dominating the discourse. With a few exceptions, the authors have managed to write theoretically—to capture a bit of the 'local and the global'—while avoiding post-modern jargon. *Fieldwork under Fire* contributes to answering these calls. It makes for critical reading both for the beginning student and the seasoned anthropologist.

DAVID SUTTON

TOM GRIFFITHS, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996. xiv, 416 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. No price given.

Europeans often think of Australia as a young country with little history. This ethnocentric view of the continent has been shared by white Australians in the past and was confirmed by the declaration of Australia as *Terra nullius* in defiance of the Aboriginal inhabitants' rights. Over the last hundred years or so, however, there has been a growth in popular interest in Aboriginal history before 1770 as much as the history of Australia since (the date that Captain Cook became the first European to reach the east coast of Australia, though there had been non-European contact before, on the northern coasts).

Tom Griffiths's recent work, one of a series on Australian history being published by Cambridge University Press, deals with this phenomenon, concentrating principally on the state of Victoria since the mid-nineteenth century. The book is based on research he carried out at the Museum of Victoria in Melbourne. The historical tension between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people is mirrored in the book by that between professional and amateur historians. For a white Australian historian like Griffiths, striking a balance between these different parties might have proved difficult to achieve, but his even-handed approach and clarity of presentation rise to the challenge. He positions the historical interests of non-Aboriginal Australians within their overall reactions to the country and its geology, flora, fauna and Aboriginal people.

In Part 1 of the book, Griffiths addresses the history of antiquarianism, archaeology and anthropology, focusing particularly on collecting and the role of museums. Part 2, entitled 'Possession', is concerned with the aesthetics of the environment, the relationship of the Australian landscape to the 'Australian psyche', and the ways in which white Australians sought to come to terms with it. Part 3 focuses on how the past is institutionalized, and the post-war enthusiasms for local and family history and for the conservation of buildings and landscapes.

Many of the people whose work is discussed in the book were 'amateur experts' who are unlikely to be very well known today, either in Australia or abroad. This in itself is a bonus, as the study of the work and interests of such collectors does much to illustrate Australian attitudes to the history of their country. One such man was Reynell Eveleigh Johns, a public servant, amateur historian and ethnographer in Victoria in the mid-nineteenth century. In many ways, he was a most reprehensible character: the author introduces him to us by describing one of his grave-robbing expeditions. However, Griffiths does attempt to provide a social and intellectual contextualization to his activities. Johns was an inveterate collector of curiosities, including birds, insects, snakes, rocks, plants and Aboriginal artifacts and remains. He was also a committed diarist, thus allowing Griffiths to reconstruct his collecting career and place it within the broader Australian intellectual picture.

Although the entire book is interesting, for me the most absorbing parts were the first two, dealing with topics in which I myself have a interest—collecting, museums and Spencer and Gillen. These are also the most historical sections of the book, and for this reason they tell a more uniquely Australian story. Other readers might also enjoy the way in which Griffiths explores the antiquarian imagination of Australia and

how this has interacted with the Australian landscape, the two together forming a view of Australian history.

The entire structure of the book, which follows historical interests from collecting through possession to preservation, is a marker of the passage of time and changing opinions among European Australians, which was mirrored in Europe. The main difference between Europe and Australia in this regard is that in the former there has never been the same sense of an alien landscape, and the need for emotional possession of the land has never been so great as that demonstrated in Part 2 of *Hunters and Collectors*. However, the perceived need to preserve one's environment and history is now encountered world-wide. In that respect, the story Griffiths tells about Australia is applicable everywhere.

ALISON PETCH

COLLEEN BALLERINO COHEN, RICHARD WILK, and BEVERLY STOELTJE (eds.), *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power*, New York and London: Routledge 1995. vii, 256 pp., Plates, References, Index. £40.00/£12.99.

On 6 July 1996, the *Guardian* reported that the National Volleyball Association of Thailand had barred all transvestites from its national team. 'If we travel abroad,' an official said, 'foreigners might think that Thailand doesn't have enough real men for its team. It would harm the country's reputation.' In reply, one member of the team—most of whom are transvestite and wear make-up on court—stated: 'I think I am second to none and I am qualified to be part of the national team. There aren't any rules against people like me.'

This incident highlights the way a seemingly innocent game dedicated to the public display of lithe flesh becomes a key site for disputes about gender, aesthetics and power. Officials of the Association think of image and regard its team as national ambassadors. Painted players think of beauty and regard their team as the fairly sought target of talented achievers.

This is not merely some parochial bickering between narrow-minded bureaucrats and flashy athletes but a dramatic exemplar of the contemporary intermeshing of the local and the global. Thanks to the power of television and new electronic media, the sight of made-up volleyballers is not restricted to Thai audiences. At first sight this particular polemic might appear local, but the officials are forced to 'think global'.

It is precisely this sort of event that the contributors to *Beauty Queens* are concerned with. They take what initially seems like anthropologically trivial material—beauty pageants—and skilfully draw out the means by which these ceremonial forms can act as stages on which judges, sponsors, viewers, finance ministers and would-be queens contest the meaning of nation, market and democracy via the medium of feminine beauty (both heterosexual and male transvestite). It would be invidious to single out particular chapters, but together they range from Minnesota to Moscow, from Tonga to Tibet, from the Muslim Philippines to Monimbo, Nicaragua. Contri-

butors analyse the ways in which beauty pageants can represent and reinforce gender ideologies, and how judges' decisions (especially disputed ones) may highlight culturally particular notions of beauty and femininity. But at the same time, these contests may become arenas not just for discussions of corporeal aesthetics but also for debates about social identity, as different groups of involved participants come to question the aim of these performative events. Who are we, and what are we doing this for? Who do we wish to be? How do we wish to be seen, and by whom? In such circumstances, anthropologists are forced to abandon bounded notions of 'culture', no matter how long cherished, and to seek more open-ended ways of representing present realities, whether on the ball-court or the catwalk.

The style of the contributors is almost as varied as the range of examples. Some are determinedly theoretical, another adopts a more autobiographical approach. But all contributions are well researched and thought through. This diversity is only a benefit, as it reminds students that there is no longer any one single hegemonic mode of representing cultures.

In sum, *Beauty Queens* is an informative, at times entertaining collection which could usefully be included in a range of undergraduate courses, whether on gender, identity, transnational phenomena or aesthetics. What a pity there weren't more photographs.

JEREMY MACCLANCY

THOMAS N. HEADLAND and DARRELL L. WHITEMAN (eds.), *Missiology: An International Review*, Vol. XXIV, no. 2 (Special number on 'Missionaries, Anthropologists, and Human Rights'), Scottdale, Pennsylvania: American Society of Missiology 1996. 157 pp. \$6.00.

The American-based ecumenical journal *Missiology* has published this special issue on the relationship between anthropologists and missionaries. Within this growing debate, the journal has focused on human rights. Not surprisingly, some of the articles point to the fact that human rights have in the past been supported by a number of missionaries.

Eight articles are presented, some quite short, but in all cases well documented. Most are written by people trained in anthropology. Among the ethnographic evidence is some drawn from the Yuqui of Bolivia and Melanesians. One might note in particular the article by R. Benedito on indigenous Filipinos. Although the level of analysis may not be very penetrating at times, the issue is certainly worth examining by anyone interested in the subject, especially the several bibliographies.

W. S. F. PICKERING

DON KULICK and MARGARET WILLSON (eds.), *Taboo, Sex, Identity and Erotic Subjectivity in Anthropological Fieldwork*, London and New York: Routledge 1995. xvi, 283 pp., References, Index. £40.00/£13.99.

ELISA J. SOBO, *Choosing Unsafe Sex: AIDS-Risk Denial among Disadvantaged Women*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1995. ix, 232 pp., Bibliography, Index. £32.95/£13.95.

RICHARD PARKER and JOHN GAGNON (eds.), *Conceiving Sexuality: Approaches to Sex Research in a Postmodern World*, London and New York: Routledge 1995. ix, 307 pp., Bibliography, Tables, Figures. £13.99.

'Sexuality' seems to have replaced gender in popularity within social anthropology. The term refers to a person's sexual desires and powers, and its manifestation depends on that person's social circumstances and psychological state. So what social circumstances (and, possibly, psychological states) explain the recent anthropological preoccupation with sexuality? The interest is partly a consequence of the publication of Malinowski's diaries in 1967. However, more significantly it is a symptom of the 'reflexive' turn of the discipline in the 1980s. It is also partly fuelled by the need to understand the relationship between sexual behaviour and the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Anthropological writings on sexuality fall roughly into two, non-mutually exclusive categories. First, there are 'reflexive' accounts by anthropologists who discuss the sexual lives of other anthropologists and their own erotic experiences 'in the field'. Most of the chapters in Don Kulick and Margaret Willson's edited volume, *Taboo, Sex, Identity and Erotic Subjectivity in Anthropological Fieldwork*, refer to earlier accounts of 'erotic subjectivity' such as Malinowski's diaries, Paul Rabinow's *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco* (1977) and Manda Cesara's *Reflections of a Woman Anthropologist* (1982). The contributors, mostly American and mostly women, show how the production of anthropological knowledge is shaped in various inevitable ways by ideas not only about gender but also about sexuality.

Kulick suggests that through erotic encounters with members of the community being studied, the anthropologist is 'using the self in an epistemologically productive way'. Perhaps. Equally, the process may not further anthropological understanding at all. *Taboo* contains a harrowing account of a female anthropologist's experience of rape by an Ethiopian research assistant. If this yields anthropological insights, it is by a most circuitous and destructive route. The cautionary tale effectively highlights the lack of preparation or bureaucratic protection which accompanies most anthropologists, usually young and relatively naive, on their first field trips.

The second category of accounts is more sociological, for it explores the social circumstances and cultural contexts which are associated with particular expressions of sexuality. A number of chapters in Richard Parker and John Gagnon's edited volume *Conceiving Sexuality* consider, for example, the social and cultural aspects of male homosexuality and bisexuality in various different contexts, including Amsterdam 'as a Gay Capital', the Philippines and Nicaragua. And most of the book's accounts have implications for understanding the epidemiology of sexually transmitted diseases in general and for programmes aimed at preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS in particular.

Elisa Sobo's *Choosing Unsafe Sex* is an accessible, clearly written study of the cultural barriers to condom use, despite rising rates of HIV infections and AIDS among poor, mostly Black women clients of maternal and infant health clinics in Cleveland, Ohio. Sobo's study is important not only for its considerable relevance to HIV/AIDS educators but also for its insights into the workings of heterosexual relationships. Sobo shows that it is women's own expectations of heterosexual unions which require them to practise unsafe sex. Most women make considerable social and emotional investments in monogamy and see no need for condoms, because to question their husbands' fidelity would amount to questioning the assumptions and expectations according to which women have shaped their lives.

For some readers, Sobo's conclusion, as well as the patterns of social behaviour that can be deduced from the pages of *Conceiving Sexuality*, will raise questions that are beyond the scope of all three books. Are women more inclined to be monogamous than men, and if so, why? What is the relative importance of cultural meaning and biological predispositions in influencing sexual behaviour? Since biological determinism haunts much of modern genetics, just as cultural determinism underpins most cultural studies, it is difficult to explore this question without prejudicing the answers. Although *Conceiving Sexuality* promises 'an important overview of the most pressing topical and theoretical issues currently shaping debate in international and cross-cultural research on sexuality', the book avoids the issue. Explanations from evolutionary biology are in effect dismissed as too easy, too deterministic and too ignorant of the influence of culture, though in fact these conclusions do not necessarily follow but tell us more about how biological knowledge is generally perceived by social scientists.

So perhaps the take-home message is, next time a man won't take 'No' for an answer, try asking 'What was the locus of our radical miscommunication that made it impossible for him to hear my disinterest and impossible for me to get out of his interpretive framework?' (*Taboo*, p. 7).

ALISON SHAW

PETER BELLWOOD, J. J. FOX, and DARREL TRYON (eds.), *The Austronesians: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. Canberra: Australian National University 1995.

This is the second in a series of volumes produced by the Conference of Comparative Austronesian Project in the Department of Anthropology of the ANU. Some of the other volumes are *Inside Austronesian Houses* (ed. J. J. Fox, 1993); *Transformations of Hierarchy: Structure, History and Horizon in the Austronesian World* (Special Issue, History and Anthropology), (eds. M. Jolly and Mark S. Mosko, 1994); and *Origins, Ancestry and Alliance* (eds. J. J. Fox and C. Sather, 1996).

Preceded by an introduction, the book is divided into two major sections. The first, 'Origins and Dispersals' (seven chapters), and the second, 'Transformations and Interactions' (nine chapters), focus 'on shared ancestry on the one hand, and culture-

and region-specific transformations on the other' (p. 3) in a historical and comparative framework, in both linguistics and anthropology. A fundamental statement is that culture is embedded in the language: linguistics is the pivot for the statement of facts about the common origins and the subsequent dispersals of the Austronesians. They are more than 270 million people speaking some 1200 languages in regions from Madagascar in the west to the easternmost islands of the Pacific.

The geographical area covered by the linguistic survey points to the directions of the 'dispersals': Tryon (Chapter 1) offers an overview of the whole Austronesian family, Pawley and Ross (Chapter 2) survey the Oceanic languages in the Pacific, and Adelaar (Chapter 3) deals with four major groupings of Borneo languages and their links with Madagascar. The linguistic findings are further enhanced by archaeological records presented by Bellwood (Chapter 5), who points to the relationship between agriculture and language families.

The pivot for the debate in Austronesian archaeology has been the Lapita culture, which is believed to have existed between 1600 BC and the period 500 BC to the beginning of the Christian era: it represents the archaeological record of the first substantial Austronesian colonization into Melanesia and Polynesia (p. 112). The Lapita culture has been defined initially on the basis of its highly decorated pottery. Two very different views have been championed in recent years: some researchers espouse an almost entirely indigenous development of Lapita in the Bismarcks, while others view it as largely but not exclusively an intrusive culture with its major links further west to Island SEA. Spriggs (Chapter 6) argues for the latter position.

The second part of the book surveys 'transformations and interactions': the genetic make-up of the local populations (Chapters 9 and 10) point to an ultimate East Asian origin for Polynesians but also indicate some degree of past gene flow from island Melanesian populations. In linguistics it is thought that NAn languages are older and that An languages are intrusive. Effects of language contact, such as bilingualism and general cultural borrowing, must have been a direct effect of total interactions or exchanges (marriages), which reached a transformative climax in the western cultural and later political colonization of the whole Austronesian region.

Supomo (Chapter 15) gives an account of the earliest Indian contacts with Indonesia. Significant changes did occur as the result of the penetration of Sanskritic culture into the western parts of the Austronesian world (p. 298). It is not only Hindu and Buddhist influences that are taken into consideration: two chapters deal with Islam, Catholic and Protestant involvement in the area. Islam required many changes in traditional Austronesian social and religious practices, as did Christianity, but Austronesian resilience, reinforced greatly by the continuing use of the Austronesian languages as vernaculars, imposed a two-way dialogue in the process (Reid, Chapter 16).

The Austronesians also played a major role in commercial and diplomatic endeavours of their times within and beyond Southeast Asia which predated and underlay the advance of Islam among Austronesians. By travelling frequently as far as Timor and Maluku, they kept these peripheries on the known map of world commerce.

Reid argues that change came from numerous conversions and almost as many reversion towards bedrock Austronesian habits: with its own theology and sexual morality, Islam challenged and in some instances changed the cultural landscape of the Austronesians. Christianity in its many forms came into insular Southeast Asia and the

Pacific with the colonial expansion of European states in which Christianity and colonialism worked within a common and unified framework, while in others church and state diverged in separate directions. The Dutch domination of Indonesia was primarily economic. But in the Philippines and other parts of the Austronesian world the Church played a much stronger and more lasting role, despite the fact that even nowadays it is 'not a native church, but a church staffed by natives' (de la Costa, cited on p. 337). The Western incursions overall made the local peoples vulnerable to quick and partial conversion to Christianity which in most cases was rampant and had a lasting impact, particularly in the Pacific.

A note of great importance: Fox (Chapter 12) calls for an inculturated sociological apparatus. 'Austronesian ideas about persons, about the unions of persons, about social derivation and identity, about sociability itself, such ideas, are not—or, were not—those of nineteenth-century Europe from which our sociological traditions derive' (p. 215). He points out the need to reexamine Western premises and to focus on the basic features of a general nature, while attending 'closely to the concepts of the Austronesians themselves expressed in idioms and metaphors of a common linguistic and cultural heritage...' (p. 216). Among these is the idea of origins, conceptualized as 'source', 'root', 'base' or 'trunk'.

The book is indeed a very welcome contribution to the Austronesian library. The contributors to this interdisciplinary survey are well known worldwide as experts in their own field, and this book should lead one further to their many other contributions elsewhere (listed in the bibliographies). The Comparative Austronesian Project is to be thanked for its immense contribution to the understanding of the historical *raison d'être* of Austronesia.

FILOMENO ABEL

KEVIN HANNAN, *Borders of Language and Identity in Teschen Silesia* (Berkeley Insights in Linguistics and Semiotics 28), New York etc.: Peter Lang 1996. xxii, 221 pp., Maps, Bibliographies, Index. £33.00.

The Duchy of Teschen emerged as an identifiable political unit out of eastern Silesia in 1290 and was ruled by a branch of the Piasts for over three hundred years. It remained unified despite the collapse of this dynasty, incorporation into the Czech kingdom, the takeover of the Czech lands by the Habsburg Empire and the loss of all but eastern Silesia to Prussia in 1742. The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 finally led to its division between emergent Poland and Czechoslovakia, a situation which caused tension and armed conflict in the inter-war period but which remains substantially unchanged at the present day. Although a meeting point of Czech, Polish, Slovak and at some periods German, Silesian, Wallach and Moravian speech, ethnicities and cultures, Teschen developed its own Slavonic dialect, related to Silesian and predominant in its territory until well into the nineteenth century. Since then, Czech and Polish nationalist agitation and political division have led to competi-

tion from the Czech and Polish national languages and ethnicities, the former having replaced German administratively in 1919. As a consequence, there are now no monolingual speakers of the dialect, and even the Polish minority in Czech Teschen have tended to become assimilated, aided by a mini-iron curtain along the international border in the communist period.

Hannan, a linguist, threads his way, judiciously for the most part, through the historical ramifications of dialectal and ethnic identity, seeing changes in both as being rooted in social and historical factors, as well as in each other. Although sections of the book are devoted to a linguistic analysis of the distinctive features of the dialect in comparison with Czech, Polish and Slovak, there is much to please the anthropologist interested in questions of identity in this corner of Europe, with insights into a range of regional questions going well beyond Teschen itself: particularly interesting are the accounts of the so-called *Wasserpölnisch* dialect of Silesia and of the mutual and self-stereotyping of Czechs and Poles. There is a tendency to treat some ethnographic details as unproblematic facts rather than material for competing ethnic discourses, as they frequently are in this region: this is especially the case when they are drawn from an ill-documented history. For example, how sure can we be that there was no Slav settlement in Silesia between the Celts of the third century BC and the Germanic Vandals of the early Christian period (*pace* pp. 17–18)? Elsewhere, however, Hannan shows himself to be fully alive to the extent to which ethnicities change in history, may be manipulated for economic or other advantage, and may be viewed differently across an ethnic divide (thus Poles from Czech Teschen find themselves being regarded as Czechs across the border in Poland).

On the linguistic side, Hannan presents a convincing argument that in a situation such as this, the genetic model is less useful than a model of convergence; he repeatedly refers to André Meillet's notion of mixed languages. I was only left puzzling over Hannan's phrase 'synchronic development', which seems like a contradiction in terms. The book has a number of examples of the Teschen dialect, though not all are translated. Similarly arbitrary is the positioning in the text of many of the numerous maps, valuable though they are in themselves.

Despite these quibbles, the book is to be welcomed as the first full-length modern study of Teschen in English, as well as being on the whole a perceptive and nuanced account of the interrelationships of ethnicity and language in a region where the barriers between either are not always as hard and fast as they appear.

ROBERT PARKIN

WILLIAM KAVANAGH, *Villagers of the Sierra de Gredos: Transhumant Cattle-raisers in Central Spain*, Oxford and Providence: Berg 1994. xxiv, 140 pp., Figures, Plates, Bibliography, Index. £34.95.

A well-written ethnography of a Castilian cattle-raising community, this slim volume evokes the life-style of transhumance in the 1970s and early 1980s. The author's

anthropological background at Oxford, together with a 'Presentation' by Julian Pitt-Rivers, locates the work within the genre of 'traditional village study', with an undercurrent of structural-functionalism and structuralism. This becomes manifest with 'complementary opposites' represented by an ideational system juxtaposing the 'cold' mountain village with the 'hot' (and fertile) plains of Extremadura.

An abundance of illustrations, diagrams and photographs maintain the reader's interest and enhance the tight ethnographic detail. We learn of the *torno* and its importance in ordering village cooperation, notions of right and left, the sexual division of village space and the fundamental dichotomy of male/outside versus female/inside. Other subjects dealt with include inheritance, social life (the bar), anti-clericalism and attitudes towards the outside world. The bulk of the book, however, is given over to a detailed and occasionally laborious description of the agricultural activity of the community: herding livestock, pasturing animals, walking with cattle and irrigating vegetable gardens. These aspects are made interesting through the analysis of social institutions which foster cooperation, turn-taking, neighbourly support and exchange: the services of a stud bull are reciprocated by helping with the hay-making. Mutual assistance oils the machine and smooths the progress of these otherwise individualistic actors.

In keeping with its structural-functionalist approach, the book ends with an epilogue, written in the 1990s, looking back at the main part of the fieldwork period (the 'ethnographic present' being located in 1985), seeing it as a fixed period now disappearing, a sort of melting snowflake; indeed, a documentary on the village was made for the *Disappearing World* series in 1989. Thus we have salvage ethnography in Europe and lament the passing of an era. The epilogue hammers this message home with talk of new cars, fridges and television and of the arrival of tourists, upsetting local behaviour with their fighting and endangering animals with their rubbish. A snap-shot, synchronic ethnography, regarded by many as an out-moded form, is boldly presented here. This portrait, with its grainy detail, should be enjoyed, savoured and placed in an album to show students how ethnographies influenced by the intellectual climate of the 1970s still have relevance to contemporary ethnography.

Kavanagh becomes even more reflective in his last pages (written in the 1990s), allowing the voice of an ex-villager, now a resident of Madrid, to squeeze through the print and to admit—to the distaste of the ethnographer—that the villagers would rather sell their land to property speculators and retire rich than let it be turned into a national park. Sometimes the authentic indigenous voice can be disturbing.

DON MACLEOD

MAURICE GODELIER, *L'Enigme du don*, Paris: Fayard 1996. 315 pp.

This book is made up of four separate discussions. The first, which occupies fully half the volume, is consecrated to a careful re-evaluation of Marcel Mauss's essay on the gift. Given the premise that humans must produce society to live, everything that can

anthropological background at Oxford, together with a 'Presentation' by Julian Pitt-Rivers, locates the work within the genre of 'traditional village study', with an undercurrent of structural-functionalism and structuralism. This becomes manifest with 'complementary opposites' represented by an ideational system juxtaposing the 'cold' mountain village with the 'hot' (and fertile) plains of Extremadura.

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DON MACLEOD

MAURICE GODELIER, *L'Enigme du don*, Paris: Fayard 1996. 315 pp.

This book is made up of four separate discussions. The first, which occupies fully half the volume, is consecrated to a careful re-evaluation of Marcel Mauss's essay on the gift. Given the premise that humans must produce society to live, everything that can

be shared will make sense. Godelier's basic question, why do things that are shared move around, is answered by saying that by doing so they create social relations between groups. All the objective social relations which form the basis of a society can be expressed and materialized in gifts and counter-gifts. The gift as praxis, Godelier says, is both the form and the content of these relations, representing, signifying and totalizing the entire social relationship of which they are an instrument and the symbol. Thus Mauss's analysis of such a 'total social fact' as the gift interests Godelier both for where his predecessor's essay succeeded and equally for where it failed, as when Mauss suggested that a hidden inner spiritual power (*hau* or *mana*) was capable of moving things given. In either case, says Godelier, we are indebted to Mauss for having shown that a society only exists if it forms a totality, representing itself as such and submitting itself to the reproduction of the whole as a whole.

So what is it in objects that are given that makes them move? Godelier's main criticism of and advance on Mauss's legacy consists in his answer to this question. Gifts substitute for the person or his or her society's *sacralia*. What they contain is thus the personhood of the owner and the entire imagination of his or her society. Only these gifts are capable of capturing what is in the persons who give them. Subjects thus become objects, and objects given become subjects.

This first part of the book ends with a certain sense of satisfaction on the part of the author, who claims that he has managed to restore to 'sciences sociales leur fonction critique des croyances spontanées et des illusions que les sociétés et les individus se font sur eux-mêmes, critique aussi des théories savantes qui ne prennent pas au sérieux ces croyances ou n'en rendent pas compte' (p. 152).

The second section is an analysis of how objects become substitutes for men and gods, using the example of the Baruya of New Guinea, with whom the author carried out fieldwork. The last third of this section tries to situate societies with potlatch in their historical context. The addition of a judicious selection of all the recent Pacific ethnology relevant to the question makes this section especially interesting reading.

The essay on the sacred which forms the third section tries to show, in opposition to Durkheim, that the holy, the sacred, is defined by a type of relationship between men and the origin of things in which the men disappear to be replaced by their doubles, imaginary men who re-endow them with their own customs, laws, etc., which have been sacralized. In the final chapter, Godelier illustrates by way of comparison what these origins might be and how necessary they are to fix the identity of individuals and societies in time. This provides him with an opportunity for a brief *aperçu* on the displacement of religion by politics in contemporary France.

The impressive number of new publications that have appeared since Malinowski's early work on the *kula* rings of the Trobriand Islands gives the author abundant new data to work with. Godelier's background in philosophy keeps the exposition both clear and sufficiently abstract to enable those not especially versed in Melanesian ethnography to follow without any difficulty. An English translation would have the merit of putting this book in the hands of undergraduates, who would find that it covered a great deal of ground very coherently. The author's interests in gifts one cannot reciprocate, in debts one cannot begin to repay, will probably not end with this volume, and it will be interesting to see what he uncovers next: as he has shown here, downstream from unrepayable gifts lies the origin of money, another precious object

which has ceased to be both alienable and inalienable. This is a rich vein for comparative historical anthropology.

STEPHEN C. HEADLEY

ERIC HIRSCH and MICHAEL O'HANLON, *The Anthropology of Landscape*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1995. xi, 268 pp., References, Index. £35.00/£14.99.

This edited volume deals directly with the concept of landscape, exploring ways in which it can elucidate various aspects of anthropology. Hirsch's introduction describes the shift from the art-historical use of the term to the much denser and more productive concept of landscape which is now proving so useful in anthropological discourse concerned with human-environment relations. Many of the essays in the book deal with an idealized representational landscape as a 'background' to the 'foreground' of a more immediate lived existence and the interaction between them. In this way, landscape is framed as a cultural process, offering a more dynamic vision of human adaptation and permitting useful cross-cultural comparisons to be made.

The introduction also deals briefly with the complex issue of how concepts of 'nature' mesh with those of 'landscape'. Hirsch outlines the historical progression of both strands of ideas and the factors underlying the particularly Western objectification of the land through various forms of representation. Nicholas Green's chapter provides an example of this progression and of the part that painting played in encouraging a more 'aesthetic' vision of the rural landscape in nineteenth-century France. Green finds some useful common ground between art historians' definitions of spatial/perceptual relations and theoretical perspectives on these issues in anthropology and geography. However, he suggests that a major obstacle to greater congruence is the continued acceptance of a separation between a definable physical reality and representational forms, an assumption which not only permeates historical analyses but is of course integral to the development of landscape painting. As Green notes, this rather static form of objectification has led to the dominance of inherently ethnocentric and value-laden aesthetic criteria and does not encompass a more dynamic view of environmental interaction as renegotiated and re-evaluated through representation. Focusing on the progression towards pictorial techniques which have encouraged a more objectifying vision of landscape and the reification of particular ways of experiencing nature, Green is able to repudiate the more conventional view of art as text and connect his analysis with a more anthropological acknowledgement of a dialectic between experience and representation.

The vision of a dynamic human-environmental interaction is central to Peter Gow's chapter on Amazonia, in which he examines an engagement between people and land which is so densely mediated that it makes more 'distanced' forms of representation redundant. In describing the various dimensions of this engagement, Gow highlights the spatial and temporal complexity of relations with land and notes how continuity is

provided by particular cultural forms, such as the conflation of ideas of kinship and land and the location of spiritual beings in the landscape.

Maurice Bloch, in his chapter, similarly focuses on the temporal continuity provided by the location of human identity in the land. Observing his informants' desire to 'make a mark', Bloch explores Zafiminy aesthetics and their influence on the various symbolic and physical transformations of the landscape in the spatial ordering of houses and megaliths.

Identity is also a key theme in Christopher Pinney's analysis of popular Indian representations of landscape. These, he suggests, provide a medium in which the conflicting values of traditional folk models of the past and aspirations towards a modern national identity are negotiated. The issue of national identity is developed in a somewhat different way by Tom Selwyn, who presents landscape as a 'potent metaphor' in the creation of modern Israel and its concepts of what is internal and external to that identity. Relations with (and representations of) the land encompass several key themes: modern political nationalism, with its themes of liberation and redemption; and visions of the 'nature' which, in the late twentieth century, resanctify the land and underline the more traditional aspects of Jewish identity. Despite this 'sanctification' of the landscape, however, human agency remains paramount.

This is not the case in Caroline Humphrey's description of relations with land in Mongolia, where 'chiefly' and 'shamanistic' landscapes offer a range of political and religious potentialities. The landscape and its representations permit an articulation between two complementary interactions with the land: the chiefly patrilineal that are conventional in Mongol political organization, and the more lateral and diverse shamanistic agency supported by the myriad spiritual energies of nature. Implicit in the analysis is the issue of gender and the 'masculine' and 'feminine' ideals associated with these interactions with the land.

A dialectic between concepts of 'inside' and 'outside' recurs in Christine Toren's analysis of Fijian landscapes, in which narrative forms enable a cohesion between the ancestral *mana* held within the land and the wider spatio-temporal frame imposed by colonial Christianity. Toren notes that Fijian identity is intensely rooted in the land, to the extent that 'people are the land's very substance' (p. 164), but the dynamic nature of this relationship nevertheless permits the encompassment of 'outside' practices and beliefs.

Few relationships with the land are as intimate as that of the Yolngu of Australia, whose use of land is described by Howard Morphy. In contrast to the more 'objectified' European landscapes, the Yolngu 'totemic landscape' provides a central medium for all socio-cultural forms: social and spatial organization, cosmological beliefs and practices, moral order, and the economic management of a people and resources. As Morphy points out (p. 186), the ancestral past is 'part of the core structure of Aboriginal society' and, being held within the land, ensures that the landscape is integral to the intergenerational transmission of social forms. Morphy presents a triadic relationship between individual, ancestral past and present world, in doing so focusing on the wider question of structure and action, and the interaction between 'dreaming' and the reproduction of Aboriginal society.

In his chapter about the Western Desert of Australia, Robert Layton notes considerable differences in relations with land. Flexibility and fluidity are key adaptive mech-

anisms in this ecologically much harsher region. Nevertheless, the landscape is still the major repository of meaning, and people inhabit both land and myth to the extent that neither can readily be internalized as objective categories. In stressing this internal dynamic and the particular discourse through which it is represented, Layton underlines the land as cultural process.

In the final chapter of the book, Alfred Gell explores language and landscape, arguing that there is a definable relationship between the cultural factors shaping certain languages and the particular languages in which they are spoken. Gell illustrates this argument through an examination of Umeda oral representations of landscape in the forests of New Guinea, where, he suggests, a poetic form of language has been maintained because 'the primary forest environment imposes a reorganization of sensibility...which gives pride of place to the auditory sense' (p. 235). Gell's unapologetically environmentally deterministic view of ethno-poetics allows the book to conclude on an important point, namely that cultural theories, rather than being centred on 'absolutes and essences', need to be anchored in the specifics of location, technology and life-style.

The many different 'landscapes' described in this thoughtfully organized, complex and well-written collection of essays illustrate the critical part landscape plays in considering even the most abstract theoretical debates. The book is therefore also a useful journey to some of the important issues in the cultural landscape of anthropology itself.

VERONICA STRANG

PETER RIGBY, *African Images: Racism and the End of Anthropology*, Oxford: Berg 1996. x, 118 pp. Appendix, Bibliography, Index. £24.95/£12.95.

Rigby, a professor of anthropology at Moi University, Kenya, offers a short examination of race and racism which serves as a much-needed critique of a contemporary Western rationalization of racism as an insidious ideology of oppression that, at least according to Rigby, has only been around as long as global capitalist expansion. The subtitle is a subtle play on words which ominously invokes the demise of a discipline charged with aiding the propagation of racist ideas, especially about Africa and Africans, as well as calls for a redirection in the express purpose or chief 'end' of anthropology to address the hegemonic use of race through an overtly Marxist marriage of theory and practice.

The first of three parts of Rigby's book deals with the historical construction of race and some theorizing about its ideological roots. Rigby begins with a thorough critique of James Q. Wilson, a contemporary intellectual who has written much on the issue of poverty and race in the United States. Wilson uses the Victorian era as his base line of social normality, crediting contemporary social ills to the decline of moral habituation which is most noticeable among the Black urban poor in the USA. Rigby criticizes Wilson's view as ignorant not only of the affects of contemporary racist politics, but also of the large-scale oppression of colonized people during the Victorian

era. This critique leads to an analysis of that era, and the rapid growth of capitalism which preceded and sustained it, as the seed-bed of racism as an ideology of oppression. Positioning Haiti as the quintessential case-study in the global rationalization of racism, Rigby convincingly argues that racism was not only invented by capitalism, it was desperately needed in order to rationalize the large-scale subjugation of populations to satisfy the demand for labour. Haiti, the first independent 'Black Republic' in the western hemisphere, became the whipping-boy of colonial powers in what Rigby views as a desperate attempt to maintain the hierarchical division of races.

In the first part, Rigby goes on to detail the emergence of race as a concept and racism as the implementation of that concept in a hegemonic agenda linked to capitalist expansion. Citing the early expositors of 'race' and the division of sub-species of humans, Rigby highlights the correspondences between the explicitly offensive language of early socio-biological writing and the more subtle claims of contemporary research. Focusing on the theory of r/K selection, Rigby demonstrates the propensity of modern research to apply the inter-species continuum of evolutionary advancement to an intra-species comparison of Oriental, White and Black humans (usually in that descending order). He concludes that the maintenance of racist ideology in social science, political theory and social policy is due in part to a contemporary insecurity within the 'capitalist class' which inspires a need to rationalize oppression in a way similar to that found in the nineteenth century. In his own words, 'it is *only* in social formations in which knowledge is trapped by assumptions of the autonomous individual subject so characteristic of bourgeois capitalism that such a scientific racism and devaluation...of the "Black Other" can come about' (p. 39).

The second part of Rigby's work focuses more specifically on the role of anthropology in this critique of racism and, by implication, capitalism. Rigby claims the question is not merely: 'What was anthropology's role in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' phase of racist and imperialist ideology', but also: 'What is anthropology's role *now* in either promoting or combating racist thinking and practices?' (p. 54). Rigby's answers to these questions are clear and indicting. For Rigby, anthropology as an early science participated in the construction of racial myths which contributed to the hegemonic agenda of colonial and capitalist powers: it therefore, must be held '*politically responsible*' (p. 70). His treatment of anthropology's role today concludes that it has not gone far enough in its critique of the persistence of imperialism, especially as it affects its own presuppositions. Citing recent ethnographic work among the Maasai by Western anthropologists, Rigby decries the lack of a critical, reflexive theorization of indigenous epistemologies.

The final part of Rigby's book, the 'theoretical coda', addresses what he views as anthropology's political responsibility to combat racism. Rigby argues for a Marxist anthropology as the only viable means to this end, citing three levels on which its praxis must be manifest: (1) an 'objective' contextualization of societies or communities under study; (2) a critical theory of the production of knowledge; and (3) 'the political praxis which combines the first two with heightened awareness and political mobilization' (p. 97).

If nothing else, Rigby's compact analysis of Western intellectualism and its construction of race and racism serves as a shining example of the ethnographic 'Other' turning the pen on the imperialist in a well-researched and insightfully reasoned

critique of Western thought. Rigby perhaps overstates his case that non-capitalist societies, which exemplify 'fully dialectical forms of knowledge', simply cannot produce racism or the devaluation of the 'Black Other' (p. 39-40). The devaluation of certain socially defined groups is not the sole provenance of bourgeois capitalism, whether the justification be regarded as racial, religious or any other socially constructed distinction. In fairness, Rigby is dealing specifically with social division based on race, and his analysis of its historical development remains convincing and thought-provoking. However, his rallying cry for anthropologists to embrace a Marxist *political* agenda in the struggle against racism undervalues other approaches to the issue which could prove equally, if not more, effective. Although he criticizes such 'bourgeois problematics' (p. 97) as post-modernist discourse and interpretative anthropology, these modes of thought have done much to move anthropology and other disciplines into a position to criticize racism. Moreover, Rigby's claim that 'class analysis remains the work of a few dedicated but increasingly isolated anthropologists' seems also to overstate the case. Class analysis dominates the anthropological literature of Latin America and the Caribbean on which much of Rigby's research focuses as exemplified in the work of Peter Wilson, Philippe Bourgois and Eric Wolf, the latter of whom was recently elected to the Academy of Sciences in the United States. These overstatements are perhaps forgivable if one recognizes the undeniable need for a concerted effort in social science to redress its participation in the construction of racial categories through a sustained critique of its use as a justification for ideological oppression. This is Rigby's point, and it is a point well taken.

RUSSELL LEIGH SHARMAN

FISCHER, MICHAEL D., *Applications in Computing for Social Anthropologists* (ASA Research Methods in Social Anthropology), London: Routledge 1994. 233 pp. Bibliography, Index. £37.50/£13.99.

This is a challenging attempt to write an impossible book. I have found it instructive to read and to work out why I find so much of it so misguided. To explain why this is so leads to some broad reflections about the relation of computers and other technology to anthropology. I hasten to add that the problems I shall outline are broad ones, and no fault lies at the feet of Fischer himself. The book is written with endearing touches of humour, although a reader without much computing knowledge would be daunted by the terminology used in some sections. This betrays an uncertainty about the intended reader, a point to which I return below. Fischer's stated principles (pp. 64-5) are such that we can only agree:

Our most important goal in using computers as a tool of research must be to do better anthropology and not simply more. If you are satisfied with the state of ethnographic research, there is little purpose for introducing the additional cost and time for learning. The best way to introduce computing into our research is to first

replicate what we have done before, but greater benefits will come when computers are used to do things we could not do before, not only for the amount of time these would have involved but because these could not easily have been conceptualized prior to the opportunities the computer as a tool can facilitate.

It is likely that the earlier chapters will be of the greatest interest to most readers. After giving some background, Fischer outlines basic ideas about the sorts of ways that computers can be used by social anthropologists: to manage and help analyse field data in all its manifold forms. Hence he covers processing fieldnotes and the use of graphics and video before continuing to tackle the issue of kinship data, which is taken as an example of the way that building a model that a computer can understand both obliges one to be clear and rigorous (qualities increasingly rare in anthropology) as well as providing a means of checking the analysis by comparing the model with the 'reality observed'. I should note that the inverted commas of the last phrase hold good no matter what stance one takes to the social construction of reality (which itself is a subject suitable for computer-assisted research). The final chapter looks at the way that 'expert-systems' can provide models of social processes and systems such as the way that marriage choices are made (to take Fischer's example).

Michael Fischer was a professional programmer before becoming an anthropologist. Such changes are not uncommon in a discipline that celebrates heterodoxy. Leach trained as an engineer, Fortes was a psychologist. Unlike these exalted predecessors, Fischer—in this book, if not in his other publications—risks the charge of evangelism. Are computers the answer to many (any?) anthropological problems? The problems that they certainly can answer are those problems that are common to all academics and researchers. It is reasonable to charge anyone attempting to write seriously entirely in longhand of being foolhardy, if not downright unprofessional, to neglect word-processors. Similarly, to manage bibliographies on file cards is foolhardy when bibliographic management programmes both do it better and allow both searching among the items of a bibliography and the (relatively) painless generation of consistently formatted bibliographies. Unfortunately, Fischer, for all the best reasons, attempts to consider only specifically anthropological computer applications. He therefore scarcely mentions bibliographic management, for all the constant niggles it poses (in the absence of computers) for routine anthropological work.

Still more curious is the omission of any mention of dealing with phonetic characters and 'non-standard' alphabets. I suspect that this may be because the problems have been solved. But although there are now standard and easily accessible solutions, people still need to be told that for users of MS Windows and Macintoshes at least it is easy to use IPA, Arabic or other character sets. Once installed in the system, the fonts are available in any application—be it word-processor, database or drawing programme. For anthropologists this is a small revolution, but one that should be celebrated rather than ignored. It is probably more of interest to 'mainstream' anthropologists (however that is understood) than some of the topics discussed by Fischer.

A final omission is a discussion of the Data Protection Act and other similar legislation elsewhere, although it is alluded to once (on p. 62). The application of the Data Protection Act to anthropological data is one of the great undiscussed minefields

that may beset British social anthropology. A research methods primer such as this should have been the place to enter into such issues.

My greatest concern lies in Fischer's belief that it would be a good thing for anthropologists personally to know how to do computing programming—indeed, that in order to use computers efficiently we should be, in part, programmers. For example, on page 57 he quotes with approval the view that 'Writing software and not just being a consumer of software is feasible and necessary if the full potential of the microcomputer for anthropological research is to be realized'. The same sentiment is endorsed later in the book, at p. 147. However, when discussing the details of handling genealogical data and the problems of making computers draw genealogical diagrams, he often talks of anthropologists and their 'programming partners'. Even this position, in which anthropologists are seen to collaborate closely with programmers, will be off-putting to many technophobic anthropologists. Sadly, I fear that as long as attitudes such as Fischer's prevail, computing will remain marginal to most anthropologists—at least in the UK, where professional innumeracy and technophobia appears to be the norm. Be that as it may, Fischer in these passages reveals an attitude to computer use that I disagree with. 'Programmers program, anthropologists anthropologize' sums up my own position. The use of computers, just like the use of cameras, requires us to use a technology and to gain a certain competence in it. The anthropological use of photography does not require that we must develop and print our photographs, although some background knowledge about the processes could be very helpful if not essential (on the other hand I would agree that knowledge of the ideological background to photographs and computers *is* essential).

Returning to computers, I would encourage anthropologists to use them to their limits: customise remorselessly, turn the instructions on their head, learn the use of scripting and macro programs by all means—but draw the line at programming (in its (increasingly old-fashioned) meaning of the use of specialised and highly formalised languages to create applications from scratch). Quite simply, it is time wasted. If you really cannot find an existing application to do what you want it is better to do more searching: send electronic mail to discussion lists, ask a wide variety of people, or even as a last resort find a tame computer programmer—rather than try and learn to programme oneself. Fischer is misled by his background. Since he trained first in computer science it is easy for him to solve a problem by recourse to programming. For the rest of us, the time is better spent doing anthropology. Lest this be taken as endorsing a technophobic position, let me reiterate my enthusiasm for portable word processors with auto-delete facilities (such as pencils) and other innovative technologies that can help us do more research better, and types of research that we could barely conceive but scarcely realise. The micro-analysis of conversation is the clearest example of the latter. Without a form of voice recording, conversational analysis is simply impossible. Malinowski had to record texts by having them dictated to him slowly for immediate transcription. This considerably affected the material he was able to record and to analyse. Once upon a time, people sketched ideas in wax before transferring them to a more permanent medium (recall the view that Herodotus is among the first anthropologists). Technologies, as they become available, can open new possibilities in research—photography, sound, and now video recording are clear examples. Computers, oddly, are not so easily accommodated in this sort of techno-

logical determinism. The results of research can be better presented—the standard of presentation of recent doctorates has improved whatever one may think about their intellectual merit. Examiners reflect this by being less tolerant of mistakes in spelling and bibliography. But has research itself—the questions asked and the sorts of answers admitted—have these been changed by the use of computers? Personally, I would venture a hesitant yes, but it is far from clear-cut. The case is best put in the context of simulations, which are discussed in Fischer's final chapter. Computer simulations allow us to consider the complex interactions between (for example) demography and marriage preferences and the kinship structures that result. For all that the ethnographic record presents us with a 'natural laboratory', simulation permits the systematic alteration of variables and helps understand some of the patterns seen on the ground. Sociological and historical questions may then be attempted to explain the rest of the pattern. Other than that, we enter too vague an area between quality and quantity. Computers can enable us to deal consistently and systematically with a wider scope than before. Quite simply, we can analyse more cases. Most of the analysis that Fischer discusses can, as he admits, be performed by hand. But performing the calculations and sorting on paper (using what Fischer calls CBIT—Cellulose Based Information Technology (p. 71)) imposes practical limits of size and complexity of data. The use of computers changes those limits and allows new scales of analysis that permit quite new questions—one can be demonstrably systematic in consideration of a wider range of material. That is, I believe, an unquestionably good thing. Furthermore, as Fischer himself points out (p. 137), 'A clear conceptual model of the material is necessary for any analysis traditionally or computer based. The first step in computer-assisted analysis is a clear development of the structural scheme we apply to a body of data.'

This book covers some of the same ground as the collection edited by Margaret Boone and John Wood (*Computer Applications for Social Anthropologists*, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth 1992). The latter book contains essays that touch on computers in a variety of ways, ranging from the social anthropological study of the introduction of computers in an office, to kinship and the use of expert systems. Now although there is a strong case to be made for anthropological studies of offices and other such institutions, there is nothing intrinsically different about the introduction of computers. Any social historian can cite plenty of cases of social change (at the small scale at the very least) following the introduction of new technology. Unlike Fischer, the contributors go into detail about the use of existing applications, some of which already seem 'old hat'. To avoid just that problem Fischer restricts himself to discussions of anthropological types of problem and the types of solution that are possible. Hardware and the software for it change too fast for a printed book to remain current. As a solution one can connect via networks to electronic discussion lists and bulletin boards such as are maintained at the University of Kent, Canterbury. At the end of the book (p. 212) there is mention of this, and Fischer says that reviews of current technology can be found there. Instructions for connection are given. In mid-April 1994, shortly after the book was published, I followed these instructions and successfully connected (using FTP) to the Kent anthropology server. Unfortunately, the directory 'reviews' mentioned in Fischer's book was not there. Connecting to the same server using a different protocol (Gopher) revealed the directory in question, but it contained no reviews. By September 1995 the main server had changed to using the WWW protocol, and there was a lot more content, including listings of programmes that could be obtained from

Kent. There was no listing, however, of the reviews such as Boone and Wood, or the more recent work by M. B. Miles and E. A. Weitzman (*Computer Programs for Qualitative Data Analysis*, London: Sage 1995). The danger is that by writing something that will not go out of date in the way that these latter references surely will, Fischer has failed to give enough guidance to interested readers. Readers who are happy using newsgroups and WWW will be able to locate the information, but already only the converted will hear the message. The challenge for a computer enthusiast lies in setting up a service or making something work (more or less). Maintaining a service once it has been established, and ensuring that there is content within the structure, is a more routine challenge of a different type to those that Michael Fischer finds attractive. As this example shows, *both* must be addressed for a satisfactory result to be achieved.

DAVID ZEITLYN

BORN, G. *Rationalizing Culture: IRCAM, Boulez, and the Institutionalization of the Musical Avant-Garde*, London: University of California Press 1995. xv, 390 pp. £45.00/ £14.95.

Born's preface rehearses her own musicological autobiography—which leads me to a not completely irrelevant autobiographical introduction: on Tuesday evenings in the late 1970s at the Fisher Hall in Cambridge, a variety of small bands used to play. One of my enduring memories from that time is of a concert by Henry Cow, during which Fred Frith, his trousers rolled above his knees, inflated a plastic duck and threw it at the audience. This legacy re-emerges at points of this book, and is a fragile link between this reviewer and Dr Born, for she is a practising member of the avant-garde contemporary music scene with links to Henry Cow as well as being an anthropologist. At times her 'other' identity as a bass guitarist became critical during her field research beneath the Pompidou centre at IRCAM—the centre for computer music research created by Pierre Boulez. Indeed, his charisma and the search for successors is an enduring theme of the ethnography. The parallels with the routinisation of millenarian movements showing the enduring relevance of Weber's analysis are lovingly explored. Boulez hates commercial music so those at IRCAM who, heretically, may have international reputations as, for example, free-form jazz players, funk record producers, or even rock bass guitar players, actively strive to hide, deny or play down these identities while 'in the office' or at least during working hours. The slow discovery that the ethnographer too had other musical identities was one of the steps to her acceptance by some of the IRCAM staff.

Working in such a small but internationally prominent community makes it hard to disguise informants. Boulez himself cannot be disguised and I suspect that anyone knowledgeable in computer music would quickly be able to identify the actors who Born refers to by initials only. But Born explores the individuals in order to transcend them—this is a resolutely anthropological analysis seeking to explore ways in which

larger socio-cultural themes constrain, influence and are constituted by the organization of a high-profile Cultural (with a capital C) institution based in the centre of a European capital city which prides itself on its artistic prowess.

Bourdieu and Foucault, together with ideas culled from Kleinian psychoanalysis, form the theoretical lynchpins of her analysis. She shows how notions of 'splitting' taken from Klein can help understand patterns of structured contrasts: the 'anti-discourse' of commercial music at IRCAM—it was the unspeakable, contrasting with the acknowledged enemy of postmodernism in contemporary 'serious' music, which was perceived as a rejection of the 'serialism' with which Boulez is firmly identified. In structuralist terms she contrasts A: -A with A: B, i.e. contraries vs. absolute difference.

With the theoretical position delimited we are introduced to the complexities of the ethnography of IRCAM. One of the delights of this book is the examination of the way that computer programmers revel in the particularities of their creations which are never finished and hence never documented. Only verbal introductions enable a neophyte to begin to use the software—so social mediation becomes a critical element in the use of these supposedly asocial machines. And with this goes social structure. Innovative hardware could only be used by 'God' (as Boulez was referred to by IRCAM staff) or his chosen ones. Those not in favour were messing around with small personal computers and synthesizers which were just becoming widely distributed in 1984, the year of the main fieldwork.

Born gives accounts of how the patterns of social relationship at IRCAM relates to patterns of computer use and development, which in turn relates to and is affected by wider issues. The role of a commercial firm in developing some IRCAM hardware is a good example—some IRCAM staff including those centrally involved in the project were opposed to the military involvement of the commercial partners so did not co-operate. The hardware has now been overtaken by other developments in music synthesis, and the project languishes.

The theoretical framework allows us to transcend the individuals involved to appreciate the patterns and interconnections between the cultural creation of High Art and social structure as well as between social relationships and the use of complex machines such as computers.

DAVID ZEITLYN

JEREMY MACCLANCY and CHRIS MACDONAUGH (eds.), *Popularizing Anthropology*, London and New York: Routledge 1996. xi, 244 pp., Index. £45.00/£14.99.

There has long been disquiet in academic anthropology at the idea of popularizing the subject, that is to say, at any manifestation of a desire to simplify in order to reach a wider audience, whether a general public desirous of cheap titillation or what might be called the interested, and generally quite positivist, layman. As Jeremy MacClancy points out in his substantial introduction to the present volume, this tendency was less marked in the nineteenth century than it has been in the post-Malinowskian period (this

despite the somewhat lurid titles Malinowski felt obliged to give his own monographs). The result has been to marginalize those anthropologists, like Margaret Mead in mid-century and Nigel Barley more recently, who have tailored the ways they write in order to reach a broader audience. The latter in particular is frequently accused of generating precisely the kinds of stereotype that mainstream anthropology regards it as its principal task to deconstruct and in many cases eradicate (these figures are dealt with respectively by William Mitchell and MacClancy). But there is still often no hard-and-fast line between the popular and the arcane. In her chapter, Wendy James discusses the pitfalls of negotiating this divide and the way shaky positions can be perpetuated by not doing so successfully. As Alan Campbell makes clear, this is aggravated by the fact that there is actually a certain market for the arcane itself, to which he traces much of the popularity of ostensible intellectual heavyweights like Pierre Bourdieu and Claude Lévi-Strauss. Although to Campbell they appear more as bantam-weights, their experience reminds us that evading popularity can be as difficult as seeking it. There are also plenty of figures who fall between the two extremes, such as Napoleon Chagnon and Marvin Harris, as well as others who have practically disappeared off the end, like Colin Turnbull and Carlos Casteneda.

One author of a more popular book, Philip Descola, is represented directly describing his reasons for and experience of writing *Les lances du crépuscule* (Paris: Plon 1994). Dominique Casajus, writing about the popular reception of Lévi-Strauss and Louis Dumont in France, reminds us that the situation is somewhat different there than in Britain or America, with even relatively recondite anthropological works being reviewed in French dailies (both chapters appear in McDonough's skilful translation). In other chapters, Joy Hendry traces the reception of Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (originally published in 1946), Jonathan Benthall writes about the genesis of *Anthropology Today* as a topical newsletter of the Royal Anthropological Institute (of which he is director), and Howard Morphy compares the work and reception of Bill Harney and Bruce Chatwin as popular writers on Australian Aborigines. Judith Okely addresses the gender issue, drawing attention not only to the conventional imbalance between female-dominated student bodies and male-dominated staff in anthropology but also the way in which the unguided anthropological work of a lay female can actually end up supporting a patriarchal model of the way Western society works. Finally, in his own essay, MacClancy compares the work of Laura Bohannan, Nigel Barley and Katy Gardner as writers concentrating on their own experiences of and reactions to fieldwork and to their informants, though they have little enough else in common. In sum, the book draws timely attention to the issue of popularization, which in the postmodern era is beginning to lose a lot of its taboos.

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