

## BOOK REVIEWS

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JOHN KNIGHT (ed.), *Natural Enemies: People-Wildlife Conflicts in Anthropological Perspective* (European Association of Social Anthropologists [Series]), London and New York: Routledge 2000. ix, 254 pp., References, Index, Notes, Tables. £15.99.

The title of this book, *Natural Enemies*, refers to the 'rivalry between humans and animals with respect to their material conditions of existence' (p. 6). Despite this, and much to their credit, its ten case-studies focus largely on the social and cultural dimensions of that rivalry. Written by anthropologists, these studies use approaches and engage with ideas current in the discipline to analyse conflicts between humans and wild predators and other pests in a variety of settings. The clarity and insight with which they do so make for stimulating reading, and the complexity of their analysis makes this a book with much to offer readers of varied backgrounds and interests. In highlighting important but often overlooked aspects of the conflict between humans and animals, it offers those interested in wildlife issues an insight into local perceptions of and responses to wild animals and exogenous conservation efforts that may challenge their most basic assumptions. It also suggests new directions in which they might look for the causes of and solutions to thorny conservation problems. For those interested in tensions between people, the book suggests a revealing new context in which to explore the social bases and cultural expression of conflict.

In his introduction to the volume, John Knight identifies several themes that weave through the case-studies and link them to more general trends in wildlife conservation and anthropology. In doing so, he lays a foundation for analysing conflicts between humans and wild animals from an anthropological point of view, and demonstrates the utility of such an approach. Five themes stand out. First, pestilence discourse and conservation discourse are social constructions rooted in the present. Secondly, they often oppose one another. Thirdly, wildlife threats have a symbolic dimension that can impede conservation efforts. Fourthly, people often morally specify the wild animals with which they come into contact. And finally, many conflicts between humans and animals are also conflicts between people, often between rural dwellers and urban dwellers or between local communities and encompassing nation states. This last theme pervades the book. Each of the case-studies presented examines the social bases of specific conflicts between humans and wild animals. Some of them reveal social divisions present in human conflicts with wildlife (Morris, Knight, Lindquist). Others reveal similar divisions in human conflicts over wildlife (Campbell, Knight, Lindquist, Marvin, Milton), or projected on to wildlife (Köhler, Richards, Rye, Song). And, as Song demonstrates in his analysis of an American pigeon shoot, human conflicts with wild animals can also serve to unify people.

Knight notes that people experience conflicts with wild animals both directly and indirectly. The case-studies support this observation by documenting instances in which people confront and try to mitigate wildlife threats, and instances in which they

experience them in cultural practices and performances removed in time and space from the threat itself. In doing so, the studies carefully distinguish and examine the relationship between wildlife pestilence as an objective phenomenon and wildlife pestilence as a subjective experience. Several authors take matters a step further and interrogate the relationship between pestilence discourse and conservation discourse. This proves an enlightening exercise. Not only does it highlight weaknesses in current approaches to managing conflicts between humans and wild animals, it suggests avenues for further research that may lead to more successful, sustainable, and mutually satisfying resolutions.

The studies in this volume show conflicts between humans and wild animals to be far more complicated—and far more interesting—than either pestilence or conservation discourse would suggest. Such conflicts are symbolically mediated, and have embedded within them wide-ranging, shifting, and often contradictory referents. This can make them exceedingly difficult to unravel and resolve, particularly for wildlife experts and others not accustomed to thinking in finely tuned social and cultural terms. It is here that the special expertise of anthropologists can be usefully exploited. As these studies demonstrate, not only can they reveal the ‘cultural character of “natural enemies”’ (p. 24), they can help trace the social, cultural, and ecological ramifications of conflicts between humans and wild animals. And it is here that anthropologists may find exciting new ground on which to explore questions of a more broadly theoretical nature.

DEBRA BUCHHOLTZ

PATRICIA L. CROWN (ed.), *Women & Men in the Prehispanic Southwest: Labor, Power, & Prestige* (School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series), Santa Fe: School of American Research Press / Oxford: James Currey 2000. xi, 503 pp., References, Indexes, Figures, Tables. £40.00/£16.95.

This volume has much to offer archaeologists, anthropologists, and others whose interests include gender, social differentiation, or the division of labor. It is the outcome of a 1997 School of American Research Advanced Seminar that brought nine archaeologists and one anthropologist together in an attempt to engender Southwestern archaeology. By pooling their effort and expertise, these scholars sought to understand how women’s and men’s work and their access to power and prestige changed as Southwestern societies moved from hunting and gathering to a more sedentary way of life in aggregated villages. They also sought to clarify how the division of labour and access to power and prestige impacted on women’s and men’s health, and affected people at different stages of the life cycle. *Women & Men in the Prehispanic Southwest* attests to the high level of success they achieved.

Working with data drawn mainly from the Mogollon, Hohokam, and Ancestral Pueblo areas, each of the archaeologists addressed a distinct set of questions. These focused on architecture and the organization of space (Hegmon *et al.*), ritual and ideology (Hays-Gilpin), social differentiation and prestige (Neitzel), foraging and farming

(Fish), animal use (Szuter), cuisine (Crown), health and labour (Martin), craft production (Mills), and exchange (Spielmann). Revised and meticulously referenced versions of their original papers appear as chapters in this volume. An introduction by Patricia Crown and concluding remarks by Louise Lamphere summarize and integrate their findings, and relate them to Southwestern archaeology and ethnology and to major currents in the study of gender.

The evidence they review in this volume indicates that gendered relations became increasingly differentiated over time. It does not, however, readily support generalizations about the later periods. Crown (p. 12) attributes this to the 'inherent ambiguity and "complexity" of gendered relations' rather than to gaps in the data or shortcomings in the analysis. Drawing on sociocultural theory, Lamphere describes an approach that may order and help make sense of the data and allow access to process in prehistory. This involves repositioning Ortner's usage of hegemony and counter-hegemony within a political-economy perspective. To demonstrate the potential of such an approach, she develops an analytical framework based on two models of gendered relations. These describe hegemonic practices and ideas found in the archaeological record for different times and places. Contained within each are elements of the other. These, she explains, are counter-hegemonic practices and ideas that contest or restrain the hegemony.

While thought-provoking, Lamphere's use of Ortner's ideas to interpret the evidence is exploratory rather than definitive. None the less, her argument is persuasive and the data fit her analytical framework well. But more than anything, her exercise in model-building demonstrates the value of collaboration across disciplinary lines. It also suggests new analytical tools and different lines of inquiry. These, however, are only a few of the many important contributions this volume has to make to archaeology, ethnology, and the study of gender, not the least of which is its huge bibliography.

In synthesizing such a large amount of data, this volume lays a firm foundation upon which we can begin to build a more intricate understanding of the relationship between gender and labour, power, and prestige. This applies not just to the pre-Hispanic Southwest but also to middle-range (or tribal) societies in general. By revealing the varied and changeable ways in which gendered relations were ordered in the region prior to Spanish contact, the book helps dispel long-held stereotypes derived from analogies with such well-known groups as the Zuni, Navajo, and Hopi. It also forces us to reconsider the impact that Spanish colonialism had on social relations across the Southwest. This brings us to one of the volume's most intriguing contributions. Although the authors of each of the substantive chapters offer probing insights, they ground their analyses in the data, which they describe in detail. This should enable us to expand our understanding of gender, social differentiation, and the division of labour across time and space by checking hypotheses and research questions formulated in other contexts—prehistoric, historic, or contemporary—against data from the Southwest.

DEBRA BUCHHOLTZ

KAREN O'REILLY, *The British on the Costa del Sol: Transnational Identities and Local Communities*, London and New York: Routledge 2000. x, 187 pp., Maps, Reference, Index.

This ethnography, largely consisting of interviews and discussion, concerns the experiences of British people living on the Costa del Sol, a topic that commonly appears in the media but not in anthropological discourse. In this work on a group that is difficult to define in terms of conventional migration studies, Karen O'Reilly draws on studies of transnationalism, ageing, social geography, and tourism to explain better the dynamics of these communities.

Chapter One discusses how the media in the United Kingdom have given British communities in Spain a certain notoriety, promoting images of retired pensioners and petty criminals primarily interested in socializing, drinking, and colonizing their communities into autonomous British enclaves. The media has also stressed the problems faced by a perceived elderly population with poor Spanish skills, little understanding of the Spanish health-care system, and no family in the inevitable time of need. Providing the scholarly research that would enable the confirmation or otherwise of such press accounts is the task that O'Reilly hopes to accomplish in *The British on the Costa del Sol*.

In Chapter Two we are introduced to Fuengirola, a Spanish coastal town 30 km west of Malaga where O'Reilly undertook her research. O'Reilly justifies the strong focus on interviewing and personal accounts of informants living here with the rationale that much may be learned about a population movement from the words of those migrating. Migrants explain why they moved, reasons that often and unsurprisingly include a desire to move to a sunnier place. Other reasons given are that Spain is safer, with less crime and a lower cost of living. Balancing individual narratives, however, is a discussion of historical and related factors that have influenced what appears to be a tourist movement turned residential.

Chapter Three addresses methods of migration research and their potential application to the case of the British in Spain. An important consideration for this study is that the characteristics of the group do not fit types within main trends: for example, definitions of migrant and tourist overlap. Supporting the findings of other migration scholars (e.g. C. Brettell, in C. Brettell, and J. Hollifield (eds), *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, New York: Routledge 2000), O'Reilly identifies the difficulty of employing methods that characterize many earlier migration studies, such as a focus on push-pull factors and quantified data such as population estimates. In the case of the British in Spain, population estimates are difficult to acquire because of the high degree of mobility and lack of systematic registration of newcomers. This problem is related to that of migration scholars who face the task of quantifying illegally migrating populations who are equally undocumented, and O'Reilly further advances the case for a qualitative understanding rather than a highly inaccurate quantitative assessment.

Chapter Five is devoted to the topics of ethnicity and identity, recalling the media's portrayal of the group as being very poorly integrated into Spanish society and possessing a 'colonial' mentality of recreating England. Her interviews illustrate repeatedly that many British do not identify with the Spanish, but at the same time

neither do they identify with the British at home. Rather, they are a minority that identifies with others of the same background who have moved to this area of Spain seeking similar experiences and ways of life. Addressing the 'we' versus the 'other' ethnic mentality, O'Reilly finds that the British community of Fuengirola identifies strongly with the 'we', but is not necessarily concerned with asserting differences from the 'other', i.e. Spaniards. She finds Floyd Anthias's distinction between *ethnicity* and *ethnic identity* helpful, the former term involving more of a struggle and establishment of boundaries than the latter, which more resembles the situation of the British in Spain.

Chapter Six challenges conventional terms like 'enclave', 'ghetto', 'migrant', and 'expatriate', all of which, according to O'Reilly, have been used inaccurately to describe this group. Using the term 'community' instead, she describes the system of networks and informal exchange activities and the pervading 'ethos of leisure and commitment' that characterizes this community (p. 138).

A strength of *The British on the Costa del Sol* is its foundation in a long-term study of more than a year. This is implicit in her juxtaposition of media accounts with conflicting fieldwork data. The *participant* aspect of O'Reilly's role as a participant observer in the community of Fuengirola is reflected in the trust of her informants and the quality of the published interviews, exchanges that would not have been possible without strong and ongoing relationships. The advantage of fieldwork is evident in the way she was able to draw out, over time, the diversity of experience and complexity of population composition missing in so many media accounts that present the British living on the Costa del Sol as uniformly elderly or criminal. Presented with a complexity of blurred definitions, and lacking previous models to draw from, O'Reilly took a necessarily interdisciplinary approach, resulting in a fuller and more complex account of the who, what, where, why, and how of the British on the Costa del Sol.

HANNAH E. GILL

HOWARD L. HARROD, *The Animals Came Dancing: Native American Sacred Ecology and Animal Kinship*, Tucson: The University of Arizona Press 2000. 170 pp., Map, Notes, Bibliography, Index. No price given.

This is a thoughtful volume on a topic relating to several discourses within anthropology: religion and cosmology, hunter-gatherers, and the anthropology of landscape. Howard L. Harrod has combed the classic ethnographies of the northern Plains, particularly for the Blackfoot, for material with which to understand how northern Plains hunters saw their relationship with the animals they hunted. He shows that within these particular Native American societies, concepts of animals were framed within paradigms of kinship that were at once social and sacred, and which therefore cast predator-prey relations in rather different terms to those understood by hunters in other societies.

Harrod brings together, and sensitively analyses, several genres of traditional Native American stories that encapsulated and transmitted core beliefs and world

views: creation stories, in which pre-human primal animals assist in the creation of humans; stories that emphasize the essential gift of animals to humans as food; stories about kinship with animals, including human obligations to show respect and ritual grief on killing them, and the possibility of transformation from animal to human form and vice versa. Another chapter explores northern Plains ritual traditions that articulated values and beliefs encoded in these stories. Harrod goes on to compare and contrast these relationships to understandings of animals in twenty-first-century non-Native American society, underscoring the shallowness of these in contrast to historic Native concepts. He acknowledges, however, that non-Native Americans are in many cases actively constructing alternative and deeply meaningful understandings of animals.

This book would serve as a fine introduction to topics that are central to understanding much about hunter-gatherers both historically and today. It is, however, severely limited by the nature of the data Harrod has used. There is a wealth of ethnographic texts from the early twentieth century available for the northern Plains, and Harrod has used these in conjunction with a broad range of comparative material. He has not used the equally rich, equally problematic (in terms of bias) and equally large corpus of primary historical documents produced in the nineteenth century by fur traders, missionaries, Indian agents, early settlers, and travellers.

Nor has he taken much at all from two works which seem to relate very closely to this: Robert Brightman's *Grateful Prey: Rock Cree Human-Animal Relationships* (Berkeley, 1993; cited, but not much used in the text), which explores in much greater localized detail and more completely across time the same topic for a more northerly group; and Robert Hall's *An Archaeology of the Soul: North American Indian Belief and Ritual* (Urbana, Ill., 1997), which bravely (and, by and large, successfully) attempts to link archaeological and ethnographic evidence about Native American belief systems. Either of these would have given a greater time-depth to Harrod's work, which does not deal sufficiently with the fact that these 'traditional' beliefs as found in ethnographies were recorded during a time of very rapid change, after a long period of historical turmoil. Consideration of Brightman's work would also have added a localized anchor to what often seems like a geographically broad and culturally diffuse understanding of human-animal relations reconstructed by Harrod.

These caveats aside, the book is an excellent introduction to these rich and complex topics. Understanding its poetic title alone—the image of animals dancing out of the primordial waters into this world, remembered in feasts held by their human kin whom they came to feed—goes a long way toward conveying the richly layered understanding of the relationships Harrod explores.

LAURA PEERS

ELIZABETH EDWARDS, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Materializing Culture Series), Oxford and New York: Berg 2001, xiii, 270 pp., Bibliography, Index, Photographs. £42.99/£14.99.

In *Raw Histories*, Elizabeth Edwards examines anthropological photographs, through a series of case studies, as rich historical sources throughout their 'life histories', before and within museums and archives. Here, the seemingly straightforward meanings of photographs as images of a people or place at a particular time may fracture to produce many, potentially more ambiguous meanings, and thus elucidate, and contribute to, particular 'multiple, contested and contesting histories' (p. 22).

The introduction to the book delineates the theoretical background to Edwards's work and the potential for photographs, as active tools 'to think with', to disturb overarching narrative frameworks. Photographs, with their apparent truth value, thus become opportunities for an examination of alternative histories and a deeper understanding of particular cultural contexts, both western and non-western. However, it is clear that photographs are more than just images, and Edwards adds to an understanding of their meanings by discussing them as objects in themselves, whose exchange and presence in archives and collections have themselves contributed to anthropological theory. Finally in this chapter, she examines the performative element of photography, in the nature of the frame, the actual taking of the photograph and, on occasions, performance within the image itself.

Having outlined the potential for photographs to participate in multiple histories, Edwards then uses a series of case-studies, mainly from the Pacific, to illustrate and expand upon this theoretical foundation. The remainder of the book is thus divided into three sections: 'Notes from the Archive', 'Historical Inscriptions', and 'Reworkings', with a brief epilogue. In 'Notes from the Archive', Edwards first examines the exchange and collection of photographs and their contribution to British anthropological knowledge in the nineteenth century, particularly, in the activities of E. B. Tylor, Henry Balfour, and A. C. Haddon, as an initially valued means of provisioning data for anthropological interpretation that became marginalized as a product of fieldwork, as the discipline, and ideas about its constitution, developed. The second chapter in this section is a discussion of photographs of ethnographic objects as museum specimens, which are still today often regarded at face value. Here, the emphasis is on style and representational context, and on their influence not only on the perception of objects, but also on the perception of the peoples from whom they originated. The parallels between photographs and late nineteenth-century methods of display also illustrate the colonial aspect and essentializing nature of the arrangements of objects for viewing.

'Historical Inscriptions' deals with four sets of photographs that have either been produced through anthropological fieldwork or integrated into anthropological theory. An analysis of Diamond Jenness's photographs of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands demonstrates some of the kinds of historical information that a careful study of photographs may yield, as well as elucidating the role of fieldwork in early twentieth-century anthropology and stimulating contemporary memories and very different histories when reinserted into the D'Entrecasteaux context today. The Samoan photographs of W. Acland, comprehensible at a superficial level as documents of colonialism, are understood to tell several different stories, of which colonial power is only one, with a

Samoan presence that is far more forceful than might have initially been thought. The images gathered together in T. H. Huxley's attempts to compile a photographic record of the world's races similarly demonstrate the fact that colonial power has not always been as monolithic as has been assumed, while the re-enactments of Torres Strait Islanders captured in Haddon's photographs further demonstrate the slippage between reality and re-creation, performance and history, science and theatre. Finally, 'Reworkings' is a discussion of contemporary uses of photography within the museum, both by museum curators and by photographers themselves, and again provides evidence of the potential polysemy of photographs, whether used consciously or unconsciously, as sites in which histories may be reinterpreted and new meanings suggested through the creative use of historic images.

This is a rich and complex book, brought alive by the clear case-studies used and deserving of several readings. It will be invaluable and stimulating to those interested in visual anthropology and in the history (and indeed potential histories) of anthropology and photography. Occasionally, the dense language and ease of the author with the theoretical frameworks within which she works may make the book a little less accessible for those with only a limited familiarity with theories of photography and representation. Nevertheless, it is an excellent work, and one which will no doubt become required reading for students of these disciplines.

CLAIRE WARRIOR

GAYNOR KAVANAGH, *Dream Spaces: Memory and the Museum*, London and New York: Leicester University Press 2000. viii, 200 pp., Plates, Bibliography, Indexes. £45.00/£16.99.

Gaynor Kavanagh's latest exploration of the relationship between museums and social histories is an attempt to draw together work from diverse fields, such as psychology, social gerontology, historiography, and museology, to discuss the intersection between memory and the museum. The central concept is Sheldon Annis's notion of the 'dream space', 'a field of subrational image formation', which, in the museum context, entails interaction between objects, the imagination, emotions, the senses and, in particular, memory. This interaction occurs not only on museum visits, but also in the recording of oral history and other forms of outreach work, where memory may be used as both a product and a process, to the benefit of the museum and project participants. Thus, Kavanagh emphasizes the need for museums to engage with those whose histories they encapsulate, through carefully thought-out oral history and reminiscence projects, and to probe relationships between the past and the present as a means of communicating and responsibly representing the widest audience possible.

The first chapter of the book outlines these key concepts, while the second and third present an examination of the different types of memory and the contexts in which they are applicable, noting that what is forgotten may be as important as what is remembered, and stressing the extent to which memories and emotions may contribute to individual identities throughout our lives. Kavanagh notes the ways in which objects



and collections have long been used by people to arouse memories, contain emotions, and stimulate connections with the past, but adds that the ways in which an individual engages with memory will change throughout his or her lifetime. Thus, she proceeds to discuss how memories may contribute to a child's developing sense of self, allow inter-generational communication, and provide therapeutic psychological benefits for adults, offering a reminder for those who work with memory and the past that very personal elements may be involved.

Having discussed the links between individuals, memory, and life history, Kavanagh continues by explicating more fully the ways in which oral culture, including folklore and localized customs, has survived the spread of literacy in European cultures. She delineates the need for historians to look away from more traditional sources to explore the appropriateness and usefulness of oral history, also demonstrating the ways in which it has increasingly been recognized as a valuable tool, in both the discipline of history and history museums, specifically through the development of recordings of oral tradition and the different forms of oral testimony that have increasingly become integrated into museum functions. The following chapters, on working with oral testimony and interviewing, are useful expositions of method and are thought-provoking on the processes of collecting testimonies, the importance of each interviewer-informant relationship, the need to listen, and the ethics that are inevitably involved. This collecting of words may then be combined with collections of objects, as Kavanagh shows occurs increasingly, to create and re-create webs of meaning about both general socio-economic themes and particular individual life-histories. For older adults in particular, she argues, the work of reminiscing with objects can be a means not only of stimulating individual memories, but also of reinforcing perceptions of identity and emphasizing the values of diverse lived experiences, stimulating the senses and developing a sense of inclusion. In this way both museums and individual participants are rewarded, although the potentially traumatic nature of remembering what has carefully been forgotten should not be dismissed.

In the final chapters of the book, Kavanagh's attention moves from the wider community back into the museum in order to discuss the ways in which museum visits and encounters with specific objects may widen an individual's experience of the world for a multitude of unpredictable reasons, whether to do with personal resonances, aesthetics, or emotions. Finally, she concludes by examining the potentials that this intersection between people and the past may provide—in particular, that an appreciation of the mediatory role of museums between history and memory, between people and their pasts, objects, senses, and experience, may be one of the most powerful roles that museums possess.

This book is a timely reminder of the responsibilities a museum has to its audience and its community. It argues clearly that museums are, and should be thought to be, about people rather than being mere repositories for objects, and that objects themselves may be perceived not just as they are described on their labels but in wider social and personal contexts. Perhaps such conclusions are unsurprising for those working within the field of museum ethnography, for whom 'social biographies' of objects, the memories and emotions stimulated by issues such as repatriation, and collaborative projects using both material culture and photographs are becoming increasingly the norm. Nevertheless, Kavanagh's call for museums to appreciate better the potential

ramifications of work with oral history and testimony is timely, and the wide variety of case-studies she uses clearly demonstrates that such an appreciation has begun. The book is a brave attempt to draw together many different strands of work on what is a complex and highly diffuse subject, one whose boundaries are difficult to appreciate. It is a thought-provoking examination of the role of museums, a beginning rather than a conclusive end, but one which points to an exciting future if the potential of the museum's role as a 'dream space' comes to be appreciated.

CLAIRE WARRIOR

NIGEL RAPPORT and JOANNA OVERING, *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The Key Concepts* (Routledge Key Guides), London and New York: Routledge 2000. xii, 464 pp., Bibliography, Index. £12.99.

As a guidebook to anthropology, this book is of great value in that it defines and discusses central concepts in anthropological debate with clarity. It will also be of great value as a reference book for students and teachers of anthropology. The entries are intended to cover contemporary challenges to anthropology (e.g. 'cybernetics', 'alterity', 'thick description', 'liminality', 'agency'), while at the same time reference is made to similar debates in such other disciplines as philosophy, sociology, linguistics, and cultural studies. The style of the book differs from that of guidebooks that provide pieces of pre-chewed information ready for the reader to digest. The topics discussed are at such a level of abstraction that the book requires concentrated reading. But the effort invested is rewarded. Discussions carefully weigh arguments that are extremely complex and also succeed in giving a clear overview of debates in anthropology.

The key concepts of this book are presented in some sixty essays, ranging in length from approximately 500 words to 5000, according to significance and complexity. The format gives space to the history of usage of the concepts, diversity in usage, and context. The concepts cover a range of types: ontological ('Agent and Agency', 'Consciousness', 'Gender'), epistemological ('Cybernetics', 'Kinship', 'World-View'), methodological ('Culture', 'Methodological Individualism and Holism', 'Literariness'), theoretical ('Community', 'The Unhomely', 'Urbanism'), and ethnographic ('Home and Homelessness', 'Myth', 'Tourism'). Apart from the concept entries, the book includes a detailed index and an extensive bibliography.

The concepts were not selected in a conventional way, since traditional key concepts in textbooks of anthropology, such as symbolism and history, do not appear in the book as central themes of discussion, though they do occur in the index. The reason is because the key concepts are meant to hold up an anthropological ethic, sustained by debates in the history of anthropology over the past three decades. The concepts were selected in order to point to certain landmarks in anthropological discourse. They therefore serve as conceptual pegs on to which historical shifts and continuities in western anthropological discourse are hung. The concepts are thus meant to serve as an anthropological index of social and cultural changes as well as to provide a reflection of concepts that have been instrumental in bringing about these changes.

Many textbooks and encyclopaedias on anthropology provide introductions to the key concepts of anthropology. For instance, the *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, edited by Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer (London, 1996), and the *Encyclopaedia of Cultural Anthropology*, edited by David Levinson and Melvin Ember (New York, 1996), give comprehensive overviews of concepts in anthropology, but they do not present their subject-matter as a comprehensive debate on the pros and cons of method and analysis. Robert Winthrop's *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology* (New York, 1991) emphasizes cultural anthropology as the description and interpretation of culturally patterned thought and behaviour, and does not focus so much on the reflexive aspects of anthropology and the interaction between anthropology and its object. Michael Herzfield's *Anthropology: Theoretical Practice in Culture and Society* (Oxford, 2001) in a way brings together various perspectives into a conversation over the tenets of social and cultural anthropology; though it shares the theoretical and ethical commitment, however, it is not as clearly divided into topics and cross-referential subtopics.

The book's main aim is to provide a concise repository of explanatory statements covering a number of the major concepts that professional anthropologists might use. Explanation here includes the changes and alterations of discussions in the discipline of anthropology over time. The book's pretension is to be a stimulating overview, a research guide, and an invitation to polemic. For instance, right at the beginning, under the first entry of 'Agency', it identifies Pierre Bourdieu's theory on the habitus as a 'structurally causal model based on reified abstractions and materialist determinations' that is 'firmly rooted in a communitarian objectivism' (p. 3); further on, we are told that 'in a sense Malinowski's Trobrianders are but fiction' (p. 11).

The book contains some true gems of compact discussion. For instance, the essay on auto-anthropology manages to sum up complex and lengthy discussions in only a few pages. Anyone who wants to know about social science methodology, epistemology, the current major topics of discourse and trends in postmodernism can find a clear overview of the important literature and main arguments in a few pages. The essays are compact but not simplistic; the style is clear but invites the reader to reflect upon his or her own approach. The authors also manage to combine the method of self-reflexivity and critical anthropology to explore the ground between theory and practice, humanistic and scientific approaches, and symbolic and rationalist approaches.

In my view, one drawback of the book is its 'critical' perspective, that is, its 'anti-western' attitude (see, for instance, pp. 13, 23-4). The approach is reminiscent of the time when critical anthropology started to flourish in the 1970s and 1980s. At the time it was a welcome and long overdue critique of ethnocentricity in the western world. However, even then, but more so in the 1990s, it became clear that it was hard to maintain that the othering by 'the west' is characterized by processes of exclusion and assumptions of self-superiority more so than it is, say, in Japanese expressions of ethnocentricity. This automatic linking of western ethnocentrism and thought with the victimization of the 'other' may be a well-intentioned but one-sided, anachronistic obsession, and it borders on uncritical assumptions that are not suitable for studies in comparative anthropology. This in many ways extremely worthwhile, useful, and well-argued book could have benefited from a greater awareness of the expressions of processes of identity formation in other cultures. Expressions of discrimination, such as

ethnocentrism, are human, and not the exclusive monopoly of the so-called western world.

MARGARET SLEEBOOM

G. K. NUKUNYA, *Kinship and Marriage among the Anlo Ewe* (London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, Vol. 37), London and New Brunswick, NJ: The Athlone Press 1999 [1969]. x, 217 pp., Appendices, List of Works Cited, Index, Tables, Figures, Plates, Maps. £14.99.

G. K. Nukunya's fieldwork in Ghana on Anlo Ewe kinship and marriage was carried out in 1962–1963. The research was awarded a doctoral degree at the University of London and the dissertation was first published, with minor alterations, in 1969. The Athlone Press has now reissued Nukunya's work in a paperback edition in the series 'London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology'.

The author introduces his work in Chapter 1 by providing a historical, political, economic, and geographical overview of Anlo; the existing literature on the Ewe is reviewed and the fieldwork methodology summarized. Chapter 2 analyses the kinship system of the Anlo Ewe. The fifteen patrilineal clans are listed and their importance explained. The lineage and smaller cluster of agnates are discussed next with reference to their principal social features, among which corporateness features prominently. The basic behaviour patterns among agnates are described at length. A shorter description is also provided of the importance of matrilineal ties and of the system of kin terminology. Chapter 3 is concerned with marriage. Marital prohibitions are listed with specific reference to the categories of kin and affines with whom sexual intercourse is considered incest. Premarital sex is also described as immoral and uncommon. Types of preferential marriages are listed with specific reference to cross-cousins. The role of parents in the selection of partners is discussed. An in-depth analysis of the various stages of the marriage ceremonies is provided, as well as an overview of marriage payments, perceptions of filiation, rituals performed at second marriages, and divorce. Chapter 4 focuses on the family. The Anlo residential system is explained by examining the physical setting of the household and its composition. This chapter is also concerned with Anlo life-stages, with a description of the social and ritual passages from birth to adulthood. An overview of relationships within the nuclear family between spouses and between co-wives in polygamous households is also provided. Chapter 5 is concerned with change. The political, religious, social, and economic transformations produced by colonialism and the market economy are assessed. The impact of such changes on Anlo kin structure is described in terms of gradual disintegration: the rise of individual property damages lineage corporateness; the high number of migrants, economic and educational, also weakens kinship ties; the increased literacy rate undermines 'traditional values'; economic stratification upsets customary authority based on eldership. Overall, changes produced a 'disintegration of lineages' (p. 173) and an increase in alternative non-kin associations. Marriage was also affected by twentieth-century dynamics: the full ceremony was never performed in the 1960s,

Christianity caused an increase in extra-marital sexual relationships, economic dynamics led to a decrease in polygamy, and relationships between spouses moved towards equality.

Nukunya's work displays the positive and negative characteristics of British social anthropology in the period in which it was written. The layout, style, and framework of understanding of kinship and marriage follow closely that prevalent in Britain in the 1950s. The works of Evans-Pritchard, Firth, Forde, Fortes, Gluckman, and Goody are clearly Nukunya's theoretical reference points. The book provides a sober, clear, and vivid description of Anlo social structure touching on most issues considered central to kinship studies. The author was a member of the community; this certainly facilitated his access to information. His work is rich in ethnographic detail: local terminology is often discussed thoroughly, and case-studies are produced as concrete examples of his general points.

Reading the monograph thirty years after its publication inevitably raises issues that were just beginning to be discussed in the late 1960s. The notion of the disintegration of kin groups in Africa as a result of modernization has proven at least partly misleading, as Mary Douglas pointed out in her contribution to *Man in Africa* (edited by herself and Phyllis M. Kaberry; London, 1969). Nowadays, one would also question Nukunya's reconstruction of 'traditional' Anlo society. In the chapters concerned with kinship, marriage, and the family, the author uses the ethnographic present as if his descriptions derived from observation. In the last chapter, which is concerned with change, one learns that several features of Anlo society described in the work were no longer present when the author carried out his fieldwork. Just to mention a few cases: the strict discipline enforced by elders and parents on lineage members and children no longer applied; sex is described as confined to marriage, though one later learns that pre- and extra-marital sexual relationships were extremely frequent; by the early 1960s the marriage ceremony had lost several of what were defined as its constituent parts. Nukunya reconstructed the past principally from his informants' memories. In the last thirty years the relationship between oral narratives and history has been thoroughly questioned. A description of 'traditional' Anlo social structure based solely on Anlo recollections today would probably be considered unsatisfactory by most readers.

STEFANO BONI

E. R. WOLF, *Envisioning Power: Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press 1999. xi, 339 pp., Preface, Photographs, References, Index. \$45.00/\$16.95.

*Envisioning Power* may be considered Eric Wolf's intellectual testament, not only because the work was written at the end of his career, but also because in it the author revives and synthesizes his anthropological enquiry over almost half a century. *Envisioning Power* is an attempt to explore the connection between ideas and power. In Chapter 1 the author explains his theoretical schema and analytical tools. Wolf chooses to take ideas as a key concept rather than culture or ideology. Ideas are examined as

mental constructions that have content, functions, and political implications but are not necessarily organized in unified configurations. Power is intended as 'an aspect of all relations among people' (p. 4). The focus on power is linked to its expressions in symbols, codes, and communication. At the end of the first chapter, Wolf examines his works over the last fifty years to show that the relationship between power and ideas has always been a key feature.

The second chapter is a brief summary of the history of the social sciences in respect to the link between ideas and power. The summary dates back to the Enlightenment and goes on to examine the Counter-Enlightenment and Marxism before turning to the major anthropological theories of the twentieth century. Wolf sees anthropological thought as lying largely within two bodies of literature that have failed to grasp the complexity of reality: on the one hand, some authors have accorded ideas a dominant role, disregarding the role of power; on the other hand, materialists have neglected the importance of culture. According to Wolf, a convincing synthesis has not yet been achieved: his volume is a contribution to the construction of a theoretical paradigm aimed at combining ideas and power. To pursue the problem of how ideas and power are connected, Wolf examines three case-studies: the Kwakiutl, the Aztecs, and National Socialist Germany. In all these cases Wolf analyses the link between power and ideation, 'placing it in relation to the people's history and the material, organizational, and signifying forms and practices of their culture' (p. 16). The author selects societies that differ in levels of political centralization (chiefdom, archaic state, reactionary-modern state) but which share 'evocative and elaborate repertoires of ideas' (p. 16).

In Chapter 3 the vast literature on the Kwakiutl is reviewed in depth by focusing on different aspects. The Kwakiutl are first of all set in 'time and space' (p. 74), their history in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries being thoroughly discussed. The social and political structures are examined in their principal features. The focus then shifts to Kwakiutl cosmology and ceremonies and, of course, the *potlatch*. Wolf reaches the conclusion that the ideological changes of the nineteenth century are largely due to an effort by the chiefly élite to retain and fortify its power against the social and economic dynamics that threatened it. However, the exercise of power by the élite is seen as tightly interrelated with ideas about the construction of the world.

The Aztecs are described in a similar fashion. Their history is summarized from the beginnings through to the formation and consolidation of the empire. The hegemonic order of the state is then discussed by focusing on the ideological role of war, the sacralization of the state through cosmology, sacrifice, and anthropophagy, and finally the importance of class division within Aztec society. Once again Aztec ideas, and their cosmological constructions in particular, are seen as being 'deeply implicated in the formation, maintenance, and expansion of their state' (pp. 188-9), and in underwriting the social hierarchy.

Finally Wolf turns to National Socialist Germany under the Third Reich. He argues that this can be 'better understood as a movement akin to the cargo cults and ghost dances studied by anthropologists than as a rational deployment of means to pragmatic ends' (pp. 197-8). The rise of Hitler is set within the historical framework of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe. History is examined from a political and economic viewpoint, as well as being a means to trace the dynamics of concepts like Volk, Reich, and Führer. The ideological construction of Nazi Germany is

described attentively: the importance of the Führer as a guardian of racial health, the demonization of the Jews, and the role of brutality are all discussed at some length. At the end of this chapter, Wolf warns us of disquieting signs of a revival of Nazi ideology, as some of the features that gave rise to National Socialist Germany survived.

Wolf concludes his account by evaluating the results of the comparison between the three societies and stressing two parallels. First, each of the case-studies shows that people responded ideationally to perceived ecological, social, political, or psychological crises by elaborating extreme cultural expressions. These ideations rooted power in the nature of the cosmos. Secondly, he uses the notion of structural power to show that the relationship between ideas and power always pivots around the organization of labour. Finally, Wolf reviews the uses of the notion of culture in western thought and anthropology and defends it even though, he claims, culture should be more closely connected to power.

The argument of the book flows clearly from the first page to the last. The case-studies are examined with care and the documentation employed is impressive. Overall, however, Wolf's work leaves one disappointed in some regards. From a theoretical point of view, one feels that the relationship between ideas and power has been addressed insightfully by several authors (Bourdieu, Donham, Giddens, and McCaskie, to mention just a few) who are neglected. Wolf's conclusions do not live up to expectations: there is no innovative theory of the idealization of power. The cosmological legitimation of power and its link to labour organization have been at the centre of debates in recent decades and hardly represent an innovative contribution. From an ethnographic point of view, the three case-studies are described only through secondary sources. In conclusion, *Envisioning Power* is didactic more than illuminating. It is more likely that it will be used as a manual of political anthropology for undergraduate students than discussed as a crucial contribution to our understanding of the link between power and ideas.

STEFANO BONI

RAYMOND A. BUCKO, *The Lakota Ritual of the Sweat Lodge: History and Contemporary Practice* (Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians), Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press in co-operation with the American Studies Research Institute 1998. vii, 340 pp., References, Index. £38.00/\$40.00.

Raymond Bucko's book is based on anthropological fieldwork carried out in the United States between 1988 and 1990 on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in southwestern South Dakota, the home of some 11,000 Oglala Lakota Sioux. A Jesuit priest and assistant professor of anthropology at Le Moyne College, Bucko's relationship with the Oglala began far earlier than his fieldwork: since 1976, he has been an educator and counsellor on the reservation, participating in many of the sweat lodge ceremonies, which provide the basis for his research.

From the vast corpus of literature on Lakota (and Dakota) religion, Bucko begins by extracting and reviewing all published accounts of the sweat lodge ceremony or

Inipi. Ranging from the seventeenth century to the present day, Bucko shows how largely western authors have interpreted the Inipi and Lakota spiritual beliefs. Early missionary accounts described Lakota belief and practice in terms of degeneration and superstition. The early anthropological accounts were highly descriptive but based largely on 'memory ethnography', whereby authors based their accounts on the memories of consultants at a time—the early decades of the twentieth century—when Indian religion went 'underground'. The middle to late twentieth-century corpus of Lakota literature has been largely composed of the 'as-told-to' accounts of Black Elk, Fools Crow, and Lame Deer. Recent works on Lakota religion have been based on literature reviews and anthropological studies in the field, and books written for a 'New Age' audience. All these texts are systematically reviewed by Bucko.

The rest of the book is taken up with Bucko's field research on the sweat lodge. In common with the past, the contemporary Inipi is concerned with spiritual, moral and physical purification, spiritual and physical healing, thanksgiving and petitioning, and social cohesion. The healing focus has extended to the treatment of diseases such as foetal alcohol syndrome and AIDS, and today the ritual is an important component of alcohol and drug addiction treatments. Bucko extends his analysis to the nature and language of prayer and song inside the sweat lodge, the nature and role of ritual narratives, and—refreshingly—the role humour plays in ritual contexts. He explores the mechanisms by which many Oglala maintain beliefs in both Christianity and Lakota religion. He also addresses the issue of 'white shamanism' and non-Indian participation in Lakota ritual—two issues that are hotbeds of controversy on the reservation at the present time. One of the final chapters of the book posits an alternative account to the functionalist approach to ritual that describes ceremony as a socially integrative device. Bucko suggests that the Inipi also serves 'to differentiate and to solidify distinctions between individuals and groups' (p. 236), as well as promoting both discord and harmony between people.

Throughout this portion of the book, a strong picture emerges of a continuing resurgence of Lakota ritual practice and religious belief on Pine Ridge Reservation, which has been gathering pace since the militancy of the 1970s. What also emerges through reading this book is the variety of symbolic interpretations given to the Inipi ceremony by the practitioners and participants themselves, and the variety of ritual procedures.

This book is the first of its kind to focus solely on the Lakota sweat lodge, and this in itself makes it a welcome addition to the literature on Native American religion. But what makes the book stand out among others in this field is Bucko's effort to present a multi-faceted account of a single ritual and his stress on the innovative nature of ritual and tradition. Quite rightly, he points out that much of the literature available systematizes Lakota religion into a single, homogeneous entity that in reality does not exist.

Bucko stresses the 'dialectic process of combining past with present to create tradition' (p. 25). This process is accomplished for the Lakota by their using a combination of written texts, oral transmission, and instruction from elders or spiritual practitioners. Moreover, the highly individualized nature of Lakota religion means that sacred knowledge is also gained through personal visions and spiritual experiences. Through such processes, the Oglala Lakota on Pine Ridge 'continually evaluate both new and ancient practices...in relation to past and present knowledge' (p. 107). As



such, ritual practice and religious belief are characterized by continuity and change, by homogeneity and heterogeneity, and are extremely fluid entities.

Bucko's book is infused throughout by the voices of the Oglala themselves. Quotations from interviews are liberally cited. To my mind, Bucko is remarkably sincere in his rendering of Lakota spirituality, based on his consultants' interpretations. This book will become an important resource for scholars of Lakota religion.

BORNALI HALDER

SARAH LAMB, *White Saris and Sweet Mangoes: Aging, Gender, and Body in North India*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press 2000. xvii, 306 pp., Illustrations, Tables, Glossary, Index, References. £22.50/£14.50//\$55.00/\$22.50.

The subtitle of Sarah Lamb's book, *Aging, Gender, and Body in North India*, runs as a theme through the text, as does, within this discourse, what Bengalis term *maya*. All that Lamb highlights of her eighteen months in the field can be seen in the light of *maya*, namely the emotional ties, affections, jealousy, and love that bind one to family, other people, homestead, land, and property. This is often recounted with poignancy by her informants, but by none more so than those aged people who are endeavouring to relinquish all ties as they approach death. It is this explanation of *maya* throughout the book that gives Lamb's account a sense of reality about what older people face and the expectations of society of them. In particular, women's voices are heard, mainly because widowed women feature as having had more losses to face, as men usually marry again, whereas women do not.

In her afterword, Lamb states that it has been her intention to use 'aging as a lens to explore how social worlds were constituted and taken apart, and gender relations constructed and transformed, in a community of West Bengal' (p. 239). This detailed ethnography is the result; even in reading the afterword the reader is aware of how much Lamb, as the anthropologist in the field, became part of the *maya* (the emotional ties) of people's lives and how they foresaw the breaking of those bonds with sadness when she left. There is surely a resonance here for all anthropologists conducting fieldwork and living with their informants for any length of time with no immediate prospect of return visits.

In looking at social relations in Mangaldihi (the village in which she conducted her fieldwork) she stresses that one needs to look at them in terms of age as well as gender (p. 9). A substantial part of the introduction is devoted to a discussion of recent theory of the body within anthropology and feminist theory. Lamb suggests that, in using the body in their constructions of gendered social identities, Mangaldihi's illuminate the problem 'of the relationship between body and gender, partly because gendered and bodily identities shifted for them in specific ways during their lives' (p. 14). These shifting identities are highlighted throughout the text, namely the move from being a girl in her father's home to married woman in her husband's house and the subsequent ties to mother-in-law. When parental responsibility is relinquished on

marriage, a daughter-in-law 'inherits the burden of providing much of the labour that goes into this reciprocation' towards her husband's aged parents (p. 58). She feels her ties loosen as she becomes more senior and prepares her sons for marriage. There is a subsequent loosening of her control and ties in the household. Lamb suggests that a focus on the body can be enlightening, and she explores 'the ways specific representations of the body are used to define persons, aging, and gender' (p. 17). It is the narratives of widowed informants in particular that show Lamb how these definitions are made, since they highlight the ambivalence of aging: ties were 'felt to grow more numerous and intense as life goes on', while aging was also 'thought to involve the difficult work of taking apart the self or unravelling ties, in preparation for the many leavetakings of death' (p. 37). People seen as having too much *maya* are said to linger on past 'the proper time of dying', and it is these people who are said to linger on after death in the form of *bhut* (ghosts) (p. 123). The disassembling of personhood involves 'decentering' and 'cooling' one's body before death. In practice this involves a move from the centre of the household to the periphery and the giving away of possessions (p. 124). Another aspect of this is the desire to perform pilgrimage. Lamb's descriptions of the funeral and cremation rites she observed show clearly that the breaking of *maya* is deemed necessary for the relatives as well as for the deceased.

Throughout this ethnography, Lamb captures the way in which the people of Mangaldihi live out the expectations of society as they travel through their life course, and more especially as they travel towards death.

JANETTE DAVIES

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