

Allen, Catherine J. 2002. *The hold life has. Coca and cultural identity in an Andean Community (2nd edition)*. Washington D.C. and London: Smithsonian Institution Press. xiv + 360 pp. Pb: \$19.95. ISBN: 1 58834 032 5.

Catherine Allen's lyrical *The hold life has* was first published in 1988. This second edition incorporates a new preface, expanded bibliography and endnotes, and a 44-page afterword entitled '*No somos Indios ahora*' ('We are not Indians now'). The book describes life in the small town of Sonqo (Quechua for 'heart'), located in the department of Cuzco in southern Peru.

The hold life has continues to serve as an outstanding example of good ethnography. Writing sublimely, Allen weaves herself throughout the text with the belief that another culture cannot be depicted without acknowledging and even sometimes foregrounding its perceiver (pp. 9 257 n. 7). She also thoughtfully addresses the ways in which the *Runa* of whom she writes are, though isolated and rural, still very much connected, both within regional networks and to cocaine-users and drug enforcement in the United States. The work recognises and explores, without exaggerating, Sonqueños' connections to a shared Andean past within their contemporary existence (p. 15).

Allen's thesis is that the coca leaf, chewed by Andeans for centuries, provides a central framework for social life: it 'helps alleviate life's pain and draws people together in mutual support' (p. 7). The chapters come together to support this thesis. Chapters 1–3 describe the multiple and intimate connections between Andean people and places, and the fourth chapter addresses how coca is used to frame these myriad social interactions. Chapter 5 focuses on drinking, mainly of maize beer and cane alcohol, and on the important social differences between the construction of alcohol consumption and coca consumption. In Chapter 6, where Allen discusses eating (or, more accurately, the painful over-stuffing that characterises life in the Andes), it becomes clear that shared consumption – whether of coca, alcohol or food – is 'fundamentally an act

that expresses social bonds' (p. 124). Chapters 7 and 8 deal with festivals and public encounters, and Chapter 9 looks at the way Andean coca consumption has been irrevocably altered by the American drug war.

The afterword, newly written for the second edition, contains a perceptive analysis of the changes Sonqo has seen in the past decades. A particularly poignant scene compares a Sonqueño in 1975 who disdained another for working 'for money', a sign of desperate poverty, with one in 2000 who disparages another for working in *ayni*, the reciprocal work arrangement which in 1975 was definitive of community connections (p. 213). Allen's discomfort at this particular opposition is apparent, yet – while it surprised her – she found that it made sense within her overall interpretative framework (p. 214). A related change connects to the government's building of latrines in Sonqo and other small communities; Allen writes persuasively about the way hygiene, race and modernity are intimately linked yet experienced with ambivalence (p. 241). The arrival and persistence of Protestant evangelism is explored, and Allen takes care to point out that – while the proscription on alcohol is a key reason why many women and men have converted – the frequent social drinking, now of soda, remains 'an ordeal nonetheless' (p. 229).

Allen writes conversationally and eloquently, with flowing descriptions that push the reader toward a deeply felt understanding not only of Andean lives, but of the emotional and sometimes mystifying work of doing anthropology. Her own annoyance at various quirks or missteps surfaces periodically, not with anger but rather as an acknowledgment of this integral aspect of doing fieldwork. At times her writing verges on the romantic (tending to downplay the inequalities and violence that occasionally appear); in the afterword Allen acknowledges how she has wrestled with a sense of nostalgia in the writing (p. 217). The period of violence and economic hardship (c. 1980–95) is barely mentioned in the Afterword, and although Allen notes that 'Cuzco was spared the worst of the

violence', it seems rather incongruous not to address that fact more directly.

Fifteen years after its original publication, and three decades after the bulk of the original fieldwork was conducted, this evocative piece holds up well. It remains one of the best ethnographies of the Andes, and one of the clearest and most accessible works of its kind. It is eminently suitable for teaching to undergraduates or graduates, in anthropology and Latin American studies. Especially in this second edition, which addresses the changes that development and globalisation have brought to Sonqo, it would also make a wonderful read for visitors to the Andean region, from tourists to development workers. Like nothing else, it shows the beauty and meaning in Andean lives.

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Bossen, Laurel. 2002. *Chinese women and rural development. Sixty years of change in Lu Village, Yunnan*. Oxford: Rowan and Littlefield. xxviii + 393 pp. Pb.: £22.95. ISBN: 0 7425 1108 1.

Lu Village first came to anthropological attention in 1938, when Fei Xiaotong, China's most famous anthropologist, conducted a study of land tenure and rural development in three communities in central Yunnan. Since publication of this study as *Earthbound China* (1945), Fei's work has been variously applauded and criticised. Laurel Bossen revisited one of the three villages in the 1990s in critical acknowledgement of his work. Building on and critiquing his work, she moved outside Fei's domain of economic anthropology to explore the shifting boundaries of gender relations in the context of the village's changing economic contours over six decades of change.

Based on fieldwork conducted throughout the 1990s, and drawing on wide-ranging secondary materials, including quantitative data, *Chinese women and rural development* addresses the big themes of village life: economic organisation and employment, land ownership, marriage and household structures, family demography and village political culture. Bossen paints a picture of a village that is defined as much by the world beyond its territories as by local practice. She also suggests that gender inequalities are less pronounced in Lu Village than in many other rural communities, largely due to the economic links between the village and beyond. For example, she argues that the

demise of footbinding is linked to the waning fortunes of the local textile industry in an international context. She also makes a number of observations that counter standard narratives. The shifting patterns of women's employment suggest that women were more engaged in diverse agricultural activities than Fei's and other studies have indicated. Her evidence also demonstrates considerable flexibility in marriage patterns, including a higher incidence of uxorilocal marriage than Fei had allowed for, in contrast with the patrilocal orientation of the standard lineage model of marriage and kinship relations. Though, as in many other farming communities, the feminisation of agriculture has been a feature of Lu Village life, it has not prevented a growing diversification of employment opportunities for women, both within and outside the village, with material improvements in women's standard of wealth.

At the same time, Bossen's analysis of landownership, employment and income suggests that in some respects little has changed since Fei's day. The structures and practices that maintain poverty, for example, are in many ways similar to those of the earlier period; those most vulnerable to their effects are still outsiders, women who are disadvantaged by 'long distance marriage', or single, widowed, sick and elderly. One fascinating chapter on a shaman reveals the precarious existence outsider status conferred on women.

Bossen's inclusive coverage of the big themes of gender and village organisation leads to uneven treatment of different issues. For example, though featuring as a distinct theme, divorce is given little analytical attention. While this might in part reflect the low incidence of divorce in the village, more discussion about local attitudes to marriage expectations, marital conflict, adultery and so on would help explain this low rate in the context of other aspects of women's lives, including the economic interests maintaining marital stability and mutual reliance in commercial activities that Bossen notes. In another example, her figures reveal a high incidence of female suicide as a function of poverty and vulnerability, in circumstances when women have few opportunities to live independently outside the married family. But, despite the similarities between these and others' findings, Bossen does not reflect on the significance of rates of female suicide within the context of changing gender relations. A similar reluctance to push through with the analysis that her topic demands is apparent in her treatment of demographic ratios and son preference. While arguing that there is little

evidence for son preference, her figures suggest a 'convergence' with the gender imbalance for the nation as a whole, as well as an increasing shortage of girls in recent years.

As Bossen herself points out in her introduction, there is to date a minimal quantity of in-depth anthropological field research on rural women in contemporary China. This volume is therefore a welcome addition to the field. It adds new and rich material to our reflections on contrasts and continuities between contemporary China and the past. Its observations also suggest rich fields for further enquiry: the closeness of ties between women kinfolk, siblings and sworn sisters; the weak distinction between sale into marriage and the diverse economic transactions that characterise customary marriage arrangements; the blurred boundaries between voluntary and involuntary migrations for marriage. Through a rich historical perspective on continuities and changes in gender practices, it also shows how the complex texture of gendered relations in a rural community does not, and cannot correspond with neat lines of distinction between greater or lesser inequalities across past and present.

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Cesari, Jocelyne (ed.). 2002. *La Méditerranée des réseaux. Marchands, entrepreneurs et migrants entre l'Europe et le Maghreb*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose. 293 pp. Pb.: 25€. ISBN: 2 7068 1653 8.

Peraldi, Michel (ed.). 2001. *Cabas et containers. Activités marchandes informelles et réseaux migrants transfrontaliers*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose. 361 pp. Pb.: 19,82€. ISBN: 2 7068 1517 5.

Peraldi, Michel (ed.). 2002. *La fin des Norias. Réseaux migrants dans les économies commerciales en Méditerranée*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose. 495 pp. Pb.: 25€. ISBN: 2 7068 1651 1.

Since the end of the Cold War, new migration patterns have emerged, which both challenge and rely upon earlier labour migration flows and established migrant populations in Europe. Composed of heterogeneous categories with blurred boundaries (irregular migration, trafficking, asylum, family reunification), they take place in a transnational space in which states, while still influential, do not play the leading role they

occupied in the Fordist era of foreign labour recruitment. The contemporary world order, characterised by globalisation but also closed borders, creates both oppression and opportunities for migrants: while some are exploited in undeclared sectors of the economy, others take advantage of their cross-border position and become active in transnational trade networks that span Europe and the Mediterranean.

These three volumes focus on the latter group and provide extensive descriptions of the mobile business activities in which migrants of different origins circulate throughout southern Europe, North Africa and Turkey, transporting all kinds of products to and from both sides of the Mediterranean and engaging in the market places of European cities. Entrepreneurs rely on their mobility and on their embeddedness in social relations to develop networks based on trust and solidarity. By bringing together, in a French publication, scholars from Europe, North Africa and North America, these volumes provide a much-needed perspective on a field dominated by Anglo-Saxon scholars. Collaboration between researchers from the 'North' and the 'South', as well as from both sides of the Atlantic, remains rare and must be welcomed.

La Méditerranée des réseaux puts together contributions on Moroccans' business activities in Northern Italy and Spain, on Algerian business associations in France, on migrant entrepreneurship in Morocco, on the impact of remittances in Tunisia, and on the changes in the Moroccan and Algerian economy. Arguing that migrants' transnational business networks are rooted in local economic settings, Jocelyne Cesari attempts to connect studies of immigrant entrepreneurs with investigations of the changing economic and institutional context of North African countries. Given the strong 'from below' bias of much of the transnational literature, this theoretical ambition makes a lot of sense. The articles are of unequal quality, however, and the links between them are unclear. One can find interesting data and some stimulating reflections but the result is not as convincing as it could have been.

As documented by the pioneer work done by Alain Tarrus, the city of Marseille is a major node in these transnational business networks, and all the case studies contained in *Cabas et containers* focus on this city. The empirical descriptions of West- and North-African shops sometimes take a literary turn, accompanied by pictures and field notes. They show the development of this economic sector in the centre of the city, which attracts – in a reverse

form of migration – North Africans coming by boat to purchase products unavailable in their country. They demonstrate how one of France's oldest cities perpetuates its deeply immigrant and Mediterranean nature, with the grassroots circulation of goods mirroring the maritime transit taking place in the port.

In *La fin des Norias*, the focus shifts from Marseille to western countries in general, and one finds similar (but somewhat repetitive) ethnographic descriptions of Chinese in Naples, Moroccans and Romanians in Europe, Africans in Germany, Somalis in London, transnational entrepreneurs in the United States, and market places in Milan, Marseille, Ventimille, Istanbul or Anvers. The issues discussed include remittances, informal economies, the criminalisation of foreigners, the socio-cultural logic of the bazaar and the cynical contradictions of migration policies. For readers interested in a general introduction to these issues, this volume – and particularly Michel Peraldi's introduction – constitutes a good starting point.

Many contributors share a clear fascination for their topic of investigation, for cosmopolitan bazaars, for Marseille, for the exotic difference displayed by these 'on the road' migrant entrepreneurs. While understandable, this fascination sometimes leads to lyrical paragraphs and, more disturbingly, to a reification of the other and a pernicious return of the 'us and them' divide. Non-immigrant entrepreneurs hardly appear and function as the boring counterpart to their imaginative, smart and resourceful immigrant colleagues. This valorisation of the other also occults the dark aspect of contemporary forms of migration: the rare allusions to exploitation of employees by co-ethnic employers remind us that trust and solidarity are only one side of the picture and that immigrants' business practices are not always to be celebrated.

The volumes' contributors have an ambivalent relationship to the established scholarship on ethnicity, and on ethnic entrepreneurship in particular. They work on migrants and on entrepreneurs, but are reluctant to speak of 'ethnic entrepreneurs', which term they see as an American invention. Yet there seem to be misunderstandings surrounding the Anglo-Saxon scholarship on the topic, and one could have wished a deeper discussion of the differences between North American minority businesspeople and those who are the object of these books. Moreover, this challenge to ethnicity-based approaches does not

result in a new way of referring to immigrants: while criticised, ethnic labels are constantly used, and one is left wondering whether the authors have stopped half-way in a radical rethinking of ethnic minorities, or if they simply try to challenge dominant views without proposing viable alternatives.

These books do not address the numerical relevance of the phenomena they describe. The contributors sometimes convey the idea that these represent the currently dominant form of migration. This is questionable, as is the generalisation of their results. There is abundant empirical material on the Mediterranean region, but only anecdotal evidence from other major countries of immigration such as Germany, Scandinavia or the United Kingdom. Finally, one can regret that contributors do not develop a typology (distinguishing, for example, between circular, temporary or transnational migration), which would have been useful in going beyond case studies. However it remains the case that these volumes have a major strength – their wealth of ethnographic description – and that they make a clear contribution to current debates on migration flows in an era of globalisation.

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Coleman, Simon, and John Eade (eds.). 2004. *Reframing pilgrimage. Cultures in motion*. London: Routledge. xiv + 197 pp. Hb.: £60.00. ISBN: 0 415 30354 0. Pb.: £17.99. ISBN: 0 415 30355 9.

Unlike other attempts to contest the Turnerian model of pilgrimage as anti-structure, *Reframing pilgrimage. Cultures in motion* aims to position movement at the centre of the pilgrimage experience. The centrality of 'place' in pilgrimage is questioned, as – drawing on different dimensions such as the performative aspects of movement and the movement metaphor – emphasis is re-'placed' on the sacralising potentials of movement, with the result that movement is seen as intrinsic to pilgrimage. The discussion of the fluidity of culture has further impacted on this exploration of pilgrimage, as it is suggested that, rather than being an anti-structural endeavour, pilgrimage can be seen as central to the daily life of pilgrims, both when the journey itself takes place, and before and after. In achieving these aims, the collection does not limit itself only to religious pilgrimage, but also examines secular pilgrimage such as 'roots-tourism',

emphasising the mixed motivations in pilgrimage practices.

This collection of seven chapters begins with Hildi Mitchell's examination of the pilgrimage of British Mormons, showing how this movement is important in linking the individual to overarching religious structures. Contextualising this, she explains how Mormon religion is experienced through embodied memories, particularly the witness of others. These are necessary preparation for the pilgrimage that they must undertake. Coleman's chapter counterpoises two different forms of Christian pilgrimage. He emphasises that the way in which the pilgrims move to gain sacred power is crucial to how they understand pilgrimage, while simultaneously arguing that the intersection of people, place and movement results in the distinctiveness of particular pilgrimage practices.

Moving on, the collection devotes two chapters to pilgrimage in the Sufi context. The first of these examines how, for Mourid women living in Senegal and Ibiza, pilgrimage is a part of daily life, and closely linked to the accumulation of moral and social capital, albeit in very different ways. Social capital in the context of the women in Senegal is accumulated through organisation of, and participation in, pilgrimage, while the women of Ibiza accumulate their moral capital through their intentions, and therefore through their trade rather than through any physical movement.

Transformative potential was also the focus of Nikolaisen's examination, juxtaposing recreational travel and pilgrimage. Arguing that the travel of the Mevlevi Dervishes to perform *sema* can be viewed as sacred travel, he locates pilgrimage within the discussion of global networks and mass mobility.

The final three chapters of the collection turn to look at secular practices considered as pilgrimage. Dubisch's chapter on motorcycle pilgrimage is particularly evocative, as she explores the creation of a pilgrimage landscape for the veterans of the Vietnam War in the 'Run for the Wall'. She explicitly outlines why this secular movement should be defined as pilgrimage, because of its political goal and transformative power in which participants gain new meanings of 'home' and are healed of the trauma of their original return. Pilgrimage tourism to Ghana is the focus of Schramm's chapter, in which the idea of 'home' is again discussed with an explicit emphasis on the emotional response, and hence movement of the participants; rather than the pilgrimage being ultimately to a sacred place, the 'sacred place' is created by the (e)motion of the pilgrims. In a similar fashion, Basu's discussion of

'roots-tourism' in the Scottish Highlands evokes the search for 'belonging' and, in some cases, healing.

What seems to be common to the discussions of secular pilgrimage is the understanding that pilgrimage differs from recreational travel because of its transformative potential. It is important that this is explained, but it seems that the authors dealing with religious modes of pilgrimage are not so keen to discern what they mean when they are discussing pilgrimage. While these religious pilgrimages seem to be ascribed as pilgrimage, the more secular forms of pilgrimage examined in the book are described by their participants as pilgrimage, showing how the terminology previously reserved for religion has found resonance in the secular world.

Linking pilgrimage to discussions of home, movement and the fluidity of culture, the chapters in this collection have been well selected to deconstruct, through engaging and coherent critique, previously held notions of the pilgrimage experience. Positioning pilgrimage as an embodied experience, the result of this collection is recognition of a broader scope for what can be understood as pilgrimage.

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Collins, Jane L. 2003. *Threads. Gender, labor and power in the global apparel industry*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 200 pp. Pb.: \$18.00/£13.00. ISBN: 0 226 11372 8.

Jane Collins makes an accessible and valuable contribution to the wide-ranging and often diffuse academic debate on globalisation. The book follows the lead in the title, tracing the historical and economic threads that link workers and managers, producers and consumers internationally. Focusing on the development of the garment industry in the Americas since the 1800s, she paints a compelling picture of the human side of the many changes that have taken place, looking particularly at the shift to subcontracting to Mexico in more recent years. In the book Collins marshals an array of theoretical, economic, and historical data to convincing effect but at the same time retains an engaging attention to specific detail.

In the first two chapters Collins sets the theoretical and historical scene, reviewing a wealth of academic work and providing a handy guide to this expanding field. She situates her contribution in

a body of work produced by feminist ethnographers describing encounters between multinational firms and young women entering the labour market in the export processing zones of Southeast Asia and the US–Mexican border. Citing this background, Collins claims that her work is a ‘multi-sited ethnography’— as she sees it, a means to put ‘names and faces on actors all along the commodity chain’. This is a claim that fails in two ways. Firstly, it is inadequate to describe the depth and breadth of analysis presented and, secondly, the later chapters of the book in particular fail to live up to the description of ethnography.

The middle section of the book, detailing the emergence of the apparel industry in the twenty-first century, is perhaps the strongest part of the volume, providing a comprehensive, yet highly accessible tour of an extraordinary range of historical, industrial and economic data. Using this as background, Collins explores and illustrates this history through two examples of US apparel firms: Tultex and Liz Clairborne. The history of Tultex in southern Virginia and the development of local labour practices are developed in fascinating detail, using both historical data and material collected by Collins using ethnographic fieldwork methods. This localised history is set in sharp contrast with the description of the development of Liz Clairborne, a firm that led the rapid developments in the global apparel industry in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. Liz Clairborne played a lead role during this period in developing approaches to outsourcing, producing its branded merchandise in subcontracted factories around the world from the time the firm was established.

These threads are drawn together in two final chapters looking in detail at Mexican factories now producing garments for the two US firms. On the whole, the analysis of the work conditions in these Mexican factories is far less convincingly argued. The chapters lack the ethnographic detail used to such effect in describing the Tultex plant in the United States. There is a tendency to be overly reliant on secondary reporting, which in a number of cases results in the uncritical use of this material. For example, the term ‘community’ is used frequently and uncritically, without really exploring what this term means to the factory workers, many of whom are migrants. Linked to this is the discussion of labour activism and new forms of community that appears to be almost wholly based on the reporting of the activist organisations themselves. Basic questions about the scale of activities of these organisations are not asked, thus

weakening the analysis as a whole. The contrast between the quality of the earlier chapters on American firms and the weaknesses of the later chapters on the Mexican factories make the claim that this is a ‘multi-sited ethnography’ unconvincing.

However, the flaws in this work are relatively minor and come towards the end of the volume. The opening sections, drawing out the development of the global apparel industry and setting more recent changes in a longer historical context, in themselves make the book worthwhile. The closure of the Tultex plant in Virginia during the period of fieldwork and the comparisons with the struggles of the Mexican workers to improve working conditions and wages provide an especial poignancy to Collins book. Overall *Threads* is both readable and scholarly, two attributes that are infrequently found together in the same volume.

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Fowler, Chris. 2004. *The archaeology of personhood. An anthropological approach*. London and New York: Routledge. viii + 184 pp. Pb.: £12.99. ISBN: 0 415 31722 3.

Le livre de Chris Fowler est certainement promis à un bel avenir en tant que livre de référence dans le domaine bien particulier qui est celui de la réflexion autour du concept de *personne* (personhood) appliqué aux hommes préhistoriques en archéologie. Comme l’a écrit l’auteur lui-même, ce livre est écrit par un archéologue pour des archéologues et pour servir à des fins archéologiques. Il entend familiariser les archéologues, par de nombreuses références critiques à la recherche anthropologique, aux différentes théories, mais aussi aux différentes définitions qui ont été proposées jusqu’à ce jour dans le domaine. Le livre entend donc devenir un guide pour les archéologues soucieux et curieux d’‘humaniser le passé’, pour reprendre les termes de l’auteur.

Le lecteur trouvera de manière très pratique, sous forme de tableaux *a parte*, des définitions précises et utiles sur toutes les notions liées à la personne, la personnalité, l’individu, l’identité, l’indivisibilité, la divisibilité, l’individualité, la ‘dividualité’, etc., dont la plupart ont été développées dans le cadre d’études ethnographiques; des définitions nuancées indispensables à la compréhension pour qui ne veut

pas escamoter la complexité des concepts qu'engage nécessairement une réflexion sur le sujet. L'auteur prend la peine de mettre en perspective et de déconstruire ces concepts contemporains qui se révèlent relatifs d'un point de vue chronologique, d'une part, mais aussi d'un point de vue culturel, d'autre part. Les exemples ethnographiques abondent donc pour relativiser nos propres concepts d'appréhension du monde et éviter de les appliquer sans nuance à la préhistoire – quand bien même devrait-on dire, pour ne pas réduire la complexité de cette période, aux préhistoires.

Chris Fowler montre que la perception d'une entité en tant que personne ne va pas nécessairement de soi et qu'elle est souvent soumise à des contingences d'interactions de bases comme celles de partager, cuisiner et manger la nourriture qui, par excellence, a toujours été une des raisons fortes de rassemblement et de maintien de l'identité et de la cohésion du groupe humain. Ainsi l'archéologie, quand elle entame une étude visant à comprendre le statut des individus (telle qu'entretenue dans un groupe particulier), doit principalement s'intéresser aux traces des échanges, des relations, des transformations sociales et de toutes les interactions qui font que la personne en tant qu'individu appartient à un groupe et, sans perdre de vue que dans le cadre du groupe (et plus largement dans celui de la communauté), le statut de personne varie en fonction d'un rapport conjoncturel et structurel. Ainsi on comprendra qu'un individu n'est pas nécessairement une personne.

De manière plus anecdotique, mais non dépourvue d'intérêt, le lecteur est aussi invité à considérer la possibilité qu'un certain nombre d'objets, d'animaux ou encore de phénomènes naturels puissent être des personnes; non pas seulement *comme* des personnes, mais des personnes *à part entière*, partageant les mêmes droits et les mêmes prérogatives qu'une personne humaine. On se rappellera que cette prédisposition à anthropomorphiser le monde se continue jusqu'à nos jours dans le fait, par exemple, de baptiser les ouragans par des prénoms, jusqu'à leur présupposer un caractère et une attitude propres. Dans la problématique de l'appréhension de l'individu le livre de John Chapman, *Fragmentation in archaeology. People, places and broken objects in the prehistory of south-eastern Europe* (2000), figure en bonne place dans les références du guide de Chris Fowler. En partie reprises de l'étude de J. Chapman, les notions d'indivisibilité/divisibilité, individualité/dividualité, imperméabilité/perméabilité sont mises en avant pour expliquer

tous les modes d'être possibles que peut revêtir l'individu préhistorique en tant que personne.

On ne saurait discuter longuement du fait d'être une personne sans évoquer la communauté dans laquelle cette notion s'intègre, ni même en omettant le support physique de cette individualité: son corps, et ceci de sa naissance à sa mort (ou plus justement à ses funérailles) en passant par ses différentes phases de transformations. Le livre explore toutes ces voies et met en évidence l'intimité qui lie les êtres humains, les animaux domestiques, les objets au sein de la société et de l'environnement qu'ils composent. Tant il est vrai qu'une personne ne se limite pas seulement au corps dont elle est constituée, mais se prolonge dans un réseau d'interaction sans fin. Finalement, l'auteur prend le soin d'explicitier toutes ces notions par l'interprétation du statut des personnes du mésolithique dans le sud de la Scandinavie (Danemark et Suède), entre 5400 et 4600 av. J. C. par l'étude minutieuse de la période d'Ertebølle connue notamment pour ses nécropoles.

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Graeber, David. 2004. *Fragments of an anarchist anthropology. Prickly Paradigm Press (Paradigm 13)*. 105 pp. Pb.: \$10.00/£7.00. ISBN: 0 9728196 4 9.

David Graeber, an assistant professor of anthropology at Yale University, is disappointed by the anthropological community. It is hiding invaluable knowledge from vital social movements struggling for alternative (voluntary) social and political organisation around the globe. Why are anthropologists not sharing their knowledge of non-western societies with activists opposing the 'alienating' economic and political order of the world of today?

This book is giving the answer; it is also calling for an action-oriented anthropology with anarchist fighting spirit. Anthropologists are, says Graeber, afraid of characterising people and cultures in romantic and exotic ways and respond with silence when they are asked for ideas about how society might be organised on a more egalitarian and anti-authoritarian basis. Graeber's eccentric and mindful outline of an anarchist anthropology is extremely inspiring and thought-provoking, ruthlessly shaking some of the discipline's ornamented columns in order to force open the

shrine of ethnographic wisdom and distribute the secret of thousands of cultures to the anarchist activists searching for insight and 'real world' models. 'We have tools at our fingertips', says Graeber as a conscientious anthropologist, 'that could be of enormous importance for human freedom' (p. 105). This is true. None but anthropologists have, for example, thoroughly studied the social coherence of existing non-western (relatively egalitarian) stateless societies. 'The most commonplace assumptions about what would happen in the absence of a state . . . are factually untrue', says Graeber, (p. 95), and the popular hypothesis of chaos and bloody feuds as the direct outcome of voluntary anarchist-inspired organisation, he says, should be opposed forcefully by anthropologists, with reference to numerous ethnographic monographs.

Graeber's booklet doesn't aim to be a concise scientific presentation of an elaborate theory of anarchist anthropology (or anthropologist anarchism), but should rather be treated as a modest fragmented pamphlet with sketches of theories and manifestos – 'all meant to offer a glimpse at the outline of a body of radical theory' (p. 1). As an insider of the colourful anarchist movement in the United States Graeber is well aware of the immense worldwide growth of groupings built on anarchist political thoughts during recent years. Marxism is out; anarchism – with the principles of autonomy, voluntary association, self-organisation, mutual aid and direct democracy – is in (pp. 2–3). But why are there thousands of Marxist anthropologists and sociologists, but only a handful of outspoken anarchist anthropologists? Anarchism is usually seen as 'Marxism's poorer brother', says Graeber, 'theoretically a bit flat-footed but making up for brains, perhaps, with passion and sincerity' (p. 3). This witty remark probably discloses the main problem of anthropology's relation to anarchism. The rebellious fathers of political anarchism, Bakunin and Proudhon and others, didn't search for 'perfect' systems and theories to unite oppressed workers. Science or books, says Bakunin in *God and the state*, are not going to free people from their chains. In particular, Bakunin was directly hostile to modern science and universities. Others, like the Russian geographer Kropotkin, were of a different opinion. Graeber suggests that a (future) theory of anarchist anthropology should explore, for example, a theory of the state; a theory of political entities that are not states; yet another theory of capitalism; power/ignorance; an ecology of

voluntary associations; one or several theories of alienation; and so on (pp. 65–77). The idea is intriguing and provocative, but most of these subjects have already been investigated, even if not as part of a new anarchist theory. The French orthodox Marxist anthropologists' search for 'basis' and 'superstructure' in remote archaic societies in order to prove Marxist political philosophy's universal validity led in the 1960s and 1970s to quite speculative interpretations of cultures, making them fit Marxist theory and concepts. Similar theoretical problems might leave marks on anarchist anthropologists' projects. I don't see any problem with being an anarchist and anthropologist at the same time, but constructing a body of theory combining the scientific and political philosophical explicitly is probably not appropriate.

Anthropology doesn't have to choose sides, to be on the anarchist movement's side or the WTO and global capitalists' side; it is not anthropology's task to change the world, even if I am personally happy to know that individual anthropologists, like Graeber, are supporting and actively participating in the work of anti-authoritarian anarchist movements. Anthropology can indeed give inspiration and insight into the world of non-western, non-capitalist, non-hierarchical societies, but it cannot take responsibility for defining the political aim and strategy of late modern radical urban fronts' search for the 'good life' in 'good societies'.

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Grimshaw, Anna and Amanda Ravetz (eds.). 2005. *Visualizing anthropology*. Bristol and Portland, OR: Intellect. vi + 167 pp. Pb.: £ 19.95/\$ 39.95. ISBN: 1 84150 112 3.

Stupéfiant paradoxe, ce livre est une sorte de 'making off' en écriture d'une série d'expériences audiovisuelles. Cependant l'intention des éditrices était de 'transcender les limitations du logocentrisme' (p. 6). L'expression audiovisuelle devrait donc être le support d'une pensée cognitive spécifique. À l'inverse, l'ouvrage reste une réduction scripturale d'expériences audiovisuelles liées à la production artistique. Nous savons pourtant aujourd'hui que l'audiovisuel est un langage avec lequel l'anthropologie contemporaine doit se frayer de nouveaux chemins.

Rendant hommage à l'école de Manchester et au 'cinéma d'observation', Grimshaw propose néanmoins de 'nouveaux horizons pour l'anthropologie visuelle' (p. 17), notamment le passage d'un point de vue sémiotique à une perspective phénoménologique incluant l'expérience vécue des corps et des sens dans l'énoncé ethnographique. Le cinéma d'observation se maintiendrait avec une 'épistémologie tactile', expression empruntée deux fois (pp. 2, 27) à Laura Marks. Il faudrait avancer dans l'expérimentation, franchir les frontières entre disciplines, partageant en particulier les explorations des 'artistes et autres praticiens visuels' (p. 28). Les expériences rapportées ici par des anthropologues ou des artistes restent cependant sans confrontation des démarches. Seuls le choix et la conjonction des textes nous offriront la possibilité d'imaginer l'accomplissement des intentions énoncées.

La relation entre le réalisateur et ses personnages est l'un des problèmes à l'origine de la réflexion en anthropologie visuelle. La profilmie des acteurs devient une donnée essentielle vers la saisie des comportements et l'expression des sentiments qu'énonçait le propos initial du livre. Normes et valeurs spécifiques de tous (réalisateurs et personnages) orientent le tournage (Amanda Ravetz). Les liens entre les constituants de l'événement filmique passent du regard de l'auteur à celui du 'regardé' qui, regardant à son tour, s'approprie l'expérience (Margaret Loesch). Par les jeux de rencontres perceptives, les rôles se partagent, s'analysent réciproquement. C'est ce que viserait l'intervention d'Elspeth Owen qualifiée de 'tension entre sensoriel et discursif' (p. 11). La narration elliptique d'une expérience efface progressivement une photographie (le père décédé pendant l'exercice). Le texte devient écriture illisible, face à l'ombre photographique du père. Cela semble plus une protestation contre les données de l'expérience qu'une démonstration des rencontres et échanges que proposerait le livre. Même si rupture ou incommunicabilité faisaient partie de ces possibilités. En ce sens Inga Burrows, autre artiste invitée, regrette l'absence de dialogue avec les anthropologues: n'est-ce pas le cœur d'une problématique annoncée? On aurait aimé qu'à cette occasion soient interrogées les finalités de l'anthropologie, audiovisuelle ou non.

Arnd Scheider propose la réalisation filmique comme champ d'entreprise anthropologique. Il aurait fallu, dans ce cas, dépasser une préconception douteuse: un film de fiction, tourné chez des Amérindiens, impliquerait-il nécessairement

l'anthropologie? Comme si, travaillant en France, on parlait obligatoirement de cuisine ou de vin! L'anthropologie d'une production filmique est évidemment pensable: une équipe en tournage instaure une situation spécifique dans un espace social déterminé. Cependant, et en l'occurrence, certaines éventualités de réalisation significatives n'ont pas été prises en compte (faire un film *avec* ou *par* les Indiens) et leur absence n'est même pas relevée par l'anthropologue! Le flou des liaisons interdisciplinaires, l'indétermination des 'objets' et des champs d'expertise conduisent à s'inquiéter du mode de constitution d'une anthropologie à travers des objets dont la production suffirait à la légitimer.

Une subjectivité à l'œuvre (Judith Okley) oriente vers une ouverture post-moderne: le texte se compose à propos d'un film en cours. Les images seraient des notes de terrain, marquées par l'implication affective de l'ethnologue. Parfois l'image échappe au contrôle de celui qui y figure, même lorsqu'il en est le producteur conscient. Le regard échappe au regardant, lié aux circonstances qui font explorer différemment l'espace, exprimant une pluralité simultanée du vécu. L'expérience anthropologique de la distinction des points de vue sur le même 'objet', retrouve celle des artistes qui – délibérément – composent *avec* l'espace (Roanna Heller). Les deux participent d'une (dé)composition des apparences.

Cependant anthropologie et art se distinguent encore. Pavel Büchner maintient la question en termes de production de concepts: 'pourquoi l'art ne ressemble pas à l'anthropologie?' (p. 152). C'est que l'artiste se consacre, notamment, à des 'exercices de l'imagination spéculative sans conséquences réelles' (p. 154). Son exploration du visuel emprunte constamment aux événements occupant le monde où il choisit et organise ses espaces, définit les frontières de sa perception. Est-ce pour cela que seul (malheureusement) Büchner fait une démonstration où l'image, essentielle, n'est pas réduite à une simple illustration? L'artiste établit des relations neuves entre des éléments apparemment ou habituellement séparés. Là est le sens de sa découverte. Il prend au monde ce qui deviendra un nouvel objet: mais malgré la modestie de Büchner, qui peut affirmer qu'à partir de cet objet le monde ne se pensera pas différemment?

L'anthropologue par contre, pour construire l'objet de son observation, doit déplacer les frontières habituelles définissant les objets reconnus, historicisés sur lesquels s'appuient les stéréotypes, les préconceptions et les systèmes normatifs. Son dévoilement ne fabrique pas un

nouvel objet composé selon son simple désir. Il montre seulement des relations imprévues, improbables, jusqu'alors refusées ou masquées par l'ordre social dominant identifié par la même occasion. En ce sens il doit apprendre le langage de l'image à l'intérieur duquel se déplace et pense l'artiste. Essayons de nous diriger vers la re-connaissance de ce langage dans son autonomie et ses performances spécifiques. *Visualizing anthropology* contribue à entretenir cette nécessité, même si n'y ont guères été éclairées les articulations qui mèneraient du visuel à l'écriture: nous restons pour l'essentiel avec un texte . . . parfois illustré.

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Hannerz, Ulf. 2004. *Soulside. Inquiries into ghetto culture and community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 236 pp. Pb.: \$16.00. ISBN: 0 226 31576 2.

Reprinted here with a new afterword, *Soulside* documents Ulf Hannerz's anthropological fieldwork in the black ghetto neighbourhood of Winston Street, Washington DC, one of a number of locations in the 1960s for America's state-sponsored 'war on poverty'. The District of Columbia, in which the Winston Street neighbourhood lies, is poorly integrated into the political economy of the city as a whole, leaving its inhabitants politically disenfranchised. Socially the ghetto is a 'part-time community, as most overarching social institutions are not its own' (p. 12); in short, the ghetto lacks formal society-structuring institutions and its sociality is largely forged through a set of lifestyles. (Hannerz delineates four – mainstreamers, swingers, street families and street-corner men.) The same can be said of cultural life in general for black Americans post-slavery: defined by what it lacked, black ghetto culture and society offered little in the way of resistance to urban anomie, felt in terms of 'the influences of non-structure toward total permissiveness and promiscuity' (p. 74), and so often resulted in a 'tangle of pathologies' (p. 72) of which the prevalence of matrifocal and husbandless households was a symptom. Such assumptions were produced through studies and investigations such as 'The Moynihan Report', set up in the aftermath of civil unrest in black ghettos across North America, and Oscar Lewis' famous 'culture

of poverty' thesis, both released around the time of Hannerz's fieldwork. In debates over the historical authenticity of matrifocal family forms the cultural transmission from plantation to ghetto, from communities in the south to those in the north, is poorly explained, argues Hannerz, and this seems to be characteristic in general of a widespread lack of concern to elucidate precisely the processes of cultural communication in the literature on black American life. *Soulside* is a timely attempt on Hannerz's part to fill some of these theoretical gaps.

For Hannerz, the marriage corporation has its form determined by internal transactions based on the relative contributions of males and females as imposed by limited economic opportunities for each sex, but especially men. The husband cannot even compensate by taking greater command over the household economy and this leads to marginalisation in a case of male role deprivation and female role expansion. A 'ghetto-specific' culture of commonsense allows ghetto males to adjust to the exigencies of a life where their ability to contribute to the conjugal or common-law household, as laid down in the mainstream American model, is constrained by macro-structural economic factors. At the same time, Hannerz notes an alternative ghetto public sphere where the reality of ghetto life is collectively elaborated, in the streets, outside tenements, in black stores, at the theatre and over the airwaves of the Soul radio stations.

In the final chapter, Hannerz poses the question: are ghetto-specific forms of life morally authorised, and so regarded as cultural, or simply a pragmatic response to constraining macro-structural factors undertaken out of necessity and containing no intrinsic emotional attachment? The problem is that, given the constant presence of a mainstream marriage ideology in the ghetto to which many ghetto-dwellers also subscribe, there are few statements positively valuing ghetto-specific forms of life for men (drinking, violence, under-employment, sexuality) as appropriate and acceptable adaptations to immediate circumstances. The question remains, then, whether it is possible to speak of a ghetto-specific 'culture'? While positive statements about ghetto-specific forms do indeed sometimes exist, there is an 'accidental cultural transmission through role modelling' (p. 186), suggestive of Hannerz's later 'form of life' frame of cultural flow, indicating that cultural influences leading towards ghetto-specific behaviour occur accidentally as a consequence of everyday participation in ghetto-specific social spheres.

In sum, *Soulside* is an account of how ghetto dwellers 'make' their urban milieu, though within certain socio-economic constraints, especially for ghetto men. Indeed, Berger and Luckmann's 'social construction of reality' thesis was an early influence on Hannerz, as, he mentions in his afterword, were Charles Keil, Marshall McLuhan and Anthony Wallace: ghetto culture is presented in terms of an 'organisation of diversity' (*à la* Wallace) consisting of individually variable cognitive schemas but with an underlying core of shared understandings that makes social traffic between people and lifestyles possible. *Soulside* warns against drawing too sharp a distinction between Ulf Hannerz's earliest work and the works for which he made his reputation as an anthropologist of contemporary socio-cultural forms. Along with its new afterword, this edition of *Soulside* will cast significant light on Hannerz's place in some of the most important debates in anthropology over the culture concept.

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Hayden, Cori. 2003. *When nature goes public. The making and unmaking of bioprospecting in Mexico.* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. xviii + 284 pp. Pb.: £11.95. ISBN: 0 691 09557 4.

When nature goes public is one of the first ethnographies to emerge from a newly invigorated engagement between anthropology and STS (Science and Technology Studies), in the wake of recent rapid developments in the life and bio-sciences. The promise and expectation often associated with this new interdisciplinary field is satisfyingly delivered here in a book that brings dense, complex, often challenging theoretical and conceptual analysis to bear on an ethnographic examination of the people, objects and scientific practices caught up in bio-prospecting agreements.

Written in the wake of recent international and national agendas to 'give back' to the 'indigenous communities' from whom plant knowledge and materials are being obtained, the book tracks the contradictory lines of inclusion and exclusion entailed in the 'promise of selling bio-diversity to save it'. The focus is on a particular bio-prospecting contract set up by the Arid Lands International Co-operative Bio-Diversity Group (ICBG), that links local plant collectors in Mexico, via university scientists in Arizona and Mexico, with a pharmaceutical company in the United States.

Divided into three parts, the book traverses a range of social arenas bringing together divergent sorts of data and analysis, as perhaps befits an examination of transnational practices like bio-prospecting agreements. This includes analysis of national and international policy and agreements, past and current practices of plant acquisition in Mexico, diverse 'public' spaces of plant collection such as markets and roadsides and the way brine shrimp are used in the laboratory setting to generate knowledge, property and value in plants.

Hayden uses the initial chapters of the book to outline the theoretical framing of her analysis and show how this approach is informed by work in science studies and anthropology, before launching the reader into the heart of what she sees as the globalising neo-liberalism and re-distributive promise at the heart of bio-prospecting initiatives. The rest of this first part of the book focuses on the history of the use and exploitation of plant resources in Mexico and the socio-political events and practices (both national and international) which have come to animate so called 'benefit sharing' agreements. At times fairly dense, the first part of the book nevertheless provides necessary historical and political background to the ICBG agreement, and more importantly outlines the conceptual and theoretical scope of the author's approach in unravelling the possibilities and threats at stake in bio-prospecting agreements.

The second part of the book brings the reader squarely back to Hayden's fieldwork in Mexico, documenting her research with a Mexican ethnobotanist and his team as they confront and negotiate the new modes of inclusion demanded by national and international agreements which were built into the ICBG contract. Here Hayden presents an engaging examination of the contradictory consequences that arise from having to, as she puts it, 'peg both appropriation and re-distribution to the "local" or "community"' when plant acquisition takes place in much more 'public' arenas such as marketplaces or roadsides. The way that the viability of roadsides as collection sites is emerging, in part because of the inability to easily connect such sites to 'community', is just one of the many paradoxes explored in this fascinating part of the book.

The third section extends the line of discussion around the gaps, unexpected consequences and circuitous ways that different actors and practices are caught up in the Arizona bio-prospecting agreement. This includes the generative role of animal tissue, in this case how brine shrimp help

elicit efficacy, value and property in plants for Mexican scientists and rural plant-collectors. This theme is further extended in the penultimate chapter where the author examines the mobilising effect of the confidentiality requirements also built into bio-prospecting agreements where there is paradoxically an 'ethical' mandate to ensure that specimens, people and knowledge remain disconnected.

Treading a subtle and fine line between critique and the need to unravel the dense entanglements engendered by bio-prospecting contracts the book powerfully demonstrates the importance of taking seriously the scientific practices at stake in such agreements and the difficulty of easily rendering these developments as simply capitalist exploitation. This is testament to the way Hayden skilfully synthesises the kind of 'network' analysis that has long been central to STS with discussions of relationality that have emerged over the last decade from anthropological engagement with reproductive and genetic technologies and in particular work on intellectual property rights. Hayden's careful and nuanced work on the extended networks that are entangled in, and through, bio-prospecting agreements are not simply revealed or shown in her terms to be, as she puts it 'choppy', unexpectedly contradictory or paradoxical, but are productive of the very 'actors' (people, objects and practices) that might from another perspective be seen simply to constitute bio-prospecting agreements.

Although in parts dense, in ways that sometimes leave the reader looking for a little more descriptive ethnography, the book's analytical rigour and conceptual originality are undoubted. As a model for social science engagement with new developments and technologies in life and clinical sciences, with their globalising scope and ubiquitous ethical imperatives, the book offers an important and fascinating study.

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Kerns, Virginia. 2003. *Scenes from the high desert. Julian Steward's life and theory*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press. xvi + 414 pp. Hb: \$45.00. ISBN: 0 252 02790 6.

The history of anthropology offers a unique opportunity to combine an interest in

anthropological theory with the methods of ethnography and Kerns' book succeeds remarkably well in demonstrating how this can be done. She has taken the life history of an – in his time – eminent representative of the discipline, Julian Steward, and has shown how his memories of early experiences could explain certain key features of his theoretical thinking.

Kerns identifies the patrilineal band as the key foundational concept of Steward's anthropological theorising. According to Steward, this form of organisation developed among hunter-gatherers who lived in small groups of 50–60 people in arid regions with low population density. Patrilineal residence prevailed because it would be an advantage for the men, as hunters, to remain in an area which they knew well. Other factors influencing this trend were 'innate male dominance' as well as the greater economic importance of hunting as compared to (female) gathering. Under these circumstances patrilocality combined with incest avoidance also implied patrilineality. In spite of a lack of empirical evidence, even from his own fieldwork, Steward never abandoned the concept. For him it remained the prime example of how subsistence activities shape social structures. Kerns adds that it also shows that, for Steward, theory made sense as an expression of natural order, in which what happens once can happen again and probably will, given the same conditions. This elucidation of Steward's implicit presuppositions Kerns attributes in a typically modest and scrupulous manner to Murphy.

Other theoretical notions, such as the cultural core, which Steward described as 'the constellation of features that are most closely connected to subsistence activities and economic arrangements' and which he developed to bring order in the endless trait-lists Kroeber insisted on being collected in the 1930s, he eventually abandoned. Steward's ideas on multilineal evolution, with which he has become very firmly associated in most introductory courses on anthropological history, turn out to have been no more than a superficial gloss, added in haste at the urging of colleagues.

When Stewart was sixteen years old he was sent to an experimental boarding school for boys after the break-up of his parents' marriage. The school, called Deep Springs, was situated on the very arid plateau between the Sierra Nevada of California and the Wasatch Range in Utah, the 'high desert' referred to in the title of the book. The pupils had to participate fully in the agricultural activities of the ranch to which the school was attached. The two

years he spent there had a tremendous impact on Steward. The basic ingredients of life at Deep Springs were land, water, food and the (collaborative) work of men. Kerns argues persuasively that they also formed the central and enduring themes of Steward's research and writing. Ironically, though, Steward never managed to organise his academic work along these lines. However, to link Steward's ideas about the patrilineal band also to his unhappiness in his first marriage, which was uxoriocal and to a wife who was economically self-sufficient as a well established academic psychologist, and which ended in divorce instigated by Steward, may seem too far fetched for some readers.

Apart from reading and analysing many publications and archival materials Kerns has also self-consciously used such basic anthropological methods as observation, visiting many of the places where Steward lived and worked, and interviewing, tracking down and enlisting the collaboration of many people who knew Steward well. The book itself is constructed and reads like an ethnography: a short and succinct introduction and conclusion frame substantive chapters dealing with Steward's life; the central focus throughout is on explaining the subject's theoretical engagement. Emphasis on certain aspects of the professional culture within which Steward worked, such as job opportunities, academic patronage and gender bias, provides the author with an oblique angle for a critical look at his life and work. As the ethnographer forces us to look at Steward through her eyes, she often provokes or entices readers to make up their own mind about these matters, certainly if they happen to be anthropologists themselves. I think that this is one of the reasons why this book stands out from most of the run-of-the-mill 'intellectual biographies', which remain caught in the hermeneutics of self-referential thick description.

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Mythen, Gabe. 2004. *Ulrich Beck. A critical introduction to the risk society*. London: Pluto. viii + 216 pp. Hb.: £45.00. ISBN: 0 7453 1815 0. Pb.: £14.99. ISBN: 0 7453 1814 2.

This thoughtful book is both an introduction to, and a critique of, Ulrich Beck's *Zeitgeist* analysis of 'the risk society'. Beck's work is influential in

shaping contemporary understanding of 'post-modernity'. 'Risk' features prominently in the postmodern landscape and is the object of increasing attention from politicians, the media, academics and 'the public'. Central to Beck's thesis is the 'Risk Society's' creation of social forms not hitherto seen in human history, and how this requires radically new modes of thinking and action. Mythen's aim with this book is to 'construct a long overdue critique of the risk society thesis which refutes the claim that the dispersal of risk engenders a radically new mode of societalisation' (p. 8). The critique is based on an examination of detailed empirical evidence, which, although it refutes some of its claims, also affirms the central 'risk society' thesis and deepens our understanding of its political implications.

The book is divided into eight chapters. The first four are broadly oriented towards understanding and evaluating the way 'risk' is produced, constructed and mediated. The next three concern how 'risk' is perceived and interpreted in 'everyday life'. The final chapter attends to the political movements and motions generated by the prominence of 'risk' in the public sphere. Each chapter starts with an account of Beck's central argument on the topic, drawn from his many publications on 'risk'. Mythen then goes on to critique the arguments through empirical evidence and to draw theoretical and practical implications.

Mythen describes Beck's account of the emergence of the 'risk society' as a narrative about fundamental historical change and transformation. This transformation has occurred as modes and relationships of production have lost their local and national anchorage because control moves to trans-national global enterprises and concentration of capital. In these circumstances, definitions of 'risk' change. For example, in industrial modernity 'risk' was seen as 'probabilities of adverse events' for which industry and nation could make insurance arrangements and from which individuals therefore could expect some redress. In 'risk society', global relationships of production produce 'hazards' for which responsibility is diluted and opaque and against which existing national and local instruments of control are inadequate. Individuals are facing these hazards on their own, without the mutual insurance and support of 'traditional' social structures, which are weakened by globalisation. Sources of truth, order and livelihoods – science, political institutions and industry – have lost their authority for a reflexive public whose individuals are thrown back on their

own resources, responsibility and decision-making for both material and non-material sustenance. In these circumstances, Beck calls for a new 'politics of distribution' which moves away from concerns with equity of access to material goods and towards a concern with the eradication of social 'bads', in the face of which we are, according to Beck, all equal, regardless of class, ethnicity, geography and gender. Using environmental hazards as an illustrative case, Mythen sets out Beck's suggestions that this individuation and equality is in a sense also a source of redemption, for it creates the conditions for a reflexive public which engages with the issues of risk in a number of ways.

Pointing out that history was never that neat, Mythen argues that far from representing a radical shift, the social forms Beck describes as part of the 'risk society' are part of the flow of continuities and changes in human history. Throughout the ages people have faced and still face external 'hazards' with varying degrees of support and control. Although local and global social forms (social structures built on kinship, place, production and economic, social and ethnic differentiation) have been in constant transition throughout history, they have not ceased to shape lived reality and individuals' consciousness about that reality. 'Reflexivity' existed before postmodernism. Importantly, the distribution of social 'bads' is obviously not equal, but socio-economically layered. The sources of, and redemption from, the many hazards of the 'risk society' are therefore shaped by particular economic and social circumstances, and each case of 'risk' has to be understood and managed in its particular context.

In conclusion, Mythen reaffirms key tenets of Beck's 'risk society' thesis in terms of how global hazards continue to evade the national structures of modernity. We need to develop new modes of political action and 'cease plodding on with outmoded strategies of risk management' (p. 186). This requires new forms of political action and mobilisation, with an understanding of the economic, social and political dynamics that shape both the problem and its potential solutions.

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Parker, John, Leonard Mars, Paul Ransome and Hilary Stanworth. 2003. *Social theory. A basic tool kit*. Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan. xiv + 239 pp.

Hb.: £45.00. ISBN: 0 333 96211 7. Pb.: £15.99. ISBN: 0 333 96212 5.

This book was originally part of an introductory module to social theory, and it shows. It is concise, clearly written, well structured and accessible; examples are many, telling and well chosen. Its main intention is to outline the very basics of contemporary social theory. These consist of five primary concepts (or 'tools', namely 'individuals', 'nature', 'culture', 'action' and 'social structure') and some general insights into the ways they function and interact. Intended for laypeople and (undergraduate) students this introduction's main point of departure is that everybody theorises about social phenomena. In fact, 'lay' theorising is one of the things that makes social life possible; the difference between it and professional analysis (more distanced, critical, and so on) is just a matter of degree. Another starting point is that social phenomena have 'real' causes. These are many; they may, moreover, interact and this introduction wants to clarify how. Indeed, none of the five basic tools alone suffices to cause (or explain) social phenomena: all five are necessary, but none of them is sufficient. The causal autonomy of either one of them is limited or, better, relative to that of the other four. This pluralism is central to what the authors refer to as their realist approach. They argue that there *is* a world 'outside', one that exists prior to the individual and independent of interpretation and social theory. Vigorously arguing against monocausal social theories (such as structuralism and culturalism) they hold that the best way of grasping the social dimension of this reality is a profound methodological pluralism.

These five tools (individuals, nature, and so on) also make up the structure of the book: apart from the introductory and concluding parts, it is composed of five pairs of chapters. The first of each pair focuses on the general, theoretical qualities of the concept it considers, and on its necessity; the second on the concept's explanatory value, and on its limitations. This is what the authors refer to as their sufficiency test, singling out one or a few well-documented cases where the influence of the concept under consideration seems strongest. So the introductory chapter on individuals focuses primarily on rational choice theory; the next introduces and elaborates a particular case-study (namely, how African Americans cope with poverty and life in the ghetto) to illustrate both the merits and shortcomings of this approach. In the second part, for instance, the authors try to answer the

question of what 'nature' may explain. In the first of the chapters they focus on the relationship between environment and technology; in the second, they draw on ethnographic case-studies of hunter-gatherers in Amazonia and British Columbia (as instances of a strong and direct link between environment and behaviour). Their conclusions are cautious: the concept of 'nature' (physical constraints, the influence of external factors, the surroundings) should be part of every social analysis; yet one has to be careful not to lapse into environmental determinism. A similar exercise, with comparable results, is carried out for the remaining tools. In fact, the necessity of an inclusive or multi-focused approach sounds like a mantra throughout the book. In their conclusion the authors further present their realist perspective on social science; they discuss the uses and limitations of social science itself and offer a final example of how this flexible basic tool kit can be applied in social analysis. Also included is a selective but excellent glossary of names and terms.

In short, this book offers an excellent, exemplary (as opposed to encyclopedic) introduction to sociology and anthropology. Nevertheless, it is very much cut to fit the educational needs of the authors and/or the programs they are part of, and I am not sure whether it can easily be deployed outside this original context. More important is that the choice of tools seems arbitrary (Why five? Why these?), at times biased (Is 'nature' not a western preoccupation?), and that other, important basic concepts (such as power, or subjectivity) were not included in this basic, but also very general and not always precise, set of 'starter' tools. Finally, the authors fail to highlight the epistemological basis and implications of their 'realism': claiming that explanations should refer to real processes (p. 178) does not solve this problem because it confuses logic with causality. But then again, this is an introductory textbook that should (and does) assist in asking these questions rather than answering them.

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**Parnell, Philip C. and Stephanie C. Kane (eds.).
2003. *Crime's power. Anthropologists and the
ethnography of crime*. New York and Basingstoke:
Palgrave Macmillan. viii + 310 pp. Pb.: £14.99.
ISBN: 1 4039 6180 8.**

Crime's power is an interesting collection of diverse and somewhat uneven contributions held together by a common analytical perspective on crime. The authors analyse crime as an unstable social category, looking at processes of criminalisation that single out some individuals, groups and acts as criminal in particular contexts, and dealing with the ways in which ideas and icons of crime travel across social, political and economic landscapes of difference.

According to the basic argument set forth, crime is an extremely powerful social category. It is particularly salient in times of major social, political and economic transformation when people have to deal with uncertainty as a basic fact of life. Authors argue that ethnographers are very well placed and equipped for doing ethically reflected analyses of crime that do not merely reproduce established the categories of power but rather create new grounds for debating crime and criminalisation (as discussed by Carol Greenhouse, the editors and several other contributors).

As such, the volume is a laudable project of ethnographic inquiry. Contributions make us familiar with the case of a French cobbler convicted for being a collaborator during the Second World War and the barriers to establishing the truth of his case (Vera Mark); with gang rapes, terror-squad practices and other forms of 'wild power' of authoritarian regimes that reproduce gender and class hierarchies, practices which are also engaged in by non-state agents in 'zones of transgression' in post-authoritarian Brazil (Daniel Linger); with Mexican revolutionary Emiliano Zapata, as described by contemporary journalists, who saw him as a criminal attacking progressive, self-governing citizens rather than somebody engaged in a political struggle against the state (JoAnn Martin); with the cultural construction of crime incorporating history and myth in Livingston, Guatemala (Hillary Kahn); with an intense public debate over the display of a serial killer's paintings in a Canadian art museum (Brydon and Greenhill); and with the criminalisation of former ways of organising quasi-legal land tenure in Manila's slums when democratisation enters public discourse and changes the unofficial rules of the game of brokerage for popular organisation (Parnell).

My personal favourite is David McMurray's analysis of the rituals of submission that poor smugglers have to go through in order to pass the otherwise permeable border of the Spanish enclave, Melilla, in Morocco. McMurray's and other contributions, in particular Janine Wedel's

discussion of the contradictions between western and eastern European/Russian understandings of crime and the state, point towards sovereignty as a common theme which, however, is not explicitly brought out in the volume. The discretionary power of state representatives to apply the law unevenly in legal grey zones and situations of generalised disobedience and lawbreaking could be interpreted as a practice of sovereignty. As Schmitt observed, the power to make exceptions is a basic dimension of sovereignty that leaves its mark on the bodies of subjects beyond the realm of rights and citizenship.

My main problem with the volume is the introduction, which kept me from reading the rest of the book for some time. It takes us through one chapter after another in an attempt to summarise the arguments, and the stories behind them, while also taking them to a higher level of abstraction. It did not work for me. Laura Nader does a good job stating what we already know about crime as a category, but otherwise the diversity of the contributions is hard to cope with. While they share an analytical perspective on crime as a category, this perspective opens up a whole array of issues to which it is very difficult to give theoretical or substantial coherence. As it reads now, the sum of the contributions – apart from the conclusions stated above – is a series of assorted points that are interesting in themselves, but they do not come together in a convincing narrative. State, sovereignty and politics are definitely among the most important themes brought forth in the different stories, but they deserve even more analytical engagement.

Despite the diversity, the volume successfully shows that ethnography can make valuable contributions to the study of crime and its contexts. As Parnell notes, crime as a category produces some forms of knowledge but works as a barrier against other forms of knowledge that are being concealed through processes of criminalisation: 'The criminal category is then a barrier worth pushing against through ethnographic practice – what lies behind it may well be worth looking for' (p. 22).

FINN STEPPUTAT

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Pink, Sarah, László Kürti and Ana Isabel Afonso (eds.). 2004. *Working images. Visual research and representation in ethnography*. London and New

York: Routledge. xii + 224 pp. Pb.: £19.99. ISBN: 0 415 30654 X.

This is an important book for visual anthropology as a multi-pronged exploration of a number of methodological and analytical advances. It is also the first major production of the Visual Anthropology Network (VAN) of the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA), developed from a conference of the same name held in Lisbon in 2001.

Sarah Pink of Loughborough University, a prime mover in the VAN, has written the introduction to this volume and a chapter on 'Hypermedia as anthropological'. She co-authored another chapter on 'Anthropology and photography' with Olivia da Silva (of Porto), and co-edited the volume with one of the Portuguese hosts, Ana Isabel Afonso, and with László Kürti (of Miskolc, Hungary) who is also Secretary of EASA. Other contributors are from Portugal (Joao Ramos); Italy (Grasseni); Spain (Camas Baena, Martinez Perez, Munoz Sotela, Orotbitg Canal, Ortiz Mateos – members of the *A Buen Común* filmmaker–research collective); England (Edgar, Henley and Hughes-Freeland); and the United States (Coover). However, the active members of VAN work in nearly all European countries; the IWF Knowledge and Media Göttingen group were instrumental as founders and hosts. The methodological and analytical approaches discussed in the book embrace a wide range of works from both Europe and North America where Margaret Mead, the Colliers, Jay Ruby, Sol Worth, and others are credited but not uncritically followed.

Pink provides a contextualised overview, stressing that the work of VAN and this book are coincident with an explosion of work in visual anthropology and the volume's contents not only reflect this, but attempt to tie in directly with other recent developments in anthropology. She says that since the classic era of ethnographic films, new media have spawned new ways of practice and analysis; hypermedia and digital imaging can now bring the visual closer to mainstream anthropology. On the other hand, she points to new uses of art, drawing and other creative processes which spark new kinds of ethnographic exploration.

The book is divided into two parts. 'Visual fieldwork methods' highlights the potential of the visual in the process of conducting ethnographic fieldwork, often through reflexive and participatory approaches. Chapters by Grasseni and Canal discuss the role of photography for the

anthropologist by using photographs to raise discussions with informants, literally learning to see in a different cultural context. Innovations in the use of drawing can also advance fieldwork methods (Canal, Alfonso and Ramos), and investigations into imagination and perceptions of self may benefit from 'imagework', as explicated by Edgar. Kürti's chapter on postcards from a Hungarian village delineates their historical and cultural significances, made useful and accessible by a digital photo archive established in part by the author himself.

'Representing visual knowledge' focuses on photography, video, drawing and hypermedia as distinctly anthropological productions. Many of the advances stem from the move away from standard 'making ethnographic film for an interested audience' in favour of learning from the process of making films without a primary external audience as the goal, or soliciting drawings as fieldwork methods rather than as objects to collect and analyse. Henley draws upon his experiences in teaching to underline the important distinction between generating and representing knowledge and stressing the experiential role of image-production in fieldwork. Another approach embraces both the experience of ethnographers who learn to make films and that of artists and filmmakers who get interested in reflexive knowledge and anthropology (Ramos, Pink and da Silva, Coover). The chapter by members of *A Buen Común* challenges the line between researcher, film-maker, subject and activist, transforming the production of visual knowledge into a committed project of social change (though not without occasional tribulations).

These works are for the most part very grounded, very nitty-gritty, and the fieldwork by necessity is very personal, both for the ethnographers and the subject collaborators. They exemplify a wide range of possibilities and inspire rethinking ethnographic fieldwork methods, an important step not only for visual anthropology but the discipline as a whole.

NELSON GRABURN and JENNY CHIO

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Richards, Audrey I. 2004. *Hunger and work in a savage tribe. A functional study of nutrition among the southern Bantu*. London and New York: Routledge. xxvi + 238 pp. Pb.: £20.00. ISBN: 0 415 32011 9.

Audrey Richards' classic study of the functional role of food and diet in the social life of a 'southern Bantu tribe' was originally published in 1932. This is a re-edition of her ethnography with a new preface by Henrietta Moore. Richards' work was significant in its time in positing the concept of nutrition as a useful method of orienting the ethnographer in a functional study of social life in the methodological tradition of her predecessors, particularly Bronislaw Malinowski (who provided the original preface to the book). She also reflects his ideas on the relationship between primary biological needs, culture as derived secondary needs, and social institutions. Today her ethnography is not only of historical interest, as its emphasis on the role of food in situating the individual both socially and symbolically reflects current research into consumption and its role in identifying and mediating difference.

By opening her argument with the statement that 'nutrition as a biological process is more fundamental than sex', Richards managed to engage the attention of her contemporaries and situate the importance of her work within the then current climate of interest in sex. Her theoretical examination of the role of nutrition as both a biological process and a social activity is neatly circular and sustains the reader's interest by its systematic approach to the subject. She traces the role of food through the individual, from birth through adulthood, and reflects this process of maturation through an outward progression through the social institutions, firstly, of the household, through the kinship group and concluding with the tribe. Finally, she explores the symbolic nature of food in Bantu society allowing her to return in this way to conclude once again with the individual and the family.

The first section of the book examines the role of the family as food provider and the social acculturation of the individual, from early dependence and focus on the mother until early childhood, gradual maturation and sex differentiation through the adoption of an increasingly economic role. Children are initiated into the social and cultural community not through a sudden 'rite de passage' but gradually, through both the production and consumption of food. As Bantu children grow older, differentiation in food-related activities by sex increases and is accompanied by increasing age differentiation. Awareness of one's position within the family unit and more widely with respect to kin within the patrilineal kinship unit accompanies an increased

awareness of, and respect for, the father, who is ultimately in control of the food supply. Relationships are fostered and developed by a complex system of rules for sharing food such as the division of meat after the hunt. Understanding of one's position within this hierarchy concludes the first section and leads on to Richards' discussion of food production activities in the second.

Food is a tie that binds social activity through production and a physical indicator of wealth and status, largely through the accumulation of cattle. Differing types of food possess different social values, related both to gendered productive roles and the economic organisation of society. The principle productive activities in Bantu society are pastoralism, agriculture and hunting, organised at the household, kinship or tribal level. In section three, the economic system is discussed at length. The role of cattle exchange as bridewealth in marriage contracts, the economic functions of the extended family and the tribal system as a nutritive economic unit, represented through the symbolic and ritual role of the tribal chief, are all discussed in this section. The chief in a southern Bantu tribe was nominally the owner of all tribal lands, organiser of all economic activities and possessor of magical functions such as that of rainmaker. His authority thus derived from his position in the nutritive system. But his position was also tenuous and depended on his perceived ability to beget food. Food was thus a further tie binding socio-economic and politico-religious functions through the position of the chief.

The final section of the book focuses on food as symbolising social relationships through sacralisation, ritual and food sharing, taboo and food avoidance, sacrifice and ancestor cults. Symbolism inherent in the preparation of food, such as fire and gendered roles in food preparation and household life, is addressed towards the end of the book.

If the reader can overcome their sensibility to the dated terminology in the text with the use of descriptions such as 'Kafir' and 'savage' the book is still of importance today and this re-edition is entirely warranted. Richards has argued coherently, and validly, that any 'functional examination of . . . primitive community is meaningless unless we start from the sociological significance of food in that particular group' and, although the methodological approach would differ, this claim is as valid today in the study of social systems, where practices such as cattle exchange as bridewealth and lineage ownership and affiliation of children continue to

feature in many Bantu societies in South and East Africa.

NICOLA DESMOND
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Robben, Antonius C. G. M. (ed.). 2004. *Death, mourning and burial. A cross-cultural reader*. Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell. x + 184 pp. Hb.: £60.00. ISBN: 1 4051 1470 3. Pb.: £19.99. ISBN: 1 4051 1471 1.

L'intérêt de l'anthropologie pour la mort n'est pas neuf. Cet ouvrage édité par A. C. G. M. Robben propose une introduction intéressante à ce thème de recherche. L'introduction de l'éditeur évoque ainsi rapidement une sélection judicieuse de textes ayant eu une ambition comparative en anthropologie, mais aussi en psychologie de la mort, sélection qui rappelle utilement des travaux que l'accumulation contemporaine toujours plus importante des publications risque de faire oublier. Présentée comme la sélection des 'efforts comparatifs les plus importants' (p. 2) en anthropologie de la mort, on aurait pu attendre cependant une justification un peu plus importante de ce choix, qui explique en quoi ces travaux, uniquement en langue anglaise, sont 'les plus importants'. On aurait souhaité savoir également pourquoi ces travaux importants sont si peu repris dans la collection de textes que propose l'ouvrage. Mais l'éditeur consacre ensuite, classiquement, le reste de son introduction à la présentation des textes retenus pour composer ce *cross-cultural reader*. Celui-ci fait en effet cohabiter des textes largement considérés comme classiques en anthropologie et d'autres, plus récents, sur lesquels la sélection, par ailleurs ouverte à des traditions disciplinaires comme la psychologie et l'histoire, exerce davantage, inévitablement, un effet de consécration.

Les deux premières parties de l'ouvrage sont consacrées aux 'conceptualisations de la mort' et à 'la mort et le fait de mourir', dans ce que la façon de penser ces phénomènes et d'y réagir ont d'universel (textes de B. Malinowski, E. Becker, et R. J. Lifton et E. Olson), mais aussi de spécifique à une époque (texte de Ph. Ariès) ou à une 'culture' (textes de E. Badone, A. Straus, M. Cátedra, M. Lock), sans compter ce que leur interprétation doit au regard que l'observateur porte sur elles (texte de J. Fabian). Une troisième partie de l'ouvrage est consacrée aux 'morts non communes' (textes d'E. E. Evans-Pritchard, G. Lienhardt, A. C. G. M.

Robben), puis une quatrième à 'peine et deuil' [grief and mourning] (textes d'A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, L. Danforth, R. Rosaldo, N. Scheper-Hugues). Une cinquième partie est consacrée aux 'rites mortuaires' (textes de R. Hertz, A. Van Gennep, H. Suzuki, B. Conklin), et une sixième traite finalement des problématiques de 'souvenir et régénération' (textes de J. Parry, S. Kan, K. Verdery).

Incontestablement, l'ouvrage présente le mérite de ne pas se focaliser sur les rites funéraires, et de proposer des textes s'intéressant à différents aspects des systèmes de pensée et de pratiques concernant la mort dans les sociétés humaines. Il illustre fort bien le fait que l'anthropologie de la mort et du deuil ne doit pas se limiter à l'anthropologie des rites funéraires. On peut toutefois regretter que les textes choisis pour former ce recueil introductif soient d'intérêt et de valeur relativement inégale. Par exemple, les textes de B. Conklin, R. Rosaldo ou N. Scheper-Hugues amènent des discussions théoriques bien plus riches et stimulantes que la bonne ethnographie de H. Suzuki, dont la contribution théorique est moins évidente, ou que des textes comme ceux de E. Badone ou A. Straus, qui sont des études de cas assez culturalistes (fort tentées par le risque surinterprétatif de la description d'une cohérence culturelle absolue) sans véritable discussion théorique. De même, un texte comme celui de Ph. Ariès, dont le propos a fait l'objet de critiques reconnues, est-il peu remis en perspective dans une introduction de l'éditeur qui manque parfois de sens critique, mais aussi de précision. Ainsi une conclusion de L. Danforth sur les lamentations funèbres de la Grèce rurale est-elle rapportée par l'éditeur dans les termes suivants: 'the exhumation of the dead, several years after the funeral, symbolises the negation of death by a return of the ossified remains to their homes and families' (p. 8). Alors que L. Danforth a écrit pour sa part,

the exhumation seems to reverse the movement brought about by the funeral. However, this reversal proves to be illusory, since it is only the dry, white bones of the deceased that return from the earth and not the deceased himself. The exhumation in fact continues the departure that was initiated by the funeral; it does not reverse it (p. 164).

En dépit de l'une ou l'autre imprécision de ce genre toutefois, et d'un choix de textes qu'on aurait pu souhaiter plus argumenté, le travail bibliographique réalisé par l'éditeur et l'insertion dans ce volume de plusieurs contributions ('classiques' ou plus

récentes) de grande qualité font de celui-ci un très valable ouvrage d'introduction à l'anthropologie de la mort.

JOËL NORET

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Saeed, Fouzia. 2001. *Taboo! The hidden culture of a red light area*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. xxx + 324 pp. Hb.: 595.00 PKR. ISBN: 019 579412 5.

In this work, Saeed explores the performing arts of Lahore's Shahi Mohalla, a district which is home to many of the popular performing artists of Pakistan, a place renowned for its Indo-Asian traditional cultures of singing, music and entertainment. By 'entertainment', read prostitution in the vein of the Japanese geisha girl trained in the performing arts. This leing Pakistan, a devoutly Muslim society, prostitution is grouped into this unofficial ghetto of nightlife where women are desired but denigrated, doubly subalterned in their own society.

The book is a zealous study by a feminist committed to understanding and overturning male prejudices, government prescriptions, social and moral contradictions, and sexual discrimination. After academic beginnings, Saeed went into the policy and development world of the Aga Khan foundation, the UNDP and ActionAid (country director) to develop Pakistan and women's mobility rights in particular. The book is published by OUP, and printed in Pakistan to keep the price low enough to reach its target audience. It should certainly do so. Further, the style of writing makes the volume accessible to the lay reader as, in 33 chapters, Saeed moves through research hurdles, research relationships and research locations. Because she was working on taboo, exposing immoral and irreligious women's behaviour, she lost her government research job while in the field and had to persevere in her research self-funded; she had to balance time with, and her gifts to, her informants to avoid jealousies and rivalries; and she had to drive around a red light district at night, an attractive woman on her own.

Between 11 pm and 1 am, Shahi Mohalla comes to life with the sounds of male musicians (*dhol wala*) playing drums to their dancing girls (*Kanjar*) in their performance rooms (*kotha*) for their wealthy clients (*moti asami*). Typically, these musicians belong to the Mirasi caste, and the dancing girls belong to a family with a local performing/prostitution tradition. These

relationships are as complex as the twists and turns in the 500-year history of courtesan entertainment in Shahi Mohalla, a nursing ground for Pakistan's entertainers and performers, who now dominate national television and cinema. Young daughters are prized for they can be sold or married off to clients keen to 'take off their nose rings' (*nabh utarwai* – deflower the virgin). Many years later, those now old prostitutes cannot marry and cannot attract interest in their performances, and so they become stuck in the role of the *grandes dames* of the *kothas*.

Saeed's performance/prostitution study is over three hundred pages long. However, much of it is repetitive, and sometimes the personal, story-telling narrative detracts with its slow pace, over ornate dialogues and inappropriate descriptions. For example, one informant 'had a face which showed experience' (p. 40), another a 'childish temperament' (p. 150); and elsewhere researcher and informant 'exchange looks' (pp. 46–7) over conversations about English language proficiency. Nor is the text helped by the overuse of Pakistani colloquialisms, expressions and insignificant terms which the reader has to use the glossary to follow (*affis* = office; *dum* = capacity, *tali* = wood). This is in marked contrast with the lack of academic references and readings, approximately fifty for such a lengthy book. In sum, this book is a creative crossover text and will appeal to an Indo-Asian educated elite public, as well as academic professionals working on sex and gender studies, music and performance. Other academics would do best waiting for some more distilled and pithy articles drawn from Saeed's research.

JONATHAN SKINNER
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Taschwer, Klaus and Benedikt Föger. 2003. Konrad Lorenz. Biographie. Wien: Paul Zsolnay Verlag. 340 pp. Pb.: 24,90€. ISBN: 3 552 05282 8.

The sociologist Taschwer and the ethologist Föger present a highly readable comprehensive biography of the contested Nobel Laureate Konrad Lorenz. Having previously cooperated on a monograph dedicated to a treatment of the scientist's involvement with National Socialism entitled *Die andere Seite des Spiegels. Konrad Lorenz und der Nationalsozialismus* (2001), they now chronologically cover the various phases in Lorenz's life (1903–89) from childhood to old age. These central chapters are framed by an introduction and epilogue.

What characterises this biography is the consideration of a vast amount of archive material not previously used, including material concerning the scientist's involvement with National Socialism. This results in a sophisticated portrait of the highly contested pioneer of the discipline of ethology. Taschwer and Föger trace his development from animal-loving boy in the countryside to passionate student of medicine and zoology in Vienna; his first discoveries and lack of academic recognition and money; his Nazi enthusiasm; his first employment as a professor; wartime and internment in Russia; his post-war academic development; the award winning 'man who talks to the geese'; and, finally, his emergence as an environmental activist and wise old man warning of the sins of humankind. Lorenz emerges as a passionate student of animal behaviour and an opinionated preacher who liked to conclude 'von der Gans aufs Ganze' (from the 'goose to the whole'), and who tirelessly proclaimed his vision of nature and the human condition (epitomised in *Die acht Todsünden der zivilisierten Menschheit*, 1973).

That Lorenz was a member of the NSDAP, which he later tried to deny, is broadly known. What Taschwer and Föger try to show is that Lorenz not only was a 'minor member' and used Nazi terminology because it 'had to be done' but that he was a typical representative of what may be called a 'political biologist' of the time, in his articles diluting – or rather 'thickening' – biology with politics, and science with ideology (p. 98). They draw on a vast amount of correspondence from the time, in which Lorenz talks of himself as a Nazi preacher, and not only out of opportunism.

Indeed Lorenz's beliefs about nature, especially his Darwinism, in many respects overlapped with Nazi ideas about nature: the importance of the survival of the group, the problem of degeneration, and the contrast between full and valuable as opposed to non-valuable members of society. Lorenz claims to have had his own ends in proclaiming these ideas, but it came in handy that these ideas were well received in Nazi Germany at the time – in contrast to pre-war Austria, where Catholic Austro-Fascism deplored anything Darwinian. Tracing his life and work it becomes clear that he had his own (different) ends. That he so readily jumped on to the Nazi train does not qualify as naivety, as he later wanted people to believe. Taschwer and Föger must be credited for making this clear.

However, it seems to me that the authors unwittingly create feelings of empathy with the protagonist, and thus fall victim to what they set

out to overcome. In their introduction Taschwer and Föger inform the reader that previous biographers or commentators had all known Lorenz personally and were thus biased. Lorenz, they explain, possessed enormous charisma, and always came across as convincing and likeable. How does one present a sophisticated picture of a controversial personality that includes his or her ideas and motives, without being either too sympathetic or demonising the person? This is a great dilemma in biography. To my mind, the authors have tried so hard to remain neutral that they have failed to emphasise the scandal in this particular life story. When they cite the Austrian journalist and literary critic Sigrid Löffler, who with sharp-tongued criticism challenged Lorenz's continued lack of distance from national-socialism (p. 221), the reader is startled: but for this citation, the book is all too tame. It is written in a readable, matter-of-fact tone; it never accuses. In addition, the chronology of events seems so logical and causal. When Lorenz, despite the fact that he is viewed as an up-and-coming young scholar, cannot find proper academic employment for over a decade before the Second World War, the reader cannot but understand that the 30-something desperately needed a job in academia; when 'luckily' and 'finally' his ideas are well received in Nazi Germany, Lorenz tries to obtain positions that had become vacant almost overnight because Jewish colleagues had been fired.

Overall, this is a good biography of Konrad Lorenz. It draws on a gold mine of material and cites a number of previously unconsidered sources. The authors dig deep and try to untangle Lorenz's life, science and politics – a difficult endeavour considering how much he mixed these aspects up himself. The changing value of the scientist's research is very well laid out in a highly laudable piece of history of science, especially when one considers the increased importance of biology in the behavioural sciences today. Also, Lorenz's NSDAP party affiliation, as well as his ideological development, is comprehensively documented. Yet, apart from the introductory warning that biographers tend to be won over by his charisma, as well as a critical epilogue, the biography presents a very humane and possibly too sympathetic picture of the life of this notable scientist and Nazi. Considering the weight of the personality, this biography for my taste is too tame. It left me with an uncanny feeling of empathy.

BARBARA GÖTSCH
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Vale de Almeida, Miguel. 2004. *An earth-Colored sea. 'Race', culture and the politics of identity in the post-colonial Portuguese-speaking world*. Oxford: Berghahn. ix + 138 pp. Hb.: £35.00/\$49.95. ISBN: 1 57181 607 0.

This book provides a lively, political and up-to-date kaleidoscope of some parts of the Portuguese post-colonial world. Written in a sharp and rather personal way, it is a combination of travelogue, field notes and theoretical writing. The reader follows easily the author's journey to various geographic and intellectual places. The six chapters impress by their different topics, structure and mode of narration. Nevertheless, each one contributes to the author's aim of shedding critical light on post-colonial conditions and experiences in the Portuguese-speaking world. Thus, Vale de Almeida's book becomes a 'map for navigation' (p. 26) that opens new and different perspectives on its topic: identity politics in the post-colonial world. The book's argument is convincing, with its main strength coming from its subjective and at the same time sharp analysis.

Chapter 1 serves as an introduction to the broader topic. It takes us to the Caribbean, to Trinidad. Here, the author is pulled into the present everyday discourses on ethnicity, racial heritage and (self)-identification. Unintentionally, his own 'Portugueseness' works as a trigger for his examination of the current construction and use of *ethnicity/race* as a socially relevant category, and the associated discourses and practices. The mix of travel journal with theoretical reflections gives a good insight into the process of knowledge production and development, and – more importantly – on the complex social and political meanings of ethnicity in Trinidad. The author points out that the concept as well as the use of ethnicity *always* takes place within power relations. Hence, we understand the sentence 'Ethnic politics is a politics of marginality' (p. 13) as a leitmotiv for his approach throughout the book.

In Chapter 2 the author goes to Ilhéus, Bahia in Brazil, where he looks at some groups of the Black movement and their political and cultural representations. Particular attention is paid to the question of the embodiment of difference – specifically inequality. The author chooses three persons representing different groups to analyse identity formation processes in the Brazilian context. He describes Brazil ('racial democracy') as a challenging place for looking at the concept of 'race' with its shifting political meanings and

contemporary discourses on cultural difference. A highlight of the chapter is the identification of consequences and dilemmas for the Black movement. Finally, he problematises the tendency of 'culturalism' leading first to commodification and objectivation and, second, to embodiment.

'Back home', the author notices that his Afro-Brazilian experiences have changed his view of Portugal and post-colonial discourses. Hence, Chapter 3 focuses on the concept of 'Luso-tropicalism', the supposedly 'special' way of Portuguese colonisation. Vale de Almeida critically examines its underlying theory and political instrumentalisation until the comparatively late independence of the Portuguese colonies after 1974–5, as well as the related intellectual discourses until present. The subsequent chapter analyses the terms and rhetoric of *hybridism* and *mestiçagem* (*miscegenation*) in the Portuguese colonial context, where they were linked to the construction of national identity and its representations, respectively the maintenance of the empire. In chapter 5 Vale de Almeida relates his thoughts to recent actuality: the political events in East Timor in 1999. Looking basically from a personal point of view at the highly active pro-East Timor support movement in Portugal, which he regards as 'an exceptional case' (p. 83), the author reflects on the Portuguese post-colonial condition and the 'entanglement' (p. 90) with its former colony.

Chapter 6 explores the relationship between anthropology and post-colonial concerns from the

point of view of Portugal as a former coloniser. Here the author also explains explicitly the title of the book and his ironic term of the earth-coloured, somehow muddy, 'Brown Atlantic'. Clearly an allusive modification of Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic* (London: Verso, 1993), 'Brown Atlantic' is a critical reference to the 'hegemonic narrative of the Portuguese miscegenation project' (p. 109). Briefly commenting on the fact that the interest of Portuguese anthropologists in post-colonial issues is only now awakening, he ends with some recommendations for further analysis in this area, emphasising that they should not only 'accept the specificity of its colonial experience, but must refuse any notions of culturalist exceptionalism', and pointing straight to the ongoing Portuguese discourses, 'freeing itself from Luso-Tropicalism' (p. 114 ff.)

The strength of this important book – besides its varied style and mixture of textual approaches and topics – is that it exemplifies convincingly the importance of, and need for, a greater diversity within post-colonial studies, decentering them from the predominant Anglo-Saxon perspective by looking at the experiences of *other* former colonisers and empires, and above all at the experiences and conditions in the formerly colonised societies.

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