
Sous un titre éloquent, Barraud et Alès présentent un recueil d’articles sur la distinction des sexes fondés pour la plupart sur des sociétés océaniennes ou de l’est de l’Indonésie, terrains qui avaient déjà fourni le support d’une remise en cause des approches ‘classiques’ de la parenté. L’ouvrage est introduit par un long et précieux prélude composé de trois articles qui, mobilisant des arguments différents, soulignent le caractère sinon totalement ethnocentrique du moins réducteur, de la majorité des études sur le genre, enfermée dans des analyses en termes de dualité et d’inégalité quelle que soit la société étudiée. Ils nous invitent ainsi à nous interroger sur la pertinence des valeurs et concepts issus de la pensée des sociétés des Droits de l’homme et considérés comme universels par ces dernières pour décrire des sociétés holistes pour qui la notion de personne est différente. Sont ici posés les jalons d’une analyse comparative de la distinction des sexes en tant que relation et solidaire des autres distinctions importantes d’une société donnée, soit en dehors d’une dichotomie universelle homme-femme, la différence des sexes étant, tout comme les sexes eux-mêmes, socialement construite.

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L’étude des vocabulaires de parenté qui disposent de termes de sexe relatif (Kei, Orokaiva, Lio ou Yanomami) où l’indication de sexe n’est pas en elle-même notifiée mais dépend de la connaissance que l’on a du sexe du locuteur ou parent de référence, est propice à cette analyse de la distinction en terme de relation. Par ailleurs, la mise en rapport de la distinction des sexes avec d’autres distinctions (âge, génération, collatéralité, par exemple) évite de penser le couple comme une totalité autonome alors que, comme le montre notamment Schwimmer à propos des Orokaiva, les relations entre deux personnes se comprennent en rapport avec les autres types de relations qu’elles entretiennent. Chez les Aborigènes d’Australie, les relations entre les sexes dépendent du rapport qu’hommes et femmes entretiennent avec le savoir sacré (Poirier) et, bien que contraintes par la loi des hommes et celle des femmes, diffèrent selon les périodes de la vie (Glowczewski). De même, Alès montre que la distinction des sexes n’est pas pertinente dans tous les types de relations sociales des Yanomami où qu’elle ne l’est qu’aux moments particuliers du cycle de vie. Ces variations dans la diachronie sont également au cœur des analyses de Platenkamp sur le vocabulaire de parenté des Tobelo (incluant les vivants, les morts et les non-nés) et de Itéanu qui examine la correspondance entre le vocabulaire de parenté et les rituels des Orokaiva des plaines.

Ces analyses montrent chaque fois comment, à l’intérieur d’un système de vocabulaire ou d’un système rituel, la distinction des sexes s’associe à d’autres distinctions, jamais les mêmes et jamais de la même manière, pour signaler un niveau de valeur dans l’ordre général de la société (p. 78).
L’ouvrage s’ouvre sur le récit de frustrations produites – en un nombre aussi fréquent qu’il existe de projets de développement – par les inégalités de salaire et de reconnaissance entre expatriés et praticiens locaux du développement. Comme les auteurs l’écrivent, l’aide internationale est, en effet, enchaînée dans les circonstances complexes caractéristiques de relations inégales et ces inégalités sont repérables dans les relations de travail. C’est à ce ‘facteur humain’ que l’ouvrage est consacré. Les auteurs entendent pourvoir leurs lecteurs des outils nécessaires à la prise en compte de l’individu dans son fonctionnement social au niveau des entreprises de développement, abordant – à l’aide d’études de cas – les dynamiques de l’aide, de son apport et de sa réception.


L’ouvrage est bien documenté et proche des réalités institutionnelles. Celles-ci ne sont cependant pas situées, en amont, dans le contexte plus global des rapports inégaux dans lesquels s’insère toute la problématique de l’aide, ni, en aval, dans celui, plus particulier, de l’insertion des projets dans la vie des simples gens et dans les stratégies des intermédiaires locaux de tous rangs. Point d’analyse politique, point de perspective anthropologique, deux démarches empêcheuses de développer un rond.

Faut-il en faire grief aux auteurs dont l’objectif est un fonctionnement plus efficace et ‘humainement’ plus satisfaisant des institutions d’aide? Certes, non et d’autant moins que, rencontrant leurs objectifs de façon fort intéressante, ils n’omettent pas d’évoquer les ‘cycles de l’aide’, même si la ‘chaîne de l’aide’ est, décidément, du sommet à la base, celle-ci étant formée des ‘bénéficiaires/participants’ non identifiés plus précisément. Même sociale et organisationnelle, la psychologie reste centrée sur l’individu et les interactions entre individus. L’abord des ‘comportements humains’ dans les entreprises de développement ne s’applique pas à l’échelon des stratégies des groupes qui les constituent ni ne descend à celui de ceux qui sont l’objet de leurs activités.

L’ouvrage porte sur les sphères hautes et intermédiaires des administrations du développement, organisations non-gouvernementales comprises. Il intéressera tous les spécialistes du management et, en l’absence de ceux-ci sur les sites des projets, les gestionnaires de projet eux-mêmes, pour autant qu’ils embauchent sur un ‘self-coaching’ à partir des pistes de réflexion nombreuses sur la gestion des ressources humaines dans le contexte du développement.

NATHALIE BONINI
Université François Rabelais, Tours (France)


L’ouvrage possède cependant les défauts de ses vertus: le choix d’aborder la distinction des sexes en terme de relation, notamment à partir du sens qui se dégage de l’étude formelle des vocabulaires de parenté, et le désir – louable – de se détacher d’une approche dualiste focalisée sur l’inégalité des sexes conduisant la plupart des auteurs à éclater tout rapport de domination inhérent aux rapports sociaux euphémisant ainsi les rapports de sexe. Enfin, en dépit de la volonté des coordinatrices d’éclairem le lecteur néophyte sur les mécanismes et significations des vocabulaires et plus largement sur les relations de parenté, la richesse et la complexité des terminologies autant que la profondeur des analyses proposées, le réservent à des lecteurs avertis.

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L’appa...
Dans le contexte archéologique des Balkans, ou plus généralement dans le secteur de l’Europe du sud-est, la réflexion de John Chapman s’intéresse à une certaine espèce d’objets (outils en pierre, poterie, bijoux métaux précieux, ossements animaux ou humains) qui se caractérisent par le fait que – lorsqu’ont été éliminées toutes les autres possibilités d’usure, de destruction accidentelle ou destruction après déposition – ils sont systématiquement retrouvés incomplets. C’est cette particularité qui intrigue l’archéologue et qui va le mener, à travers une étude minutieuse et bien documentée, à formuler une théorie sur les liens sociaux des êtres de la préhistoire de -8000 à -2500.

Présumant un principe théorique basé sur l’analyse minutieuse de ces objets – la fragmentation volontaire – John Chapman met ensuite en évidence, et par conséquence, deux processus, permettant le maintien ritualisé de la cohésion et de l’affirmation sociale du groupe humain (de l’individu au groupe) par l’enchaînement (partage d’un même objet entre plusieurs individus créant ainsi un lien particulier entre eux) et par l’accumulation (amas d’objets dans le domaine mortuaire ou de la maison reflétant ou le statut social de l’individu ou un rituel particulier). Cette habitude de la fragmentation d’un objet en plusieurs parties pourrait trouver son origine dans le partage de la carcasse de l’animal tué lors de la chasse, et dont le partage permettrait d’assurer la continuité et la survivance de tous les membres du groupe (individualité collective), mais aussi plus spécifiquement par rapport à leurs ancêtres (reliques), à leur statut social (accumulation) et au territoire dans lequel ils évoluent, pour y vivre comme pour y mourir (rituel de fondation par déposition et ensevelissement des morts au sein de la maison – caractéristique d’une forme d’enchaînement généalogique – ou dans une nécropole, avec l’affirmation du statut du défunt par l’accumulation d’objets accompagnant la dépouille mortelle).

Pour étayer son propos, l’auteur prend soin de ne pas perdre de vue les nuances qu’il faut nécessairement apporter à ses propres théories; à ce titre il se garde bien de prétendre qu’on saurait tout interpréter selon le principe de ces deux idées directrices d’enchaînement et d’accumulation. Toutefois, force est de constater par les exemples avancés, par le soin apporté par l’auteur à ne pas élider les questions et les notions liées à la question problématique de ce qu’est un individu ou encore à la question du statut d’un objet au temps de la préhistoire que cette théorie, même s’il ne s’agit que d’une hypothèse parmi tant d’autres, se révèle opérante. Ajoutons finalement la présence de divers appendices détaillés sur chacun des sites archéologiques fouillés, analysés et mentionnés dans le livre, pour faire de l’étude de Chapman un livre de référence.

L’ouvrage de John Chapman est ainsi une brillante illustration de ce que l’archéologie peut produire comme théories fécondes quand elle est combinée à des questions de types anthropologiques et sociales qui réfléchissent non pas seulement sur la question de l’objet en tant que tel mais sur la dynamique de l’objet et la dialectique supposée entre celui-ci et les êtres humains qui l’ont utilisé autrefois.

**Fabrice De Icco**
*Université de Lausanne (Suisse)*

Yves Delaporte has explored the world of deafness in France since 1992. Les sourds, c’est comme ça is a wonderfully rich account of the everyday life and the recent memory of the 80,000 people living in France who can be classified as ‘deaf’. Delaporte claims convincingly that these constitute a cultural and linguistic minority divided into a large periphery and a centre. At the centre, Delaporte found a well-articulated and close-knit community.

Without neglecting the ‘periphery’, Delaporte concentrates on this ‘centre’, which includes graduates of specialised boarding schools who have been immersed in a community of sign-language users from childhood, as well as some networks of families comprising only or at least several deaf people. The ethnographer found that this community was more than willing to accept him in its midst; explanations and (often painful) life-histories poured forth.

As soon as Delaporte progressed in his understanding of sign language and deaf culture, he acted as a ‘cultural translator’ mediating with the outside world, a role he also adopts in the book under discussion. The basic tenet which the author wants to convey is that deaf people have not to be seen as physically deficient and in need of a medical cure, but as a minority possessing its own language, all but completely ignored and misconstrued by the larger society in which they are immersed. According to the conceptions of deaf people themselves, there are two ways of being in the world, one focused on hearing and speaking, the other on taking in visual information and using sign language (the latter mode of communication being arguably the richer and more complete). Sign language uses the concepts of ‘deaf’ and ‘hearing’ like anthropological categories; deaf people define themselves as an ‘ethnic’ rather than a disabled minority.

Delaporte offers a wide-ranging ethnographic account of the lives of deaf people in contemporary France, including economic aspects (employment), kinship issues and common beliefs, such as the surprisingly recurrent view of destiny apparent in encounters between deaf (and some special hearing) people. The author discusses sign language as a clue to common concepts, social practices and historical documents reaching back to the eighteenth century.

For a while, pre-revolutionary France seemed set to evolve into a society appreciating and supporting deaf people with the Abbé de l’Épée (1712–89) championing their education in sign language and exhibiting some of their astounding capabilities to Parisian society. Delaporte picks up the historical narrative in the late nineteenth century, when the International Congress of Educators of the Deaf at Milan in 1880 decided to eradicate sign languages. The deaf people whom Delaporte encountered in France in the 1990s were ‘emerging from a century of oppression’ during which – apart from a small number of specialised boarding schools – sign language was forbidden virtually everywhere. What intervened was the ‘réveil sourd’, the ‘Deaf Awakening’ of the late 1970s and early 1980s, a movement of deaf self-empowering and self-appreciation. An account of the international and national context of this particular facet of the disability rights movement (itself part of the civil rights movement) would have been helpful here. Delaporte makes the deliberate choice to tell history from the inside perspective of the deaf community, which is perhaps why events such as the Congress of Milan and the Deaf Awakening seem to occur almost out of the blue. Some more dates and concrete information would sometimes have helped contextualise not only the historical events shaping the destiny of the deaf community, but also the many – somewhat free-floating – accounts of deaf adults remembering their suffering in childhood and at school. On the whole, Les sourds, c’est comme ça contains an abundance of telling anecdotes and memorable stories. Delaporte wants thus to illustrate the repetitiveness of certain (frustrating or exhilarating) situations. The vivid pictures he evokes fully attain their goal of furthering understanding of the predicament of deaf people in France.

The author and the community he portrays support that classic tenet of the disability rights movement according to which it is not the physical ‘deficiency’ which poses the main problem, but the surrounding non-disabled world. An ablist, ‘audio-centrist’ society and the physical (i.e. visual and auditory) environment it creates impede the full and free development of the deaf community. This line of argument works perhaps even better for deaf people (who have transformed their physical difference into a basis for a separate culture) than for some other types of disability. However, when deaf people stress their ‘cultural’ specificity (and discrimination) to the point of refusing the label ‘disabled’ altogether, as seems to be the case in France, a problem may arise which Delaporte does...
not recognise as such. Doris Zames Fleischer and Frieda Zames discuss the complex issues related to this kind of argument (*The disability rights movement. From charity to confrontation*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001, particularly pp. 27–8). Those who reject their self-description as being ‘disabled’ contribute to the general devaluation of disability against which the disability rights movement had originally set out to fight – a rhetorical move which might prove to be self-defeating in the end.

**ANNE FRIEDERIKE MÜLLER**
King’s College London (UK)


Soon after Nepal opened up to anthropological research some fifty years ago, the Thakali people began to be written about as an ethnic group with a collective project of social advancement. Distinguishing themselves from lesser achievers among the middle-range, Tibeto-Burman dialect groups of the Himalaya, they embraced cultural practices congruent with the Nepalese ruling classes, developed entrepreneurial outposts and property around the kingdom, and turned their backs on vestiges of Tibetan Buddhism. Or so the story went.

William Fisher brings twenty years of research and observation to bear on this portrait of the Thakali, and effectively pulls apart oversimplifying narratives of history to present a more credible version of ethnic identity-making. From the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, control of the trans-Himalayan salt trade through the Kali Gandaki valley provided wealth and influence for a small number of families, who transformed their self-image into national actors with a kingly-caste ancestry. Fisher argues that this happened when the need arose to build new relationships with the state and its elites with the end of the salt monopoly, and demonstrates how the extent of cultural reinvention differed among claimants to Thakali status. The picture of who the Thakali are is a contestable tableau. Ambiguities and disputes are revealed in reckoning ethnic membership based on ancestral residence in the original core villages, and just where the territorial borders of inclusion are set. Fisher gives substantial weight to the often-neglected areas of west central Nepal where generations of Thakalis have migrated and intermarried with people of other ethnic groups. Issues of clan descent, language, residence, religious affiliation and ritual practice are variably emphasised as being important for claims to Thakali identity, depending on the cards people have to play with.

The merits of the book lie firmly in Fisher’s questioning of the strategies people choose to speak on behalf of an imagined ethnic collectivity, and the similar effects that anthropologists and other observers have had in presenting the Thakali as a classic case of Sanskritised upward mobility. He is aware of the peculiarly modern phenomenon of people finding a past for the purposes of the present. The book traces attempts at explicit cultural reform from the 1930s, and has illuminating accounts of council meetings where the criteria for, and importance of, being Thakali have been openly disputed. Since the 1990s, ethnic associations have proliferated in Nepal, and though this wider political context of ethnicity is mentioned, the Thakali relationships to broader alliances and the societal effects of new ethnic consciousness are not explored.

There are questions the book does not address, such as whether fluidity for some can mean boundedness to others. Denial of fluidity and group membership to certain categories and statuses is an important strategy for differentialising fluidity. The relative weight given to endogamy by sections of the Thakali is an example. Fisher is clear that endogamy is a disputed principle (the elite is renowned for marrying Euro-Americans), and that ‘pure’ status can be recaptured with three generations of appropriate marriage. Yet his treatment of disparaging terminologies for families thought unworthy of affinity fails to problematise the derogatory idioms used for families associated with witches, and the unpardonable habit of turning beer sour. These are treated as actually existing kin groups, rather than as rhetorics of exclusion.

The ethnographic style in this work is discontinuous. After a lively and colourful first few pages, the next hundred consist of chapters on myth and history, kinship, migration and economy that lack embedded observational accounts in which real live people are evident. For example, the detailed analysis of changes in Thakali rotating credit associations is a significant contribution, but the technical description does not convey a sense of the tone in which they are conducted, or the performative or rhetorical dimensions to
negotiating positions of financial need and obligation among the participants.

Fisher’s account of the scholarship on fluid ethnicity in Nepal has overlooked some key European contributors, but his final arguments are well made. He moves questions of ethnic identity on from quests for coherence and authenticity by actors and scholars to a matter of when and where ethnicity becomes an issue. Instead of the image of the Thakali as a singular collectivity transforming itself into an effective Sanskritised caste, the author has successfully offered a view of disparate actors pursuing associations and alliances in tension with purified notions of clear boundaries and coherent cultural allegiances.

BEN CAMPBELL
University of Manchester (UK)


Robert Nisbet noted a long time ago that the major problem for sociology (and anthropology, I hasten to add) is to bring in motion and move away from fixed states and ideal types. This edited volume, dedicated to the memory of Ernst Geller, does precisely that – rather hesitantly at first, but more convincingly as its fourteen landscapes unfold. Resulting from the 1995 conference ‘Changing patterns of nomads in changing societies’ held at the University of Haifa, its primary emphasis is on the various Bedouin communities across the Middle East. Its geographical scope, though, also includes Madagascar, Kazakhstan, Siberia and Mongolia. The theme the volume discusses is the marginalisation and pauperisation of pastoral nomads by modernist politics and policies across the globe. In so doing, it explores various forms by which nomad communities (or factions within them) manipulate government and government agencies in order to eke out a living, make a profit or, in the worst-case scenario, simply survive.

What divides the different contributions is the degree to which they rely for their analysis upon a strong antagonism between a nomadic and sedentary logic, worldview and society. Some see the difference as essential and insurmountable. In their introduction, for instance, Ginat and Khazanov claim that sedentarisation is inevitable and that pastoralists should adjust to commercialisation and market-oriented transformation. The argument of Khazanov’s own article repeats the observation that herdsmen feature as examples of the negative effects of modernisation, that they, in Baxter’s words, survive despite rather than because of development initiatives (p. 8). A similar contribution by Danner and El-Rashidi opposes modernisation and development through education to tradition: their argument is in favour of a kind of ‘protective development’ (p. 77). Next, Frank Stewart explores the internal logic of the Arab wedding, Sharon Baştuç, too, ventures down the path of traditional (structuralist) anthropology, offering a theoretical reappraisal of segmentary lineage systems and segmentation. Kostiener takes a more historiographic approach to explore the role and importance of nomadic groups in northern Arabia with regard to state formation and conquest by both the British and the Ottoman empire. Finally, Barams discusses how the archetype of the traditional, fierce, desert-dwelling nomad is recycled in Iraqi political imagination and discourse.

Other authors in this volume see the difference between nomadism and sedentarism rather as a matter of opportunism and adaptation to ecological, political or economical circumstance. Lancaster and Lancaster, for instance, consider change as inherently part of ‘the’ pastoral logic. They see that nomads are multi-occupational and work in a multi-resource economy and argue, contrary to Khazanov, that nomads continue to flourish because of their capacity to adapt to both climatic and political changes (p. 24). Typical of their position is the way they regard the term nomad (or pastoralist) as a merely descriptive term – as ‘someone who moves to gain an economic livelihood’ (p. 32). So Eickelman discusses the social and moral imagination of ‘being Bedouin’ in Oman. In a similar vein, Fabietti argues that the opposition between sedentaries and nomads in Saudi Arabia should be understood as the struggle of a centralising state to control and subdue any autonomous social body within its confines, and that this opposition is heir to western modernist thought (p. 51). Medzini studies why Bedouin in the Galilee prefer spontaneous (illegal) settlements to settlements planned and built by the Israeli government, while Kaufman powerfully documents the resourcefulness of the cattle-keepers of southern Madagascar in relation to change, colonisation and western conservation efforts.

Whereas Ginat analyses changes in society at large (the Bedouin of the Negev in Israel) by tuning in to the ‘smaller’ level of marriage patterns and
ways of sanctioning and conflict resolution, Szyrkiewicz discusses the socialist experiment to free Mongol pastoralists from ecological limitations and what became of these collectives after the dwindling of the party-state after 1990. Finally, Krupnik’s analysis of reindeer pastoralism in Siberia convincingly demonstrates that sedentarisation and ‘nomadification’ are strategic and opportunistic responses to changing ecological circumstance, extremes on a wide continuum of political and economic strategies.

The big divide in this volume is therefore between those authors who consider nomadism to be a disposition and those for whom it is a strategy. In that sense, it might be considered as representative of the entire debate within the field of pastoralist studies. Of course, this difference relates to other positions taken by the authors (for instance, it seems to correlate with the different role, impact and ‘intentionality’ they attribute to state structures and governance, or to how they understand basic notions such as ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’). Nevertheless, this helpful volume offers a wealth of (sometimes conflicting) approaches and material. It is well-documented and ethnographically sound, though some contributions lack analytical depth: it does not suffice to demonstrate that things and people are changing. They are, and an analysis should probe the why and how – the minute particulars – of this change. Nisbet was right, and this book illustrates it very well.

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This book focuses on ‘traditional healing performances in Bali, with special reference to ritual practices carried out by consecrated healers, celebrations conducive to well-being, when masked figures of Barongs and Rangda sing and dance, and shadow theatre’ (p. 2). Thus, first and foremost, it is an ethnography of the traditional Balinese medical system, a system that ‘intertwines Hindu, Buddhist and Tantric elements which have been grafted on to a base of pre-existing customs and religious beliefs’ (p. 3) – that is, magic, sorcery, shamanism and ancestor worship (chapter 1). The author moves with some agility between the everyday world of the village community and the family, where most troubles and sickness are said to originate (chapter 2), and discussions of the ‘cosmic power’ embodied in traditional healers (chapter 3), the shadow theatre of Calon Arang (chapter 4), the masked figures Barong and Rangda (chapter 5), and the annual festival of Galungan (chapter 6); as it is the manipulation of this power that underlies the Balinese quest for well-being, the book concludes (chapter 7) with an attempt to grasp its efficacy.

In more theoretical terms, emphasising ‘the importance of addressing local experiences of health and illness within a socio-cultural perspective’, the author is concerned ‘with the meaning that the Balinese give to experiences of illness and health, and the value system that interconnects indigenous concepts of self, society and cosmos’ (p. 6). Pursuing these interconnections through an ethnographic analysis of the various ways in which her informants enact their quest for well-being, she suggests that healing performances constitute ‘a form of spiritual and aesthetic sensibility and practice’ which gives people the opportunity ‘to transform, destroy and recreate life experiences’ (p. 244).

This transformation reflects the connectivity between the ‘invisible’ and the ‘visible’; although the two realms complement each other, the visible is the everyday world while the invisible is the silent realm of spirits and ambivalent energies. Tapping the inherent power in the unseen world in order to re-order and transform the lives of their clients, all healers are considered as ‘bridges’ between the seen and the unseen. Under their guidance, a patient comes to attain and experience the right kind of body, a body coordinated and united within a cosmos of balance and integration – that is, a healthy body. Similar experiences are said to stem from participating in religious festivals like Galungan or following a performance of the shadow theatre Calon Arang. Thus, embodied experience is the touchstone of the overall argument. Furthermore, couched in the language of phenomenology and performance theory by echoing the work of anthropologists like Desjarlais and Kapferer, this experience is said to promote reflexivity and self-actualisation, and to manifest an ‘aesthetics’ of illness and health.

Albeit slightly predictable, this is an intricate argument. It seems, however, to raise more questions than it answers. First of all, there is the matter of the traditional hierarchy and its
As the author herself notes, the Balinese are divided into four wangsa (‘peoples’): Brahmanas, Satriyas, Wesias and Sudras. Do the bodies of the different ‘peoples’ relate to the cosmos in the same way and to the same degree? Beyond their shared ability to attain ‘reflective awareness’, could there be different forms of human embodiment and diverse kinds of bodies or selves? Even though in certain contexts (the hamlet council, for example) all humans are said to be treated as equal, why and how is healing one of them? Furthermore, if healing is a process of self-actualisation, is the agency of a Sudra more curtailed than the agency of a Brahmana? In other words, although it underlies much of the argument, the assumption of an equally shared humanity is not really discussed or justified. Second, there is the matter of animals and other forms of non-human agency. For instance, if animals ‘cannot attain reflective awareness’, in what sense are the human and non-human not separated? Furthermore, how can our depiction of the Balinese universe avoid ‘a human-centred philosophy’? Finally, there is the notion of embodiment itself. While there is interesting material on sensibility and the aesthetics of healing experience here, there is much more on beliefs, myths and shared understandings – in other words, this is embodiment with a cognitive slant. Thus, despite the author’s evocation of mind-in-the-body theorists (such as Desjarlais, Csordas), her overall argument is more reminiscent of body-in-the-mind themes (such as ‘understanding’ as a mode of being in the world).

All in all, although a number of questions remain unanswered and the book displays a certain theoretical ambiguity, it deserves to be praised for the high quality of the ethnographic material it presents and for illuminating the underlying ontology of an extremely complex indigenous medical system.

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This volume on people–wildlife relations in Japan is a very welcome addition to the ethnographies of contemporary Japanese society that have been published during recent decades. Extremely well written, theoretically informed and with a deep sensitivity to empirical material it very successfully presents issues that go beyond the stress on wolves (as its title suggests) to deal with wider relations between society and large mammals. No less importantly, given the strong emphasis on urban groups and phenomena found in almost all current anthropological work done on Japan, this volume offers an exploration of rural issues and problems.

At the same time, Knight’s volume does not lose sight of how images of the ‘rural’ are closely linked to the development of Japan as a consumer society and to the place of wildlife mammals within these trends. Thus while the volume is based on periods of intensive fieldwork carried out in the mountain villages of the Kii peninsula (in Shimane prefecture), Knight very skillfully weaves in analyses of wider aspects of people–wildlife relations throughout Japan. As he shows, images of wildlife (especially large mammals) combine antagonistic assumptions with concern and affection. The volume includes maps, figures and photographs that exemplify and clarify the discussion found in the text. Moreover, to augment and strengthen his contentions based on interviews and observations, Knights uses a very impressive array of texts taken from books and articles about nature in Japan, hunting magazines and newspaper databases.

The volume itself is divided into eight chapters (including an introduction and conclusion that are not numbered). The introduction sets the scene for the book as a whole with a depiction of how rural depopulation has been the outcome of out-migration in search of jobs in the urban centres of the country. It then explains the significance of the diminished human presence in the woodlands (that make up about two thirds of the country’s area) in terms of people’s ability to resist the pressure of forest wildlife. As Knight explains, one suggestion that was put forward to deal with this situation is the reintroduction of wolves to rural forests as a sort of ‘benign predator’, hence the book’s title. The second chapter provides a sketch of the main actors involved in the mountain villages, including farmers, foresters, hunters and the animals themselves. This allows Knight to trace out the kinds of local industries and interests that entail relations with wildlife.

The main part of the text is taken up by five chapters that deal with the large mammals that inhabit or have inhabited the island and that figure prominently in people–wildlife relations. These include wild boar, monkeys, deer and serow, bears
and wolves. Each chapter deals with similar issues such as the image of the mammal, the problems they pose for farming and forestry, and the special issues raised by them for the different local actors and outside groups such as conservationists or tourists. The conclusion highlights again a problem that seems peculiar to Japanese forest areas: in contrast to the overwhelming majority of cases around the world, Japan offers an instance of human space giving way to wild space, a process by which Japan is ‘losing’ national human territory to wildlife. In addition, as Knight skilfully shows, this re-conquering of space by wildlife – and especially large mammals – is interpreted very differently by groups from the urban centres and from the rural peripheries.

The volume contains a host of interesting insights of importance both for the study of societal–animal relations and for the understanding of contemporary Japan. Thus, for instance, Knight includes an excellent analysis of the links between fear, courage and masculinity involved in boar hunting. Another fascinating example is the chapter on attempts to rehabilitate the wolf’s reputation as a dangerous predator that threatens humans. Specifically, this chapter focuses on the work of the Japan Wolf Association and its attempts to reintroduce wolves to Japan. The association is trying to create a more favorable image of the wolf by stressing its contribution to exterminating vermin, wider ecological themes of species preservation and links to the idyll of the forests of the past in which nature and humans were in a purportedly harmonious relation. In this manner, the recreation of a positive image for the wolf is based on the place of the wolf in Japanese folklore (as helpmate to humans), the existence of wolf shrines and the critique of the excesses of modernisation and industrialisation.

But, as Knight shows, this story has a contemporary twist to it, for in trying to reintroduce wolves into Japan, the association has problems with finding suitable candidates. The decision has been taken to focus this reintroduction on Mongolian wolves and not animals from the United States because the former are said to be like the now extinct Japanese wolf, and thus not an ‘alien’ species. This analytical move allows Knight to show how the memory of animals is actually based on human ideas of kinship and cultural proximity.

I thoroughly enjoyed reading this excellent ethnography. It is a fascinating, well-written and insightful addition to the study of contemporary Japan and to the exploration of people–wildlife relations.

E Y A L  B E N - A R I
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Llobera, Josep R. 2003. An invitation to anthropology. The structure, evolution and cultural identity of human societies. New York and Oxford: Berghahn. x + 262 pp. Hb.: $75.00/£50.00. ISBN: 1 57181 597 X. Pb.: $25.00/£17.00. ISBN: 1 57181 598 8. Llobera’s contribution to the long list of elementary books in anthropology – ‘an introductory course to social anthropology’ (p. vii) – belongs to a different genre than the books I read as an undergraduate in Oslo in the 1990s. Composed of four modules, each divided into introduction, aims, summary, questions and bibliography, together with an epilogue with Huntington’s clash of civilisations as finale, An invitation to anthropology is interesting and stimulating reading with an approach reminding me of times past in anthropology. Seductive and convincing in its logical and clear-cut structure, the volume disregards many of the annoying ambiguities that impeded my entry into the field of social anthropology.

Llobera’s book is impressive in its comprehensive and encyclopaedic presentation of theories and key concepts relating to all aspects of human societies. He offers relevant empirical examples from numerous regions and continents around the world, but his style of writing is quite untraditional in that most theories are presented schematically in a few sentences arranged in numbers – probably an advantage for the students in the phase of examination preparation.

As a strong proponent of so-called scientific anthropology, Llobera argues that it ‘is time, once again, to ask: where did anthropology go wrong?’, and later, in a general critique of postmodern and poststructural relativism, that ‘only a unified science of man will do’ (p. 24). His invitation to anthropology is an invitation to scientific traditions that have been under heavy attack for several decades, some having even been rejected and excluded from syllabuses, which is why strong feelings of past times are evoked in reading the book. Ideas usually associated with severely criticised evolutionist and positivist traditions in social science are integrated in many of the book’s provoking discussions, and Marvin Harris’s
controversial cultural materialism is adopted without objections worth mentioning. This is a scientific position very far from what Thomas Hylland Eriksen’s introductory text, used at most universities in Nordic countries, advocates. Llobera’s book breaks free from the dominating hermeneutic and relativistic writing in fashion in the western European anthropological community, but also represents a threat to a certain humanistic world-view that has been an essential part of the anthropological identity of leading anthropologists. The apparent revival of functionalist utilitarian theories, well represented in Llobera’s book, reflects new tendencies appearing predominantly in the American natural and social sciences.

The new interest in biology and primordialism in anthropology is changing the priorities of textbook contents, making An invitation to anthropology very fitting. The book’s chapter on ethnicity in module four does not start with Fredrik Barth’s classic text from 1969, as one would expect, but with ethnocentrism:

From a biological point of view, the key issue about ethnocentrism is how effective it is in enhancing the survival and reproduction of individuals. We have already pointed out that ethnocentrism is a variable which depends on socio-economic conditions. In a given ecological niche, the shortage of resources will tend to induce groups to compete for them, while if resources are abundant cooperation is more likely (p. 203).

This is a good example of a functional materialist explanation that is persuasive and scientific, but which can be contested by alternative models. Claude Lévi-Strauss’s and Marshall Sahlins’s famous critiques of classic functionalism opened the way to new approaches in anthropology. An invitation to anthropology offers, as it says on the cover, an original approach placing social anthropology in a wider context. The numerous references to sociological, psychological, historical and biological concepts and theories link anthropology to many independent disciplines, making unusual associations and connections between different fields of knowledge an obvious option. Although controversial, Llobera’s elementary book is welcome because it opens the way for new debates and discussions in anthropology. The author is bringing old scientific battlefields into light, advocating the role of biology and race in anthropological studies. The epilogue ends with a dim and fatalistic view of humanity’s future prospects: the clash of civilisations (making Samuel Huntington’s bestseller from 1996 prophetic). The last sentence of the book is about ‘civilisations’. ‘Finally, a well-known case is that of Islamism pursuing a line of military confrontation with the west.’ This isolated sentence, taken out of context, fits into what the media are daily confronting us with – the big confrontation that people fear. Llobera’s book is courageous and provocative, but first of all it is ‘fresh’ detailed and sophisticated introduction to an old discipline.

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Almost a hundred years have passed since Marcel Mauss published his study of prayer, a fragment comprising the opening sections of an unfinished doctoral thesis written at the behest of Durkheim, his uncle and mentor. Whereas Durkheim’s parallel studies on religion led to a foundational text in anthropology, Mauss’s efforts were virtually forgotten. La prière was included in his collected works, published in 1968, but it is seldom cited and has had to wait until now for an English version. Susan Leslie’s excellent translation is part of a long series of Oxford-based translations of the Durkheimians dating back to The gift in 1954. That book, already influential in French structuralism, had a second wind following its English translation and inspired a host of new studies of exchange.

It is unlikely that On prayer will have a similar belated impact. Mauss himself had serious doubts about his findings – the newly emerging Australian ethnography, selected to exemplify the most ‘elementary forms’ of prayer, was too rich and contradictory to fit his evolutionary scheme. (From the text one gets little sense of this abundance: the few prayers quoted are withheld like rare gems until the last pages.) As Howard Morphy points out in a useful afterword, Aboriginal oral traditions proved to be more complex symbolically and formally than Mauss envisaged. Moreover, the ethnographic gains of the fieldwork revolution were soon to be matched by more sophisticated techniques of analysis that would leave Mauss’s comparative method some way behind.

There is, nonetheless, much of interest in this well-presented volume. Mauss’s careful discussion
of differences among types of oral rites – incantations, spells, invocations – remains instructive. Working towards a provisional definition of prayer – ‘a religious rite which is oral and bears directly on the sacred’ – he deftly demolishes rival theories and elaborates themes that would become hallmarks of the Durkheimian school: the necessity of considering the ethnographic object under every aspect, the importance of context, the social dimension of oral rites and their interdependence with other social phenomena. He goes on to outline his analytical method, a version of controlled ethnographic comparison combined with schematic historical review which he calls ‘genetic explanation’.

Ultimately this depends on an equation of the primitive with the primordial, allowing Mauss to claim that, despite its ‘simplicity’ and ‘crudeness’, ‘Australian prayer nevertheless contains all the essential elements of the more complex and refined rites to which idealist religions give the name prayer’ (p. 67).

But what, on the evolutionary scale of prayer, should count as high or low, simple or refined? The spontaneous prayer of a ‘liberal Protestant’ is surely simpler in formal terms, less symbolically dense, than the liturgical prayers of the Catholic mass; yet Mauss sees it as more developed because it is individualistic, unconstrained by tradition. And if individual mysticism is the most advanced form of religion, the ultimate expression of prayer, as Mauss believes (pp. 24–5), where on the scale should we place those eastern mystical traditions that seek to transcend the separation of worshipper and God – the very separation which, in exoteric religion, motivates prayer and makes dialogue possible? (When I once asked a Javanese mystic if he had ever prayed, he replied simply, ‘Prayed to what?’ – his riposte implying both the vanity of prayer from a monist point of view and a denial of anything outside the divinised self.)

Inevitably one reads such a book with the easy wisdom of hindsight, conscious of theoretical developments and roads not taken. Mauss foreshadows later discussions of ritual on such questions as the broader social effects of collective prayer, the impression of religious utterances on the consciousness of participants and the inculcation through prayer of what, in a later essay, he would call habitus. In view of subsequent linguistic work on ritual, his comments on verbal efficacy (pp. 34–7, 51–6) are particularly interesting. He recognised that word and deed are most perfectly harmonised in the divine creative logos, the Qur’anic Become!

the biblical Fiat! ‘The efficacious power of form is never as evident as it is in prayer. Creation by the word is the very type of creation ex nihilo’ (p. 36). Drawing upon sacred language, ritual speech borrows some of this power; in quoting God or speaking the words of the ancestors we co-opt their creative force, and our words gain an efficacy lacking in ordinary human speech. Words become deeds; what one says will be done. Following Austin and Searle, Tambiah was to show that the mechanisms of powerful speech depend on performative structures. But a formal account of sacred language cannot be enough in itself, and this is something that Mauss, unlike many later commentators, seems to have recognised. As the experience of fieldwork commonly testifies, people are not simply persuaded by analogies; prayers and spells are more than a grammatical trick. A further leap of faith (for example, in the divine powers harnessed by words) is required, a leap that is also a moral and existential affirmation. Otherwise we should all be persuaded.

On prayer is an unbalanced book. The introductory chapters that make up two-thirds of the 76-page fragment refer to unfinished sections on Vedic and Christian prayers, and belong to a much longer, more discursive work in progress. The short, footnote-laden ethnographic section on Aboriginal prayer – more a coda than a climax – gives only a glimpse of what Mauss might have achieved. Nevertheless, anyone who has puzzled over the sketchy accounts of missionaries and pioneer ethnographers cannot but admire Mauss’s analytical skill and insight, his careful sifting of evidence, his scrupulous rejection of anything tainted by hearsay or presupposition, his minute attention to vernacular idioms, his refusal to seek easy translations of European concepts, and above all his ability – from the depths of a library – to position himself outside the categories of his own cultural background. How many field-hardened ethnographers have achieved as much?

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Language, discourse and power in African American culture is a socio-linguistic study of
African-American English (AAE) that demonstrates how African Americans ‘use language as a cultural resource that in turn represents, constructs and mediates social reality’ (p. 1). While giving an overview of specific forms of grammar, style and verbal genres, the book’s more specific focus is to contextualise AAE within the African-American community as well as broader American society, using data from research conducted over fifteen years in three urban centres and in the southern state of Mississippi.

Chapter 1 lays out the book’s main premise, linking language to community. It situates the evolution of AAE in the Creole tradition; its roots lie in American slavery and it is the result of two (or more) languages and peoples in an exploitative system that both results from and reflects slavery, white supremacy and institutionalised racism. The African-American speech community was initially largely equivalent to the slave community, geographically concentrated in the American South. However that community and black culture in general were transformed by the ‘Great Migration’ to the urban north in the first six decades of the twentieth century that resulted in greater variety in attitudes, beliefs and practices. Morgan argues that reactions to the subjugation and marginalisation of African Americans in plantation slavery produced an ‘anti-society’ with an associated counter-language based largely on indirectness, functioning as a form of agency and resistance.

The second chapter studies the language ideology of AAE, based on the premise that shared ideologies link cultural and linguistic phenomena. Morgan gives illuminating examples of important facets of AAE. The first is social face; based on Goffman’s earlier work, she describes how the use of language in the construction and assessment of social face is linked intrinsically with the concept of multiple audiences. The second aspect elaborated here is that of indirectness, its various guises in language and its variation with directed speech. Both indirect and directed speech are important in assessing social face, and discerning whether an individual is ‘being cool’ and ‘acting a fool’.

Chapter 3 discusses language norms and practices, highlighting the practical and symbolic importance of code-switching skills. In order to improve life chances, African Americans need to master both AAE and general English (GE); knowing which form of English is appropriate to which context is an important social skill. Morgan illustrates the relationships between language, ‘race’ and social class – AAE being associated by the general public with poverty and sometimes ignorance – but asserts that middle-class blacks use AAE to represent solidarity and as a marker of racial identity.

The fourth and fifth chapters elaborate on two linguistic sub-communities. The first is African-American women, marginalised in language research as most studies have focused on African-American male adolescents. Morgan demonstrates the process of female language socialisation and the significance of rumour and the two poles of ‘to your face’ and ‘behind your back’ talk. The next group explored is urban youth, more specifically in the context of hip hop culture. Hip hop language and discourse highlight the intersection of AAE and GE, in which linguistic skill and local knowledge – expressed in semantics, pronunciation, spelling and grammar – signify belonging and ‘realness’.

The final chapter discusses the role of AAE language research in American educational policy, focusing on the highly publicised case of Oakland Board of Education’s plans to implement language education incorporating ‘Ebonics’, and the national debate that ensued. Different theories of African-American academic underachievement are reviewed, and Morgan ends with a condemnation of the ‘miseducation’ of African American youth perpetrated in the American public school system.

The subject matter of this work is very interesting and the links between language, culture and power, as illustrated by this American case, are important for linguists, sociologists and anthropologists alike. Morgan has ample personal as well as research experience in the African American speech community and her stances on the issues described above prove clear and well-stated. On a more critical note, the book’s index is so incomplete as to be useless and Morgan’s style, alternating between socio-linguistic jargon and a more personal tone, becomes tiresome at times, for instance in the excessive use of exclamation marks. The issues Morgan sets out to explore are fascinating, but the data she uses often fail to give strong support, while the use of personal and family experience is at times distracting rather than illuminating. Ultimately the book is somewhat unsatisfactory, disappointing this reader in her anticipation of a well-written, comprehensive volume on the topic of African-American language and its links to African-American and wider American culture.

RIVKE JAFFE
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Darrell A. Posey died in March 2001. Throughout his anthropological career, he made major contributions to the understanding of Kayapó culture, particularly with regard to the ways the Kayapó understood and managed their environment. The Kayapó, like other Amazonian groups, are under threat. Posey was not content simply to learn about the Kayapó but was also very active in campaigning to help protect them.

This book is a collection of previously published material written during his 25 years of work with the Kayapó. In response to repeated requests for offprints of his articles, Posey began to pull together a collection of what he considered to be the ‘best of his work’. He was assisted in this by Kristina Plenderleith who completed editing the volume after his death. As such, this book stands as a memorial to Darrell Posey. As someone who lectures on the Kayapó, I am thankful that Kristina Plenderleith has completed this work, not least because some of Posey’s publications are very difficult to track down. My one complaint with this volume is that parts of it are repetitive. However, this in itself clearly indicates which aspects of Kayapó culture and ethnobotany Posey felt were the most important.

The book is divided into four parts, the first of which focuses on Kayapó history and culture. It includes information on how the Kayapó manage the forest, the social and environmental impact of contact with Brazilian colonists, and Kayapó mythology and shamanism. Part Two focuses on indigenous knowledge and Kayapó ethnobiology. This includes a consideration of indigenous knowledge and Kayapó ethnobiology. It starts with a section entitled ‘Linguistic analysis and discourse’ that consists of articles about such linguistic aspects of discourse as intonation (Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen), markers (Deborah Schiffrin), semantics (Neal Norrick), information structure (Gregory Ward and Betty Birner), typology (John Myhill) and register variation (Douglas Biber and Susan Conrad). The second part shows how discourse analysis can be
approached in practical terms and how various theoretical conceptions of discourse can be applied to any analysis. The range of approaches presented varies from conversational analysis (Emanuel Schegloff), interactional perspective (Monica Heller) and ethnography (John Gumperz), embracing also variationist approaches (Sylvie Dubois and David Sankoff), computer-assisted text and corpus analysis (Michael Stubbs) and different methods of transcription (Jane Edwards). This part of the book shows vividly that the methodology of discourse analysis cannot be located within the traditional dichotomy of quantitative vs. qualitative. Rather, it chooses freely what it finds useful from all research techniques available to the humanities. For instance, ethnographic methods are widely applied because they allow for the direct addressing of real-life interaction and situations of discourse production. This feature also works the other way round: discourse analysis can be used by anthropologists, sociologists and literary critics to improve their analytical inventory.

The third part of the book views discourse through the prism of language, context and interaction – the conceptual triangle constitutive of this category. The division of this part into two sections follows the logic of the opposition between society and culture. The first section comprises articles devoted to the various political, social and institutional contexts where discourse can be used as the key category of analysis. These include articles on political discourse (John Wilson), racism (Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl), medicine (Nancy Ainsworth-Vaughn), legal discourse (Roger Shuy), media (Colleen Cotter) and educational discourse (Carolyn Temple Adger). The second section describes the discursive dimension of various areas of cultural (re)production such as intercultural communication (Ron Scollon and Suzanne Wong Scollon), gender (Shari Kendall and Deborah Tannen), ageing (Heidi Hamilton), childhood (Jenny Cook-Gumperz and Amy Kyratzis), new communication technologies (Susan Herring), narrative (Barbara Johnstone) and conflict (Christina Kakavá). Those interested in the theoretical status of discourse analysis will find the final section, ‘Discourse across disciplines’, particularly useful as it addresses the issue of the place of this field among such established disciplines within the humanities such as sociology (Allen Grimshaw), social psychology (Rom Harré) and linguistics (Elite Olshtain and Marianne Celce-Murcia).

The extensive scope of the topics covered in this handbook prevents it losing sight of the various types of discourse analysis that differ in methodological approach or object of study. The book is an excellent theoretical and practical aid for teachers and students of discourse analysis, but might leave readers with an impression of ‘scattered knowledge’ and a lack of cohesion in the field. Anticipating such reservations, the editors emphasise that they consider the vastness and diversity of discourse studies an asset (p. 5). They start the book with their own professional life histories to show how they came to be interested in discourse analysis, making their way there after feeling outsiders in linguistics or sociology, and later initiated and promoted the institutionalisation of discourse studies at Georgetown University. These are success stories that are bound to encourage researchers from various disciplinary backgrounds and national traditions to turn to discourse analysis as a viable methodological and theoretical framework.

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The idea behind this collection is commendable: to draw together new research on forced migration across an interesting range of countries, including Sri Lanka, Sudan, Guatemala, Angola and Mozambique. Ultimately, however, the book is doubly disappointing, lacking a strong common theme running through the papers and serving mainly to highlight a series of problems in the use (or perhaps misuse) of the core method of ‘ethnographic’ fieldwork.

The first disappointment is, perhaps, one common to collections such as this where the research areas, aims and methods used are so disparate that it is difficult to find a thread that binds them together. The second is of the greater concern, as a number of the authors use the method as a basis for claiming that it gives instant access to in-depth, ‘insider’ knowledge and allows the researcher to represent those being researched. These claims are made without taking proper account of the responsibilities of the researcher to those being researched.
In the introduction to the collection the editors struggle to identify a set of issues that could unite the papers, beyond the basic statement that the cases examined look at the two main situations of displacement – violent conflict and environmental disasters. They look briefly at issues around the definitions of ‘types’ of migration, suggesting a continuum between voluntary and forced, and discuss well-worn, and somewhat tired arguments about refugees, migrants and displaced people which view them as both victims and agents of change. Beyond these brief discussions of the theoretical positions underlying the papers, the editors are reduced to providing descriptive overviews that draw out the occasional and somewhat tenuous links existing between them.

This in turn leads to the second problem. The paper by Kjerti Larsen on the Hawawir, a nomadic group in northern Sudan, is the only one in the collection to make use of the ethnographic method in a way that makes sense, with a firm theoretical basis and rich ethnographic data set in a strong historical and political context. Larsen examines concepts of mobility and identity amongst the Hawawir in the context of the forced displacements after the drought in the 1980s, and argues for a shift away from interpretations that place an emphasis on rupture in understanding mobility to a greater focus on continuity. Measured against this, the other papers look like examples of how not to use the ethnographic method – illustrations of various aspects of the use and abuse of the approach in development research.

Some start out with very little theoretical underpinning. For example, Zackariya and Shanmugaratnam’s paper on displaced Muslims in Sri Lanka presents a series of interesting findings about the effects of displacement on women and their livelihood opportunities. However, the absence of a full examination of the roles and perspectives of others prevents any strong conclusions being drawn about changing gender roles. Stolen’s paper on the exile and return of communities from Guatemala is almost entirely historical and descriptive, with no theoretical perspective and no clear conclusions drawn.

Other papers draw on an inadequate evidential base, relying too heavily on individual case studies without situating these in a convincing contextual analysis. The paper by Brun on displaced Muslims in Sri Lanka and that by Birkeland on Angola draw conclusions from brief case studies that make it difficult to see how representative the ‘evidence’ is. Haug’s paper, also on the Hawawir of northern Sudan, takes an overly theoretical approach, apparently to draw attention away from a lack of any evidence at all. Finally, there are papers that use the ethnographic method primarily as a means of giving research some kind of credibility: in the case of Lund, writing on the Veddas in Sri Lanka, the paper is little more than a development consultancy report, while Massinga and Bryceson’s article on Mozambique is basically an environmental study.

The chief concern here is that much of the research claims to use the ethnographic method without having any real understanding of what this entails. Only Larsen provides the detailed historical and political background that situates the in-depth understanding to which the ethnographic method gives some access.

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The European Union is involved in the construction of its own political and legal space through a constitution that should confront several questions. One of the most important is cultural diversity based on relationships between national or ethnic majorities and national or ethnic minorities within the union. This book is a theoretical reflection connected with the second of these sources of diversity.

The text brings together papers about ethnicity in Spain, Belgium and specifically Brussels presented by the author in different contexts. They have in common the general principle that comprehension of ethnic strategies of exchange complements knowledge of the historical process of ethnogenesis. The main arguments of the book are developed in three chapters. The first focuses on the purist opposition between ‘old Christian’ (from birth) and ‘new Christian’ (from conversion) in modern Spain. The endurance of Spanish Inquisition and blood cleaning statutes until the middle of the nineteenth century and the persistence of purist values today marked ethnogenesis processes in Spain. Stallaert highlights how Spanish and Basque nationalisms and Andalusian regionalism evoked in different ways a polarisation between ‘Christian’ and ‘Moorish’.
The second central chapter refers to Belgium, and particularly Brussels. According to Stallaert, the bi-communitarian logic of the Belgian state seems not to be able to respond to current ethnocultural diversity. Belgian political organisation confronts Muslim immigrants’ practices with certain measures. In the 1970s, a law established subsidies for places of worship, the remuneration of imams and public teaching of Islam. But the last resolution has been the only one applied because application procedures start from Christian Democrat presuppositions that are difficult to apply to Muslims. Measures reflect the tradition of searching a balance between ethno-linguistic communities, but evidence an over-exacting treatment of Islam through measures that do not exist for other confessions (for example, the appointment of representatives or control of fundamentalist believers). The institutionalisation of Islam seeks to promote the integration of Muslim immigrants but contributes to their ethnicisation, marking them out as a differentiated group.

As routes to integration, Stallaert mentions associationism and education. The former is hindered by requirements such as collaboration with Flemish associations, while the latter finds obstacles in the scarce use of Dutch. For Moroccans there is no language and origin culture teaching. Added to that, foreign parents who register their children in bicultural programmes are not interested either in Dutch culture or in integration. Stallaert argues that the Belgian pattern reproduces closed ethnic categories and ignores processes of assimilation and trans-generational change.

The last part of the chapter deals with ethnic representations in the urban public space at Brussels, presenting one itinerary for the Flemish community and another for the Galician one. The first illustrates, on the one hand, a frustrated step from ethnocentrism to interculturality. In the 1990s, the Real Flemish Theatre programmed a festival of Arab and Berber culture. Performances were located in a neighbourhood with a majority of marginalised Moroccans who protested about a festival they perceived as somebody else’s offensive proposal. Flemish nationalists too criticised the festival. On the other hand, Flemish and French communities jointly celebrated an artistic festival defined as hybrid because of its cosmopolitan and multilingual planning.

The Galician itinerary represents a step from ethnic nostalgia to cultural ‘crossbreeding’ (this is a translation of the Spanish word mestizaje, which the author uses to refer to cultural hybridisation).

Stallaert explains how the founders of the Galician Centre of Brussels, mainly first-generation immigrants, began to develop worldwide activities. Later they enclosed themselves in Galician identity while a part of the artistic team separated to organise cosmopolitan activities related to Galicia. The new group was baptised as Zinneke, an allegorical term for something hybrid.

Stallaert dedicates the third central chapter to a comparison of Spanish and Belgian examples. In both she discerns ethnic inertia and the institutionalisation of ethno-cultural differences. The emergence of converts motivated pervasive control measures in Spain. The Belgian pluralistic pattern moved toward the fixing of identities. Confrontation between ‘Christian’ and ‘Moorish’ can be found in ethno-regionalism and in the treatment of immigration in Spain. Flemish nationalism has directed its action and speech towards a Belgian/Flemish population of foreign origin. Stallaert notes the persistent combination of assimilationist pressures and exclusivist ethnicism in Spain, Belgium and Europe more generally.

The narrative continuity of the book evidences the coherence of the author’s line of investigation. Her work is a remarkable attempt to understand the current situation in Belgium, Spain and Europe. Nevertheless, for the case of Spain it would be interesting to see the possible similarities between Catalan, Galician and Spanish ethnogenesis. In the epilogue to the book, Stallaert highlights the religious foundation of some answers to immigration in Catalonia, though one would like to see which discourses generate the differentiation of Catalan nationalism in the context of Spanish otherness. Overall, however, the book is to be highly recommended.

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un double processus de déracialisation des juifs et de leur reclassification en caste. Il faut replacer la judéité dans son historicité et dans la situation raciale américaine, dominée par le paradigme de la bipolarité entre noirs et blancs, et par les stratégies d’accès au statut de blanc menées par les acteurs sociaux dans leur trajectoire d’immigration. Mais si une critique des catégories de race faussement construites est nécessaire, il est également important de rendre compte des stratégies de prise de conscience et d’inscrire les luttes dans une théorisation de la justice sociale, qui, elle, intègre les catégories de race.

Les éditrices se posent la question de savoir comment analyser la judéité comme désignation raciale en dehors du champ des études juives et en dehors des théories critiques de la race que la centralité de l’opposition blancs/noirs enferme dans une vision essentialiste, la couleur constituant un élément déterminant du processus de racialisation. La question juive est intéressante sur le plan heuristique parce qu’elle rompt avec le modèle de l’association de la race et de la couleur. Les articles rassemblés par les éditrices se proposent de décrire et d’analyser les places où les juifs sont racialisés et la construction des barrières catégorielles qui résultent du processus de racialisation. Plusieurs places sont ainsi définies: celle qui articule la question juive et la question noire dans leurs dimensions sociales et politiques; celle où les juifs sont racialisés parce que non-blancs; celle qui analyse le rapport social des juifs et des autres, cherchant à démasquer l’altérité radicale des juifs. Une dernière partie enfin aborde la question des textes juifs et des apports qu’ils peuvent constituer dans une perspective de l’identité ethnique, de classe, de race et de genre.

Les trois premiers articles se présentent donc sous forme de biographies, mettant en scène des universitaires, issus de familles de gauche engagées dans le combat anti-raciste et la laïcité et qui ont, à plusieurs reprises, réfléchi sur leur position à partir de ce paradigme de la polarité blancs/noirs. La construction de l’identité juive est analysée dans son historicité, en tenant compte de ce paradigme qui est à la fois interroge et renforcé par l’appartenance juive dans la mesure où les questions qu’elle pose dans un monde dominé par les Wasp les a poussé dans la lutte anti-raciste. ‘Etre née sur la moraine’ d’Afro-américains, tandis que les autres groupes ethniques gagnaient des échelons vers la ‘blancheté’ (‘whiteness’).

C’est précisément ces pratiques qui ont conduit au multiculturalisme, véritable ‘amnésie politique’ pour Katya Gibel Azoulay car il substitue au processus dominant de racialisation des noirs l’idéologie d’une diversité multiculturelle hybride. L’auteure critique le mouvement du multiracialisme dont un des présupposés est de considérer que les juifs sont blancs. Elle montre que les relations entre les noirs et les juifs tendent à renforcer ce présupposé, alors qu’une histoire reconnaissant les multiples modalités de racialisation des juifs devrait les inciter à rejeter leur identification comme blancs et les rendre suspicieux sur les politiques de catégorisation multiraciale.

Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz poursuit la question de savoir si les juifs peuvent se considérer comme inclus dans la catégorie des blancs. Réutilisant les catégories de l’apartheid en Afrique du Sud, l’auteure propose une lecture tripartite de la division raciale aux États-Unis, opposant les blancs, les noirs et un groupe tampon formé des ‘colorés’ (‘colored’). Cette notion de groupe tampon où les juifs, en raison de l’extrême flexibilité de leur identification, peuvent être ou ne pas être classés, permet de nuancer les normes dominantes de hiérarchisation. Les colorés, sans accéder au statut de blancs qui est la catégorie non marquée, ont du moins le privilège de ne pas être considérés comme noirs.

Le paradigme de la polarité blancs/noirs a également été exporté du contexte des États-Unis en Israël où il a contribué à assigner les juifs d’Éthiopie à une identité de ‘noirs’. Là-bas, ils étaient juifs, ici, en Israël, ils sont noirs. Ce traitement différencialiste, voire même discriminatoire des juifs éthiopiens a contribué à inféchir le discours israélien sur la division interethnique vers un discours incluant la race comme mode de différenciation entre les juifs.

Je finirai ce compte-rendu par le dernier article qui articule race, classe et construction du sexe (‘queer’). Il part de la nécessité de ne pas isoler l’identification raciale ni l’identification de sexe mais d’analyser comment le genre est racialisé et la race est sexisée, les juives lesbiennes occupant une position de sujet racisée, sexisée et judéisée. L’auteure, Marla Brettschneider, revisitant les textes talmudiques, tente d’opposer à l’analyse classique des identifications féministes et raciales exclusives, un modèle permettant de penser des identités multiples et la façon dont elles interfèrent les unes sur les autres.
L’auteur n’utilise pas les classifications talmudiques pour hypostasier le texte mais pour critiquer les modèles d’identification occidentaux qui tendent à universaliser une des dimensions de l’identité, le sexe ou la judéité par exemple, au lieu de les analyser dans leur multiplicité. L’ensemble de cet ouvrage collectif participe de cette réflexion qui cherche, non pas à enfermer le groupe juif dans un particularisme mais à interroger, à partir de la position de la judéité et dans leur historicité les processus de racialisation aux États-Unis et partiellement en Israël.

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Loin de décliner, les cultes soufi font preuve aujourd’hui d’une étonnante vitalité. Ils se propagent, notamment par le truchement des migrations, aux quatre coins du globe: Europe, Moyen Orient, Afrique. L’ouvrage de Pnina Werbner, reprenant une question initialement posée par Evans-Pritchard à propos des croyances Azandé, interroge la persistance et la force de phénomènes religieux en dépit de leur peu de consistance interne et de leur invraisemblance. Il explore les motivations qui amènent hommes et femmes à rejoindre les ordres soufi dans une société post-coloniale, un monde globalisé.


Pèlerins de l’amour, l’aventure est plus ambiguë qu’il n’y paraît. La communauté constituée n’est pas, comme l’a conçue Turner exemple de hiérarchies, ‘anti-structurale’. En tant que processus, elle est le produit d’une forte division du travail, d’un jeu complexe où s’entremêlent relations hiérarchiques, rivalités, soumission à l’autorité du saint. Elle requiert un haut niveau d’organisation. C’est en ce sens que Werbner préfère à celle d’ ‘anti-structure’ la notion de ‘contre-structure’ dans son opposition au monde post-colonial bureaucratique, désenchantée.

Au centre de cette contre-structure le saint Zindapir et sa loge où vivent ses disciples, construisant et entretenant sa légende, organisant l’accueil des pèlerins. Le charisme de Zindapir n’est compréhensible que dans sa relation aux pèlerins. La loge est la scène où, à travers les récits des miracles accomplis par le saint, les techniques du corps et les différentes pratiques auxquelles il se soumet, les pèlerins se découvrent eux-mêmes, se transforment. Proches du saint ils se rapprochent d’Allha, ils participent de l’univers sacré au sein duquel les échanges revêtent à leur tour un caractère sacré, perdent leur caractère marchand. Enfin, suivant un processus identique, l’expansion régionale et transnationale des cultes soufi s’appuie sur le pèlerinage, moment privilégié de sacralisation des échanges. ‘Les suppliants arrivent avec des offrandes et des objets afin qu’ils soient sacralisés et retournent chez eux en ramenant avec eux un morceau du centre sacré’ (p. 27).

Comprendre la force et le pouvoir de diffusion du soufisme nécessite d’intégrer, d’observer et d’analyser conjointement la vision du monde, la cosmologie qu’il propose et son caractère performatif, son ancrage dans des pratiques rituelles permettant aux fidèles de satisfaire leur besoin de religion, de communiquer au-delà des frontières, de former une communautas prescrivant amour et dévotion en rupture avec le monde matérialiste post-colonial. Pnina Werbner nous présente le soufisme comme une religion de paix, sans prétention politique, mais habile à négocier avec les différentes forces politiques, avec les états, tout en s’en distanciant. Tout au long de l’ouvrage l’auteur fait vivre les débats théoriques qui traversent l’anthropologie du religieux aujourd’hui confrontée à des terrains recomposés par la mondialisation et plus particulièrement la circulation des hommes et des femmes. Son travail déploie la définition durkheimienne des religions (rites, croyances et communauté morale). Il prolonge l’effort de Max Weber pour établir l’efficacité historique des

This is the fifth book in a series that began in 1971 with The children of Kauai. A longitudinal study from the prenatal period to age ten, by Werner, Bierman and French. The other books are co-authored, as is this volume, by psychology professor Emmy Werner and clinical psychologist Ruth Smith. They deal with the approximately 500 people born on the Hawaiian island of Kauai in 1955, documenting their resilience – that is, how the interplay of protective factors in individuals’ lives helps them to weather hard times – and the long-term consequences of early childhood challenges. In this volume, the 1955 birth cohort has reached age 40 and the authors can begin to make conclusions about resilience and recovery in midlife.

After discussing goals, setting and methodology, Werner and Smith describe paths to, and life at, age 40 for ‘ordinary’ children (chapter 4), those who had suffered early childhood difficulties (chapter 5), women who became teenage mothers (chapter 6), young people with mental health problems (chapter 7), delinquent youths (chapter 8) and learning-disabled youths (chapter 9). There is throughout little commentary from the respondents to contextualise the data that crowd each page. When, in chapter 6, the life story of a mother of seven children is presented in her own words (pp. 93–101), the numbers finally come to life. Including other voices at such length would be a welcome addition to the next volume in the series. The final chapters link risk and protective factors in a longitudinal perspective using path models. The inclusion of several appendices allows readers to review data, findings and methodology.

Challenging the commonly held belief that delinquency is rooted in a troubled childhood, Werner and Smith argue that such a view can only be sustained with purely retrospective research that traces the history of individual delinquents. By employing a prospective and longitudinal method, they instead analyse outcomes of life events and document protective factors that promote resilience. Their research results are cause for optimism, and their enthusiasm for these findings is contagious. (Their warm affection and genuine regard for their subjects is also apparent throughout the text.) Indicators that retrospective studies might paint as condemning a child to a lifetime of delinquency – for instance, early delinquent behaviour – are, in their prospective view, shown to be non-predictive when paired with protective factors that occur naturally in social groups.

The authors occasionally compare their findings to those of a very few other longitudinal studies, primarily set in the mainland United States. These are useful comparisons, but there are too few of them, and the lack of comparative data makes the generalisability of their claims difficult to assess. Is it unique to Kauai, or common throughout the United States, that ‘the majority of both men and women valued their brothers and sisters for their emotional support in times of crises’ (p. 47)? In addition, when comparisons were made, the authors rarely interpreted them. This leaves the reader to wonder why, for example, the population on Kauai felt significantly more satisfied with themselves at age 40 than did respondents to a survey on the United States mainland (p. 52). Such explanations should be more frequent, and integrated closely with the data which they explain.

Werner and Smith remain attentive to gender differences, but this is the only categorical difference they discuss in any depth. They should have addressed, in detail, the ethnic and cultural variety of the Hawaiian archipelago. It is difficult to imagine that this variety does not somehow produce significant variety in outcomes and interpretations. Class is a further factor, intersecting with ethnicity and culture, which the authors do not sufficiently treat. Some of the protective factors listed, such as the ‘characteristics and caregiving styles of the parents’ (p. 139), are surely linked to class in suggestive ways.

This work will be of great interest to researchers of social reproduction, family studies and social work. Werner and Smith’s continuing longitudinal research on Kauai remains an important and welcome addition to the literature on resilience. Only over time can the protective factors that they have documented be shown to come together and effectively support an individual undergoing life’s challenges. The authors are to be commended both for their longitudinal approach and for their
This ambitious book contains papers by members of panels at meetings of the Society for Medical Anthropology and the American Anthropological Association in 1997. Panels brought together scholars who broadly shared an interest in immune systems from the perspectives of psychology, immunology and anthropology. Hence, the book engages with psychoneuroimmunology (PNI), a relatively new interdisciplinary field that investigates the relationship between immune responses and psychological factors. This book adds social and cultural flavours to the arguments about PNI.

The book is divided into four parts, and all chapters have prefaces by Wilce. Part I contains four chapters introducing some key findings from PNI. The first, by Pennebaker, provides an overview of his lifetime's work at the forefront of PNI. His work on 'emotional disclosure' suggests that people who commit their accounts of traumatic events to paper experience reduced stress and improved health. Various forms of emotional disclosure have been explored by others, and in the next chapter Booth and Davison describe their work on variations in expressions of upsetting events between people from different 'cultural groups'. It does not seem surprising that styles varied, but the work does highlight how the effects of written forms of disclosure vary. In Part I, I found Wilce and Price's chapter the most engaging. They offer the potential to improve core tenets of PNI by drawing on theories of cultural consonance. They also suggest that despite variance in notions about the appropriateness and effects of emotional expression, there is a universal sense that expressiveness and health are interconnected. Wilce and Price seem well disposed towards PNI; they essentially call for a PNI based on a deep rather than superficial sensitivity to variation. Concluding Part I, Lyon's chapter details how emotion might be a means of understanding connections between bodily and social domains. As anthropology has a sound history exploring emotion, this is a worthwhile inclusion.

In Part II, entitled 'PNI in the wild', three chapters present fieldwork from Dominica and Samoa. These studies explore the connection between immune function and social structure. McDade's chapter is especially accessible and appealing, drawing on ethnographic evidence from Samoa to show how protocols for PNI work that have been developed in western counties are not necessarily relevant or appropriate in other settings. McDade reminds us that ideals of social support vary across cultures and that any relationships between stress and immune function are mediated by culturally specific notions of what constitutes a stressful situation.

Part III contains three papers that describe more generally the relationship between immune function and external conditions. Mann's chapter examines connections between hypertension and emotions; Moerman discusses variations in placebo effects. Finally, in a fascinating chapter, Cone and Martin explicate their theorem about the connections between the locality from which food is sourced and autoimmune disorders.

The last part of the book contains two rich commentaries on the preceding chapters. In the chapter that is the most critical of PNI, Napier discusses some of PNI's assumptions, questioning whether it is appropriate to understand experience through experimental means. Napier also reiterates the need to understand the context in which stress is experienced, emphasising that it is important to question the assumption that stress is necessarily detrimental to health. In the final chapter, as well as commenting on what has gone before through the lens of embodiment, Kirmayer points out that health-enhancing interventions based on PNI findings are commonplace. Because of this, he suggests that it has become crucial that social as well as psychological elements are incorporated into understandings of immune responses.

This book appears dense at first glance, but with the help of Wilce's excellent commentary before each chapter it is accessible and interesting. It contains carefully focused material that, in essence, tackles key themes in embodiment. A minor concern is that while it seems to be intended as a dialogue between PNI and anthropology, I am not convinced that the discussion is truly two-way. While the anthropologists examined PNI, I am less convinced that PNI engaged with anthropology. This may relate to anthropology's tendency to
critique other fields once they have already become relatively established, but I fear that PNI may be cherry-picking the parts of anthropology that it finds useful: for instance, the idea that there may be variation in expressions of emotions between people from different ‘cultural origins’ or ‘groups’. That said, as a thoughtful exploration of a relatively new field, *Social and cultural lives of immune systems* is welcome. Those with an interest in PNI, health or embodiment will find this an appealing and valuable read.

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