This book is the culmination of a series of papers presented at a research workshop held in Newcastle, New South Wales in 1996 entitled *Healing powers and modernity in Asian societies*. Thus, the book is largely based upon research being undertaken by anthropologists in Asia, although mainly in the south-east of the region. The book is likely to appeal to medical anthropologists, but should also benefit social anthropologists with a general interest in Asian regions.

The book is centred on the ‘state of healing practices in contemporary Asian societies’ (p. 3) and focuses on the relationship between traditional or indigenous healers and modernity, and the reciprocal interaction that this relationship has with the growing cultural and national identities pervading modern Asian societies. The book is divided into three parts. The first concentrates on the transformations that have occurred and are ongoing in traditional healing in modern states, the second on healing among cultural minorities and the third on traditional healing in Tibetan societies.

The editors are keen to point out that the contested nature of modernity is something that is dealt with rather loosely in this volume, but draw on the assumption that one of the ways modernity has impacted on peoples’ lives is through the hegemony of biomedicine in its global expansion. Rather than consider the place of postmodernism, the authors have concentrated on the actual processes of transformation and interaction within Asian modernities, which might be characterised by the term ‘postmodern’.

In the first section there are four chapters illustrating the integration of traditional healing modalities within modernist states. Kendall’s chapter considers Korean shamanism and describes how modernity challenges ‘superstitious’ healing practices and defines them as ancient relics utilised by ‘backward’ cultural groups. However, Kendall argues that despite the power differential, these healing practices continue to thrive. Laderman’s chapter concerns the rise of state-authored forms of traditional culture linked to nationalism and post-colonialism. Laderman describes in some detail the success of a female shaman whose lack of training and willingness to utilise unorthodox healing practices made her disliked by many traditionalists, but who continues to attract a following from all sections of society. This is reminiscent of the argument that ‘traditional’ beliefs are actually historically quite recent in origin, though invested with ‘ancient’ ideas.

Ram’s chapter deals with the practice of midwifery in South India, a role that has roots within both modernist and traditional practices. Concluding this section is Mark Nichter, who in his usual erudite manner develops the argument that there has been an integration of political–ecological reasoning in the healing praxis associated with Ayurveda in India. In his highly readable and engaging account, he suggests that the critique of modernity articulated by this tradition has been seized on by manufacturers and purveyors of traditional Ayurvedic products. His discussion of the folk illness BP is a fine exemplar of this.

The four chapters in the second section of the book deal with traditional healing in cultural minority groups. Roseman explores the Temiars of Malaysia and their ethnopsychology, and its ability to absorb new concepts within its purview. In Indonesia, Harris explores the significance of shamanism in the politics of healing within the Iban of Sarawak, on the cusp between western anthropological imagination and the traditional. I particularly liked the illusion of difference between members who follow the traditional route and those who do not. Medical knowledge becomes the site of that difference and the incorporation of indigenous medical knowledge becomes part of cultural identity. In the final chapter in this section, Hunter explores the differentiation between western modernity and Asian modernity, which for her is important in understanding the transformations that are taking place. Asian modernity, she argues, strongly...
influence the creation and maintenance of cultural identity. The narrative which Hunter explores shows how religious differences and differential understandings and knowledge affect decision-making in the health arena, giving an account of a 14-year-old girl in Indonesia who has to stay home from school because of health problems.

The final section is given over to the analysis of traditional healing in Tibetan societies. The three chapters here focus on the interaction between modernity, through biomedicine, and traditional medicine. Janes looks at how the social organisation of Tibetan medicine has both absorbed and resisted the influence of political changes brought about through the revolution, but also how traditional medicine has not changed its epistemological or theoretical base during this time.

Adams focuses on the tension between modernity and tradition in Lhasa. The push to incorporate scientific medicine is viewed against the backdrop of women’s health. The final chapter, by Samuel, which also serves as closure for the whole volume, is an excellent discussion of the relationship between the traditional and the modern in the actual practice of healing. Samuel cleverly intertwines the complex nature of the social, cultural and political in the analysis of healing praxis. There is a difference, he argues, between the textual practice of Tibetan medicine and the actualities of engagement with the individual person. In a telling section, he shows how Tibetan medicine is textually humoural, but how the practice as carried out is supported by and imbued with biomedical techniques of assessment and analysis.

The book is an excellent introduction to the medical anthropology of the region. While acknowledging the dominance of biomedicine in modernist nation states in Asia, it also helps to show the power relations inherent in the operation of healing praxis. It is a highly readable book, with fieldwork located at the centre of the individual contributions. Its general lack of depth may disappoint many seasoned medical anthropologists, but this problem is more than made up for by the breadth of discussion and the almost seamless integration of theory and practice throughout the book. This is essential reading for anyone interested in healing praxis and for those with a research interest in Asian societies.

M I K E  W R I G L E Y
University of the West of England


In the introductory chapter the editors of this volume remind the reader that ‘Complementary and alternative medicine [CAM] is not new … [and furthermore] the use of CAM is clearly on the rise’ (p. 2). With this in mind the remainder of the volume provides a convincing case that CAM research should be firmly embedded into the agenda in a range of social science disciplines, including social anthropology.

The editors describe the book as utilising a multidisciplinary, cross-national agenda. More importantly, this is a text that addresses the use of therapies and not their practice. It is a diverse collection: contributors are drawn from the full range of social scientific disciplines, including social anthropology, sociology, psychology and public health. Compiling a total of fourteen chapters, the editors divide the text up into four sections that each approach an aspect of research on complementary medicine: why people choose CAM; the social and health characteristics of CAM users; new ways of undertaking research on CAM; and CAM in the future. It is also an ambitious text. Though it primarily covers North America and Britain, an obvious part of the volume’s appeal lies in its attempt to draw upon an international frame of reference.

In this diverse and eclectic collection there are a number of articles of note, certainly ones that will appeal to social anthropologists. For instance, Goldstein’s chapter on the ‘The culture of fitness and the growth of CAM’ is a thoroughly convincing article exploring the relationship between fitness and the resurgence of complementary medicine. In this he considers some of the shared values between advocates of CAM and fitness, such as the ‘personal responsibility for health’, which is perceived as a central idea in American society. Goldstein’s more revealing conclusions suggest that fitness and CAM represent a challenge to orthodox medicine, but that paradoxically both link in with the wider phenomenon of the commodification of health – CAM is fast becoming a mainstay in western economies.

O’Connor’s chapter addressing conceptions of the body can be read as a useful overview of the differences between the understanding of the body contained in biomedicine and complementary
medicine. In exploring three historically and socio-culturally disparate examples of CAM practices, O’Connor reveals some of the conceptual similarities between them. Although explicitly recognising the diversity in CAM, O’Connor argues that these practices share a similar conceptual core; the author then continues to reveal a number of concepts such as the notions of vitalism, self-healing capacity, and ‘energy’. Yet the most promising part of the chapter explores the idea that individuals seeking treatment frequently believe in an immaterial part of the body – a concept that is briefly touched upon but perhaps merited further exegesis.

In ‘Partners in illness. Who helps when you are sick?’, Wellman addresses the frequently explored issue of the ‘lay referral’ system (the use of family and friends when seeking health advice). Locating the research in Toronto, Canada, Wellman asks the question, ‘To whom do patients involved in various treatment modalities turn when they have a health problem?’ (p. 144). His conclusions focus on the strength of the informal health sector and suggest that individuals with more diverse social networks are more likely to consult an alternative practitioner; this is particularly the case with the more esoteric healing modalities.

Sharma, in a chapter on medical pluralism, engages more generally with the re-emergence of complementary and alternative medicine. In what is more of an exploratory than empirical essay, she discusses what should be the future research agenda for CAM, now characterised by a number of ‘key players’: CAM users, CAM practitioners, the medical profession and the state. This is a timely and thought-provoking article in which, most importantly, she states that the future research focus should be less on CAM per se, than on specific therapies.

Because the volume attempts to draw together fourteen chapters from a range of disciplinary contributors and from different continents, accompanied by significantly different epistemological perspectives, it has some limitations. The definition of CAM and what is included in CAM research is rather limited and is taken too uncritically in a number of papers. A few contributors are also rather caught up with unhelpful discussions about the effectiveness or otherwise of the practices being discussed. In addition, limiting the discussion to the users of CAM and not the practitioners rather begs the question, what about the vast numbers of practitioners who were previously users? This collection left me with the impression that social anthropology could, and should, contribute much to the debate.

Despite these misgivings, this is a useful contribution that is likely to set the research agenda for future CAM studies. It should be without doubt an essential purchase for social anthropologists with an interest in complementary and alternative medicine in western societies.

STUART McLEAN
University of the West of England


The anthropology of tourism has come of age. No longer seen as frivolous and lightweight, the study of tourism by anthropologists has succeeded in raising important theoretical and empirical issues for the discipline. In particular, the diversity of the tourism experience has generated considerable interest in comparative studies, social and cultural processes and transformations generated by tourist encounters, the sacred and liminal dimensions of the tourist journey, and re-evaluations of the nature of cultural phenomena in terms of processes of commoditisation and authentication.

In the last decade there have been several major contributions to the subject, including the second edition of Valene Smith’s now classic edited volume, Hosts and guests. The anthropology of tourism, Tom Selwyn’s excellent and thought-provoking edited book The tourist image. Myths and myth-making in tourism, Dennison Nash’s general text The anthropology of tourism, Dean MacCannell’s re-evaluation and rethinking in Empty meeting ground. The tourist papers and Jeremy Boissevain’s important collection of papers on tourism in Europe, Coping with tourists. European reactions to mass tourism. It therefore comes as no surprise that the time has arrived for an introductory student text on the relationships between tourism and anthropology to provide a structured guide to this burgeoning literature.

Peter Burns’ volume is written and organised with a modern undergraduate student audience in mind, although anyone who is coming to the subject area fresh will benefit from reading this book. It is divided into two major sections: the first provides a very general introduction to the discipline of anthropology, with some emphasis on the sub-discipline of applied anthropology,
outlines the main definitions and classifications of tourism and tourists as subjects of study, and examines some of the significant issues generated by contemporary tourism and the relationships between culture and tourism. The second section brings anthropology and tourism firmly together, drawing attention to the key anthropologists who have worked on tourism, the main issues addressed and the major perspectives adopted. It then sets some of these issues in the context of globalisation, development and dependency, and dwells specifically on the leisure activities and motivations of tourists from a post-modern, consumerist society seeking pleasure in other parts of the world.

Each chapter is organised in a logical and straightforward manner. It begins with general aims and learning outcomes for the student presented as a set of bullet points, and concludes by summarising the significant ideas raised, asking questions about these ideas and issues, and providing a brief list of relevant readings. There is also ample use of summary diagrams and tables and skilful use of photographs with captions at the beginning of each chapter to indicate a key idea or issue to be pursued. On the whole the book shows that much thought and care has gone into its organisation and production in an attempt to guide and stimulate the reader.

Above all, Burns provides convincing evidence of the importance of analysing tourism as part of wider political, economic, socio-cultural and natural systems, and in the context of processes of globalisation. Although he focuses on anthropological perspectives, he does acknowledge briefly the value of multi- and interdisciplinary approaches in unravelling the complexities of cross-cultural exchanges and interrelations between hosts and guests. Indeed, studies of tourism have provided an ideal meeting ground for students of different disciplinary interests and training.

There are parts of the book which could have been done rather better, and the special annex to Chapter 8 which charts theoretical perspectives on development sits rather uneasily at the end of the book. One would also not wish to quarrel with most of the ‘key scholars’, including sociologists, whom Burns selects for special attention in Chapter 5, but it is surprising that such writers as Robert Wood and Michel Picard did not make the list, and that Erik Cohen’s wide-ranging contributions were not given more generous treatment. It is also a pity in an introductory book of this kind that more was not made of extended case-studies and comparisons between them.

Picard’s excellent study of tourism and Balinese culture and Cohen’s work on hill-tribe tourism in northern Thailand and sex tourism in Bangkok immediately spring to mind as demonstrating the value of anthropological analysis in understanding the diversity, dynamism and complexity of the tourism experience.

The emphasis in Burns’ book is on tourism ‘out there’ and the interaction between different cultures; it would have been useful to have reminded students of the increasing importance of ‘domestic’ tourism and the implications of this for anthropology ‘at home’. Nevertheless, as a clear and organised guide to the field of study this book has to be on everyone’s introductory reading-list. It is certainly on mine.

VICTOR T. KING
University of Hull


Ever since the publication of Talal Asad’s pathbreaking and controversial edited volume *Anthropology and the colonial encounter* (1973), there has been a growing interest in the relationships between anthropology and colonialism, and the ways in which western observers, in a colonial context, apprehended, described, constructed and transformed other cultures. This emerging reflexive post-colonial literature on the anthropology of history and the colonial histories of anthropology has also been informed in particular by Edward Said’s work on ‘orientalism’ and the representation of the colonised, and by the textual analysis of anthropological monographs (specifically the consideration of the contexts, styles and politics of ‘writing culture’) of among others James Clifford, George Marcus, Dan Sperber and Clifford Geertz. These interests come together in a mature form in the current edited volume by Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink, who have themselves been vigorously in pursuit of ‘colonial subjects’ during the past decade.

We might wonder whether there is room for another volume on colonial anthropologies and the historical textualisation and contextualisation of ethnographic practice given the considerable amount of recent attention devoted to the colonial
histories of anthropology, the consequences for anthropological theory and practice of the needs and interests of colonial governance, and the contribution of anthropology and ethnology to colonial discourses about those who were conquered, pacified, governed and changed by the agents of western capitalism and modernity (the editors refer to the important volumes of Nicholas Dirks, Nicholas Thomas, Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler, and George Stocking in this regard).

Having read and re-read Pels's and Salemink's excellent collection I believe there is, but this view requires some qualification. The editors have succeeded in bringing together a set of high quality, well crafted and thought-provoking papers. There is very little unevenness in this book; all the papers deserve to be there, and they each bring something different and informative to the overall enterprise. However, many of the ideas and materials have already been presented elsewhere or comprise reworking, revision and extension – in some cases substantial – of earlier publications which go back as far as the mid-1980s, but principally to the mid-1990s. The particular contribution of the volume is that we now have a handy set of closely interrelated papers that have been given added theoretical and thematic coherence by the editors' very detailed introduction and strong editorial guidance. It is abundantly clear that Pels and Salemink knew precisely the direction in which they wished to move, and some of the chapters do demonstrate further beneficial and mature reflection on previously published work.

We are told that the book is the result of a process that began at the Amsterdam School for Social Scientific Research in 1992 where the two editors were research students. In 1993 they organised a seminar on 'Colonial ethnographies'; these papers along with others appeared as a special issue of History and Anthropology in 1994 under the same title as the seminar. The editors then felt that certain ideas and issues merited further elaboration and dissemination, and for that reason prepared this present volume. Two papers had appeared in the special issue and are reprinted in slightly modified form: Patrick Wolfe's 'White man's flour' in which the author examines Spencer's and Gillen's ethnographies of aboriginal Central Australia in the political-economic context of white-settler colonisation; and Henk Schulte Nordholt's 'The making of traditional Bali', which focuses on the Dutch construction of a unique and enduring Hindu Balinese society, culture and identity in relation to the colonial policy of protecting Bali from the 'evil influences of nationalism, Islam, Christianity, and Western “decadence”’ (p. 267).

Schulte Nordholt's chapter is in turn a development of a preliminary attempt on the same theme published in 1986 in the Comparative Asian Studies Programme series of Erasmus University, Rotterdam. There is also Curtis Hinsley's contribution 'Hopi snakes, Zuni corn' (on the ways in which the ethnographies of John Bourke and Frank Cushing on the Indians of the American Southwest presented them as timeless, immutable and unchanging), first delivered at the 1993 seminar.

Gloria Raheja's chapter, 'The “illusion” of consent', which considers oral folklore in relation to Indian caste ideology as it was recorded and represented in colonial documents to convey an image of native consensus and harmony, is an extended version of a paper published in American Ethnologist in 1996. Three further chapters are substantial revisions and elaborations of earlier published work: William Pietz's 'The fetish of civilisation' continues 'a line of enquiry begun in two earlier essays' (p. 53), published in Res in 1995 and 1997, on the transformations in the European interpretation of African fetishism from its earlier situation in hybrid intercultural trading relationships in coastal West Africa to its later location in colonial rule and its representation of the essence of African society and culture in contrast to that of western civilisation. Nick Dirks's chapter 'The crimes of colonialism' has been significantly revised and changed from an earlier version published in an edited volume Culture/contexture published in 1985. Dirks focuses on Edgar Thurston's Ethnographic notes in southern India (1906) and his seven-volume work The castes and tribes of southern India (1907), and draws attention to the intimate interrelationships between what was recorded in colonial ethnographies – in this case the criminal characteristics of certain castes – and the colonial need to classify, control and police those governed, as well as the interest of officials in such cultural practices as hook-swinging, slavery and torture which they wished to suppress.

Finally, in 'Constructing racial landscapes', another substantial reworking of earlier materials, Lyn Schumaker examines the different views of the 'field' (that is, 'the physical space in which they carried out their work', p. 326) of anthropologists, their African research assistants and colonial administrators in late colonial Northern Rhodesia.

We are told that only three chapters have been especially written for the volume and these by the
Where the volume does make a contribution is in the consolidated and detailed examination of the occurrence and interpretations of specific social institutions and cultural particulars located in the writings of colonial observers that have become ‘anthropological commonplaces’. What the several papers also do most successfully is to address these matters in the context of the practical relations between colonisers and colonised (‘the ethnographic occasion’) and to demonstrate how this colonial relationship was translated into the essentialised objects and end-results of anthropological endeavour and the theories and methods of academic anthropology deployed in the construction and constitution of ‘the other’.

The volume manages to cover a relatively broad range of colonial experiences – British, Dutch, French, American and Australian – in Africa, India, the American Southwest, Vietnam, Bali and Australia. It also looks at different types of colonial encounter – military engagement, administration, missionary endeavour and settler relations – as well as at different subjects of investigation important for colonial intelligence (human sacrifice, fetishism, slavery, virgin birth, caste, village community, property ownership and land occupancy, oral folklore, race, ethnicity and tribalism). The several chapters demonstrate how particular identities, ethnic categories and cultures have been characterised and defined, and how traditions have been constructed and fixed in the context of colonial engagement. In this regard the contributions by Schulte Nordholt on Bali, Salemink on the Montagnards of the central highlands of Vietnam, and Raheja on Indian caste are especially worthy of attention. Of more general theoretical interest are Dirks’s provocative treatment of the ‘crimes of colonialism’ and the ‘perversity of colonial anthropology’ (p. 159) and Pietz’s meticulous analysis of the changing meanings of African fetishism.

This volume should prove of enduring value for those of us interested in the colonial histories of anthropology and the contexts and occurrences within which certain kinds of ethnographic practices and issues emerged and became incorporated into academic anthropology. There is a judicious mix of reflexive theorising and case materials of specific colonial encounters.

VICTOR T. KING
University of Hull