

# **Journal of Political Ecology**

## **Reviews**

### **Volume 7 (2000)**

**From Subsistence to Exchange and Other Essays, by Peter T. Bauer, with an introduction by Amartya Sen. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (2000), xi, 153 pp.**

**Reviewed by Raymond F. Mikesell, Emeritus Professor of Economics, University of Oregon, Eugene OR.**

Peter Bauer has long been a champion of free enterprise, open societies, and minimal government intervention in economic matters. This book of twelve essays, most of which are reprints, is a compendium of his views on economic policy -- largely as applied to developing economies. Most of the essays are devoted to criticism of traditional positions and concepts -- such as a shortage of natural resources, high population growth, absence of external capital, and adverse terms of trade -- as impediments to development. He rejects the argument that foreign aid is necessary to break the vicious cycle of low growth due to low savings and investment and low savings due to low income. The keys to growth are free markets, the absence of governmental interference, and the incentives and will of all social classes to better their economic status. Production for subsistence should be abandoned and replaced by production for trade, both internal and external.

He argues that the failure of African countries should not be blamed on the legacy of colonial rule, overpopulation, inequality of income, exploitation by the West, or globalization. Bauer cites examples of successful developing countries that have achieved sustained growth despite both high population density and income inequality. He is especially critical of egalitarianism as promoted by governments, including efforts to equalize opportunities, which he regards as somehow stifling incentives and economic growth. Bauer deplores foreign aid in the form of grants or loans to governments, which he believes reduces incentives, perpetuates uneconomic governmental policies, and subsidizes failing programs. For this and other reasons he rejects the view that developed countries have an obligation to share their wealth with poor countries. He not only deplores the ethical argument for foreign aid, but takes umbrage at recent papal statements that economic inequality reflects injustice and is, in fact, ungodly. He argues that inequality is a natural condition and that efforts to redistribute wealth, whether within nations or globally, inhibit enterprise and the accumulation of capital, which in turn lowers living standards, including those of the poorest.

Regardless of how we may view the moral issue of whether the well off should assist the poor, the view that all foreign aid and all government efforts to reduce inequality are counterproductive is not supported by history. U.S. aid for the reconstruction of Europe and development assistance that has been wisely used can be shown to have benefited both donors and recipients. Bauer is right in identifying the social and governmental environment as the primary determinant of economic progress, but this does not mean that external aid and government programs for equalizing opportunities for advancement cannot be effective in improving both economic and social conditions. On the positive side, this book is worth reading as a critical review of the popular causes of development failures, some of which have been abandoned by modern development economists.

**Drowning the Dream: California's Water Choices at the Millennium, by David Carle, Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000, xix, 235 pp.**

**Reviewed by William Blomquist, Department of Political Science, Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis, Indianapolis, IN 46202-5140.**

David Carle, a park ranger and biology instructor, has produced an earnestly argued but substantially flawed brief against the decisions that Californians made in the 19th and 20th century about the relocation and allocation of water resources. Viewed together, the flaws leave the impression that his principal purpose was to voice his dislike of Southern California. This is a feeling that he undoubtedly shares with many. The larger Southern California has grown, the easier a target it has become. Mr. Carle's book may thus turn out to be well received by an audience not as well acquainted with the book's ostensible subject matter--water.

The factual errors in Mr. Carle's book range from the relatively small (the Orange County Water District is not a member agency of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, as he states on p. 109, and Southern California has not for many years had "the worst air quality in the United States," as he claims on p. 130) to the more important. In an example of the latter, Mr. Carle has the Metropolitan Water District's Colorado River Aqueduct bringing water from Hoover Dam and Lake Mead (p. 108). In fact, Metropolitan draws its Colorado River water from Parker Dam and Lake Havasu, 150 miles downstream of Hoover Dam and Lake Mead.

A factual error such as this might be more easily overlooked or excused in a different book. But Carle stakes his entire brief against California's past water choices on the development of water importation to Southern California--"This book explores the changing California environment as the entire state was transformed by the movement of water into Southern California" (p. xv). It is, then, a fair criticism to observe that he failed to obtain and employ accurate information about the largest of Southern California's water import projects.

Moreover, Carle makes much of the fact that Hoover Dam was built by the federal government. Since he thinks Hoover Dam is the source of Southern California's Colorado River water, he depicts the project as a federal subsidization of Southern California growth. In fact, the Metropolitan Water District built Parker Dam and the Colorado River Aqueduct with funds from its own bond sales, approved by the voters within the district and paid off over the ensuing 50 years from water sale revenues.

Whatever other criticisms may be addressed to Southern California's importation of Colorado River water, it cannot be said that the federal government, the state of California, or anyone else living outside the boundaries of the Metropolitan Water District paid for it. If only the same were true of the federal water projects that supply irrigation water to the Central Valley--water deliveries that Carle wants to see continued.

It is several omissions, however, that suggest that Mr. Carle's book is more of an anti-Southern California screed than a serious discussion of the state's water choices. While every decision or action that dammed streams and drained valleys to import water across long distances to Southern California is condemned as a crime against Nature, decisions and actions that dammed streams and drained valleys to import water across long distances to San Francisco, the East Bay area, and the Central Valley are treated very lightly or left out altogether. Here are a few examples.

1. Los Angeles' "original sin" in the Owens Valley occurred from 1905 (when the plans were announced) to 1913 (when the first aqueduct barrel was completed). Mr. Carle's can be added to the long shelf of books describing Los Angeles' rape of that Sierra valley to supply itself with water.

But during the same period, particularly from 1908 through 1913, the fight over San Francisco's Hetch Hetchy project that brought water from Yosemite National Park across the state to the City By the Bay was being waged there and in Washington. Federal authorization of the Hetch Hetchy project occurred in 1913, the same year water began flowing from Owens Valley to Los Angeles. The damming and flooding of Hetch Hetchy Valley occurred between 1919 and 1923, and water imports arrived in San Francisco in 1923, a year before Owens Valley protesters dynamited the Los Angeles Aqueduct. Just a few years later, in 1930, the East Bay Municipal Water District began importing Mokelumne River water to serve the growing East Bay cities of Oakland and Alameda County.

Despite the nearly coterminous unfolding of these events, exactly two pages of Carle's 207-page narrative are devoted to San Francisco's Hetch Hetchy project, and the reader must persist to p. 135 to even find those. A scant two sentences refer to the East Bay Municipal Utility District's Mokelumne River imports.

2. The first north-south water project in the state--the Central Valley Project--was authorized by California voters in 1929, then taken over by the federal government during the Depression and built in the 1930s. Friant Dam was completed in 1942, Shasta Dam in 1943. During the same period, Los Angeles' Mono Lake Aqueduct was approved by the city's voters, and water diversion from Mono Lake streams began.

Again, though the events occurred at the same time, Los Angeles' Mono Lake diversions receive much more intensive and critical scrutiny from Mr. Carle than the Central Valley Project that dammed northern California and Sierra Nevada rivers to provide federally-subsidized water to farmers. Deliveries of imported Northern California water to Central Valley farmers began in 1951, a full twenty years before Northern California water reached Southern California cities in 1971--but Mr. Carle excuses the former event while characterizing the latter as "transforming the state."

3. The extension of the State Water Project to serve Santa Barbara (known as the Central Coast Extension) is mentioned several times. The extensions known as the South Bay Aqueduct and the North Bay Aqueduct are not mentioned even once, even though they tap the very same State Water Project in order to serve respectively the breakneck growth of Silicon Valley and the rapidly urbanizing corridor that now extends from San Francisco to Sacramento. Instead, forgetting or ignoring that the Bay Area and the Central Valley are served by California's north-south water projects, too, Carle describes the State Water Project and the Central Valley Project only as "the plumbing that delivers water to Southern California" (p. 187).

4. Also omitted are any descriptions of efforts under way in Southern California to reduce its dependence on imported Northern California water. Two brief examples: a) cities, water districts, and water companies in the Orange County Water District draw 75% of the water they supply from the local groundwater basin, and most of the water that replenishes the underground supply is now conserved Santa Ana River flow rather than water imported from the Metropolitan Water District; b) water agencies in the upper Santa Ana River watershed have set a "drought-proofing" goal--i.e., reaching a mix of supplies and storage that would allow the area to sustain a complete cutoff of imported water during a drought.

This consistent pattern of emphasis and omission undermines Carle's book for experienced observers of California water history and policy. The risk, however, is that novice readers will mistakenly believe they are getting something like the whole story.

In the end, Mr. Carle wants to press the case for using restrictions on water to curtail further growth in California. Such a remedy makes sense if one believes, as Carle does, that water importation alone explains the growth of the southern part of these state--"Southern California's population increases after the early 1900s, beyond limits set by local sources, could happen only because of imported water" (p. xvi).

But there are gaps in this analysis. Carle's description of water somehow forcing growth upon the small city of San Juan Capistrano (pp. 122-123) overlooks the tough decisions that officials in that city made to restrict building permits and acquire open space after imported water arrived. Since those measures were adopted in the late 1970s, the population of San Juan Capistrano has grown at a rate significantly lower than that of California as a whole, and the city's population in the 1990s crept slowly toward a very livable 2000 estimate of about 30,000. If water importation really makes growth inevitable, as Carle repeats throughout his book, then what happened in San Juan Capistrano simply could not have occurred.

Carle notes (without catching the contrast) that the Southern California city of Corona's population rose an astounding 48% during the 1990s (p. 166). Both Corona and San Juan Capistrano--not far apart, at opposite ends of the Foothill Transportation Corridor's Toll Road--have had access to imported water for the same period of time. San Juan Capistrano's population rose less than 10% during the 1990s. The logic declaring that imported water causes unchecked growth is still missing a few steps before it can explain the Corona-San Juan Capistrano difference. Clearly, population growth in Southern California is driven by decisions and considerations other than water supply.

An equally persuasive case can be made that California's problems of urban sprawl and increased population need to be controlled through better regulation of land use and a different approach to transportation planning. A remarkable statistic passes by in Carle's book without its plain implications pointed out: "Between 1970 and 1990, Los Angeles' population grew by 45%, but its developed land area increased 300%" (p. 166). In the face of a statistic like that, it seems hardly justified to blame water importation for smog, traffic congestion, and the loss of habitat and biodiversity.

Carle's desire to limit and control growth in California are understandable, and easy to share. And he is of course correct that "population projections, in truth, are not inevitable. How many people there will be, where they will live, and what their quality of life will be are matters of choice, just as they were throughout California's last 150 years" (p. xviii).

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What he addresses less well is the range of choices that lie before Californians, and the consequences that attend them. The choice is not only about how many people there will be; it is also a choice about who they will be.

People will keep migrating to California; the state is simply too attractive to keep people from entering. On the entire North American continent, only California features the Mediterranean climate to which human civilization has migrated at other locations around the globe for centuries. Add to the mild weather the beauty of the state's mountains and coast, and the hope is dim of getting the rest of America to just stay put in Kansas or Pennsylvania or wherever else Mr. Carle believes they belong.

If people continue to want to move to California, the most likely effect of growth controls will be to bid up the prices of existing homes and land, until folks of modest means give way to the more affluent. This demographic displacement has happened in other attractive places that have enacted growth controls (Boulder, Colorado, for instance, where home prices more than doubled in the first four years after building limits were enacted in 1990). People didn't stop moving in; they just started bidding other people out when they did.

A similar phenomenon can occur even in the absence of growth controls, when new residents arrive at a faster pace than space is made for them. We witnessed this dynamic over and over in the United States during the 20th century, from Manhattan to San Francisco, when demand for places to live outstrips the supply, prices escalate, the wealthy stay, the middle class leave, and a few poor areas remain to house those who serve the rich.

When demand to live in California is unlikely to diminish significantly, much less halt altogether, the question then becomes what to do on the supply side, and with what likely consequences. "Hotel California" may be one nightmare. "Boutique California" is another. Advocates of population limitations (however achieved) must think and proceed carefully--keeping in mind not only how many, but which, Californians shall share the dream.

### **Identity and Struggle at the Margins of the Nation State: The Laboring Peoples of Central America and the Hispanic Caribbean, edited by Aviva Chomsky and Aldo Lauria-Santiago. Durham and London: Duke University Press (1998), vi, 404 pp.**

**Reviewed by Douglas Midgett, Department of Anthropology, University of Iowa.**

This volume brings together contributions from ten scholars of the labor history of Central America and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean. The editors provide a useful introduction and, in a concluding chapter, Lowell Gudmundson and Francisco A. Scarano discuss directions indicated in the volume for future work. A notable feature of the book is the inclusion of contributors at various stages of their careers. The combination of young scholars, recently embarked on post-graduate endeavors, alongside more senior historians is a felicitous choice and contributes to the over all quality of the book. The timeframe examined extends from 1850, the beginnings of coffee cultivation in the Salvadorian community of Lauria-Santiago's study, to 1944-1954, the revolutionary period of the Guatemalan national history, which ended with the CIA-sponsored coup that brought down the Arbenz regime.

Two recurrent themes are woven through most of the chapters. First, a revisionist argument is played out, with varying degrees of success. In some offerings, Aviva Chomsky's examination of Costa Rican laborers and smallholders, for example, an initial claim that the study argues against conventional interpretations is not supported in the text that follows. The second theme addresses resistance on the part of rural workers in the face of hegemonies rooted in class, race and gender. The second theme is, again, demonstrated with varying effectiveness. The assertion of resistance on the part of the laboring classes is one that I find occasionally tenuous, despite its popularity with academics, especially since the publication of James Scott's *Weapons of the Weak* (1985). To illustrate the various instances of resistance by the contributors to this volume we are presented with evidence indicated by everything

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from verbal insults directed at officials undertaking the expulsions of a peasant family and land squatters on private property (quite obviously an act of resistance), to armed rebellion and the take-over of a sugar factory. If the notion of resistance is to have some explanatory utility for studies of labor history, we need to bring our attention to outcomes that may be produced by such acts, for these are the events that change material conditions.

The book is organized into two sections: a set of seven Central American cases, followed by a second set of three Caribbean cases. There is no examination of the quite significant differences between these two areas, and their inclusion within the same volume would appear to rest on the features of a focus on labor history and Hispanic affiliations. I suggest that the historical determinants of economic adaptations in these two regions are sufficiently different that they at least demand some recognition, if the studies are to be included in the same volume. Individually, the studies demonstrate sound scholarship, and I now turn to a brief survey of each.

Aldo Lauria-Santiago's examination of the ladinoization of Salvadoran peasants is a very localized study, focussing on a single town and its agrarian hinterland. Based on this examination he takes issue with the version of Salvadoran agricultural history that emphasizes the importance of latifundia and the role of the landed elites. Lauria-Santiago has assumed a significant revisionist burden for this account of peasant participation in coffee production, but the essay is well researched and persuasive.

Jeffrey Gould discusses the fiction of "disappearance" of Amerindian Nicaraguans and their excision from nationalist accounts of the development of the nation. This is commonplace theme in Latin America where indigenous populations are either marginalized to the status of museum pieces, or absorbed as proletarians -- and thereby become ladinos or mestizos -- into the national society.

Julie Charlip explores the role of credit institutions in the development of the Nicaraguan coffee industry. She meticulously describes the forms of lending that enabled small and medium-sized farmers to avoid displacement by large operators through much of the period between 1870 and 1930. Having avoided displacement, however, did not prevent emerging disparities where "the larger grower, in his roles of lender, coffee buyer, processor, and exporter, grew wealthy at the expense of the small grower, who kept him supplied with the coffee to market." (p. 118).

The incorporation of peasants within the repressive system in El Salvador after 1880 is the focus of Patricia Alvarenga's chapter. Here the theme of resistance is repeatedly invoked from "daily forms" like "offensive words" to labor desertion, land occupations, and occasional assassinations of the auxiliars civiles, the peasants co-opted to act against their own kind.

The construction of census categories and changing designations over time is the subject of Darío A. Euraque's essay. He demonstrates the tendency to definitionally reduce ethnic and racial diversity in the effort to construct an image of an emerging Honduran mestizaje. He shows how the black populations of the banana enclaves of the Honduran north coast have been absent from many working-class histories of the country.

Aviva Chomsky's contribution deals with a particularly contentious situation in early 20th century Costa Rica involving the interface between mine owners, laborers, imported Jamaican guards, and smallholders, which eventuated in a massacre of the guards in 1911. She demonstrates that the event can also be read as a rebellion against the (US) mine owners, a fact that has been erased in its historical representation.

Guatemala's revolutionary period of 1944-54 and the role played by campesinos in two areas is the subject of Cindy Forster's paper. She convincingly makes the case that these struggles in a banana-producing township and a coffee-growing area represented proletarian attempts at reconfiguring their working conditions within the general framework of national revolutionary activity. That this subaltern participation is left out of the standard version of the period suggests the elitist bias that grounds historical accounts in these societies.

In the book's first Caribbean case study, Eileen Findlay examines the role of women workers and their location in the labor history of Puerto Rico in the first decades of the century after the Spanish-American War and the assumption of control by the United States. She shows how their activism, marginalized during the struggles in question, becomes little more than a footnote to the historical accounts of the era.

Carr suggests that a focus on alleged feudal aspects of the Cuban sugar industry obscures the "opportunities for maneuver and negotiation that workers could enjoy." p. 281. By this I take him to mean limited possibilities for engaging in subsistence cultivation. Is this resistance? It surely was long a strategy employed by estate owners in the Caribbean who obliged slaves and their successors to be responsible for some of their own means of consumption.

Agrarian programs under the Trujillo regime are the subject of Richard Turits' examination of Dominican agrarian history between 1930 and 1944. He demonstrates that the basis of Trujillo's rural support rested on land distribution of public lands and private holdings characterized by unclear title. Despite the persuasiveness of his argument, Turits may be overly credulous with respect to government accounts of the situation.

Taken as a whole, a salutary feature of the volume is the attention throughout to avoid the essentializing tendency commonplace in contemporary accounts of multi-ethnic, racialized and gendered social formations. A

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useful addition to the volume would have been maps of the various countries and regions under discussion. When attempting an understanding of historical processes that have spatial dimensions, such aids can be most informative.

### ***References Cited:***

Scott, James.

1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

**Civil Society and the Political Imagination in Africa, edited by John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (1999), xi, 318 pp.**

**Reviewed by Edgar V. Winans, Department of Anthropology, University of Washington.**

In a preface to this volume of essays, the editors remind us of the lively debate about the concept of civil society that has animated some quarters of the intellectual landscape over the past decade and a half. This has been not simply a discussion in the pages of scholarly journals. It engaged many activist intellectuals, especially in the last days of Soviet control over its empire. The question has been not simply of the existence of civil society. There is also discussion of the relevance of civil society to certain forms of state. Some authors have reiterated the long-standing Western view that state power must be balanced by a moral understanding that is embodied in civil institutions. These cannot be mere extensions of a state bureaucratic order, but are voluntary social formations arising out of bonds of common interest and belief. This is the essence of liberal democracy, the very foundations of the liberal state in such a view.

This discussion extends beyond the question of the Soviet Union to consider the post-colonial world more broadly. It is argued by some that Western colonialism, forged in the same timeframe as the liberal state itself, precludes the emergence of the liberal state in its colonial dependencies. These authors maintain that civil society is a consequence of the particularities of Western history and thus has been rendered untenable by the forms of authoritarian centralization practiced in the colonial world. These commentators have therefore found disorder and civil war in the post-colonial world to be a product of the imperfect nature of the successor states. It was in this context that the workshop that gave rise to this volume was convened at the University of Chicago.

Within the rubric of a workshop convened under the Committee on African and African-American Studies at the University of Chicago, the Comaroffs and a group of young colleagues, some still graduate students in 1996 when the discussions began, worked on these issues from the particularity of their individual field experience in a range of African locations. They hailed from several of the social sciences, and brought quite different sorts of understandings to the project. This volume offers closely argued analyses from closely observed circumstances in a number of African countries, mostly Anglophone, but including also Francophone nations. It profits from the differing perspectives the various authors bring from their several disciplines.

In the introduction, the Comaroffs note that while Liberal thought has theorized a distinction between the state and civil society from the time of the Scottish Enlightenment, Jurgen Habermas and his followers gave a new dimension to the distinction through the notion of "communicative action", an idea given form in an era of globalization and the pervasive nature of the media. It is not only through the media that the State seeks to mold its citizens, but may it be also within the media that its critics seek to hold the State accountable and maintain the social values upon which the State forms its policies? Despite the power of these distinctions, there remain serious reservations that the whole mode of thought is Eurocentric and misleading if applied in non-Western contexts.

If the liberal state in Africa is simply an export of Western colonialism that lacks the pluralistic forms of civil society that check its power in the West, then the question arises whether associational forms exist outside the Western tradition which can fulfill this role. The initial formulation does not contemplate this possibility and could be seen as simply an imperialist mode of thought justifying Western action (or inaction) in the global economy.

In the introductory essay by John and Jean Comaroff, and in the nine cases explored by their collaborators,

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the authors offer reflections on central ideas within liberalism as well as very particular demonstrations of why Africa is highly relevant to contemporary debate on the nature of social relations where transnational corporations, the global market and media power challenge both the state and the voluntary associations of the West.

The introduction by the Comaroffs leads us through a broad range of philosophical and political writings in which one finds both the utopian ideals and the awkward contradictions that have accompanied colonialism, and that have been the basis for harsh criticisms of post-colonial state forms. For a reader only broadly familiar with the literature on these philosophical issues, the essay provides an excellent review and critique.

The introduction is followed by a penetrating discussion of "Imperial Paris" by Gary Wilder which lays bare the difficulties of the distinction between citizen and subject in the French African territories, the political privileges of *évolués*, and the permanent disabilities of colonial subjects. For the sizable number of overseas African and Caribbean residents of Paris between the wars these contradictions were of a different order than those experienced by African students at Oxford, or merchants and professionals resident in London. The conception of the *cité* in French thought is of the freedom to participate in the political community, not the freedom from government constraint that the English tradition imagines. This allowed the colonials to participate in French politics in a self-identified array of associations which could be expected to comment and advocate from their particular interests in a form that became important in creating political institutions in Francophone Africa as well as in Paris. This notion also broadens our idea of the nature of the state/civil society relation.

Elizabeth Garland revisits society and state in the Kalahari in an essay which takes us several steps beyond the well-known literature of the "Bushman" as represented in the books and films familiar to recent generations of students. The perpetuation of the "Bushman" as our "primitive contemporary" has generated a host of interventions on behalf of this imaginary of early social life. She argues that the people of the Kalahari must somehow survive not only the rigors of the natural environment, but also those of NGOs and governments animated by such conceptions.

The complex political path of Uganda is the subject of an essay by Mikael Karlstrom who does not flinch at the empirical maze created by the crosscutting power of clan heads and county chiefs, ancient kingdoms and a landed gentry that resulted from British policies in the Protectorate. He argues that the power of kinship to generate large associations for political action, and the force of sentiments surrounding traditional political affiliations to kings and princes form a base on which people strive for survival and success in terms which include personal achievement as well, and which offer the potential for a democratic order in the classic terms of civil society/state relations.

Reeling from the multiplicity of kinship affiliations and class distinctions based on wealth in contemporary Uganda, we crash headlong into William Bissell's representation of the dilemmas of British administrators caught in the contradictions of democratic rhetoric and bureaucratic authority embodied in the Zanzibar Protectorate. The long conflict over the use of open space at Mnazi Mmoja on the outskirts of "Stone Town" provides an historical thread for the tracing of power whatever the theoretical constructions of state and civil society might imply.

Mariane Ferme then leads us into the maze of secrecy that is so crucial to all aspects of power in Sierra Leone where the peculiar public display of secret knowledge creates groups of common interest and also destroys them. This is a process that seems to render any distinction between state and civil society meaningless, yet ensures a highly public dialogue on all exercise of power. That civil war has become the constant in this tormented nation does not lessen her analyses, especially in light of the interventions from neighboring nations and international diamond dealers.

Deborah Durham follows with a discussion of contemporary Botswana. Although much of her detailed ethnographic data concern a town occupied by Herero displaced from Southwest Africa in 1904, she argues that the principle dynamic in the politics of Botswana is not ethnic, but rather the conflict between traditional privilege and contemporary equality and opportunity. This conflict between old traditions of chiefly privilege and contemporary notions of democratic personal achievement is played out in every arena of Botswana national life. These competing visions don't preclude the possibility of ethnic competition and conflict, but mostly override it, and offer a form of civil society which acts as a check on an historically constituted conception of kingly power as embodied in the traditional Tswana kingdoms.

In an essay that has relevance for North African nations more broadly, Adeline Masquelier explores a conflict between Muslim sects within Niger and considers the significance of competing visions of the moral order within Islam. These competing visions reveal the lack of consensus that may cause civil society to speak to State institutions in a babel of conflicting claims. If civil society can moderate and regulate the claims and ambitions of the state through its moral consensus, we must also ask if the state can moderate the demands of competing moral visions among its citizens. Can there be a basis for state legitimacy when factions claim exclusive avenues to moral authority?

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In what seems at first a great jump we are introduced to hairstyles in Tanzania in the early 1990's. Amy Stambach contemplates the war of words on the editorial pages of Tanzanian papers that made hair curling among young women a nationalist issue. This was a discussion not just of the costs to the economy of imported curling lotions and implements. It was also a discussion of consumerism, of "white aesthetics" and their debilitating effects, and finally, of the moral basis of society. Individual morality, and perhaps especially, the morality of young females and soon-to-be mothers, can be the key metaphor for the relation between citizen and state. We are reminded of "Mother India", "La Belle France", "Lady Liberty", and all those other images of the strength of women as the warrant of the health of the state.

How crucial this public morality is to the health of the nation is driven home in Andrew Apter's tracing of the historical process of decline in the Nigerian economy and concomitant decline in public trust, in political probity, and in the processes of governance in Nigeria. In a sort of chicken and the egg conundrum, Apter traces the falling prices of oil and the collapsing trustworthiness and transparency of political processes through the rise in criminality of a sort Nigerians call "the 419". This is the section of the Nigerian criminal code that deals with fraud, forgery, impersonation and a host of scams. One is reminded of the hollow mockery of capitalism that followed the collapse of state socialism in the Soviet Union. One is carried towards the conclusion that without a moral consensus there is no state responsibility. Is it also the case that without state responsibility, there is no civil order?

One is tempted to conclude that the focus on State-Civil Society relations is misplaced if it turns on forms of association. One should rather concern oneself with the content of relations. The ideal of the liberal state may carry a heavy baggage of historically specific forms that were forged in the particularities of the West, but these forms are separate from the content of the ideas. In the post-colonial era of global markets and global media these historically situated institutions may not be the vessels of liberal democratic relations among citizens in relation to vast transnational corporations and to states whose powers are visibly limited. Yet it is clearly too early in the game to write off the liberal state as a dead form. The post-colonial world is yet aborning, and the outcome of the processes underway is far from clear. Perhaps what one might say is that this book is good for thinking about these processes and is a useful rebuke to those politicians who consider Africa irrelevant in the geopolitical landscape.

**Nature and Culture in the Andes, by Daniel W. Gade. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press (1999), xiv, 287 pp.**

**Reviewed by Anthony Bebbington, Department of Geography, University of Colorado at Boulder.**

This is an intriguing book: partly theoretical, partly methodological, often personal and largely empirical it takes the reader through one geographer's struggle to understand a region. The geographer is Dan Gade, the region the Andes. Gade has worked in the Andes for 35 years now, making him one of the academies' most senior and experienced Andeanist geographers. On the basis of that experience, Gade uses this book to lay out a series of arguments that convey his feelings on how cultural geography and landscape interpretation ought to be practiced; and, by implication, how we ought understand the relationships between nature and culture in the Andes.

To make his arguments Gade combines two conceptual/methodological chapters and a conclusion with seven more substantive chapters discussing particular problems of landscape and cultural ecological interpretation in the Andes. The topics of these chapters are quite varied. The problems they address range from the momentous (have the Andean highlands been deforested or are they natural grasslands) to the more arcane (how do rats, people and environment interact to produce the urban landscape of Guayaquil, Ecuador; why do Andean people not milk llamas and alpacas). Whether treating "big" or apparently "minor" questions, Gade consistently uses his topic to argue that in any interpretation of Andean landscapes, nature and culture cannot be separated. This unity of nature/culture he calls the culture/nature gestalt, a term chosen "to communicate a mutually interactive skein of human and nonhuman components rather than opposing polarities or separate entities" (p. 5). Seen through this gestalt, most ecological formations must be understood as culturally transformed or modified, and social formations have to be understood as mediated through ecological processes. Understanding this skein of relationships, Gade argues, requires a mix of

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empirical research, intuition and (at least implicitly) some theory. Methodologically, this requires a deep immersion in a region - such as Gade has lived - and a profound commitment to field presence and fieldwork "as the prime source of information" (p. 28).

Having laid his conceptual foundation, Gade then uses it to re-read and challenge a series of taken-for-granted assumptions about Andean landscapes and cultural ecological practices. His starting point is to reflect on the very notion of the Andes. While considering the varying meanings given to the term, he suggests that "[t]he most profound meaning of the Andes ... comes not from a physical description, but from the cultural outcome of 10 millennia of knowing, using and transforming the varied environments of western South America" (p. 34). At the core of *lo andino* is therefore a "culture complex" that has survived the colonial period and the technological changes of the modern world - a complex that has at its cultural ecological core "an agropastoralism that takes advantage of environmental diversity" to minimize risk and foster self-sufficiency (p. 36). This is a relatively familiar assertion, characteristic of the boom of cultural ecological, anthropological and ethnohistorical work on the Andes in the 1970s and 1980s. It is also, however, a slightly problematic one. While Gade's earlier argument that *lo andino* is a cultural historical outcome of 10 millennia of mutual imbrication of nature and society implies it is more process than product, the subsequent definition seems to fix *lo andino* in particular practices. Furthermore, it finds in *lo andino* a resistance to certain types of contemporary change but not to others from earlier historical moments. An initially historicized and hybridizing notion of *lo andino* thus totters on the brink of essentialism. This uncertainty is significant because in this and some of the following chapters, Gade's particular, and critical, takes on modernity and development, appear to betray a lingering nostalgia for something that is truly Andean. Yet if we are to argue that *lo andino* is a nature/culture that is always in process, then such lingering essentialisms surely cannot be the basis from which to critique modernity and development: the foundations for critique have to be found somewhere else. If that somewhere else is an equally modern notion of "rights," be these to alterity, or to inclusion, then nor can a notion of *lo andino* be so instinctively critical of the modern.

Several of the substantive chapters that follow this more conceptual and reflective pair of introductory chapters were the highlights of the book, at least for this reader. Gade's technique of using a particular problem to reflect on larger issues, while at the same time addressing the landscape problem at hand, is often fascinating and always impressive for the broad arsenal of knowledge and information that he mobilizes. In arguing, for instance, that contrary to many popular beliefs the Andes were once far more forested than today, Gade uses a mixture of archival, ethnographic, remotely sensed and ethnohistorical information. These diverse information sources are then blended with a form of deductive reasoning to arrive at a concluding interpretation of the problem at hand. In other chapters Gade combines this battery of approaches with comparative analysis (e.g., using ethnohistorical and archeological information from the Near East to explain why Andean camelids are not milked), personal experience and simple discovery.

The technique - and the style of analysis it delivers - are resonant of Carl Sauer's approach to cultural and environmental history, and it is not surprising that Gade frequently refers to Sauer and recognizes him as an inspiration for his own work. The penultimate chapter of the book is dedicated to an analysis of Sauer's own contributions to the understanding of crop diversity in the Andes. Indeed, as is often the case with Sauer, Gade's chapters are consistently entertaining, thought-provoking and impressive for the amount of reflection and thought that has clearly gone into them. Also as in Sauer's writings, some of the arguments are more compelling than others. For this reader, the chapters on highland deforestation and the impacts of malaria on settlement patterns were the most convincing. But each of the chapters left me with new knowledge, and new questions of my own, and that surely is the hallmark of a successful book - that it piques one's curiosity to probe further, and think further about things that one might otherwise not have pondered.

One of the more intriguing things about this book is the way in which Gade puts himself into its text. While such reflexivity is not uncommon in new cultural geography and contemporary cultural anthropology, it is far rarer in that school of cultural geography that draws its inspiration from Sauer and his early students. Perhaps for this reason, Gade's way of taking his own authorship seriously is more refreshing than many: his style is less jargon-ridden, and more personal than theoretical in tone. It conveys his passion for this part of the world, and the sense in which it is not only culture and nature that have become mutually imbricated but also Dan Gade and the Andes. Dan Gade is an engaged, fascinated and somewhat spellbound commentator on the Andes.

Gade's willingness and concern to convey this sense of the personal is very welcome. It challenges all of us to be a bit more humble, and to reflect on the ways in which our own motivations, fascinations and backgrounds influence our interpretations of the landscapes we move through. Indeed, I am writing this review in the same Cusco where Gade did his earliest work and - while nowhere near as versed in the cultural history of this sub-region as is Gade - I am spending some time in parts of the same Vilcanota valley from which he clearly draws so much of his

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inspiration. As I do this work, Gade's book helps me perceive some of the many ways in which nature/culture constitute each other in this region. But in the end, perhaps reflecting my own passions, I perceive a somewhat different skein of relationships linking environment and society - a skein driven by processes that exclude and dominate certain nature/cultures, to the privilege of others, an intersection in which power and ecology have to be understood together. I also see intersections in which modernity is as much part of lo andino as is history, and in which social actors look to the modern as much as to anything else as they attempt to breach these processes of exclusion. Reading this book as I do this work warns me to think carefully and self-critically about the way I see the cultural and political ecology of this region; doing this work as I read the book reminds me that there are many ways of framing landscape interpretations, in the Andes as elsewhere. None is privileged, nor are they necessarily mutually exclusive in their entirety. But they lead us along different paths and, perhaps, invoke different futures.

### **Game Theory Evolving: A Problem-Centered Introduction to Modeling Strategic Interaction, by Herbert Gintis. Princeton: Princeton University Press (2000), 528 pp.**

**Reviewed by Edward Castronova, Department of Economics, California State University - Fullerton.**

In 50 years, graduate students in the various social science disciplines will take a common course in Human Behavioral Theory, and the content of that course will include much of the material in this book.

The behavioral theory Gintis presents is based on two simple ideas: First, that people form rules and habits of action that regulate their decisions in complex social environments (as opposed to precisely calculating the right decision in every situation); and second, that the rules people stick to are the ones that survive a process of evolutionary selection, where the fitness of a rule depends on how well it works. To me, these two ideas, which together constitute the core of evolutionary game theory, are not only simple, they are pretty obviously true assumptions about real people. Still, they are definitely outside the paradigm in contemporary social science. The two approaches often come to the same answers, but not always. Gintis argues that the evolutionary approach is superior to the rational choice approach. Whether he is right is up to the reader; I will only note that the methods of evolutionary game theory are by themselves so simple, elegant, and persuasive that they are worth one's attention. This book is a great way to learn about them from scratch.

Gintis assumes that the reader knows only a little algebra and basic calculus, but has a willingness to fiddle around with equations and numbers if it helps to understand an interesting problem. The method is to introduce a few basic ideas at the start of each chapter, and then give the reader a bunch of problems to work through. It is an excellent teaching strategy. The problems hone intuition about how the models reflect society, which is the point of using the math in the first place - there is no threat here of becoming lost in pages and pages of meaningless theorems and proofs. Instead, the focus is on understanding the underlying logic of the situation, and the situation is almost always very human and very real. People who work through this book will actually understand and be able to work with the theory it presents.

The book begins with five chapters and about 120 pages on the basics of game theory: the idea that people are players in a game, that there are points to be won, and that decisions interact in funny ways to determine the score. All the standard material is here, but presented, as I mentioned, in a way that is much more interesting and much more amenable to understanding than the standard game theory texts. Since evolutionary game theory has its roots in the area between economics and biology, examples are drawn from both, although the emphasis is on economics. Biologists will learn that companies, like animals, can make credible or incredible threats to obtain territory, but economists will learn that birds, like people, will sometimes engage in apparently selfless behavior for truly selfish reasons. Both will learn that Klingons will do - well, whatever, who cares? That is to say, one knock on the examples and problems is that they are occasionally too cute, in the sense that they either trivialize something that is really quite important, such as the Tragedy of the Commons, or that they become puzzles with no apparent relevance

for humans. But perhaps this is just the price of making the basics of game theory mildly entertaining. It is worth paying.

Chapters 6 through 10 introduce the reader to the evolutionary theory of games. The strategies that people use in games are viewed here as a kind of endowment, a more or less fixed part of their behavioral repertoire that will be relied on until it is replaced by something better. The job of the theorist is to predict which strategies will thrive in which environments. The concept of evolution is used to make the prediction. It says (in one version, anyway, the replicator dynamics) that people will switch strategies when they run across someone whose strategy seems a lot better. Thus, good strategies have more 'offspring' than others; they grow in the population, while bad strategies die out. Strategies that are stable in some sense (i.e. able to withstand invasions by mutants) are considered equilibria; they are the kinds of behaviors one can expect to see in the real world. The material requires some homework in the area of differential equations, but the reward is valuable. The behavior of firms, candidates, consumers, and animals will now be seen as different examples of one unifying and extremely plausible decision-making dynamic.

In Chapters 11 through 15, Gintis narrows the focus to human behavior and applies the evolutionary approach to a number of areas where the standard approach has its problems. For example, is there such a thing as altruism? True, we do observe what appears to be selfless behavior all the time. The standard approach to this behavior is to ask: Can I construct a self-interested person, who logically pursues her goals (i.e., a 'rational actor'), who would act this way? In Gintis' approach, this kind of question does not even make sense. If rationality always involves self-interest, and all people are rational, to ask this question is just to deny the premise that some acts are selfless. Instead, the evolutionary approach asks: Are their circumstances in which selfless behavior is also evolutionarily fit behavior? The difference is in the assumptions, with the standard approach requiring universal self-interest and the logical pursuit of precise objectives, and the evolutionary approach requiring only that dumb strategies eventually die. It may not be evident that the two approaches are all that different, and indeed in many situations they do come to the same answer. To see the difference, however, consider the finitely-repeated prisoner's dilemma, where constant defection is the only logical, self-interested strategy. In a finite population of trigger-strategy defectors (people who cooperate until you defect, and then defect until the end), however, anyone who tried that strategy would pretty quickly find it to be dumb, and would switch over to something more cooperative. These are the kinds of results we observe in game theory experiments; Gintis shows that insights from evolutionary game theory are able to explain them.

This material also gives readers a very handy toolbox of hints for making decisions in their own lives. When can you believe some information you receive? When will people do what they promise? Who can you trust? How can you collude with your competitors without violating the Sherman-Douglas Act? How can you use your power over someone (your landlord, your boss, your kid) to get what you want? What is the best way to bargain?

While the material is useful and entertaining, there are still some things about the book that are not so great. This has to be one of the worst editing jobs I have seen in an academic book, especially one that hopes also to be a textbook. There are computer codes in the text, whole paragraphs repeat, and symbols are occasionally wrong. My advice to the reader is that if you can't get a problem, try re-doing it with the most plausible change of symbols! Is the author being nice or mean when he acknowledges the editors by name on page xxix?

Secondly, the book cannot seem to make up its mind as to whether it is a textbook or an academic book. There are extensive instructions for teachers throughout, and the problem-oriented focus lends itself to teaching, of course. But often the material seems to assume a very high level of prior training by the 'student'. There is a lot of material about the methodological debate between evolutionary game theory and neoclassical rational choice; most students will not be all that interested and they won't really understand what it is all about anyway. Moreover, even some of the purely teaching-oriented sections still assume that students know quite a bit about the neoclassical paradigm, including utility functions, the concept of social surplus, and optimization theory. A future edition should a) get rid of all the bugs, and b) make this a text, with a clear prerequisite of intermediate micro theory (or not, removing the extra material), OR make the book clearly academic and get rid of the emphasis on instructors.

Finally, one of the most convincing tools of persuasion in the book is its simulations. Sometimes Gintis sets up a problem, and if the analysis of it might seem unconvincing on its face, he says (in essence anyway) 'Look, suppose you had a thousand people playing this game, and every day some percentage of them switch what they do based on how things are going.' He sets it all up on a computer and lets it run for a million days. You can clearly see which behaviors stick around, which ones die, and which ones cycle in and out of popularity. It is both very convincing and also a strong argument for looking at human society through the lens of evolution.

**Environment and Ethnicity in India 1200-1991, by Sumit Guha. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press (1999), xv, 217 pp.**

**Reviewed by Dr. Vinita Damodaran, School of African and Asian Studies, University of Sussex, UK.**

Environment and Ethnicity in India studies the peoples of the Vindhya, Sahyadri, Satpura and Satmala ranges of western India over several centuries. Following Barth's ecological model, where it is argued that a Pathan lifestyle was viable in a rugged terrain inaccessible to central authority, Guha suggests that such 'no go areas' existed in every part of the subcontinent. Nonetheless, he goes on to argue that a complex political economy existed in the region well into the eighteenth century, where even apparently isolated groups such as the Baiga participated, and tribute and exchange with settled peasants was part of the life of forest communities. Such interaction, he notes, needs to be seen as adaptation, a strategy to draw on the resources of the surrounding countryside. The forest communities were at an advantage in this regard, because of their familiarity with the woodlands and the possibility of flight into them to evade the control of the local landlords.

In analysing the forest polities of the early modern period he engages with the terms "indigenous" and "tribe" on a theoretical level and argues that an uncritical adoption of these categories is not supported by the historical record. This latter exercise is the more problematic one, for while he is quite aware of the political efficacy of using these terms, for example by people displaced in recent times by dam projects to claim compensation, he condemns their usage as being historically inaccurate. Indeed, Indian nationalists have traditionally been suspicious of such claims to an authentic "indigenous" status and such discourse has in recent times been co-opted by right wing proponents of the nation-state based on the notion of a unified national culture and a singular national history. Despite these developments, Guha is quick to dismiss these categories as being historically invalid. He seems to sympathise with the position of the unashamedly assimilationist sociologist, G.S. Ghurye (1943), who held the position that adivasi (indigenous peoples of India) were part of mainstream Hindu culture and needed to be totally assimilated. If, in the process they were further marginalised, so be it.

Much recent work has moved beyond mere assertions of the historical invalidity of such categories, and has effectively argued that ethnicity and ethnic ideologies are historically contingent creations. Thus, much of what Guha says may or may not be true depending on the specific case. For example, it is true that the Chakmas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts were by no means the first people to enter CHT; in fact, they were one of more the recent immigrants, following the Arkanese and Tripurans. Nonetheless, today Chakma identity is firmly linked to the hill tracts where they have sought to develop an "indigenous" model of state, society and culture. Elsewhere in India, as Hardiman (1987) argues, the term adivasi relates to a particular historical development, that is, the subjugation to colonial authority of a wide variety of communities during the nineteenth century. These communities, which had been relatively free from the control of outsiders before colonial rule, experienced a shared spirit of resistance, which incorporated a consciousness of the "adivasi" against the "outsider." As Hardiman notes, the term was used in the 1930s by political activists in the area of Chotanagpur in eastern India with the aim of forging a new sense of identity among different 'tribal' peoples, a tactic that has enjoyed considerable success.

What was the process that led to the marginalisation of many local forest communities? Guha argues that the appropriation of a European racial ethnography was used by indigenous elites to justify an indigenous hierarchy on the one hand and to assert parity with the European upper classes on the other. The upper strata took enthusiastically to racism and the academic study of "raciology." In his chapter on race and racial ideas in the nineteenth century, he notes that these ideas had considerable resonance in colonial India. H.H. Risley advertised India as an ethnographer's paradise on precisely such grounds. The caste system had prevented mixing and the 'primitive' tribes were not dying out as a consequence of western contact, and could therefore be readily measured by the visiting ethnographer. These ideas were well received by the Indian elites and Risley noted the alacrity with which his ethnographic exercises were assisted by various "native gentlemen".

However, Guha needs to make more of the fact that the new racial science confirmed the old hierarchy at home. To be linked to the wilderness or the jungle had been considered pejorative from ancient times up to the eighteenth century and was not a recent phenomenon. It must be noted, and I fear that in his haste to dismiss the notion of the unchanging primitive tribe Guha does not sufficiently emphasise this fact, colonial epistemology lined up with Brahmanical knowledge, resulting in the depoliticisation and emasculation of many communities that came to be later termed as adivasi. Brahmanical theories of society that had long been propounded in the ancient centres

of Hindu scholarship became more widely influential with the growing power of Brahmin ritual in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As Hindu caste society became less mobile and more codified under colonial institutions, these older images of the tribes received a new impetus. Guha himself notes that in western India, little trace could be seen in the more modern epigraphs of Bhar chiefs, the Tharu gentry or Bhil kinglets that had traditionally occupied a higher status in medieval society. The social downgrading of these communities quickly followed military marginalisation and the turn of the eighteenth century saw severe Maratha reprisals against the Bhils in Khandesh. What needs to be examined more carefully, therefore, is the way in which Brahmanical and Kshatriya values seemed to acquire a more exclusive dominance. As Rosalind O'Hanlon notes, citing Christopher Bayly, "what brought these Brahmanical values into wider currency was not some extraordinary piece of colonial conjuring. It was rather a complex set of processes to which British and Indian alike contributed, and some of which, such as the association of Brahmins with newer pre-colonial dynasties, were already in train during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" (1989:99). With the emergence of a more settled and homogenous peasant society and the increased pressure on land, the exclusion of potential competitors became a more appropriate strategy. She argues that "where the British did contribute to the processes it was to stimulate them indirectly, in their project for the classification of castes, in their production of new regional histories and in their enshrining of what was in effect Brahmanical precept and custom as law within the Anglo Indian judicial system."

Guha's work seems to follow the line, recently criticised by Bayly and O'Hanlon, that the British invented nineteenth century caste and tribe. In order to challenge the notion of an ageless caste based social order, his argument may have been carried too far. Colonial regimes did not simply invent caste and tribe out of pre-colonial systems that were uniformly mobile and uncoded. The agency of Indians and long-term structural continuities need to be taken more into account in these studies. Nineteenth century preoccupations with caste needs to be understood in terms of continuity with precolonial Brahmanic and Kshatriya precepts and traditions. While one cannot deny the existence of competing local ideologies and alternative forms of social organisation, the growing dominance of Brahmanical ritual and scribal specialists in the immediate pre-colonial period needs to be sufficiently studied.

Guha may be right in arguing that pastoralism as a way of life had its origins in desertions from mixed farming communities under the impact of both natural and social change. He argues that the middle centuries of the first millennium saw pastoralists renegotiating their relations with settled villages and their Brahmin parasites, resulting in the rise of various dynasties whose names associate them with pastoralism, such as, the Palas, Yadavas, Gurjaras. Kingship, however, was available only to a few of them. The remaining pastoralists, like the Banjaras, gradually integrated themselves into the renewed agrarian, political and natural environment. Much of the history cited here is conjectural, but what he fails to emphasise sufficiently is the "gradual loss of status suffered by pastoralist and tribal groups, their assimilation into the expanding ranks of low caste agricultural labourers, the closing off of social boundaries around the great agricultural castes and their more marked internal stratification, and an intensified concern with the purity of lineage amongst the martial clans such as Rajputs and the Marathas whose war bands had been domesticated under the British peace" (O'Hanlon 1989:98).

Despite the validity of his thesis that "the wanderers might settle and the settled wander; forests might be cleared and forests grow, ploughshares might be beaten into swords and vice versa," the problem remains of explaining the spread of principles of hierarchy and social differentiation.<sup>2</sup> The main thrust of Guha's concluding section is to demonstrate how the twentieth century isolation of 'remote jungle tribes' was an artefact of colonial rule rather than a survival of some remote epoch. In these chapters, which are executed with a fine eye for detail, he argues that the behaviour and ideals of the forest folk suggests that they partook predominantly of one of the mainstream cultures of medieval South Asia, that of, "soldier rather than that of cleric, merchant or peasant" (p. 163). At the top of the hierarchy, some successfully made the change from warlord to landlord, while some made the transition from peasant militia to dominant caste. Still others, joined the proletariat while some remained committed to a mobile and independent lifestyle and found the agricultural frontier closing around them. Guha usefully shows that the Bhils, like the Kolis, "were not isolated remnant populations savagely defending themselves against encroaching civilisation," rather, they were deeply integrated into the political economy of medieval India. However the declining status of the Katkaris and Varlis and the processes involved in their proletarianisation needs to be the focus of much more analysis. Clearly, more needs to be made of Bayly's thesis, that continuity with pre-colonial Brahmanic social precepts was an important part of the process which led to the emergence in the nineteenth century of firmly bounded caste communities informed to a much greater extent by Brahmanical values and practice.

In his chapters on forest rights and forest changes, Guha's rather uncritical acceptance of the Leach-Fairhead thesis, which suggests that in Guinea, the Kissidougou landscape is one that is currently filling up with rather than being emptied of forests, and his argument that similar processes occurred in western India is hard to accept. While

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it is useful to retain a critical perspective, and to be wary of romanticising indigenous peoples and their attitudes to the environment, it is much harder to dismiss the very real evidence of ecological change and deforestation that took place in India all through the colonial period. In attempting to understand the nature of the woodland changes; and in the face of overwhelming evidence, Guha hazards a reluctant guess, "Woodlands in western India exist today as islands in a sea of tillage, degraded pasture and barren waste; two centuries earlier the picture might have been reversed, archipelagos of tillage were found in a sea of modified woodland and open savannah" (p. 40). This seems contrary to the Leach thesis, that historical Kissidougou enjoyed no more tree cover than modern Kissidougou. Elsewhere Guha notes that, "through the nineteenth century, the forests receded as trees went to feed the demand for beams and rafters...the rapid thinning of the mountain forests would have been accelerated by the fact that little large timber remained in the Dakhan plains. This process was encouraged by the British regime" (pp. 51-52). His application of the Leach - Fairhead thesis to Western India is thus untenable, even based on his own evidence. One is not making the case here for a pristine environmental past. Clearly the people's engagement with the forest in multiple ways resulted in the creation of a human landscape, one that was ever changing, with forests giving way to settlements shifting agricultural practices, and the altering of boundaries between villages and forest. Nature was not "out there"; it was a lived relationship for local communities. However, only a much more detailed environmental history of local villages will allow us to piece together these rich and complex stories.

In this context Guha's rather off-hand comment that "the Baiga were another forest community with a useful sideline in magic and healing" (p. 41), that they were totally integrated with other local communities through the wood trade and had been since the early nineteenth century, is not the whole story. It has been noted that until the 1850s the British hesitated to impose strict measures against the wood trade in the Central Provinces because they feared "a flight of tribals in areas under company rule," and that most Gonds in Mandla depended on sales of wood for their livelihood. However these communities were clearly distinguishable from other low-lying populations in their overwhelming dependence on the forest products, not just for trade but also in terms of their life style. Baiga and Gond understandings of landscape, their stories of nature, their lived history were very different from the perception of nature and the land of local settled communities. Many of these groups tended to experience the forest and village as ontologically part of each other, one being the life force of the other. Elsewhere, for example, in the Dangs, the village was part of the jungle and sacred groves were located at the outskirts of villages where boundary deities were believed to reside. Ritual practice with strict prohibitions on felling, drinking and sexual intercourse ensured that forest deities would not be hostile to the Bhils (Skaria 1999:59). These perceptions were very different from those of the settled agricultural communities of the plains, the Thakur farmers or the Maratha Kunbi peasantry in western India. To say this is not to romanticise these communities and their relationship to nature. In his recent reply to Obeyesekere, Marshall Sahlins has noted, that the post-modern attack on the notion of a bounded and coherent culture has occurred at the very moment when groups such as the Maoris, Tibetans, Australian aborigines around the world 'all speak of their culture using that word or some other equivalent, a value worthy of respect, commitment and defence'. He argues that no good history can be written without regard for "ideas, actions and ontologies that are not and never were our own" (Sahlins 1995:1-15). While Guha's point that a multiplicity of occupations was shared among the marginal communities of the Konkan, such as the Katkari and the Bhils of Khandesh, is well taken, one cannot dispute that in many parts of India there existed communities, such as the Birhor in eastern India, who had a sophisticated knowledge of the jungle environment and depended on it to an overwhelming extent in comparison to the more settled agricultural communities. The Hos of Singhbhum in the nineteenth century, for example, had names for all the common plants and those of economic importance to them and, like the forest Mundas, were well versed in the edible properties of plants. The forest environment, and a knowledge of it, were thus of critical importance to the local people, particularly in dietary terms. This importance in terms of food was paralleled in terms of belief; the two were not truly separable and Chotangpuri folk taxonomy was completely embedded in and mediated by the local cultural order. Evidence from western India, among the Gonds, Baigas and Bhils suggests similar associations with the forest environment.

Guha's analysis then, is in part dictated by the nature of the sources he uses. While he puts considerable effort into demonstrating the way in which the Bhils and the Gonds were well integrated into the local political economy, there is no exploration of local Bhil traditions, no analysis of their ideological engagement with the forest except as timber traders. In addition, Guha's analysis of forest politics in the colonial period does not sufficiently examine the impact of the dwindling of the forest on Bhils or the nature of Bhil resistance. While local perceptions do emerge in the description of the disarticulation of forest politics, as in the story of the Akrani plateau, one wishes that Guha had included more information from the local communities' perspectives, rather than the perspective of the local Ranas, or chiefs. Guha is aware of this obvious lacunae in his work and acknowledges that he has looked at forest people largely from an 'external perspective', a perspective dictated by the nature of his sources. Nonetheless, this proves a glaring omission. Guha could have made more use of other studies in this regard. For example, there is

little discussion of Hardiman's excellent study of the adivasis of southern Gujarat beyond noting the futility of what he calls the messianic nature of the movement in question. Such a comment testifies to Guha's neglect of local traditions, mythmaking and ritual practice among the communities he purports to study.

In the last chapter, the trajectory of his thesis leads him to the inevitable conclusion that having being integrated into the local political economy from the very beginning, the maintenance of artificial boundaries between caste and tribe first by the colonial and then by the post-colonial state could not but benefit the so called tribes. He argues that in the post-independence period, the protective policy of the Indian state has led to tribal communities in Khandesh moving from being mainly landless to acquiring shares of land not much below their percentage of the population and that tribals in areas such as Jalgoan and Dhule were better off than in the mid-nineteenth century. Once again, there are problems with the sorts of evidence he uses, for as he himself notes, there is some degree of underestimation in the nineteenth century surveys, in that swidden farmers in the hills would tend to be omitted. In addition, his conclusion about the impact of protective legislation is certainly not borne out by what he said at least for the immediate pre-independence period where the status of these communities suffered a steady erosion all through the nineteenth century. In much of western Khandesh, for example, tribals in the possession of lands on inalienable tenure were perhaps saved from becoming landless labourers as a result of protective colonial state policy. However, on account of their indebtedness to moneylenders, they had acquired a serf status, working their fields for bare subsistence. David Hardiman's excellent study of the Devi movement (1987) outlines this story in fine detail. He notes that between 1895 and 1913, 42% of the land in the Baroda Taluka of Mahuva changed hands through sales and mortgages and a high proportion passed from adivasis to moneylenders. By 1913 his evidence reveals that a majority of the adivasis who made up 75% of the population of the Taluka lost their lands through sales and mortgages. Guha himself agrees that the limited protection afforded by the state conferred little advantage to the semi-proletarian communities in and around the forest in the 1930s, but he does not follow this idea through for the post-independence period.

The protection afforded by the independent Indian state from 1947 through the 1990s has been negligible; the interventionist developmental efforts of the post-colonial state during this period has wrought tremendous damage on Indian forests and its fast dwindling wildlife. In this context, the fate of marginalized forest communities, often dispossessed and resettled on marginal unproductive lands can only be imagined.<sup>3</sup> Guha needs to examine his evidence much more critically than he does. Hardiman once again shows the way in which the tenancy legislation in the post 1950s period, which Guha credits as having so benefited the tribes, actually worked. Hardiman notes that the land lost by Parsis and urban sahuikars to their adivasi tenants following agrarian legislation benefited mainly the bigger adivasi landowners, and lead to a growing polarisation between rich and poor adivasis in the period after independence. He further argues that in many other areas, like in Rajpipla state, high caste farmers had managed to grab large amounts of land during the period after 1920 and turn local adivasis into bonded labourers. Here, as they were not classed as tenants, these communities did not regain the land through tenancy legislation.

Christopher Von Haimendorf's classic study, forcefully underlines the marginalisation of these communities in many parts of India in the period immediately after independence and in the 1960s and 70s (Furer-Haimendorf 1989:323-326). Understanding the true impact of the tenancy legislation of the 1950s in western India requires going beyond a mere review of official sources, and needs much further study.

In conclusion, one might argue that adivasi claims to an 'authentic indigeneity' cannot be easily dismissed on the basis of Guha's evidence, as other researchers, most notably Hardiman (1987), Skaria (1999) and Bhaviskar (1995), have shown for western India.. Skaria in particular notes, that the way in which forest communities used the identities being attributed to them is important. The fact that the term adivasi, with its connotation of autochthonous power, has found so much favour with these communities is of great significance. Their embrace of an adivasi identity can be seen as a way of creating alternative power structures and of being outside the narratives of the Indian nation state. As Skaria puts it, "being adivasi or indigenous is about the shared experience of the loss of the forests, the alienation of land, repeated displacements since independence in the name of development, and much more" (p. 281). The recent debate over the damming of the Narmada has highlighted the question of indigenous rights. Approximately 37,000 hectares of land and 152,000 people are scheduled to be displaced due to the reservoir. Secondary displacement will raise the total to 1 million (Bhaviskar 1995: 200). While it is true that the hill adivasis are only one third of the number ultimately affected, their plight has been highlighted to garner support from global environmental awareness. For example, the activists of the Narmada Bachao Andolan have been helped by the contemporary political prominence of the issue of indigenous rights and the international shift in attitudes towards indigenous people since the Second World War. Especially since the 1960s and 1970s, there has been a marked growth of interest in the value of indigenous cultures; as well as in environmental activism and the two movements have been viewed as symbiotic. The assumption has been that supporting indigenous land rights is compatible with

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and even promotes environmental values, for it cannot be denied that local practices of forest peoples in many parts of India incorporated valuable environmental lessons. This was nowhere more evident than in western India, where the politics of local forest communities was often in violent confrontation with the developmental policies of the colonial and post-colonial state.

The cultural struggle for indigenous rights being waged in many parts of contemporary India must be seen as essentially a movement directed towards transforming the balance of power in the region. In Gramscian terms, it may be seen as a struggle for hegemony in the cultural and political arena. In rejecting terms such as *jangali* that forms part of a discourse that aids compliance towards forms of economic and political domination, and by forcefully claiming indigenous status and rejecting the notions of backwardness and inferiority in comparison with the plains Hindus, adivasi leaders in the twentieth century have attempted to secure political advantage in the colonial and post-colonial period. In the process, claims about the inherent originality or purity of adivasi culture are made and the history of acculturation with the dominant Hindu culture is pushed aside. It is in this moment of struggle against dominant values and the narratives of the state, as Homi Bhabha notes that the “meanings and symbols of culture are appropriated, translated, re-historicized and read anew” (Bhabha 1996:37).

Despite his skilful use of early modern sources, Guha’s reassessment of this period needs to take into account local traditions and transforming historical developments that have led gradually to the emergence of the identity of the adivasi. In the absence of such an analysis, his conclusion that invocations of indigeneity can only have explosive consequences, ignores the politics of such identity formations in India. The embracing of the identity of indigenous or adivasi must be seen in political terms. Given the effects of economic exploitation, political disenfranchisement, social manipulation and ideological domination on the cultural formation of minority subjects and discourses, a redefinition of the subject position of tribes and an exploration of the strengths and weaknesses, affirmations and negations, of the term adivasi itself was inevitable.<sup>4</sup> In this context, it becomes useful to see contemporary adivasi culture and the assertion of indigenous rights in many parts of India today as a form of political struggle.

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1. The term *adivasi* or original inhabitant rather than 'tribal' is seen as preferable by some writers for it is free of the evolutionist implications of the latter term.
2. In dealing with his evidence here, the lack of chronological sequence is irritating to the reader. When Guha talks of adaptation of forest communities, nineteenth century evidence for the Bhils is cited alongside data from the first millennium. Clearly such a handling of the obviously rich material, does not allow for the specificities of the historical conjuncture of the nineteenth century, for example in eastern India, where the discourse of marginality forcefully articulated the history of the region as one in which the local inhabitants of Chotanagpur were gradually peripheralised in regional politics and subject to the whims of the colonial state.
3. In neighbouring Rajasthan, Maya Unnithan's work on the Girasia tribes shows, that while the marginalisation of these groups is of recent origin for in their oral narratives they record themselves as being Rajput, their current status is a tragic story of gradual dispossession and resettlement on unproductive lands. See Unnithan-Kumar (1997).
4. See also Abdul R., Jan Mohammed and David Lloyd, *Cultural critique*, Fall 1987.

**Marxism, Revisionism, and Leninism: Explication, Assessment, and Commentary, by Richard F. Hamilton, Westport, CT: Praeger (2000), x, 269 pp.**

**Reviewed by Bradley J. Macdonald, Department of Political Science, Colorado State University.**

In a very timely book, Richard Hamilton has attempted to revisit the empirical claims of Marxism, Revisionism (in particular, the "evolutionary socialism" of Eduard Bernstein), and Leninism. With the crumbling of the Berlin Wall--symbolizing for many the end of the relevance of Marx's political theory--and the veering toward a "third way" (read, neo-liberal way) in various Western European countries by formerly avowed socialist parties, Marxism, and its brand of socialism, is now universally assumed to be an historical artifact, and maybe neither a very interesting nor productive one at that. If we were to look at the proclivities of theorizing within the social sciences and humanities, we would not see much that would point to Marxism's conceptual centrality either. Instead of finding the specter of Marx haunting the halls of academe, we are more prone to confront various hagiographic personifications of J. S. Mill, Michel Foucault, and Gayatri Spivak. So, in such a context, it might actually be fruitful to once again look at the theoretical and empirical relevance of Marx's thought so as to assess whether his absence in conceptual and practical affairs is warranted. Hamilton, coming from a rather different problematic (one that sees Marx and his heirs behind every theoretical and conceptual corner), steps up to offer one take on this issue.

In general, Hamilton attempts to verify and/or falsify what he sees as the empirical hypotheses of these three strains of the Marxist tradition. What makes the book significant is his attempt to clearly articulate the empirical

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propositions of each of these positions, and to then attempt to bring the most recent comparative statistical and empirical evidence to bear on such propositions. To my knowledge, there is no other study that analyses these positions so tenaciously as empirical theories, and which, with remarkable attention to interdisciplinary empirical sources, attempts to see how they fair with reality.

Before Hamilton looks specifically at these three positions, he first historically recreates the tenets associated with liberalism. This is done for two reasons, one clearly expressed, the other only coming out later in his argument. First, Hamilton notes correctly that the Marxist tradition arose partially in reaction to the ideology and practices of classical liberalism. Thus, it seems sensible to look at the nature and success of liberalism in order to better characterize the positions of Marxism, Revisionism, and Leninism. Second, Hamilton attempts to do a bit of prior retrieval in the face of such later critiques. That is, his discussion clearly argues that liberalism has lived up to its earlier empirical claims, particularly, that the implementation of liberal-inspired policies will lead to the greater welfare of human beings. What is interesting is that Hamilton only really emphasizes the first point, and while he reiterates the way in which Marxism is a reaction to this potent ideology he never actually clearly articulates the differences, nor does he clearly point out the way that Marxism is defined in reaction to liberalism. More important, I think, is the implicit argument (one that only comes to the fore after his empirical analyses of the Marxist tradition) that liberalism has fared much better than Marxism in terms of its empirical verification. In this early context, Hamilton is unerring in his support of liberalism, and when he does discuss the recurring criticisms of liberalism (and capitalism) he is quick to banish them to a nineteenth century form of Ludditism: "Much of the denigration is caricature, much of it 'poorly researched.' The mills, for example, were not dark; they had giant windows to bring in the light. How else could one see the work? . . . Would critics have stopped the industrial revolution so as to save the English countryside?" (p. 26).

Leaving aside the empirical veracity of such a claim concerning the design of mills, it is clear that Hamilton has no patience for the Charles Dickens of England, not to mention the many working class activists from the early 19th century onward who clearly portrayed the "denigration" (caricatured or not) that the capitalist system was imposing on their lives. And, as has been confirmed by many historical studies of nineteenth-century working class activism in England (see, for example, Thompson 1963; Neale 1972; Morris 1979; Rothstein 1983; Royle 1986), many of these critiques arose from the very tenets of liberalism (Locke's "labor" theory of property rights was invoked by many working class activists -- like the Chartist, Bronterre O'Brien in 1833 -- to argue against the rapacious capitalist appropriation of the working classes' "fruits of their labor"). More important, from an historical point of view at least, is that within working class culture you could not separate liberal ideals from the socialist claims that began to surface in the 1840s. At any rate, none of these well-documented developments in working class ideology (prior, it must be noted, to Marx's arrival on the socialist scene) are dealt with by Hamilton, and one can only conjecture that he wishes to preserve the sanctity of liberalism from the ravages of working class liberal and socialist critiques alike.

Following his discussion of liberalism, Hamilton gets down to the analytical task at hand. After empirically testing each Marxist position in separate chapters, Hamilton argues that Marxism and Leninism fare rather badly, while Revisionism does well. Hamilton then goes on to ask why Marxism and Leninism, given their supposed poor empirical veracity, still dominate intellectual and political life. Leaving aside whether Hamilton has accurately characterized their hegemonic presence within academia (one indeed wonders whether such a characterization made more sense 30 years ago, if even then), he proffers that their resilience must be due to extra-intellectual factors, that is, to individual psychological issues (the need to "bond" with theories that have served an individual well), social psychological issues (the need to conform to the position of one's peers), and organizational factors (the way in which intellectual work has become entrapped within separate disciplines, and thus those still clinging to the tenets of the Marxist tradition have not had access to studies that disconfirm its claims) (pp. 209-214). After covering these particular extra-intellectual reasons for the dominance of the Marxist tradition, Hamilton ends his book by calling for more open theories that are willing to be eclectic (meaning, non-Marxist) and more attune to empirical realities. While I find Hamilton's analysis of the Marxist tradition to be enlightening in its marshalling of comparative empirical work, and necessary in its intended goals, I also see a number of issues for concern. I wish to look at these in more detail in the rest of my review. In so doing, I will limit my comments primarily to his treatment of Marxism, though the implications of my concerns here might easily bear on his analyses of Revisionism and Leninism as well.

As may seem apparent, Hamilton is assuming a particular position on theoretical validity: a theory is valid if and only if it corresponds to empirical evidence. "Put differently," Hamilton argues, "we assume that the elements of such a theory will 'reflect' available evidence drawn from the societies being described and analyzed" (p. 5). However commonsensical such a position may be (and, moreover, however seemingly associated with some of Marx's stated intentions it may be), Hamilton begs the question that this is the best way to assess the validity of these positions. But, even if we were to accept this generally positivistic approach to theory relevancy, the way that

Hamilton articulates the basic assumptions associated with each position, and lays out what he considers to be the relevant empirical data, unfortunately undermines his attempt to be objective and free from “whim, fancy, tendency, Zeitgeist, personal charisma, special interest, or prejudice” (p. 7). To truly test a theory in this way, one must make sure of the following: first, that one has accurately articulated the totality of that theory in testable hypotheses; second, that one has accurately articulated all of the empirical evidence that bears on these hypotheses. Unfortunately, the reader is not sure either of these practices has occurred sufficiently to make his later claims concerning the moribund nature of the Marxist tradition.

For example, in Chapter 2, entitled, “Marxism,” Hamilton makes the rather quick-handed assumption that the totality of Marx’s theory can be gleaned from *The Communist Manifesto*, a work written very early on in Marx’s career, and one moreover written with the intention of motivating political action. While Hamilton recognizes this potential problem, he is quick to note that, in later Prefaces to this work, Marx and Engels still argue for the currency of its tenets (p. 38). Of course, in saying this, they were not referring to the centrality and importance of this work for characterizing Marxism *per se* (both Marx and Engels gave such an accolade to *Capital*), but to its role as a tendential outline of economic and political developments, and, importantly, as a political work. But, even leaving that aside, why focus on this work rather than the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* or *Capital*? Part of the reason, it seems, is the facility with which the *Communist Manifesto*, given its schematic form, can offer testable predictions, particularly those related to economic crises, the immiseration of the proletariat, the increased organizational and ideological aggregation of the working class, and, most importantly for Hamilton, the inevitability of proletarian revolution. While Hamilton marshals evidence to show that none of these particular theses have been confirmed within Western capitalist countries, his evidence is rather sparse at times and only takes into consideration work that clearly supports his overall position. In particular, Hamilton avoids citing and discussing Marxist and non-Marxist political economists who have spent decades confirming the continued relevance of many of these tenets, with just as much empirical tenacity as the economic historians he seems to favor. Moreover, when he does mention the claims of recent popular authors (John Cassidy in *The New Yorker* and Steven Marcus in the *New York Times Book Review*) concerning how the *Communist Manifesto* has clearly predicted the current conditions of economic globalization, he is quick to note that these are rather “commonplace” predictions related to a “patently obvious reality,” one that any conscious capitalist in the 19th century would have articulated (p. 215). At this point, it becomes painfully obvious that Hamilton will only allow the consideration of Marx’s predictions that fit within his overall plan to discredit Marxism.

If there are clear examples of Hamilton’s problems in terms of his stated methodological position, there are also concerns about whether his very methodological approach is the best way to actually deal with the validity of Marxism. And, in reflecting on this concern, it becomes clear why he chose the *Communist Manifesto* for his characterization of Marxism tout court. From a positivist position, of course, the only theory that is relevant is that which can be clearly, and rather schematically, articulated in concise predictive claims that point to antecedent causes and their later effects, all of which can be clearly related to empirical evidence. Any theory that eschews such clear-cut schemas open to precise empirical confirmation/falsification is nothing more than what he terms “muddled thought” (p. 9). Yet, as I already noted, even the *Communist Manifesto* is more than a compendium of empirical predictions; it is an attempt to articulate developmental tendencies within capitalism, and, importantly, to convince workers of the need for political action. Indeed, there has been a long tradition of scholarship that has focused on this practical/political dimension to Marx’s theory, one that cannot be adequately captured within the confines of positivist conceptions. In the diverse work of Jürgen Habermas (1971), Alvin Gouldner (1980), and Brian Fay (1987), we are treated to a more judicious discussion of Marx’s methodological position. While none of these authors are particularly enamored by classical Marxism, they at least realize that Marx’s theory was intimately empirical as well as critical and practical. In particular, each of these commentators note that for Marx the proof of his position lay within its educative function, the way it would change individual self-conceptions and ultimately change their political actions. As Fay (1987: 90) notes succinctly concerning Marx’s notion of theory: “. . .the point of knowledge is not to provide the means by which one can use particular causal processes, but to transcend these processes; it is not to learn how to get what one wants, but to learn to have different wants; it is not knowledge of external variables in order to manipulate them, but self-knowledge in order to be freed of them; it is not the ability to work with a system efficiently, but the power to alter this system fundamentally.” To play upon Marx’s famous Eleventh Thesis in *Theses on Feuerbach*: hitherto, social scientists have predicted the social world; the point, however, is to change it. If this is the case, Marx’s theory has been seemingly confirmed by the very multitude of individuals -- within politics and within academia -- who have found within Marx’s thought a way to understand the world and act within it. Of course, as Marx was fully aware on many occasions, such a theoretical commitment did not guarantee success.

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Given the concerns I have adumbrated, I might be charged with asking Hamilton to write another type of book -- a book that clearly attempts to look at the intellectual tradition that Marx was working within in order to assess the assumptions underlying his theoretical claims; a book that takes into consideration the vast tradition of scholarship that has analyzed his methodology and theory; a book that is willing to be open to the diverse positions that Marx himself took and articulated. It must be noted that, even if such a book had been written, there is still plenty of room for disagreement and critique. At least the advantage would be that the reader would be treated to a better overall sense of Marx's ideas, ideas that are both empirically grounded (in the best positivist sense) and resolutely "muddle-headed" (in the best interpretative, hermeneutical, and critical sense). In reaction to Hamilton's well-intended portrayal, I can imagine a Marx turning to Engels, as he did in response to supposed followers of his ideas during his lifetime, and exclaiming, "If that is what is meant by my theory, then I am not a Marxist!"

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**Reclaiming the Environmental Debate. The Policies of Health in a Toxic Culture Edited by Richard Hofrichter, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press (2000), vi, 356 pp**

**Reviewed by Dennis A. Frate, Department of Preventive Medicine, University of Mississippi Medical Center, Jackson MS**

Before reading this book, I was reminded how Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* ushered in our national interest in environmental health in the early 1960's. Sustained consumer and scientific interest, however, were not overnight accomplishments; we are still trying to draw both scientific and popular attention to environmental health questions. While perhaps not with the same mobilizing force, Hofrichter's *Reclaiming the Environmental Debate* is highly recommended to those professionals, students, and consumers who work in or are interested in environmental health issues. This recommendation is not based on my total agreement with all of the authors contributing to this socio-political text, but rather my personal feeling that in order to develop an informed opinion all perspectives should be considered. If any phenomenon lends itself to multiple disciplines and various perspectives it is environmental health.

As stated in the "Introduction," the central theme of this text is that "effective challenges to toxic culture, as well as the potential for creating a compelling vision of a healthy society, grounded in everyday work and life, require reframing objectives so as to produce broad, comprehensive social change." In essence, this text wants to discuss the socio-political underpinnings of environmental actions and policy from a corporate, regulatory, and

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community perspective, and through this examination reformulate our societal actions and reactions to environmental issues. The book is divided into three parts or sections, although it is difficult to easily discern a clear distinction among the individual sections. Part I is titled, "Challenging Current Perspectives." The seven chapters in this section deal with topics such as the biomedical focus on genetic connections in cancer epidemiological research, workers' health and corporate conflict, and examples of community development and community action on environmental conflicts. This section also addresses concern about risk assessments. In Chapter 7, "When Harm Is Not Necessary: Risk Assessment as Diversion," author Mary O'Brien states, "Environmental risk assessments are overwhelmingly used to construct a scientific-looking claim that an unnecessary, hazardous activity or substance is 'safe' or poses 'insignificant harm,' or, when dead bodies clearly belie this, is 'acceptable'." Such a subjective statement does a disservice to those environmental toxicologists and epidemiologists who are diligently working to refine this assessment tool. I will discuss the limitations of this methodology later.

Part II contains five chapters that deal with how corporate culture affects our group perceptions on the relationships between environmental hazards and human health. A number of these chapters state or at a minimum imply a concerted corporate effort at manipulating images of the environmental movement for their own advantage, or the marketing of a concept of corporate environmentalism that in reality is not consumer friendly. For example, advertising/marketing campaigns using images of Mother Nature to sell refrigerators is taken to task as an inappropriate manipulation of the consumer. It is common practice for any product marketing campaign to associate itself with a "soft", "likeable" image such as pets or children. This example appears to be no different. In Chapter 13, "Rethinking Technoscience in Risk Society: Toxicity as Textuality," author Timothy Luke examines the science of toxicology and risk assessment and agrees to the limitations of the science. However, even the recognition of the inherent limitations does not stop the author from finding fault with those who operate within those limitations. We are currently very limited in developing causal models for environmental contaminant exposure and human health outcomes. Researchers investigating environmental health concerns are left to infer causality from prospective animal studies or, even worse, to rely on cross-sectional or case-control studies conducted on humans. Such retrospective research designs can only be used to develop models of association and should never be used to infer causality. What is required is a prospective cohort study, such as the Framingham cardiovascular disease project. This, of course, would require a major commitment of time and funds; Framingham was a 50-year funded project. Also, ethical (IRB) considerations would be paramount here; can we ethically monitor a population exposed to a particular environmental contaminant over 30 years? The limitations, however, do not exclude launching a societal public health effort if statistical associations to an exposure are found. There is a difference between the development and acceptance of a scientifically based causal model and public health attention over suspected causation. The disease models we now commonly employ, e.g. microbial, have little utility here as a wide range of target organs and biological processes have been implicated or suspected in toxic substance exposure; their expression appears to be not uniform. This list includes the human reproductive system, the immune system, infant growth and development, fetal growth, neurologic disorders, aptitude retardation in children, and cancer. Using the current state of the science, including the use of retrospective study designs, the challenge then, for instance, is how do we epidemiologically tease out the possible relationship between a low birth weight infant and the mother's exposure to a toxic substance when numerous other dependent variables may have played a significant role, separately or in combination, over the entire life span of that woman. For example, how can we measure the effects of passive tobacco smoke that occurred over time? Unfortunately, at this time the analytical techniques available are inadequate.

Part III, "Notes From the Field: Community Struggles," includes four chapters examining organized resistance at the community level to on-going or projected environmental contamination and describing creative collaborations at the grassroots level. Examples concerning environmental justice are included here. This is a very interesting section in that it deals with the reality of how disadvantaged populations can organize to create change. In essence, these chapters are taking, what I termed earlier, a public health approach to the problem. The communities in question have not waited until a definitive causal model is developed by environmental health scientists. Rather, sufficient associations exist with toxic exposure that encourages a public health action or community response. As with some of the earlier chapters, these in Part III occasionally lapse into a subjective dialogue. For example, in Chapter 15, "Bearing Witness or Taking Action?: Toxic Tourism and Environmental Justice," when discussing a community program in the San Francisco area author Giovanna Di Chiro notes "... a community already heavily affected by toxics that has unusually high levels of breast cancer in women under the age of fifty." From an epidemiological perspective, I would have preferred to see a brief table of the expected female breast cancer rates compared to the actual rates over a 10-year period. Without those numbers, or a meaningful citation, such a statement does not reflect responsible science. It is not even clear whether the author is referring to

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morbidity rates or to mortality rates.

Despite some limitations, this volume is recommended to professionals, students, and consumers involved in or interested in environmental health concerns. Its shortcomings center on the occasional lack of both objectivity and recognition of the limitations of the science. Environmental health can be an emotional issue, but emotion alone will not convert the scientific community or regulatory agencies. All readers should be aware that environmental health scientists are currently working on refining the science. Until more sensitive and accurate measures are developed, we should continue to be aware of and on the alert for regulatory infractions by corporations and hold them accountable; the public's health at a minimum requires that! Also, as a group we should demand that funding agencies that support environmental health research, such as the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences (NIH) and the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, increase their research agenda to advance the state of the science so true causal models can be developed, tested, and accepted.

**American Indians in the Marketplace: Persistence and Innovation among the Menominees and Metlakatlangs, 1870-1920, by Brian C. Hosmer. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999, xvi, 309 pp.**

**Reviewed by Alice Littlefield, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Central Michigan University, Mt. Pleasant, MI 48859**

In this study of Menominees and Tsimshians, Brian Hosmer seeks to build on the works of such scholars as Richard White and Thomas Hall in applying dependency/world systems perspectives to Native American populations. He focuses as well as on indigenous peoples as actors in their own affairs. He is interested in how Indians were able to maintain community and culture in the face of new economic relationships, particularly the impact of market capitalism, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Hosmer's approach is to examine this question through two case studies. The first considers the involvement of Wisconsin Menominees in commercial logging of tribally owned timber and how this endeavor was shaped by timber industry politics, federal policy, and the initiatives of the Menominees themselves. The second examines the development of new enterprises in the community of Metlakatla, a village established in the 1860s by Christian Tsimshian converts, followers of missionary William Duncan. Living in British Columbia and later in Alaska, Metlakatlangs negotiated within a political economic environment profoundly shaped by commercial salmon fishing and canning interests; missionary politics; and shifting government policies.

In seeking to portray Indians (the term used consistently by Hosmer) as shapers of their own destiny rather than merely helpless victims of the expanding global economy, Hosmer details how, unlike their Ojibwa neighbors, Menominees not only retained a significant land base (236,000 acres in northeastern Wisconsin), but avoided allotment and developed logging and sawmill enterprises on the basis of tribally-owned resources. As a result, at least some of the Menominees enjoyed relative prosperity during the period under examination.

Chapter One provides a summary of Menominee culture and history from the contact period through the 1870s, when lumbering became a major industry in Northern Wisconsin. Chapters Two and Three focus on the development of Menominee logging in their tribal forests after the establishment of the reservation, and their struggles to control their own timber resources in the face of commercial timber interests and fluctuating, sometimes contradictory, Indian Office policies. Chapter Four, "Creating Indian Entrepreneurs," describes the emergence of a Menominee elite who sought to control Menominee logging and sawmill development, with mixed success, in the early years of the twentieth century.

Hosmer gives considerable credit to Menominee leadership for guiding change in ways that protected community interests. He describes how Menominee modernizers struggled to wrest control of their logging enterprise from the Indian Office bureaucrats, giving credit to "traditional" Menominee values of clan allegiance and personal autonomy, and their facility for "reinterpreting values, while maintaining a sense of community" (p. 35).

Yet he also makes clear that income from logging was distributed unevenly among the Menominee, that some could not or would not to engage in logging at all, and that conflicts over logging and sawmill operations occurred not only between Menominees and government agents, but among the Menominees themselves. He argues that what he terms Menominee entrepreneurs “had come to influence, if not dominate,” tribal politics by the middle 1890s” (p. 72).

In describing social change among the Tsimshians, Hosmer focuses on a single community, Metlakatla. A thumbnail sketch of Tsimshian history and ethnography is provided in Chapter Five; Chapters Six and Seven detail the development of the community at Metlakatla and its collective enterprises.

By the early 1860s, William Duncan, representing the Church Missionary Society (CMS) of England, had attracted a significant following among Tsimshians at Fort Simpson in British Columbia. In 1862, Duncan moved his followers seventeen miles south and sought to establish a model community away from what he saw as the negative influences of tribal traditions and the degradation of trading post life. His efforts might have faltered were it not for a smallpox epidemic that devastated other communities while leaving Metlakatla relatively unscathed. Whatever the reason, Metlakatla grew in numbers and attracted Tsimshians of both low and high status. Duncan ruled the community with an iron hand and energetically sought to exterminate all traces of Tsimshian ceremonies, religious beliefs, and status distinctions, as well as the abuses of liquor and prostitution that had developed in Fort Simpson.

Operating collectively, Metlakatlans engaged in a variety of economic activities: selling timber, furs, fish and fish oil; engaging in small-scale domestic manufactures; and constructing a small sawmill and salmon cannery. Yet Metlakatla’s enterprises never achieved the scale of the commercial logging and milling at Menominee, and the community’s economy was heavily subsidized by the CMS and the government of British Columbia.

Unlike the Menominees, Tsimshians in British Columbia enjoyed no formally recognized rights to land or resources, and found that Anglo fishermen and settlers increasingly encroached on their traditional fishing and hunting grounds. Also, a rift developed between Duncan and the CMS, which threatened to cut off support and even brought into question the ownership of the village itself. Through connections to wealthy American philanthropists, Duncan arranged for the community to move across the border to Alaska in 1887, where they were granted a reservation on Annette Island. The rebuilding of the community in Alaska is described in Chapter Eight. The collective social structures and economic activities of Old Metlakatla were largely recreated in the new setting, although residents gradually asserted greater independence from Duncan’s leadership.

In a concluding chapter Hosmer discusses similarities and differences in the experiences of the two peoples and revisits the question of how they sought to influence the socioeconomic changes they confronted during the period under consideration. Although each of Hosmer’s case studies is interesting and provides us with much valuable information about indigenous peoples’ efforts to adapt to the emerging global political economy, it is not entirely evident why the two studies have been juxtaposed in one book. There would appear to be more divergence than similarity between the two cases, making it difficult to carry out the kind of comparison that would support general conclusions.

Apart from the fact that both peoples were indigenous to North America, they were unlike in many ways. They occupied different ecological regions, and although both were significantly drawn into the Euro-American fur trade in the 1800s, their internal social structures retained significant differences: e.g., matrilineality, elaborate status-ranking, slavery, and chiefly ownership of key resources among the Tsimshian, features lacking or less developed among the Menominees. The two peoples were subject to differing politico-legal regimes in the United States and Canada, regimes that crucially determined indigenous control (or lack of it) over traditional resources. The enterprises they developed in an effort to shape their relationship to what Hosmer calls market capitalism were also different, not only in scale but in diversity and in the relations of production surrounding key resources - reservation timber for the Menominee, fish for the Metlakatlans. For the latter, we do not know to what extent chiefly prerogatives over fishing sites persisted among Tsimshians who were pushed to suppress other aspects of the traditional status systems. Finally, Hosmer says almost nothing about the role of missionaries or Christianity among the Menominees (except that modernizers appear to have been Christians), while providing abundant detail on the activities of William Duncan and his influence with the Tsimshian.

With regard to the contours of the global political economy each people faced, we see situations similar to those confronted by many indigenous populations: commercial timber interests with powerful friends in Washington in the case of the Menominees; commercial fishing and canning interests with powerful friends in Vancouver and Ottawa in the case of Metlakatla.

In the face of such great power inequalities between indigenous peoples and Anglo-American or Anglo-Canadian interests, Hosmer may have overstated the case for indigenous agency:

That loggers respected established leadership, operated according to clan and band ties, and accepted the idea

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that some profits must filter down to the collective community demonstrated that Menominee values were remarkably flexible, sufficiently so that we might argue that culture, in this sense, 'managed' economic and social change (pp. 56-57).

In a similar vein, he argues that "Metlakatla's economy promoted both community and individuality in a way that roughly recapitulated Tsimshian patterns of social integration" (p. 150). Yet this was so only in the most general sense: both Metlakatla and earlier Tsimshian communities had redistributive economies organized hierarchically, but traditional ceremonies and ranking systems were effectively suppressed at Metlakatla.

The choice of Metlakatla as an example of indigenous people making choices to determine their own fate may be seen as puzzling in light of the evidence for missionary domination of every aspect of village life. The Menominee case is the more persuasive of the two. Even so, the fact that the Menominees retained tribally-owned forest resources and avoided allotment does not really support the book's theme of indigenous people making choices to determine their own destinies. Menominee leaders actually called for allotment on more than one occasion, and their retention of a tribally-owned land base while surrounding Ojibwa bands were being divested of their land and timber remains a question worthy of further research.

Although Hosmer's arguments are not always persuasive, the book provides us with abundant material for use in comparative work. Scholars concerned with the political economy of indigenous peoples' involvement in the timber industry may find it fruitful to read Hosmer's examination of the Menominee case alongside Sandra Faiman-Silva's analysis (1997) of the Oklahoma Choctaw economy as an internal colony dominated by corporate timber interests. Hosmer's account of Metlakatla should lend itself nicely to comparisons with other examples of missionary efforts to establish model Indian communities, as well as with other studies of change induced in Northwest Coast cultures by capitalist penetration.

Hosmer argues that "... Menominees and Metlakatlans ... understood the forces affecting their lives and chose economic modernization as the best possible way to preserve, not abandon, distinctive identities" (p. 224). The accumulation of detailed studies of local-level change such as this one may help us to better understand how, to paraphrase Marx, indigenous peoples make history, though not under conditions of their own choosing. Hosmer's work is an important contribution to such a comparative project.

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**Who Owns America? Social Conflict over Property Rights, Edited by Harvey M. Jacobs, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press (1998) xvii, 268 pp.**

**Reviewed by R. Quentin Grafton, Director of the Institute of the Environment, University of Ottawa, Ontario, Canada**

The provocative collection of essays in *Who Owns America?* addresses three major questions: Who has property rights over land in America? How are these rights exercised? And, Why do Americans have the property rights structure they do?

The book is a collection of 12 essays on property rights over land in America, with an introduction and conclusion. In the words of the book's editor, Harvey Jacobs, the essay collection addresses not the form of ownership regarding land but the motivations that drive ownership.

Chapter 5 of the book by Wiebe, Tegene and Kuhn comes closest to answering the question, Who owns America's land? Twenty-nine percent is in Federal control (with an additional 2 percent held in trust for Natives), nine percent is state and local government control and 60 percent is in private ownership. Clearly, such a breakdown misses important aspects of property rights, namely how are these rights exercised by governments and private land-holders? Moreover, how did the US arrive at its current structure of ownership and tenure? Fortunately, a concise

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review by Wiebe, Tegene and Kuhn gives the reader an historical overview from the very beginnings of the US. An historical perspective is also provided by Last's interpretation in Chapter 3 of what Thomas Jefferson's views might be about the private/public conflicts of rights and responsibilities, and also in McEvoy's highly informative synopsis in Chapter 6.

Underlying all the essays is the dichotomy between private and social costs and benefits. If the private costs (and benefits) for land use were identical to social costs and benefits, the question of land ownership would simply be a matter of equity. The fact that private and social costs diverge is the basis for the internalization of environmental spillovers inherent in the public regulation of private land. The recognition of this need has been well known for a long time, and was addressed by Aristotle in some of his writings and is argued by Bromley in the book's first chapter. Indeed, Bromley goes further and argues that social ownership to land is required to overcome the private versus social cost dilemma of land use.

The issue, however, is not so much ownership of America's land but whether the external costs imposed on others from private or public land-use are reflected in their decisions. For example, a private land owner who chooses to convert wetlands to agricultural use imposes costs on others if wetland habitats are critical for, say, nurseries for fisheries or biological diversity. Unfortunately, social or public ownership does not itself ensure the dichotomy between private and social costs is reflected in decision-making. For instance, McEvoy in chapter 6 describes the case of Lyng versus The Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association. In this example, the US Forest Service was the custodian for public land and won its case to build a logging road, despite the fact that this imposed very real costs on the 5,000 or so members of the affected Native Americans who used an area along the road's planned route for religious practices.

Increasing conflict between the private rights and broader notions of public rights is detailed by Geisler and Bedford in Chapter 8 in terms of ecosystem management, and by Gilbert and O'Connor, who, in Chapter 7, review the travails of the federal government over land in the period 1933-1965. They observe that a growing public awareness of the benefits provided by ecosystem management is putting greater pressure on decision-makers to constrain the actions of private landowners that may be detrimental to the public good. The fundamental issue, however, is not so much who (public or private or communities) owns the land but how those rights are exercised.

Environmental problems often ensue when common-law rights are abrogated or ignored. In this sense, an individual has no greater right to affect the use rights of others (that do not impinge on the rights of other persons) than does the state. Thus, a land owner (public or private) who imposes significant costs on society and impinges on the property rights of others should desist or pay compensation for the privilege. Take, for example, the conversion of wetlands to agricultural land. If this imposes significant costs in terms of ecological services values, or risks in terms of species extinction, then such conversion abrogates the common-law rights of others. Thus, in a view contrary to the "wise use" movement, private (and public) land-owners imposing such costs on others should face civil suit for their actions. Conversely, if private land owners undertake actions that generate benefits for other, for example by restoring wetlands, then the costs of such activities should be supported where the benefits merit it. Moreover, a common-law approach runs counter to the 1988 Executive Order 12,630 described in Chapter 4 by Richard Castelnovo designed to prevent unplanned "takings" of private property by the Federal Government. In a sense, a common-law interpretation of property rights turns the notion of takings on its head in that private, and indeed all, land owners are liable for "takings" that impinge on the public good. In other words, the imposition of costs on others (be it wetland conversion or by other actions) represents a trespass on the property rights of others. The relative merits, or otherwise, of the "wise use" interpretation is further explored by Harvey Jacobs in Chapter 2.

No system of property rights exists in a cultural vacuum. Chapter 9 by Salamon explores these issues, as does Trospier in Chapter 11 from the perspectives of community rights and Native Americans. The contrast between private and native/community rights is important because Native Americans have developed durable property rights structures to ensure the long-term sustainability of natural resources. Indeed, the notion of planning for seven generations, common in the philosophy of traditional Native American views of management, provides a social more that helps overcome private incentives that may be at the cost of the public good.

The volume is completed with two interesting case studies. Heasley and Guries in Chapter 10 and Gaventa in Chapter 12 both provide examples that describe the contributing factors to the private and social cost dichotomy of land use. Moreover, both essays emphasize the importance of communities and social structures in helping to overcome land misuse and the importance of detailing the specifics of land use to be able to effectively address conflicts.

As with all interesting books, the 12 essays leave us with more questions than they answer. This is as it should be. Anyone interested to contributing to the debate about landownership in America should, and indeed must, read this provocative collection.

**Sustainability And The Social Sciences: A Cross-Disciplinary Approach To Integrating Environmental Considerations Into Theoretical Reorientation. Edited by Egon Becker and Thomas Jahn, London and New York: Zed Books (1999), 336 pp.**

**Reviewed by Jon Barnett, Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury, New Zealand.**

Since the publication of the World Commission on Environment and Development's landmark report *Our Common Future* the concept of sustainability has become widespread in application and powerful in influence. *Sustainability and the Social Sciences* stems from the widely shared understanding that the subject of sustainability inhabits an "unexplored borderland that cannot be appropriately investigated either by the social or natural sciences alone" (p. 3). However, thus far research on sustainability has tended to accentuate the philosophical differences between the biological, physical and social sciences, leading to a failure to harness the potential power of interdisciplinary research. This problem of interdisciplinarity is deep and complex, for even within the social sciences there are competing epistemes, emphases and understandings of society-environment interactions, and it is in this context that the sixteen chapters in *Sustainability and The Social Sciences* have been written.

The editors of *Sustainability And The Social Sciences* do not see sustainability as a unifying paradigm for the social sciences, but more appropriately see it as a "generator of problems" to which the social sciences can contribute (p. 3). The most important aim of the book, then is to "explore the potential contributions of the social sciences to the sustainability debate" and then to fold this back into the social sciences by outlining sustainability's implications for the social sciences themselves (p. 3). The editors see sustainability as a debate - and by implication a contested concept - thus the book also seeks "to clarify the meaning and implications of sustainability from a social science perspective" (p.3). The book certainly does explore the present and potential contribution of various social sciences to sustainability. However, although most chapters explicate the ambiguities of sustainability the book does not really clarify its meaning, nor is the aim of examining what sustainability in turn means for the disciplines particularly well addressed.

In many respects the book's aims misrepresent its most valuable contribution which comes not from what it says about the sustainability debate, but from its unique synthesis of theoretical and more applied approaches to sustainability. With a couple of exceptions, this book is a collection of well written, accessible and stimulating chapters which individually and collectively balance theoretical approaches to sustainability with plausible ways forward. *Sustainability And The Social Sciences* also embodies three key ingredients for successful cross-disciplinary research: it offers a common focus (sustainability); almost all of the authors explain all their concepts and assumptions in an honest and accessible way; and deep-seated stumbling blocks such as the danger of applying natural science metaphors to social systems (Sachs in chapter 2) and biological reductionism (Acsehrad in chapter 3) are brought into the open. However, a frequent problem with discussions of interdisciplinary research is the way knowledge and its generation is categorised, with much discussion of the demarcation of knowledge rather than the knowledge itself. To some degree this book also suffers from this problem.

Even though it speaks to the social sciences more generally, *Sustainability And The Social Sciences* is nevertheless structured largely around disciplines, namely: Economics, Geography, Philosophy (feminist), Political Science, Psychology, and Sociology. There is no representation from Education and Law, and more inexplicably from Anthropology and History. The chapters from interdisciplinary paradigms such as Development studies (Sachs chapter 2), Social Ecology (Guha chapter 6), and Ecological Economics (Martinez-Alier chapter 7, Gowdy chapter 9 and arguably Paehlke chapter 13) are the most informative and provocative in this book. This is testimony to the idea that to restrict oneself to 'a' discipline is to limit explanatory capacity, for true knowledge of important problems does not respect disciplinary divides.

In response to the neo-classical economic paradigm that has itself exacerbated environmental damage has come a new kind of ecological economics which now dominates the study of sustainability, and which is well represented in *Sustainability And The Social Sciences*. The three chapters by Martinez-Alier, Gowdy, and Paehlke demonstrate the effectiveness of ecological economics in the study of sustainability. Martinez-Alier's excellent chapter displays a comprehensive knowledge not just of his own field but of all the social sciences. He makes clear

the case that ecological economics is a broad systems-oriented field of study which includes both physical and social systems. On the subject of interdisciplinary approaches to sustainability he is most thoughtful, calling for an “orchestration of the sciences”, where “contradictions and incompatibilities would be addressed, instead of dismembered into the different departments of the universities” (p. 136). The relationship between neo-classical economics and ecological economics is clearly explained in the chapter by Gowdy, who argues that the negative effects of neo-classical economics are less the fault of the theory and more the fault of the practitioners. Like Martinez-Alier, Gowdy displays a substantial knowledge of other disciplines and of the history and assumptions of his own field, making for an accessible and highly informative read. Of the three economically-oriented chapters, that by Paehlke, on environmental valuation, is the least compelling, in part due to its narrow and overly economic focus on instruments and methods for measuring sustainability.

Sustainability And The Social Sciences does not give the political dimensions of sustainability the attention they deserve. The ostensibly political science chapter by Choucri only superficially mentions the role of power in sustainability issues, with the only substantial focus on this coming in the excellent chapter by Guha who writes on environmental conflicts in India. Guha’s is the best chapter of the book. He writes on traditions of social-ecological research in modern India. Underlying this stimulating and purposeful chapter is the author’s obvious ability to “pick up and apply the necessary scientific knowledge” himself (p. 109). Guha has an approach which enables the coalescence of powerful abstract concepts with grounded experience to produce understanding and solutions which take account of scale-varied processes from local to global. Guha calls this approach ‘social ecology’ which has its foundations in sociology and social anthropology. Social ecology is an environmentally oriented sociology which studies the relations between the ecological infrastructure and culture, the polity, social structure and the economy.

In addition to Guha’s chapter in Sustainability and the Social Sciences, the chapters by Reboratti and Acselrad tackle the problem of scale in sustainability. Until recent times, as Reboratti notes, the human impact on the environment was small scale and fragmented. However, as a result of the industrial revolution and the large-scale use of fossil fuels and resources there are now truly global environmental problems, the most obvious of which is climate change. These are multi-scale problems traditionally studied within disciplinary and scale-bounded contexts, as Reboratti observes, “each perspective has its corresponding scale, a relation between the real size of things and the virtual size employed for analysis” (p. 219). Thus the incomplete understanding that results from the disaggregation of disciplines is compounded by the structuring of knowledge according to imagined hierarchies of scale.

There is a psychological dimension to sustainability which rarely connects with the more proliferous ecological, economic, development and resource management based dimensions. One of the strengths of Sustainability and the Social Sciences is the inclusion of Werner’s chapter on this subject, which serves as a fascinating and convincing juxtaposition to the predominant approach of changing people’s behaviour through market mechanisms. Werner instead suggests that there is an array of equally important psychological (and social) factors that can motivate sustainability behaviour. In terms of applied policy value this is perhaps the most useful chapter of the book.

In his chapter on sustainability and sociology Michael Redclift is disparaging about what he calls “the dominant tradition in sociological thought about the environment: social constructionism” (p. 63). This discussion is a veiled realist-materialist counter-attack against an assumed ontologically threatening ‘deconstructive’ and ‘relativist’ agenda. Redclift does not define what he means by these terms, seemingly using them as pejorative euphemisms for the word he dare not use - postmodernism. However Redclift’s sustainability discourse is rooted in science more than social theory. He fails to grasp the significance of the understanding of ‘sustainability’ as a social construction and this makes his chapter the least helpful of all in this volume. Ironically, I found Braidotti’s feminist postmodern chapter on ‘sustainable subjectivity’ to also be unhelpful, largely because it seems excessively removed from the largely material-based concerns of ecological sustainability. However, Braidotti at least has the humility to refrain from attacking schools of thought and authors she does not understand.

Within the covers of Sustainability and the Social Sciences lie some clues which can help advance an interdisciplinary and more encompassing research programme on sustainability. As a practical way forward there seems merit in Martinez-Alier’s call for an ‘orchestration of the sciences’, that is for a meta directory of approaches to sustainability. It is in this regard that the diverse chapters of Sustainability and the Social Sciences makes a small but valuable contribution.

**Why Do Expressive Campaigns Succeed and Fail? A Review Essay on Eco-Wars: Political Campaigns and Social Movements, by Ronald T. Libby. New York: Columbia University Press (1998), 254 pp.**

**Reviewed by Archon Fung, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge MA.**

The wars that social movements wage are composed of many kinds of battles--guerilla street protests, psychological struggles for the hearts and minds of would-be recruits and sympathizers in coffee-clatches and mass media, and pitched confrontations in formal political arenas. In his *Eco-Wars: Political Campaigns and Social Movements*, Ronald Libby examines five important cases that fall into the last category: an effort to ban agricultural biotechnology, animal rights in Massachusetts, the so-called "Big-Green" omnibus environmental initiative in California, a second-hand smoke contest also in California, and a national effort to reform the Endangered Species Act. He calls these confrontations "expressive political campaigns" because they lie in the less charted regions between social movement organizing and interest group activity. In their post-material purpose and grassroots constituencies, they resemble social movements. In their battlegrounds of ballot measures, administrative decisions, and law-making and their techniques of professional public relations, expressive political campaigns are more like interest group skirmishes.

The book should be read carefully by those interested in campaigns, social movements, interest groups, and environmental politics, for it offers rich and detailed case studies of major contests. Based upon this case material, Libby contends compellingly that money isn't everything in politics and legislation, and in particular that the interest group sphere, conventionally dominated by economic Goliaths, can sometimes be penetrated by environmental and grassroots Davids. A careful reading of his cases sheds light not only on the sources of success in these campaigns, but critically their sources of failure.

This positive case for the importance of social movement involvement in political campaigns must be tempered somewhat by Libby's result that only one of the five campaigns is a clear victory: the battle between tobacco corporations and anti-smoking activists over second-hand smoke ordinances in California. The sources of victory in this case, moreover, seem to be quite idiosyncratic, and so its possibilities for generalization are quite limited. By the early 1990s, local governments all over California had passed ordinances to restrict smoking in public places to prevent alleged harms from second-hand smoke inhalation. In response, tobacco companies concocted a statewide initiative, Proposition 188, that would supercede local ordinances by establishing uniform weaker anti-smoking provisions throughout the state. Since they suffered from public distrust, Philip-Morris and other backers framed Proposition 188 as an anti-smoking ordinance and conducted a stealth campaign in which they concealed their sponsorship. Once anti-smoking activists publicized industry sponsorship, public opinion turned decisively against the initiative. It was defeated in 1994 by a vote of 42 percent against and 29 percent in favor. In the other four cases (and in political campaigns generally), activists did not enjoy a high ground in which industry occupied a fragile and deliberately unstable position.

Libby attributes the success of the anti-smoking activists to three factors: the presence of a mobilization infrastructure of activists in civil society and government, their ability to reframe Proposition 188 as an anti-smoking ordinance rather than an anti-smoking effort, and the absence of free-rider problems because social movement groups were unified in support of this cause. These generic explanations, however, miss crucial features of the initial positions that anti-smoking activists and tobacco companies occupied in this campaign. As evidenced by their campaign strategy, industry was on the defensive throughout, and that opening advantage was as crucial as any other factor in the determining the ultimate outcome.

In this and his four other cases, Libby relies heavily on mechanisms such as framing, free-rider-problems, and the formation of alliances and opponents as the conceptual apparatus with which to understand the success and failure of social mobilization and political struggle. While these explanations no doubt figure into each, the high-level of resolution of his cases reveals that more specific and contextual factors may have been more decisive. Unfortunately, Libby fails to incorporate his substantial case-level insights into his more general explanatory and theoretical understanding.

For example, the institutional particulars of the political spaces in which these campaigns were waged seemed crucial to their dynamics and outcome. Three of them -- the animal rights struggle in Massachusetts, the California "Big Green," and second hand smoke -- took the form of popular ballot initiatives. This institutional space lends itself to particular techniques of professional public relations, media blitzes, and grassroots face-to-face

appeals in ways that other political arenas do not. The bias inherent in this form will reward the capacities of some political actors and disadvantage others. So, for example, the decisive factor in the case of the Massachusetts animal rights initiative turned out to be small farmers who appealed directly to voters at transit stops, shopping centers, and automobile stops (pp. 81-84) against the measure. In the "Big Green" initiative, capricious events outside the control of political actors seemed decisive. Libby tells us that the Gulf War and fears of escalating gas prices increased public concern with economic issues at the expense of the environment. Since opponents of Big Green had based their arguments on economic costs, they benefited from this sudden exogenous shift in public perception.

Similarly, other arenas lend themselves to different kinds of capacities and biases. So, for example, the campaign against the industrial use of bovine somatotropin, or bovine growth hormone (BST/BGH), depended upon the administrative decision of the Food and Drug Administration. This arena, intended to be the purview of experts and neutral science, is of course not at all insulated from direct political appeals, but neither is it an open contest like a ballot initiative. Here, success or victory is likely to rely the ability of insurgents to challenge professional analyses, conceptions of risk, and standards of proof (Brown 1992, Epstein 1996, Jasanoff 1999).

The fifth case details grassroots attempts to replace the Endangered Species Act with decentralized and largely privatized regulation under Congressional reform legislation. Here, too, the dynamics and sources of influence are dependent on institutional particulars and differ from either ballot initiatives or agency decisions. In this instance, the reform movement's defeat arose from the prior strength of elite and popular sentiment (again, initial conditions) in favor of environmental protection generally, and Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich's recognition of that power and his consequent reluctance to push reform legislation.

Libby also downplays the importance of money in these campaigns and argues that expressive groups can deploy non-monetary resources to occasionally prevail. The case evidence only partially bears out this conclusion. Expressive groups still seem to require substantial, albeit perhaps not equal, resources to mount respectable challenges to well-resourced factions. Both sides in the "Big Green" battle, for example, committed millions to its cause. Though tobacco interests out-spent anti-smoking activists in that case, crucial funding on the order of \$4 million from foundations fueled the media strategy that exposed the behind-the-scenes support of tobacco companies.

Beyond extending categories of explanation, the book might have used the case materials to explore two quite broad and important sets of questions. Perhaps Libby, or another scholar inspired by his work, will pursue these in subsequent research. The first concerns the implications of these campaigns for the social movements that gave birth to them. Though wars are not won by losing battles, neither is it necessary to prevail in every battle to win the war. In particular, students of social movements will want to know how these expressive political campaigns bolster or weaken the larger social movements of which they are part. For example, students of the women's movement have debated whether the historic *Roe v. Wade* decision counter-intuitively weakened the pro-choice movement by removing its mobilization incentives (Tushnet 1989, Fung 1993). Similarly, did the need to exaggerate claims and use of professional public relations techniques weaken the long-term viability of grassroots movements in the course of these campaigns? Conversely, did face-to-face appeals of small farmers and other groups enhance the capacities of these groups for other activities?

Second, what are the lessons of these campaigns for innovative environmental strategies that extend beyond traditional legislation and rule-making (Sabel, Fung, and Karkkainen 2000)? Interestingly, Libby argues that two of his cases exhibited partial success. The campaign against BST/BGH did not yield an FDA ban, but the agency did permit voluntary labeling of dairy products free from BST/BGH. This opened the way for environmentalists to press their case to the public at large and attempt to change the behavior of consumers and retail grocers. Similarly, the grassroots campaign to weaken the Endangered Species Act was a victory in part because the Department of the Interior shifted from command-and-control implementation to more decentralized and negotiated methods under the aegis of Habitat Conservation Planning (HCP). Amendments to endangered species legislation allow landowners to obtain waivers by producing local plans for habitat management and species protection. While many environmentalists criticize this provision for eroding protection, it also creates opportunities for environmentalists to engage with those who seek permits to design effective management and species recovery programs (Thomas 2000). In order to utilize opportunities created by these two partial successes, social movements and interest groups must develop strategies, tactics, and capacities that reach beyond conventional campaigning at the state and national levels to dispersed constituencies of consumers and citizens or decentralized and particularistic challenges of ecosystem management.

Many of the battles of the eco-wars of the twenty-first century will be fought in these low-intensity political arenas (Weber 1999). Scholars of environmental politics should turn some of their attention to understanding the dynamics of that terrain, and students of social movements should ask how the expressive political groups that

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Libby chronicles are rearming and reconfiguring themselves for these new dimensions of engagement.

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**Democratic Commitments: Legislatures and International Cooperation, By Lisa L. Martin, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press (2000), viii, 225 pp.**

**Reviewed by: Leslie R. Alm and Ross E. Burkhart, Department of Political Science, Boise State University**

In *Democratic Commitments*, Lisa Martin challenges the long-held, mainly realist assumption that international relations do not operate according to the same laws of political behavior as do domestic politics. She does this by exploring the general problem of international cooperation and how this cooperation is related to the demand for credibility. More specifically, Martin approaches the problem of international credibility by examining the domestic source of commitments through the role of national legislatures in established democracies. She finds that the degree of legislative influence on international cooperation far exceeds common estimates. Further, she finds this true in both presidential and parliamentary systems. In the end, Martin concludes that institutionalized legislative participation in international cooperation not only enhances the credibility of states' commitments, it leads to more stable and deeper patterns of international cooperation. Martin's contribution, thus, is at two levels: that of the nature of international cooperation, and that of the performance of democratic countries in foreign policy.

Martin uses her first two chapters to establish her framework of study and to provide readers with her research conclusions. In doing so, she identifies two central research questions: how to explain variation in legislative influence on foreign policy, and how legislative participation affects stable democracies' ability to make commitments to other states. In search of finding answers to these questions, Martin suggests that rather than viewing the executive-legislative relationship as a zero-sum game where one side must lose, we are much better off by thinking of executive-legislative relations as an exchange relationship where competition coexists with the pursuit of mutually beneficial deals. This is a theme (position) that Martin returns to again and again throughout her work, lending a neoliberal perspective to it. Furthermore, Martin allows that once we accept this view of a mutually beneficial exchange relationship between the executive and legislative branches of government, the potential of

finding and explaining the intricacies of the executive-legislative relationship increase dramatically.

In her second chapter, Martin reinforces her most basic research finding—that legislative influence on international bargaining and cooperation is deep and subtle—and delineates how her study is designed to explain variation in legislative influence via the mechanism of credibility. Martin, just as she does in her introductory chapter, emphasizes that legislative-executive relations must be conceptualized as an exchange relationship rather than a question of which body dominates. It is clear that Martin believes this approach is essential if we are to understand legislative influence on foreign relations. She also makes clear that understanding legislative influence requires methods that are able to measure subtle and indirect measures of influence, such as delegation, whereby legislatures can maintain influence over policy outcomes without necessarily controlling the government. Further, Martin identifies the implementation stage of the policy process (rather than the bargaining stage) as the key to measuring legislative influence. She posits that the policy of implementation nearly always engages legislatures in democratic systems, that legislatures are directly and immediately involved in implementation and hence provide a vital (if indirect) role in putting international cooperation into place. The basic idea underlying this line of thought is that unless bargains can be enforced back home, no amount of diplomatic skill will allow the establishment of credible commitments.

Martin identifies four different expectations (hypotheses) that provide the basis of discussion throughout the entire text: Legislatures will move to institutionalize their participation in international cooperative endeavors when there is greater conflict of interest between the executive and legislature (Delegation Hypothesis); Executives are unable to manipulate the structure of legislative participation to evade legislative influence or international cooperation (Influence Hypothesis); Institutionalized legislative participation in international cooperation leads to greater credibility of international commitments (Credibility Hypothesis); and, Institutionalized legislative participation leads to greater levels of international cooperation (Cooperation Hypothesis).

In her five middle chapters (3-7), Martin provides empirical evidence to support her basic proposition that institutionalized legislative influence enhances the credibility of state commitments. In chapter 3, Martin uses regression analysis and the examination of the use of executive agreements and treaties in the United States to essentially refute the proposition that executives can manipulate institutions so as to evade legislative influence. Instead, she finds that legislatures maintain numerous mechanisms to influence international agreements, particularly during their implementation, finding support for the Cooperation Hypothesis. Specifically, she argues that first-year presidents find it more difficult to conclude agreements and that executive agreements are more frequently used when alternative commitment mechanisms (e.g., military sanctions) exist.

Chapter 4 (dealing with the domestic politics of economic sanctions) provides what Martin calls predictable, substantial, and significant differences in legislative behavior depending on the structure of party control of government. In essence, Martin uses specific cases of economic sanctions to illustrate her belief that conflict between the branches motivates Congress to institutionalize its foreign policy activities, thus allowing it to establish more credible commitments to economic sanctions and therefore achieve higher levels of international cooperation. The findings are supportive of the Delegation Hypothesis.

United States food-aid policy is the topic of discussion in chapter 5. Through a detailed historical analysis of United States food aid programs, Martin once again provides empirical evidence supporting her hypothesis that institutionalized legislative participation in international cooperation leads to greater credibility of international commitments (the Credibility Hypothesis). Her study of food-aid to Egypt and India (among other countries) suggests that historically, attempts to use food-aid in ways that require long-term commitments have not been successful without congressional support (the Cooperation Hypothesis).

Chapter 6 and 7 focus on parliamentary (versus presidential) forms of democracy. Martin centers her research on institutional choice among European Union (EU) member states to show that even with parliamentary systems legislative influence is quite prevalent. In this regard, Martin posits that legislative influence increases as executive-legislative conflict increases (the Delegation Hypothesis) and that because executives often anticipate reactions of legislatures, apparent legislation inactivity may simply reflect such anticipation. She also provides a detailed case study of Denmark that Martin claims bears out her premise that countries where parliaments take an early (and active) part in the negotiation process have a much higher (and successful) implementation rate than those countries where this does not occur. The Danish example bolsters the Credibility Hypothesis.

Martin uses her concluding chapter (8) to revisit the concepts and conclusions that she highlighted in her introductory chapter. She reminds readers that in order to understand legislative influence, we must focus on the implementation stage of the policy process rather than on the bargaining stage and that executive-legislative interactions are better seen as an exchange relationship rather than a struggle for power. Martin again emphasizes that we must look beyond simple measures of activity to measure influence, that we must look at far more indirect

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and subtle measures such as executive anticipation. In the end, Martin restates her most basic finding: that organized legislative engagement in processes of international cooperation enhances the credibility of democracies' commitments and therefore the level of cooperation achieved.

The book is well organized, especially in terms of laying out the assumptions, hypotheses, and findings. Martin never strays far from her basic beliefs, choosing to emphasize her conclusions at every turn. The strength of this book is Martin's historical and descriptive analysis of real-world examples of how legislatures influence the making (and implementing) of foreign policy. She is at her best when she is providing detailed analyses of historical events. Her description of the historical development of United States food-aid policy is exceptionally well done. It demonstrates in very clear terms the importance of the implementation stage of policy making. Martin excels in her descriptive analysis explaining why South Africa is an outlier, and how the United States approached movement toward Most Favored Nation's status for China. Also, her descriptive analysis of Denmark as a case study in parliamentary influence is superb and quite timely (and appropriate) given Denmark's recent decision not to adopt the European common currency.

Weaknesses of this book are few. However, several mild irritants stand out. There exist few (if any) original data. The author uses completed studies by other researchers as the basis for her empirical analyses. While this in no way lessens the impact of her findings, it would have been nice to see the author use data that she had collected and analyzed rather than depending on other sources for so much of her data. The use of the more complex research methodologies is not well presented or explained. The assumption is surely made that readers will have the expertise already in hand to read and understand regression output. Readers who have a good deal of experience with regression analysis should not have too much trouble following the author's logic and presentation. However, those with no such experience will have some trouble understanding the interpretation of output. One minor problem that proved distracting was lack of a sufficient explanation of statistical significance in the tables in chapter 3. At one point a variable is marked as statistically significant at one level (t-statistic less than 2) but in another table a variable is not marked as statistically significant with a similar value for the t-statistic. The tables would have been much more understandable with some indication of what level of statistical significance was appropriate for each.

Readers of this journal will no doubt be interested in how Martin's analysis applies to international cooperation with respect to environmental agreements. Are those countries that make use of exchange relationships between the legislature and the executive more likely to create credible and stable environmental agreements with other countries? Unfortunately, Martin does not address environmental or natural resource issues at all in her analysis. Since Martin stays close to her data examples and avoids speculation outside of her narrowed focus, it is difficult to reach conclusions about such wide-ranging international agreements such as the Rio biodiversity and Kyoto climate control agreements. Martin's framework for international cooperation may well apply to environmental agreements, but the research necessary to prove that it does remains to be accomplished.

Having said all that, this is a fine book. It is extremely well researched and well written. It is certainly focused toward a high level of readership and would be most appropriate for advanced undergraduate students or graduate students of international relations who have had at least an introductory course in research methodology. It would be an especially good read for anyone (including policymakers) interested in the interactions between the executive and legislative branches with respect to United States foreign relations. Ultimately, Martin has made a significant contribution to international relations and foreign policy analysis. Martin's presentation of the multifaceted foreign policy decision-making process is refreshing. It is a welcome challenge to the realist and neorealist "state as black box" conception of the domestic decision making process in foreign policy.

**Towards Sustainable Communities: Transition and Transformations in Environmental Policy. Edited by Daniel A. Mazmanian and Michael E. Kraft (1999). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 323 pp.**

**Reviewed by John Schelhas, Southern Research Station, USDA Forest Service, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL.**

The focus of this book is on practical efforts to work towards sustainable communities, with “communities” broadly defined to range from urban areas such as Los Angeles to the Great Lakes basin. The book analyzes six case studies using a framework that divides modern environmental policy into three epochs. Epoch 1, in the 1960s and 1970s, was characterized by command and control government regulation of single-issue environmental problems (e.g., air or water pollution). Epoch 2, in the 1980s, was characterized by the balancing of environmental and social economic priorities through market-based and collaborative approaches. Epoch 3, which began in the 1990s, marks the transition to sustainable community approaches that take a comprehensive, multi-resource approach to environmental problems and involve collaboration between different actors and sectors. The book is organized around these three epochs, with three case studies focusing on transitions from Epoch 1 to Epoch 2 [clean air in Los Angeles (Daniel Mazmanian); clean water in the Fox-Wolf watershed, Wisconsin (Michael Kraft and Bruce Johnson); and open-space in California (Daniel Press)]. Three other case studies focus on transitions from Epoch 2 to Epoch 3 [Pittsburgh as an “environmental city” (Franklin Tugwell, Andrew McElwaine, and Michele Fetting); federal transportation policy (Thomas Horan, Hank Dittmar, and Daniel Jordan); and watershed management in the Great Lakes basin (Barry Rabe)].

The book begins with two introductory chapters that provide a clear analytical framework maintained throughout the book. In the first chapter, Daniel Mazmanian and Michael Kraft discuss the three epochs of the modern environmental movement described above. In doing this, they draw primarily on the environmental issues addressed by, and the experiences of, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) - clean air, clean water, and the urban environment. In spite of this emphasis, they cast their arguments broadly enough to touch on issues of land preservation and ecosystem management.

The second chapter, by Lamont Hempel, lays out the book’s conceptual perspective on sustainability. The approach is one of analyzing the broad social movement that has coalesced around the sustainability term, rather than defining sustainability. “Sustainability” is seen as ambiguous enough to be embraced by diverse interests, while coherent enough to inspire movement in a particular direction. The sustainability movement is defined as one that: (1) seeks to build “communities in which environmental quality, social justice, and economic vitality cohere in some sustained fashion,” (2) within a geographically defined area, (3) by an at least partially coordinated set of interest groups from the public, business, and non-profit sectors. Hempel, noting that most discussion of sustainability is at the “high concept level,” rather than the “practical problem-solving level,” seeks to lay out some guidelines for the difficult task of operationalizing sustainability. His approach, which he takes the time to critique in terms of real world practicality, is one of constructing reliable sustainability indicators that can be fit to diverse communities and then monitored for changes in direction or intensity. The remainder of the book makes clear that this process is not carried out by an individual governing agency, but rather is the sum of processes of collaboration and competition among a diverse set of interest groups and actors over time.

The six case studies provide the real-world grounding for the book, and serve to illustrate the trends in environmental policy across the three epochs. To their credit, the authors consistently avoid the tendency, common in disciplinary discussions of environmental policy, to compare actual historical policy experiences (e.g., government regulation) to theoretical or idealistic accounts of alternative policies (e.g., market-based incentives or community-based approaches). Instead, each case provides a thorough critique of the pros and cons of different approaches, along with discussions about how these different approaches have worked in concert. For example, the success of top-down, coercive government laws and regulation in cleaning up air and water in the 1960s and 1970s is fully acknowledged. But the authors go on to show how the real limits of these approaches lay the groundwork for the market-based and collaborative approaches of Epoch 2. Rather than full embracing new approaches, however, the authors show the continuing role of laws and regulations in bringing stakeholders into collaborative processes and addressing the deficiencies of market-based mechanisms.

It is notable that the authors - perhaps because of their urban and regional planning backgrounds - easily

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come to terms with the productive and economic side of human communities. This is in stark contrast to the literature on biodiversity and sustainability, which has produced a great deal of acrimonious debate between biodiversity conservation and sustainable development interests rather than acknowledging that both are important and moving on to seek practical ways advance both concerns. Using the real world cases that it presents, the book highlights how efforts to address environmental and social issues comprehensively have arisen out of the limitations of prior efforts to address these issues in isolation. The book is firmly grounded in the inclusive beliefs that: (1) we can simultaneously work toward the goals of environmental quality, social justice, and economic vitality; (2) each of the different sectors - public, private, and non-profit - has a contribution to make; and (3) real progress is made when these players are able to find areas of common concern and develop corresponding actions.

None of the authors find unqualified successes in the cases that they discuss, and they pragmatically note failures and successes, as well as hopeful and discouraging signs for the future. The perspective that emerges is that the quest for sustainable communities is a turbulent process of interacting interest groups, fragile progress mixed with setbacks, solving of old problems and discovery of new ones. This process is messy, but produces concrete improvements in many environmental and social indicators over time. Yet problems are rarely fully solved, and new problems emerge, making sustainability always a work-in-progress. By fully embracing the complexity and uncertainty found in the cases, the authors position themselves to lay out a strong agenda for future research and practice. (In keeping with the inclusive nature of the book, the authors are able to discuss both implementation needs and research needs in a synergistic way, rather than seeing one as being more important than the other)

Kraft and Mazmanian effectively sum up the lessons of the book and lay out a future agenda in their concluding chapter. They see environmental policy at the beginning of what could be a profound transformation towards a sustainable communities approach, but with the direction and extent of this transformation depending on how certain key challenges are met. One of these challenges is developing public involvement and governance processes that can address the ever-present conflicts in goals among interest groups and find sufficient consensus that to support concrete initiatives. A second challenge is developing indicators and monitoring methods that can inform policy choices. The third challenge is for researchers to conduct comparative research involving cases with different histories, types and levels of initiatives, and degree of success or failure to produce the empirical knowledge and theories (social, cultural, economic, and political) that can bring about shifts in human behavior and progress towards sustainable communities.

This book makes a significant contribution towards the theory and practice of sustainability by analyzing a series of case studies with the common framework of the three epochs of modern environmental policy. Although the book is clearly much stronger on urban and regional planning issues than natural resource management issues (i.e., issues within the scope of EPA's authority, rather than within the domains of the US Departments of Interior and Agriculture), it successfully lays out a strong framework that can be applied to many aspects of recent and current environmental policy. Its pragmatic focus will provide useful guidance to practitioners who are working in environmental policy and management, while at the same time providing a real-world anchor that can guide academic and applied researchers in their efforts to contribute to environmental policy and management.

**Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature. By Carl N. McDaniel and John M. Gowdy. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2000, xiv, 225 pp**

**Reviewed by David Zurick, Department of Geography, Eastern Kentucky University, Richmond, KY 40475**

The authors selected Nauru, a tiny tropical island in the western Pacific Ocean, as metaphor of their grim environmental trajectory of the world. It was not a bad choice. The lunar landscape of Nauru counters most intuition about Polynesia as paradise. In place of coconut palms and lush gardens, one finds on Nauru that much of nature has been eliminated and eighty percent of the land rendered useless, a wasteland, because of unbridled phosphate mining since 1901. During the past century, the island, which supported human life for 2000 years, has become incapable of self-supporting its inhabitants, even while they became richer in the process. The environmental collapse in Nauru paralleled the emergence of the global economy, noted in the island's history of colonialism, modern-day politics of

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state development, and new measurements of social progress simply as wealth. In such ways, Nauru is a microcosm of events occurring worldwide, leading, in the authors' estimation, to the current crossroads of human life on Earth, wherein we choose between the likelihood of global environmental and societal collapse and the design of more sustainable lives.

The small size of the island makes manageable the authors' political ecological analogy, which spans much of human history and the global economy. Such scalar leaps are fraught with uncertainty. This book, unlike others that attempt a global study of what is essentially a multitude of small stories writ large, benefits from its well-placed focus on a single small island. It is too bad the authors spent so little time there. A longer residence on Nauru might not have led the authors to different conclusions about the world, but it would have provided the reader with a greater assurance about the book's interpretation of the island.

In eight chapters, illustrated with thirteen line drawings and maps, the book charts the course of the denudation of Nauru's natural landscape. The mythology and prehistory of Nauru, recounted in narrative sketches, tells about several thousand years of human inhabitation, during which the islanders lived off the land and the sea in reasonably sustainable ways. Despite the many romanticist assertions of the authors, life on Nauru was not necessarily harmonious or devoid of conflict and misery. Nauru society, like that of other Polynesian islands, experienced its share of warfare, natural disasters, famine, political strife, and bad choices. But at the end of the day, the human needs of the population, checked in size by the carrying capacity of the island, were met by the bounty of nature. Nauru occupied this rather envious position well into the European era of discovery and colonization. Its remote location, and lack of natural resources of initial interest to the world market, kept at bay the modernizing forces of the western world. This was to change, gradually at first with the appearance of European beachcombers, rum, and guns in the mid-1800s, and more rapidly beginning in 1888 when Germany annexed Nauru as a Protectorate following a decade-long civil war on the island. The Germans imposed order, but the Nauruans lost their self-sufficiency in the bargain. Twelve years later, with the signing over of phosphate rights to the London and Sydney-based trading concern known as the Pacific Islands Company, the islanders lost something more - their land. Agreements between Germany, Britain and the newly-formed Pacific Phosphate Company assured the rapid removal of phosphate reserves on Nauru and the eventual formation of its lunar wasteland. During the interim, Nauru became one of the richest places on earth, with per capita incomes approximating the most highly developed industrialized societies. The cost of such wealth to the islanders' natural and social health, however, has been great.

I read this book with mixed feelings. It is nicely-written, handsomely-produced, and the story it tells resonates well with much of our current understanding about the sustainability of life on Earth. Generally, I shared the authors' views about the problems of modern society, which led them to examine Nauru in the first place, and I was intrigued with their self-appointed task of constructing a global metaphor from a tiny, real place in the midst of the Pacific Ocean. But ultimately I grew wary of their analysis because it was based upon the intimate details of an island with which they have little personal familiarity. In some kinds of study, this may not be such an important thing, but in an explication of the collapse of nature and societal values, a personal connection to the place and people under study are paramount. The story the authors recount about Nauru is an important one. As the authors assert, its lessons are not so different from those contained in the stories of other societies and places on the planet. The authors do not have a very hopeful ending for their environmental story, either writ small in Nauru or upon the grander stage of the entire planet. As a consequence, whether about life on tiny Nauru or the affairs of the wider world, the comprehensive view of the book is decidedly negative and even, in some ways, defeating.

I imagine the idea of placing their global analysis of unsustainability on the shoulders of a small island was initially appealing to the authors because it offered them a chance to avoid platitudes, an all-too-common aspect of much current environmental writing. To a large extent, particularly when they write about global events, they succeed. The author's understanding of the current plight of the world is comprehensive, and, in my mind at least, essentially correct in its broad sweep and assertions. Their ideas have broad application and should be considered. But in applying their global vision to Nauru, they unfortunately fall into a secondary trap of platitudes, not about generalities, which they successfully avoid for the most part, but about the specifics of life and society on Nauru and other remote places like it. What they write about Nauru is not necessarily false, but their reliance upon secondary sources nudges their assessment of the island too much in the direction of a predetermined outcome. Along the way, life is over-simplified and the nuances of culture are missed. This problem enlarges in Chapter Four, entitled "Living the Myths," to encompass other world societies such as the Australian Aborigines, the Kalahari !Kung, and the Ladakhis. In a few pages, they sketch the outlines of some of the oldest and richest cultures on the planet, linking them to the Nauruans and to the world at large. This would be a Herculean task if done properly. In a few pages, the authors could at best bring to light a straw man sketch, hence exposing the weakness of their analysis. The Aborigines, the !Kung, and the Ladakhis, like the Naurus, have a life projected upon them, which may not be a good

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fit at all. To suggest, for example, that the Ladakhis once sang constantly, but that now, because they have heard professional singers and are embarrassed by their own singing, sing less, is both naïve and wrong, which a visit to the cultivated fields of Ladakh in September would quickly point out (p. 92-93). Chapter Four, although comprising only 24 pages of a 225-page book, seriously flaws *Paradise for Sale*, because it erodes confidence in the reader in the authors' more comprehensive global analysis. If they didn't get it right with the specifics, are they correct in their overall assessment of the world?

I finished the book with the same misgivings I had when entering into it. In part, this was due to the book's premise about Nauru as metaphor of the world, but also because of a certain ambiguity that arose from the authors' assertions about the process of writing the book. On the first page of the Prelude, we read that the authors selected Nauru as a study site based upon an article in the *New York Times* and that one of the authors then visited the island to "check it out," presumably to conduct field research there. On the first page of the Coda, however, located at the very end of the book, we read that the visit to Nauru only occurred at the behest of a reviewer after the entire manuscript was completed and needed only "fine-tuning." I appreciated the honesty of these statements, but the chronology of research and writing, as well as the purpose and duration of the Nauru field visits, were troubling to me. That said, this book is a good choice for anyone interested in a considered, ultimately realist in its pessimism, overview of the world's environment and the consumption-oriented worldview of industrial society that has contributed to its recent decline. The authors' global knowledge is impressive and their sincerity is obvious, and where they successfully draw Nauru into the debates about the sustainability of the larger world, they do so with great effect.

**The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty and the State in Modern India, by Oliver Mendelsohn and Marika Vicziany. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998, xviii, 289 pp.**

**Reviewed by Lynn Vincentnathan, Department of Anthropology, Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago, IL**

Writing against some current trends in the social sciences and in South Asian studies, Oliver Mendelsohn and Marika Vicziany, in their book *The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty and the State in Modern India*, provide a solid argument for why untouchables still constitute a viable category in modern, democratic India. The main thrust is not only that discrimination against untouchables persists, though the worst of its ritual pollution based component is fading away, but that untouchables on the whole have not escaped from poverty, despite the plethora of government anti-poverty programs. Furthermore, because of untouchables' growing assertiveness coupled with the advances they have made (more perceived than real), caste Hindus are increasingly engaging in violent backlashes against them. These all serve to perpetuate the "fault line," as the authors put it, between untouchables and caste Hindus.

The book draws on history, including orthodox Hindu and bhakti literature, to show that untouchables -- though referred to by other names -- have been a part of Indian society for centuries, if not millennia. The authors discuss the problems surrounding the term "untouchable," but fortunately do not dwell on the issue of whether untouchables actually exist or are an artificial category created and used by others, as Charsley (1996) contends. However, their whole book can be seen as a strong refutation of this thesis. While they do not cite Charsley (1996), they do partly answer his criticisms by revealing the great diversity among untouchable castes and internal splits within them. Unlike Charsley, who follows current fashion by criticizing the British, they commend the British for contributing to an enhanced pan-Indian untouchable consciousness, but lament the difficulties in creating a unified untouchable political base. They cover much of India, describing a variety of untouchable castes, movements, and situations, focusing more heavily on Bihar, Maharashtra, Kerala, West Bengal, Punjab-Haryana, and Tamil Nadu. Regarding the fact that most untouchables throughout India do not perform polluting work, but are mainly agrarian laborers -- which Charsley (1996) uses to bolster his claim that the term "untouchable" is wrong -- Mendelsohn and Vicziany, following a critical perspective, suggest that the ideology of untouchability has probably been used for the

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purpose of exploiting agrarian laborers. Stein's (1967) historical work on this topic could have given support to this argument.

Mendelsohn and Vicziany refute Moffat's (1979) claim that untouchables are no different from caste Hindus and buy into the very ideology of purity and pollution that stigmatizes them. In addition to their own studies that reveal untouchable distinctiveness, counterculture, and resistance, Mendelsohn and Vicziany draw on older studies, such as those by Gough and Mencher, but they could have used some more recent scholarship in support of their thesis, including my own (L. Vincentnathan 1987, 1993a, 1994b) and that of S. G. Vincentnathan (1996), Deliège (1994, 1996), and Mosse (1994).

The book covers the social and political history of untouchables in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including early attempts at sanskritization and assimilation, their economic uplift and anti-discrimination movements, their conversions to other religions, their growing resistance, the contributions of Ambedkar and other prominent untouchables, and the government programs to help untouchables. The authors write at length on caste Hindus' increasing violence and backlash against untouchables, giving analytical depth to the atrocities depicted in Indian newspapers. They show how this differs from the traditional violence against untouchables. In the past it was violation of ritual purity that more often provoked violence, such as untouchables using caste Hindu wells, whereas today the conflicts tend to be more over land, wages, and government benefits. The authors strive to unravel analytically the intertwining factors of class and caste, and rightly stress the importance of both in the conflicts. They write of "extravagant revenge" -- revenge that goes well beyond the untouchables' less serious provocations. I agree with them that this indicates a belief in the untouchables' otherness, a further indication of the fault line.

The authors suggest that caste Hindu discrimination and oppression of untouchables might have been actually greater in the present era, except for some "masking" factors, such as government provisions of separate wells for untouchables and disposable tea mugs. They discuss that "new civic culture" that allows mainly urban caste Hindus to ignore purity concerns and function alongside untouchables in public spheres -- at school and work, and in restaurants. They point out, however, that this is more pragmatic than ideological, and that caste Hindus who return to their villages often revert to discrimination and avoidance of untouchables, again indicating the untouchable-caste Hindu fault line below the thin surface of modern civility.

The most startling and complex argument Mendelsohn and Vicziany make is that the Indian government itself contributes to the oppression and continued poverty of untouchables. Instead of seeing anomalous and isolated cases of government oppression -- such as scattered cases of police brutality and complicity in violence against untouchables, or discrimination by a few misguided bureaucrats -- the authors suggest that government abuse and indifference is endemic. This is especially so, they suggest, since the government is largely controlled by the upper castes.

The authors claim that government anti-poverty and affirmative action programs are set up to maintain the status quo rather than bring about the structural changes needed to redistribute resources and end poverty. They point out that these programs have not helped much, and even if they were implemented to their fullest extent by sympathetic bureaucrats under the best of conditions (which is not the case) they could not possibly help more than a small percentage of untouchables. Furthermore, government help is not adequate for the poorest untouchables. Only those who already have some economic and cultural capital can make use of the programs. Many anti-poverty programs, such as land reform and fair price shops, have mainly helped the backward castes and the middle class. Rather the authors suggest that untouchables experience greater economic advancement, though at a lower level than caste Hindus, when the whole population is improving, such as during Punjab-Haryana's green revolution or along with the general rise in health and literacy in Kerala. Furthermore, it is more the pragmatic new civic culture and the discrimination masking factors, not implementation of anti-discrimination laws, that has had the greater impact on reducing the most blatant forms of discrimination.

The authors rightly fault misguided emphases that steer the government and others away from pursuing real solutions to untouchable poverty and oppression. For instance, the government focuses heavily on affirmative action programs and anti-discrimination measures in the public sector, but allows discrimination to run rampant in the private sector, where most employment opportunities exist. Population control programs are given high prominence in the war on poverty, keeping more important causes of poverty out of the spotlight, such as discrimination and lack of adequate resource redistribution. Many scholars blame a self-perpetuating and self-centered "Harijan elite" for failing to help their poverty-stricken brethren. Mendelsohn and Vicziany, however, interviewed a number of these elites and found that many of them had modest roots and desired to help untouchable causes, but were in no position to buck a system dominated by upper castes.

In dedicating a whole chapter to a study of the Faridabad stone quarries, the authors give a good example of current untouchable hardship and the failure of the Indian government and society to alleviate this. The mainly

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untouchable quarry workers, living in squalid conditions away from their homes, were considered bonded labor, since they had borrowed money from the quarry owners at exorbitant interest rates (making repayment of the loans impossible), and were thus not free to leave the quarries. Some Hindu reformers, keen on ending bonded labor, along with some sympathetic judges, did help “free” a small percentage of the laborers after years of struggle against strong quarry owner and government opposition. Mendelsohn and Vicziany, however, did a follow up study and found the freed laborers in similar or worse conditions, some out of work in their home villages, many remaining at the quarries for want of better employment. The authors concluded that short of pouring in much greater resources for their rehabilitation, effort would have better been spent on more greatly improving their working conditions and wages, and providing them with low interest loans when needed.

While this book deals mainly with the problems, difficulties, and failures regarding untouchable uplift, it is not totally pessimistic. It does point to improvements, but stresses that further improvements are more likely to come from untouchable initiatives and activism than from government programs or the efforts of caste Hindu reformers.

The book should have a wider appeal than its subject matter indicates. It can serve both as an advanced contribution to untouchable and South Asian studies -- another voice on the side of untouchable distinctiveness in the ongoing debate -- and as an introduction to untouchable and South Asian studies, due to the thorough background explanations and the immense descriptive information and research that supports the authors' arguments. Those who might be interested in South Asian political economy, poverty, or politics, but not in untouchables per se, would be advised to read the book, since none of these areas can be well understood without understanding the untouchable dimension to them. On the other hand, those who are more interested in the anthropology of India or of untouchables would be advised to read it as a complement to the usual village ethnography that deals with ritual traditions and local caste hierarchy.

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**Gender, Law, and Resistance in India, by Erin P. Moore. Tucson: University of Arizona Press (1998), x, 205 pp.**

**Reviewed by Helen Vallianatos, Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR.**

Gender, Law, and Resistance in India is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the gendered experience of legal discourse in South Asia, specifically for Moore's analysis of "law's patriarchy" and one woman's experiences in defying the status quo by using various legal avenues generally unavailable to women. Spanning a decade, Moore's ethnographic analysis of one woman's experiences in defying social norms through her use of the legal system(s) is an intriguing account of the of the intricate legal avenues available to women, and in turn reveals the complexity of women's status in India. The protagonist of this ethnography is unusual in her long-term, indiscreet extra-marital affair and in her forthright challenge of social norms for female behavior. This may lead one to dismiss this case as a rare occurrence that is non-representative of women's experiences with justice and power. However, Moore argues, based on her research, that some village women do have affairs; it is the indiscreetness of this one case that is unusual. Many women use similar gendered forms of resistance including recruiting their natal families' help in disputes with in-laws. Furthermore, since the filing of lawsuits in the local courts by the protagonist, more women from the study's location have used the state legal system. Thus, this case is not anomalous.

This book is well written and provides a concise introduction to current theoretical understandings of legal discourse and ideology and women's position in Indian society. Moore does a commendable job in clearly presenting multifaceted webs of legal and social norms and the interconnectivity of gender with these norms. As such, it would be appropriate for use in an undergraduate class, as an introduction to the complexity of women's position in society, and as a challenge to stereotypes of passive and submissive Indian women.

This study is undertaken in a farming village called Nara, in Rajasthan. Moore introduces the study location, the primary individuals, and the objectives of the study in the first chapter. The main objective can best be summed as the examination of how the legal system propagates power relationships and the status quo. The primary purpose of this chapter though, is to introduce the reader to Moore's own position in Nara. Living with the family that is the focus of the book, Moore describes her evolving relationships over the decade of her field research with each family member. Most intriguing is the potential conflict that Moore copes with - between the family's anger and frustration with Hunni, the protagonist of this ethnography, and Moore's interest and ideological support of Hunni's struggles for legal recognition in a male-dominated society. Moore points out in various parts of the book that if Hunni were a man, her legal options would have been far greater and easier to attain.

A literature review is presented in the second chapter. This begins by placing this work in the context of literature on South Asian women. In recent years, there have been movements both challenging Orientalist perspectives and including gender in subaltern studies. Moore's ethnography contributes to these movements by critiquing passive, simplistic constructions of women's legal status, and by outlining the multidimensional nature of women's responses to law's patriarchy. Relatively little is yet known of women's modes of resistance within the family, specifically in their relationships as wives and daughter-in-laws. This is where Moore's work is particularly constructive, as she examines how one woman protects her own interests in familial disputes. Part of this behavior entails resisting their subordinate position, including suffering from illness, depression, and spirit possession, visiting (or fleeing to) her natal home, refusing work or sex, and even attempting suicide. The point is that women are active agents who in subtle and not so subtle ways oppose their position. In conjunction, it is important to recognize that women's relationships with others within the family are dynamic, consequently the modes of resistance will vary over time.

The third chapter continues contextualizing the study by placing the Nara villagers in a historical context. The focus of this chapter is on the Meos, the predominant caste in Nara. Meos are Muslims who autonomously governed their territory before the arrival of the British colonizers. Colonization influenced the state legal system, even after independence. Meos distrust state legislature and as a community, will prefer and preserve village justice (panchayats) in opposition to state courts. In fact, Moore reports that in order to protect panchayats and their decisions, villagers will perjure themselves in state courts. There is little trust that justice will be done inside state courts. Nevertheless, panchayats provide justice more readily for "big men", powerful men both monetarily and in terms of kin. A poor man, who does not have powerful connections, will have a more difficult time finding justice at

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a panchayat. Women are second-class citizens when it comes to finding legal restitution because panchayats are for men only - women are traditionally excluded from attending and participating in a panchayat. Instead, they must find a man to represent them. The ideology and reality of the panchayat is discussed throughout the following chapters.

Chapters 4 through 7 describe various aspects of village disputes, legal discourse and village panchayats. Through the description in these four chapters, the differences between panchayats and state legal systems are evident. Unlike state courts, panchayats are a process, not an event. The history of the situation and of the interrelationships between disputants is taken into account in panchayats. The aim of the panchayat is compromise, an acceptable, face-saving solution for both parties, rather than finding a winner based solely on the evidence pertaining to a particular case, as happens in state courts. Courts are further alienating in that most lawyers and judges are Hindus or Sikhs, compared with the predominance of Meos in the panchayat. These differences become evident as the reader is lead through various panchayats involving Hunni.

Although the panchayats are the preferred means of pursuing justice, legal pluralism abounds in India. Legal pluralisms are based on religion, caste and state, and justice is accorded by these categories. Moore concretely portrays this pluralism in her descriptions of how panchayats and state courts are played off one another in order to achieve desired legal outcome. Finally, it must also be noted that panchayats are not all identical, specifically in their discourses. Moore outlines a pattern of panchayat discourse that develops over time in a particular panchayat: 1) participants verbally battle to determine who's discourse will set the tone for the panchayat; 2) an elder takes control, hence discourses become more muted and controlled; 3) participants break into small groups to plan their next strategies; 4) groups re-coalesce and continue negotiations.

The final two chapters return to a concepts previously introduced, but are more thoroughly discussed. Chapter 8 examines the gendered experience of justice, how laws treat men and women differently, and how women and men view laws differently. Moore argues that the panchayat is male ideology codified as village law. On the other hand, women's speech does not have a level of community ideology and there is no institution that sanctifies and unifies their words. Chapter 9 returns to the concept of resistance. Here, Moore elaborates on illness as a form of resistance by investigating the role of the maulavi (spiritual healer) in dispute resolution. She argues that the usage of the maulavi by women and the poor indicates their exclusion from panchayats and courts. Moore does address the possibility that illness and attending a maulavi may in fact be compliance, especially because as part of their treatment, women are admonished to be "good" wives/daughter-in-laws/mothers. Although the use of maulavi for dispute resolution was not the focus of this book, its introduction in the last chapter left me wanting more details. How do women perceive their illnesses, and the treatments they receive from the maulavi? This warrants further investigation in order to strengthen arguments regarding resistance as a form of gendered justice.

In sum, I highly recommend this book as an introduction to the reality and complexity of women's legal and social position in North Indian society. There are many points raised by Moore that could foster discussion, and be pursued in further depth in the classroom. This book provides a fine introduction to individuals interested in South Asian ethnography, legal anthropology, and women's studies.

## **Myth and Reality in the Rain Forest: How Conservation Strategies are Failing in West Africa, by John F. Oates, Berkeley: University of California Press (1999), xxviii, 310 pp.**

**Reviewed by Jefferson S. Hall, School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, Yale University**

Africa's tropical forest, wildlife populations, and especially his beloved primates are under extreme pressure and John Oates is mad. In fact, John Oates is so mad he decided to write a book to call attention to what he sees as misguided and failed conservation strategies by international conservation organizations and national governments.

Since before 1960, wildlife biologists have been calling attention to the fate of Africa's mammals in an attempt to raise awareness and secure protection for these mammals from extirpation. Out of these early efforts were born some of the first formal conservation efforts on the African continent and, to some degree, wildlife conservation organizations. John Oates' career as a primatologist coincides with the rise of well-known conservation organizations and high profile conservationists. It is therefore not surprising that Oates uses an autobiographical

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approach to trace his career and involvement with conservation efforts in Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Ghana (with a side trip to India) to argue how early conservation efforts were transformed, where they went dangerously astray and, in many cases, have ended up as major forces working against conservation.

Oates is not just a Forrest Gump of conservation who has happened to meet famous conservationists. Oates is one of the most well respected primatologists currently working in tropical Africa. While he has worked primarily as an academic studying primates, he has provided conservation organizations with advice informed by three decades' fieldwork experience. For this reason, conservationists and policy makers on both sides of the conservation policy debate should take a careful look at this book.

Oates begins with his early childhood experiences and moves quickly to his early trips to Africa. These early descriptions prove interesting in that they allow the reader to familiarize themselves with someone who is not well known outside academic circles and to convince them that conservation has been a life long commitment. The early descriptions of his work also depict someone who has tended towards the small, modest, and biologically grounded approach to conservation. This is important because it builds the moral podium from which Oates begins his analysis of post-World Conservation Strategy conservation.

Through his involvement in animal collection trips and research projects in Nigeria and India, Oates describes how early conservation efforts were predominantly species based. Over time - while Oates worked in Sierra Leone and Nigeria - conservation strategies became more holistic, at first encompassing ecosystems sans l'homme and then shifting towards empowering local people. As a metaphor for the transition, Oates follows a dramatic shift in policy orientation of the World Wildlife Fund (or World Wide Fund for Nature). He describes how their once science-based conservation efforts shifted with the winds of the time to become predominantly concerned with the well being of local people living in and adjacent to protected areas. The theory goes that local people have lived more or less in harmony with their environment for generations and that if they are empowered, they will do the right thing and protect their environment. This paradigm has become so prevalent that wildlife biologists have often been cast as the bad guys in the conservation struggle - caring more about wild animals than people.

Oates traces how this shift in emphasis made large sums of money available to conservation organizations from international donors. International development behemoths were easily attracted to the notion that improving the living conditions of people living adjacent to areas of interest for biodiversity conservation is the key to conservation. He provides several poignant examples of how the search for money and belief in the people paradigm has often led to the ironic situation where those charged with developing and implementing particular conservation strategies have no idea as to the scientific basis for protecting their given area. Further, they are paid big money to do it!

Oates raises the question of "who are local people?" This, however, does not mean he does not care about local people. His own involvement in the effort to protect Tiwai Island in Sierra Leone is evidence that he feels local people have a role to play in conservation but he does demand that the concept of participation of local people be more carefully defined. Is the best definition of local people really simply those people who have arrived before a particular expatriate conservation worker? What protected area could provide a benefit stream for people throughout a country or even absorb the needs of immigrants coming from hundreds of kilometers away? Finally, what is the correct role of National Governments in defining and implementing conservation strategies within their borders?

Yet the book has weaknesses too. Oates comes across as having a strong dislike for the World Wide Fund for Nature and holds it up as the most visible practitioner of the conservation policies with which he so disagrees. But what about other conservation organizations? Oates neglects to mention some of the missteps that Wildlife Conservation Society (which has provided him with significant research money) has taken in West and Central Africa. In addition, he seems either unwilling to acknowledge or unaware of the efforts of one of the most visible and vocal conservationists working in tropical Africa that advocates the same conservation philosophy as himself: Steve Gartlen of the World Wide Fund for Nature.

Nevertheless, the weaknesses of the book are far outweighed by the strengths and the development of Oates' heretofore unpopular ideas. Oates shows great courage in taking such a public stance, by giving specific examples of conservation failures and naming names. He will no doubt be personally attacked and opponents of his view will attempt to win the debate by swamping him with voluminous rebuttals. However, most conservation biologists working in tropical Africa have seen similar examples of projects so ill conceived and/or implemented that in practice they have done more harm than good to the biological resource they were designed to protect. Perhaps these colleagues will now engage in a more public discussion, resulting in better conservation in both policy and practice. Oates has succeeded in producing a work that is not just another adventure travel book by a tropical ecologist, but rather a book that will force conservationists and policy makers to take a hard look at the practice of conservation in tropical Africa.

**Women and Microcredit in Rural Bangladesh. An Anthropological Study of Grameen Bank Lending, by Aminur Rahman. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999, xi, 188 pp.**

**Review by Geeta Chowdhry, Department of Political Science, Northern Arizona University.**

Microcredit has recently become the new development mantra for international donors, international financial institutions, and national development programs. The legendary “success” of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, with its grassroots-based, empowerment-from-below focus that enables microcredit to straddle many ideological divides, and its resonance within the dominant development paradigms of the late twentieth and twenty-first century, has contributed to the popularity enjoyed by microcredit. Although Muhammad Yunus, a Professor at Chittagong University in Bangladesh, is the creator of Grameen Bank and microcredit lending, two distinct, yet sympathetic, scholarly and practitioner traditions can be said to have contributed to the intellectual environment in development agencies that facilitated microcredit lending -- feminist scholarship on development and critical scholarship on poverty.

A common theme of liberal feminist scholarship on development, despite the variance of such work, has been the effort to make women visible as a constituency both participating in development and being affected by development policies. Liberal feminism, also called the Women in Development (WID) approach, has offered rigorous critiques of the liberal modernization paradigm by documenting the gender biases of such approaches. However, WID has remained situated squarely within the liberal modernization approach. As a solution to the gender bias of modernization programs, WID, in its incarnation from welfare to efficiency, called on governments, development agencies and international financial institutions to provide aid and resources specifically for women, who would then be able to contribute substantively towards family welfare and national development.

The critical poverty literature has a deep historical tradition that was echoed in a limited liberal way in the 1970s in a volume edited by Hollis Chenery, *Redistribution with Growth* (1974). Clearly, more brilliant treatises on poverty are available, yet this book stands as a landmark in development because it epitomized the changing focus on poverty within the World Bank. Along with its focus on “distribution with growth” the book suggested that availability of resources to the poor would lead to self-employment and contribute effectively towards national development.

In 1976 Muhammad Yunus introduced the idea of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, which would capture the essence of the liberal feminist and poverty critiques of development by providing microcredit -- “small amounts of collateral-free institutional loans extended to jointly liable group members for self employment” (ix) -- to its clients. Originally created to provide loans to the poor, it soon began to focus on poor women. The Grameen Bank is now the largest lending institution in Bangladesh with a cumulative investment of “more than one billion U.S. dollars disbursed among 2.3 million members, 95 percent of whom are women.” (1)

The Grameen Bank’s success among poor rural women in Bangladesh, like SEWA for poor urban women in India, has contributed effectively to the filtering of the microcredit concept worldwide. From “a new paradigm for thinking about economic development” to being hailed as “the key element for the twenty-first century’s economic and social development,” it is now being incorporated in mainstream development programs (1, 12) and is largely seen as the vehicle for women’s empowerment and the development panacea of the twenty-first century.

In *Women and Microcredit in Rural Bangladesh*, Aminur Rahman challenges this conventional view of microcredit. Based on thirteen months of ethnographic research with 120 women borrowers and 12 Grameen Bank local workers in the Tangail district of Bangladesh, this work provides valuable insight and adds to the rich literature available on the successes and failures of the Grameen Bank. Most scholarship on the Grameen Bank, with a few exceptions, has used survey research to focus on Bank performance. Rahman’s detailed findings based on participant observation and lengthy unstructured interviews with women and bank workers cautions against an uncritical allegiance to microcredit lending, by highlighting the dynamics of power in the lending structures of the Grameen Bank, the impact of microlending on gendered power relations at the household level, obstacles to the empowerment of women, and increased levels of tensions and domestic violence towards women in the villages studied.

Rahman utilizes four distinct, yet complementary bodies of scholarship to enable his ethnographic assessment

of the Grameen Bank: the “public” and “private” texts of James Scott utilized as “weapons of the weak” and tools of subversion in hierarchical structures; Bourdieu’s “practice theory”, a constructivist position in which meanings are circulated and constructed through mutually constitutive interactions between structures and individuals; Gramscian hegemonic theory, which discusses the role of ideology in forming and bolstering the system; and Amartya Sen’s theory of “entitlements”, which examines the ways in which the lack of resources, prevent individual, in particular women, from bargaining and ensuring their security.

Rahman utilizes these theoretical insights to address the hegemonic nature of patriarchal ideology in Bangladesh, and the ways in which it permeates Bank-client (i.e., women), client-client, and intra-household interactions; the everyday subversions used by women in a process that often infantilizes them and reproduces hierarchical social relations in which their entitlements are minimal; and the ways in which Grameen Bank ideology adjusts to the “practical reality of the field.” Rahman suggests that the Bank’s successes can be attributed partially to its ability to successfully utilize patriarchal structures in facilitating its goals and agendas. At the same time that the Bank seeks to empower women through its loans, it is also recreating and reinforcing patriarchal structures that disempower women.

The book includes informative chapters on “The Study Village and its Socioeconomic Organization,” “Microlending and Equitable Development,” “Disbursement and Recovery of Loans,” and “Microlending and Sustainable Development.” To the author’s credit these chapters provide richly detailed, nuanced and textured information of the workings of Grameen Bank. Women learning to write and five of them literally shortening their names to facilitate the writing process (90); the inclusion of “sixteen decisions” (social clauses about good living) in the Grameen Bank program (89); the political-social contradictions of servicing women clients through its male Bank workers (84); the time constraints faced by women, and the consequent tensions/violence generated, as they try to fulfill their multiple roles of household service provider and Bank client (120-124); the five women who no longer take new loans from the bank but continue their payments and membership (143); and power hierarchies at work in the village loan center (124) are but a few examples of the rich and telling information provided by the book. The author concludes by pointing out structural weaknesses in Grameen Bank lending (for example the joint liability clause, as well as regular weekly payments that place additional and unrealistic burdens on poor women clients), and by suggesting that “loans alone (which are also debt liabilities), without viable opportunities for women to transform the power relations and create their own spaces in the prevailing power structure, make equitable development and the empowerment of women unattainable in society” (151).

The book has many strengths, including its desire and ability to use four interrelated, yet distinct, theoretical literatures for understanding the workings of the Grameen Bank. Ironically, this is also one of its weaknesses. In his effort to do justice to the demands of the various theoretical underpinnings of his work, Rahman is unable to sufficiently explore and systematically develop any one of them. For example, in Figure 4.7 he provides data on Household Agricultural landholdings in Pas Elshin. These data are very useful in contextualizing the households in terms of poverty and entitlements. However, a more gendered account of entitlements within the household is not consistently provided. The accompanying discussion also suggests that the work was spread too thin.

The author’s contention that microlending does not challenge patriarchal structures - rather, it is at time complicit with them, is yet another strength of the book. The author is right in suggesting that the power and tenacity of patriarchal hegemony undermines the empowerment potential of microlending. However, the author presents patriarchal hegemony as an unchanging and inflexible force. Feminist scholarship has documented the chameleon like nature of patriarchy and explored, for example, how patriarchal accommodations accorded to global capital have shifted the nature of discourse in the maquiladoras (Tiano 1994 ). The context of evolving patriarchy and the adjustments of patriarchy with capital and labor needs could have further enriched the discussion of hegemony in the book. Ironically, the book is replete with examples of rule circumvention, partial empowerment of women, and the silent challenges to patriarchy. Unfortunately the author fails to recognize this and does not engage with the complexity of patriarchy.

On a format quibble, a minor point, the book remains too much like a dissertation, following the traditional dissertation format, and failing to exploit the potential of the author’s obvious knowledge in a more creative format. On balance, however, this book provides a critical and timely re-reading of microlending. It is a cautionary tale about neo-liberal legends. Readers, policymakers and practitioners interested in the capacity of micro lending to offer empowerment for women will find its caution and analysis insightful.

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### **Warmth of the Welcome: The Social and Economic Causes of Economic Success for Immigrants in Different Nations and Cities. By Jeffrey G. Reitz. Boulder: Westview Press (1998), xiii, 298 pp**

**Reviewed by Marilyn Fernandez, Department of Sociology, Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA**

Jeffrey Reitz sets out to accomplish the daunting task of explaining cross-national and inter-urban variations in the entry-level earnings of new immigrants, mostly immigrants from non-European societies, to the United States, Canada, and Australia. The topic is timely for several reasons. New immigration to these countries can be expected to continue to keep pace with global economic change. The racial/cultural and economic dimensions of immigration have increasingly become part of the public and political debate in these countries. Generally, this debate has centered on the characteristics of the immigrants themselves, as they affect the net economic benefits of immigration, the cost to native-born workers, the burden of the social safety net, and abuse of the immigration system. This book brings a needed social contextual perspective to these discussions.

Using a multiple institutional framework, Reitz explores why immigrants have substantially different entry-level earnings in the three societies on which he focuses. He sets up a natural experiment to conduct his institutional analyses. The fact that immigrants from the same origin countries or similar racial/ethnic groups have different entry-level earnings depending on whether they moved to the United States, Canada, or Australia, as well as which cities they live in, suggests the need to focus on the institutional context within the countries. Four major institutional sectors - immigration policies, education, labor markets, and social welfare - are treated as autonomous and yet interdependent in their impact on immigrant standing. Why these four institutional sectors? According to Reitz, immigration policies control the entry of newcomers; labor markets directly determine earnings; educational institutions shape the qualification profiles of the native-born with whom the new comers must compete; and welfare services affect immigrant adjustment to their new homes. Despite this heavy institutional orientation, he does not disregard the importance of differences in immigrants from the source countries and the role of the host societies' race relations and attitudes in contributing toward the economic inequalities faced by immigrants. But, given the similarities across the three countries in their potential for discriminatory policies and practices within these institutions, the focus on institutions seems justified.

The book is organized into three parts spanning eight chapters. Part I, which includes two chapters, sets up the theoretical and empirical foundations of the problem. Chapter 1, "Social Causes of the Economic Success of Immigrants," lays out the framework for the institutional analyses and briefly describes the data sources. In Chapter 2, "Immigrant Entry-Level Status in Different Nations and Cities," Reitz uses census data (1980 from the United States and 1981 from Canada and Australia) for the first cohort of immigrants who arrived in the 1970s after the major revamping of the immigration policies of the three host countries. He sets up the problem to be explained as follows: the entry level earnings of the same race/ethnic groups, for example, Black and Chinese immigrants, and Asian immigrants in general, are lower in the United States when compared to Canada and Australia. The earnings of recent immigrants in urban areas of the U.S. (New York, Miami, Boston, San Francisco) are also lower than that of immigrants to cities in Canada or Australia. That these national and cross-urban variations hold for White as well as minority immigrants lends further credence to Reitz's institutional framework. Entry-level immigrant standing is less a product of the characteristics of immigrants and the discrimination they face than they are of the characteristics of the institutional contexts in which they live and work.

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The institutional explanations of the cross-national and cross-urban variations in immigrant economic inequalities are explored in Part 2. In Chapter 3, Reitz examines the content and implementation of immigration policies in the three countries and evaluates their impact on the educational levels of immigrants. He concludes that the impact has not been large. The positive impacts of skill-based immigrant categories in the U.S. are offset by the larger numbers of family-based categories of immigrants. The skill-based categories in Canada and Australia tend to be more occupational- than education-based. In general, with one or two exceptions, U.S. immigrants are better educated and this difference accounts for a small part of the cross-national difference in the entry level status of immigrants. But, it is the higher average educational levels of the U.S. native-born (a product of the American educational system (Chapter 4) and the greater earnings inequality in the U.S. (Chapter 5) that explain the wider earnings gap that new immigrants to the U.S. face in comparison to those who immigrate to Canada and Australia. The education-based skills gap between the native born and immigrants accounts for more than one-half and earnings inequality accounts for about one-third of the lower entry-level earnings of immigrants in the U.S. when compared to the status of the same immigrant groups in Canada and Australia. And these differences are even more pronounced when inter-urban comparisons are made across the three countries.

To examine the role of the fourth institutional sector, the Welfare State, Reitz uses the Luxemburg Income Study and other studies of welfare use (Chapter 6). Despite the higher educational levels of U.S. immigrants, many more fall below the poverty line and consequently end up relying on the less generous American welfare system, in contrast to their Canadian and Australian counterparts.

Part 3, concludes with Chapters 7 and 8. In Chapter 7, Reitz not only summarizes the compounding effects of his multiple institutional framework, but also demonstrates how this study expands on previous institutional analyses. The migration policy implications of the findings in the context of increasing globalization, particularly for integrating immigrants and for institutional change, are the focus of Chapter 8. He questions the overemphasis on immigration policy to regulate the selection of immigrants given that these policies were found to have only a limited effect on immigrants' entry-level earnings. Rather, his findings lead him to focus on policies in the areas of the labor market, education, and welfare services, the social institutions which had a substantial impact on where immigrants end up in the initial years after they move to the host societies. Reitz offers several policy suggestions to improve immigrants' access to these institutions. Some examples include: a more thorough assessment of the effectiveness of existing anti-discrimination policies in the labor market; giving immigrants a stronger voice in the wage determination process; finding effective methods for evaluating and recognizing foreign qualifications; investing in educational opportunities that orient immigrants to the workings of their new society (such as language training, remedial education, job training and apprenticeship programs); and expanding the methodology of the cost-benefit analyses of welfare use to go beyond just immigrant earnings and taxes paid on the earnings to include the human, social, and cultural capital that immigrants bring with them. But, he warns that the effectiveness of such policies will be limited, if the move toward institutional individualism (reflected in the trends toward deregulation of the labor market, privatizing education, and reducing social services) undermines national and global social cohesion.

Reitz's *Warmth of the Welcome* is systematically developed and will be welcomed by those interested in immigrant integration, particularly those who are partial to structural analyses. Yet, even for those of us with an institutional framework orientation, the analyses have a couple of lacunae. For example, while he presents breakout analyses by gender, the findings for women are duly noted, but not explained well. That will require more systematically integrating a gender dimension into Reitz's institutional framework. Reitz also focuses on the immigrants' initial years after entry, albeit critical, into the host country. Now that two decades have passed since the book's 1980 reference point, the long-term status of the new immigrants, say after 20 years, is worth exploring. That, however, is the subject of another book.

**The New Social Question: Rethinking the Welfare State, by Pierre Rosanvallon, translated by Barbara Harshav ; with a foreword by Nathan Glazer. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000, xii, 139 pp.**

**Reviewed by David Bartram, Department of Sociology, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, CO.**

Pierre Rosanvallon contends that the welfare state needs rethinking because of a “philosophical crisis” that has two principal manifestations: traditional modes of solidarity underpinning the welfare state are disintegrating, and the framework of “social rights” no longer suffices to address problems of long-term social exclusion (unemployment, in particular). Rosanvallon, Director of France’s l’Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, originally published this book in French in 1995. The English translation, just now available, offers some intriguing ideas, but it demands a real effort from the reader to overcome obstacles of presentation and clarity.

The book’s first chapter (“Decline of the Insurance Society”) makes a relatively compelling argument concerning the first aspect of the crisis. Rosanvallon begins by noting that the traditional “insurance” mode of social policy depends on a Rawlsian generalized ignorance concerning risk factors leading to conditions that require aid. When a population imagines itself as homogenous, such that no one knows who is likely to get sick, experience unemployment, or become poor, then individuals are willing to contribute to an insurance scheme from which he or she is just as likely to benefit as anyone else. Given a vastly increased knowledge concerning risk factors for, say, disease (including genetic factors), however, those who lack such factors begin to wonder why they should contribute to a scheme whose benefits will almost surely go disproportionately to some sub-group whose members can be identified in advance.

The argument works best in relation to insurance models for organizing health care, for obvious reasons that Rosanvallon explores effectively. There is also a cogent discussion of increasingly prevalent demands for “individual responsibility” concerning behaviors that lead to conditions that place heavy demands on public expenditures, e.g. smoking and alcohol abuse: “The smoker will soon be required to choose between his vice and the right to equal access to care, and the alcoholic will be threatened with [demand for] payment of social surcharges” (p. 21). Those who do not smoke or abuse alcohol believe that those who do so choose the behaviors that impose costs on others - much as some people believe that many welfare recipients choose not to work because the availability of government aid simply makes it possible not to do so.

To overcome the threats to solidarity that arise from such perceptions, Rosanvallon argues, a new form of solidarity is required - one that seeks explicitly to compensate for inequalities rooted in inherited or objective factors rather than to smooth out temporary disparities in income. In practical terms, this new solidarity relies on a new funding mechanism whose nature is not yet clear, except that it must be something other than insurance “premiums” and the traditional income tax.

The framework of social rights - the second aspect of the crisis - has become inadequate, Rosanvallon argues, insofar as it remains rooted in 17th century liberal individualism, where freedom and autonomy are the hegemonic values. Current economic conditions, under which large population segments remain unemployed for extended periods, expose the limits of such values and of a welfare state beholden to them. The problem itself is familiar, especially in Europe: as the ranks of the excluded - and the payments they expect to receive - grow, so too do the taxes necessary to fund such payments. Higher taxes mean decreased demand for labor - and so we arrive at “a pernicious spiral we might call a social deflation: an increasing quantity of nonworking people are cared for by a decreasing number of workers” (p. 57). Increasing economic globalization only exacerbates the difficulty.

The dilemma can be overcome, Rosanvallon contends, only by employing a framework of inclusion, as against the “passive welfare state” model of providing compensation for exclusion. A universal allowance - as well as the extension of disability payments to the category of the “socially disabled,” i.e., those who remained unemployed after their unemployment benefits expired - only dodges the problem and thereby exacerbates it. Inclusion, on the other hand, begins with the possibility of using public funds “to pay workers rather than to indemnify the unemployed” (p. 57). In practical terms, inclusion in the American context means workfare, and in France it is embodied in the somewhat broader program of the “minimum subsistence allowance” (RMI). “In both cases, social rights are reinterpreted as a contract articulating rights and obligations” (p. 87). In other words, according to Rosanvallon, an individual’s right to inclusion demands both that the individual make himself or

herself useful to society and that the society recognize and respond to the individual's own desire for social utility - in particular by providing jobs or some equivalent.

This notion of mutual obligation has always looked good on paper. Many American readers, however, will remain quite unpersuaded by the claim that workfare in the US enhances inclusion for welfare recipients. Rosanvallon does not consider critiques (e.g. Piven and Cloward 1993) arguing that the function of workfare is primarily punitive: an effort to restore labor discipline by showing workers the fate that awaits them should they demand too much of their employers or the state. This argument is reinforced by anecdotes describing how workfare participants in New York have been made to rake leaves, only to watch a supervisor empty the bags and insist that the raking begin again (Finder 1998). The French RMI program, however, may offer more compelling testimony to the potential for a social policy founded on expectations of mutual obligation.

The book's aspirations are also hindered by an almost total blindness to issues of gender. Rosanvallon overlooks the fact that the problem of welfare, in the US, at least, is largely the problem of single mothers who cannot get paid jobs that allow them to meet their obligations to their children - in a word, to survive. This problem will not be solved by asserting a societal obligation to guarantee the mere availability of jobs, which is what the second half of Rosanvallon's argument reduces to in practical terms. Achieving inclusion for poor single mothers would seem to require a more ramified apparatus that allows them to reconcile work and motherhood (including heavily subsidized and reliable day care). Even that formulation, however, is inadequate when one accepts the argument (e.g. Mink 1998) that motherhood is work and deserves to be supported as such. Here is the real conundrum for those concerned with reconnecting the economic and the social, as Rosanvallon puts it. Finally, there are some patently offensive references to women: on p. 97, for example, we encounter the phrase "sluggish...elderly women," for which there is no elaboration.

Another disappointing aspect of the book is its frequent failure to flesh out arguments with examples. For example, in Chapter 2 ("Remaking a Nation"), Rosanvallon argues that "European societies today are characterized by contradiction. On the one hand, they need to remake the nation, to turn inward to reinforce the bonds of solidarity; on the other hand, they must open themselves outward economically" (p. 38). While the second half of that formulation is fairly clear in its implicit reference to economic globalization, the first half needs elaboration: it is simply not very clear what "turning inward" means. In other instances, the examples provided seem trivial with respect to the point under consideration. To support the claim that "the notion of justice or equity [increasingly] prevails over that of interest" (p. 33) in contemporary conflicts, for example, we are told that French truck drivers in 1992 "protest[ed] the injustice of granting the same number of 'points' on drivers' licenses to professionals driving one hundred thousand kilometers a year and to amateur drivers" (p. 33). (We do not learn whether the protest was successful.)

Surprisingly, there is no discussion of how immigrants to France have affected the welfare state and, in particular, the solidarity that Rosanvallon considers necessary to sustain it under conditions of increased awareness concerning risks. The issue is perhaps the object of the vague reference to "turning inward" (p. 38) discussed above; but, again, it is not entirely clear what this phrase means. For the purposes of reinforcing solidarity, are French citizens of foreign origin to be considered outsiders? Even if the proposed solidarity is expansive, such that only non-citizen permanent residents are to be excluded from the French welfare state, the implicit attitude towards immigrants raises more questions than it answers. But that statement perhaps depends on an over-interpretation of a few comments made almost in passing.

Perhaps the most puzzling aspect of the book is its renunciation of a basic competence of social science. Chapter 7, "The Individualization of Society," argues that it is no longer possible to understand, through traditional social scientific reasoning, collective aspects of social and economic exclusion. "The long-term unemployed or overextended households are not populations in the traditional sense, nor are they part of a sociological group.... Therefore, 'counting' the excluded is no use, for they cannot fit into a category for social action" (p. 98). More generally, "the traditional sociological approach, methodologically linked to intersecting tables of data ... is clearly worn out. ...social historians have also discovered the quantitative approaches to be deadends" (p. 101). Rosanvallon concludes that we can understand the processes of exclusion only as it is experienced by individuals (hence the chapter title), through biography - "restor[ing] to the data their individual values" (p. 102). For a social scientist, this conclusion seems almost irresponsible insofar as it carries the expectation of being taken seriously. There is no difficulty with the claim that the excluded cannot be subsumed under one single type; but Rosanvallon seems not to have considered the possibility that the use of several types can usefully organize our thinking about exclusion. The notion that there are no types at all is puzzling, to say the least.

## Reviews

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### **Without a Map: Political Tactics and Economic Reform in Russia, by Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press (2000), 223 pp.**

**Reviewed by Marshall I. Goldman, Davis Professor of Russian Economics, Emeritus, Wellesley College, Associate Director, Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard University.**

After almost a decade of trying to transit from central planning to markets, analysts are now beginning to examine what went right or wrong, and why. Such studies are particularly interesting when their authors were among those providing guidance in the early days of the reforms. In *Without a Map: Political Tactics and Economic Reform in Russia*, Andrei Shleifer, the winner of the John Bates Clark Medal in Economics, joins with Daniel Treisman, an Assistant Professor of Political Science at UCLA, to evaluate the success of privatization, macro stabilization, and tax reform in Russia. Shleifer was one of the chief advisors to the Russian privatization chief Anatoly Chubais, and also a consultant in Russia's battle with inflation and macro stabilization. One half of the book is great, but, surprise, surprise, they find that while privatization and macro stabilization were successful, tax reform, which Shleifer did not work on, was not.

The most innovative part of the study is their approach. Rather than concern themselves with "when" the reform went into effect, they devote themselves instead to the more intriguing and challenging question of "how". Looking back at what happened, they ask "how" it succeeded and, in the case of tax reform, "how" it failed. They focus on what they classify as "stakeholders" and what was done to induce them to support, rather than oppose, desirable reforms. In this way, they propose future strategies for overcoming opposition. By framing the challenge in such a manner, future reformers are more likely to consider how coalitions will be formed which will support rather than oppose the changes they seek. So far so good. Shleifer and Treisman argue from experience that the reforms involve much more than searching for designs; what is also needed, they suggest, is a touch of Albert Hirschman and Niccolo Machiavelli.

It is when they begin to examine their own handiwork, particularly Shleifer's, that the authors lose their credibility. Thus, while they spend considerable time on how to create a coalition of supportive stakeholders that will outmaneuver opposing stakeholders, they barely acknowledge that many, if not all, of the obstructive stakeholders had become stakeholders because of the early but misguided privatization efforts (there is one scant acknowledgment that this might have occurred on p. 17). Concretely, the privatization policies that were so proudly designed were largely responsible for giving birth to the oligarchs, who then did all they could to thwart other efforts to pass effective tax legislation.

Their praise for the privatization program is the most serious shortcoming of their argument. Chubais has acknowledged that he moved rapidly with privatization more for political than economic reasons. He was worried that the communists and their supporters might seek to reinstate a communist system. The best antidote to such an effort was to take the country's businesses and industries out of state control and put ownership into the hands of private individuals. By providing individuals with ownership shares or vouchers (a form of people's capitalism), Chubais argued that he could then create a force that would resist any effort to return to the ways of the past. Shleifer and his fellow advisors designed the voucher system and some of the privatization variants offered to the factory workers and managers.

To be fair, neither Chubais nor Shleifer expected that their policies would lead to so many factory managers becoming owners, or to the birth of the oligarchs. Yegor Gaidar, the chief architect of the overall economic reforms,

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could never quite believe that he and his colleagues were being allowed to make such fundamental changes in the economy. They were worried that their dream would come to an end at any moment. Consequently, they regarded themselves as “Kamikaze” reformers, and they set about to destroy the command economy as quickly as possible before they were fired, and do it in such a way that it would never be put back together again. Unfortunately, to do that, they had to compromise with the apparatchiks by turning over to them, for their own personal ownership, what before had belonged to the state.

The results were not always what economic theory had led them to anticipate. For example, now even the book’s authors have probably come to question Coase’s theorems, which they once regarded as their most sacred dogma - that private ownership, no matter if by Mafia or oligarch, is always preferable to state ownership. Presumably, they now realize that unless the buildup of institutions such as courts and provisions for fair proxy fights have been completed first, it is fantasy to expect that incompetent and dishonest managers will be flushed out.

The authors proudly defend Russian privatization by spelling out what they say were the only other alternatives - a case-by-case approach, which they insist was what the badly-flawed “Loans for Shares” initiative was; as well as the option of issuing fewer shares to the directors, which they feel had no political support.

What they neglect to consider is the Polish variant. Unlike the Russians, the Poles held back privatization for almost five years. This allowed them to encourage the formation of new start-up businesses, and, in the process, to build up a competitive infrastructure, something that was not done in Russia. Equally important, it gave the Poles time to design a plan which turned operating control (33 percent) over to one of fifteen mutual fund-type entities, which included foreign advisors on their boards. The other fourteen funds each got 1.9 percent of the shares. All of the fifteen funds then vied with each other to restructure management and come up with the most profitable fund. And also unlike Russia, 25 percent of the shares in these companies were turned over to the state pension fund, so the public in large, not just the management, would share in whatever profits there might be.

The Polish model has worked well, and, in the greatest contrast with the Russian version, it has been virtually free of scandal and charges of corruption. Not only do the authors overlook this alternative, but, ironically, on p. 21, they give high grades to Poland for its shock therapy approach to reform in all respects except one; that is its failure to move immediately towards privatization.

The authors seem to be on equally shaky ground in their discussion of macro stabilization. They credit Russian governmental authorities with putting the brakes on inflation, or at least that’s what the statistics show. However, the authors fail to pay enough attention to the costs these efforts entail. They discuss at some length the rather unusual development of barter throughout Russia, as well as the rather unique practice of not paying wages, invoices or taxes. Since most of these practices are the direct consequence of the overly ambitious monetary and credit restraints, it would have helped if the authors had devoted more attention to the effects of their programs, which even now confront Russian policymakers.

The re-examination of the failure to design an effective tax system leads to an intriguing analysis about coalitions that might have been, or should have been formed to bring about an improved tax regime. One of their suggestions, i.e. the re-centralization of power by reducing the power of 89 different governors, was indeed one of the first policy measures introduced by Vladimir Putin when he became president. Maybe he read the book. And, indeed, federal tax collections have improved. But lest the authors take credit for higher tax revenues, it must be noted that the higher revenues were due in part to the tripling of oil prices. In addition, enterprise profits improved significantly in 1999, but that was due to a cutback in imports, which in turn was the result of the three-quarter drop in the value of the ruble after the financial collapse in August of 1998. Neither event was planned or an intended result of government action. No doubt, increasing tax collection in Russia has been a major problem. But even if Russian authorities had passed the proper laws, increasing the revenue obtained from taxes would have been difficult as long as the GDP fell each year, as it did until late 1999.

Should the authors decide to re-issue their study, here are some other matters they might want to reconsider. How does their stakeholder model allow for the presence of charismatic personalities, or fortuitous friendships? Sometimes both are more important than alliances between stakeholders. For example, Yeltsin happened to like his tennis partner and allowed him special tariff exemptions, which he also did for the Afghan veterans. It is also hard to see how Gennady Zyuganov, the head of the communist party, fits the model of a stakeholder who wants to defend Gazprom, the country’s largest tax delinquent. Moreover, how do you classify the oligarch who wants a strong ruble, so that he can pay back his foreign loans when that same oligarch is also a major mineral producer and wants a weak ruble to make it more profitable for him to export. Finally, to prove that Muscovites and New Yorkers have the same attitude toward markets, they, like many others, cite the study by Robert Schiller, Maxim Boycko, and Vladimir Korovov, “Popular Attitudes Towards Free Markets: The Soviet Union and the United States Compared” (*American Economic Review*, 81:385, 1991). What Shleifer and Treisman neglect to mention, however, is that the

Moscow part of that survey was conducted by telephone at a time when there were 14 telephone lines for each 100 inhabitants in Moscow. That would hardly be classified as a random survey.

There are also some minor editorial slip-ups. The first secret elections were in 1988, when Gorbachev convened a special Party Conference, not the elections for the Party Congress, which were held in 1989. They also could have used a better indexer and editor. For example, they use much the same wording twice in criticizing a June, 1996 analysis of their reforms by a group of U.S. and Russian economists (pp. 18 and 94). They also repeat a statement by Chubais on pp. 151 and 160.

The reader will be rewarded, however, by their critique of how the Russian Central Bank and its senior officials set up a system of incentives that benefited them, not the state. The authors also skillfully answer the question, "Why is it that Moscow under Mayor Luzhkov prospered while the rest of the country suffered". In the same way, they provide a thoughtful analysis of how to go about implementing a more fruitful federal tax system.

There are important lessons to be learned from this book, some intended, some not. The intended lesson is that, on occasion, a study of stakeholders can be a useful approach to reform. The unintended lesson is that when they become consultants, academics can also become stakeholders. And when they look back at their past policy efforts, it is likely they will gloss what, in fact, others regard as seriously flawed.

## **The Land That Could Be: Environmentalism and Democracy in the Twenty-First Century, by William A. Shutkin. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press (2000), xx, 273 pp.**

**Reviewed by Stella Capek, Division of Social Sciences, Hendricks College**

Shutkin offers us a bravely optimistic, conceptually interesting and empirically well-grounded book that is a welcome addition to the literature on sustainability. In a world where attention to the environment is often seen as a luxury that comes only after we take care of more essential things (such as economic growth and jobs) his book is a refreshing reminder that environment is inextricably linked to, and provides the experiential ground for, community, democracy, the economy, and social justice. Named for Langston Hughes' visionary poem "The Land That Could Be" ("O let America be America again, The land that never has been yet And yet must be..."), Shutkin's book provides a kind of road map for healing the damage both to environment and to democracy in the United States. Built around a discussion of the concept of "civic environmentalism," it offers insights from four widely dispersed case studies: the urban agriculture experiments of the Dudley neighborhood in Roxbury, Massachusetts; the Fruitvale Transit Village in Oakland, California; conservation-based development in rural Routt County, Colorado, and "smart growth" initiatives in suburban New Jersey. Indeed, one of the book's strengths is the ease with which the author moves across the boundaries between landscapes that are urban, suburban, and rural, finding common ground through an exploration of the relationship between democracy and environmentalism. Another strength is the range of voices incorporated into the book, from interviews with residents to policy documents. Striking a balance between realism and optimism, and enriched by the author's hands-on experience with organizations such as Alternatives for Community & Environment and New Ecology, Inc., *The Land That Could Be* invites us to consider pragmatically what the next steps would be if we take seriously, as the author does, the relationship between a healthy democracy and a healthy environment.

The concept central to Shutkin's book, and the subject of a theoretically rich discussion in the first three chapters, is civic environmentalism. Shutkin did not invent this idea, but it undergoes a creative expansion in his text. It serves as the basis for his view that democracy and environmental protection are "mutually constitutive"; that is, both depend on a healthy set of civic practices that affirm public space, place-based experience, social capital, multiple stakeholders, systemic analysis, and ground-up construction of knowledge and policy rather than top-down expertise alone. Essential to both is a sense of common destiny rather than a disappearance into private and privatized worlds. While democracy and environment mirror each other, the environment is given primacy, since it is the ground for our experience. Thus Shutkin points out early in his discussion, "A central argument of this book is that part and parcel of [the] diminution of civic spirit and rise in economic and social inequality has been the deterioration of the American environment, both built and undeveloped." (p.3).

To clarify the "civic" in civic environmentalism, and to plumb the civic landscape of the United States, Shutkin presents us in Chapter 1 with a list of core indicators of civic health: social capital (loosely defined as citizens' participation, or social investment in their communities), political participation, racial equality, socioeconomic equality, and public investment. After pointing out that the United States is the only industrialized nation that does not monitor overall social progress (a telling fact in and of itself), Shutkin puts together evidence from a range of sources--among them Robert Putnam, Orlando Patterson, Robert Bellah, William Julius Wilson,

Christopher Lasch, and Cornel West -- to conclude that national civic participation is on the wane. Growing inequalities and the disappearance of public space appear in many forms, whether through the rise of a professional "overclass," the pressures of global capitalism, privatization, different life chances based on race and ethnicity, or a commercialized (and at the same time not equally accessible) Internet culture.

Shutkin proceeds, in Chapter 2, to consider the environmental consequences of this civic decline. Drawing on Paul Hawken's concept of "natural capital" (natural resources and the "services" they provide for us) he observes that "In communities endowed with a substantial amount of social capital, we tend to see an equivalent amount of natural capital" (p.46). The author's discussion ranges freely from Thomas Jefferson and John Ruskin to Dolores Hayden and Carolyn Merchant as he spells out the symbiotic relationship between environment (place) and democracy (civic community practice). Chapter 2 includes an overview of the history of development and land use in the United States, our habits of production and consumption of energy, and the environmental consequences of our actions as measured by a variety of indicators. Citing environmental historian William Cronon - whose influence is felt throughout much of this book - Shutkin reminds us that "living in history means leaving marks on the world; the question is, what kind of marks?" (Cronon (1995), cited in Shutkin, p.73). Shutkin's composite picture of our "marks" on the landscape points to environmental (and therefore democratic) decline. Later, in his case studies, he will document a different set of practices that suggest a more hopeful direction for both.

A significant pleasure of reading Shutkin's book is the way in which he tells his story. Descriptions of nature and social practices are skillfully embedded in each other, a technique that is thoroughly consistent with his argument that the cultural and natural are inseparable. Thus we meet, in Chapter 2, *Ailanthus altissima*, a tree which Shutkin tells us was introduced by Frederick Law Olmsted from China for use in New York's Central Park, and now "the ubiquitous tree of the inner city," "the indicator species of urban America" (p.80). Known also as the "tree of heaven," this tree survives where little else can grow. Shutkin invites us into a paradox: to admire the beauty and tenacity of the tree, and at the same time to grasp its significance as a sign for a toxic environment disproportionately imposed on inner-city communities of color. This image, close to a poetry of landscape that a reader senses in many of Shutkin's descriptions (see, for example, the account of the natural history of the Roxbury landscape in Massachusetts), points back into a knowledge of history, and forward into social action, allowing Shutkin to conclude that "environmentalism is a uniquely powerful and appropriate tool for creating the kind of communities most Americans strive for but few enjoy" (p.87).

In Chapter 3, "The Land That Could Be: American Environmentalism and the Pursuit of Sustainable Communities," we learn about the legacy of U.S. environmentalism, from the more mainstream "romantic-progressive tradition" that incorporates John Muir and Gifford Pinchot (albeit with significant tensions) to a marginalized grassroots tradition that has not been part of the official history of the movement. The latter encompasses the work of individuals such as Alice Hamilton, Jane Addams, Benton MacKaye, and others who worked in urban environments to improve the life chances of disadvantaged populations. The author finds in their important efforts the precursor of the modern environmental justice movement. Further into the chapter, Shutkin offers us an explanation and critique of the existing environmental protection system in the United States (the focus on control rather than prevention; the "dense professional culture and specialized discourses" [p.100]; the tendency to address one substance at a time rather than an integrated, life-cycle view; and the dependence upon the courts). At the same time, he shows us -- and this is one of the book's strengths -- where the terrain is shifting or being "reinvented" in a direction that appears more consistent with civic environmentalism. This might involve cutting-edge technological designs such as eco-industrial parks or merely the ability of a new variety of stakeholders to work together to create "social capital."

The author's insistence upon including issues of environmental justice also greatly enhances his book, since this is a theme that is often conspicuously missing in the sustainability literature. Thus he can show us, drawing on the work of sociologist Robert Bullard and interviews with South Bronx environmental activist Vernice Miller, how environmental protection and economic development can go hand in hand, if the design is appropriate. In Chapter 3, Shutkin also lays out for us the core components of civic environmentalism: 1) participatory process (including face-to-face democracy among a variety of stakeholders); 2) community and regional planning (which should incorporate a good understanding of a community's "assets"; 3) environmental education (all citizens and agencies should be expected to possess a bare minimum of environmental literacy, and science must be disseminated in an intelligible way); 4) industrial ecology (the new field of environmental and economic policy that rests on an integrated, comprehensive, full-cost accounting approach); 5) environmental justice (a focus on the socially just distribution of environmental impacts and citizen control over health and environment); and 6) place ("the physical, social, and emotional space that nurtures us as individuals and members of a community and is an animating force for civic engagement" [p.140]). In future chapters, this framework is used as a touchstone in each of the case studies.

In Chapters 4-7, we arrive at the case studies themselves. Each of these is compelling in its own way, since this is where theory meets practice. The forms in which we encounter civic environmentalism vary greatly, although all are consistent with the core elements identified above. In the Dudley area, a neighborhood scarred by redlining, white flight, landlord-initiated arson, and widespread toxic dumping, community groups find the means to create social capital through community redesign that includes urban agriculture. In the Fruitvale area of Oakland, a low-income community carved up by freeways and blighted by urban pollution and the outflow of funds to the suburbs

organizes to lay claim to public transportation and economic development by designing a “transit-oriented development” in the heart of the neighborhood. In Routt County, Colorado, two often-estranged groups, cattle ranchers and environmentalists, join forces to protect open land and to support conservation-based development (negotiating together what this might mean). In suburban New Jersey, local groups focus on protecting open space and managing growth, recapturing the legacy of the “Garden State” in the face of pressures toward sprawl.

Each of these scenarios contains a different combination of private and public investment, stakeholders, sustainable technology, and creative imagination. Each generates possible models for use elsewhere -- for example, the environmental indicators developed by the Trenton-based group New Jersey Future, or the concept of sustainable “working landscapes” negotiated by cattle ranchers and environmentalists, and increasingly adopted, Shutkin tells us, by mainstream environmental groups such as The Nature Conservancy. Some, like the first two cases, have a strong base in civil rights issues, and provide models for environmental justice in communities of color facing such challenges as “brownfield” redevelopment and urban disinvestment. All illustrate what Shutkin terms “an ecosystem approach to social problem solving, with the environment as both a prime subject and a principal metaphor of civic action” (p.238). The case studies make for exciting reading and allow Shutkin to elegantly present a case for civic environmentalism.

There is little to find fault with in this volume. Although it wasn't the case for this reader, some may find it a bit of a long ride getting to the case studies themselves, due to the length of the preceding chapters. Some additional references to civic environmentalism in the southern region of the country might be helpful, since this has been the originating place of the contemporary environmental justice movement and the setting for some interesting experiments with civic democracy--the city of Chattanooga comes to mind. Some will say that Shutkin is too optimistic. While he understandably focuses on the creative synergy that emerges in the communities presented here, those same communities are hugely vulnerable to a global capitalism that undermines social capital. Shutkin does not ignore these challenges, but chooses to put his energy elsewhere. Perhaps he too readily dismisses critics of “smart growth” who say that our addiction to growth is one of our most fundamental social problems. However, Shutkin stakes out his position (cautiously but energetically) among the optimists, supported by the experience that he has accumulated and shared with his readers. Let us hope that he is right that civic environmentalism will fulfill “environmentalism’s promise as democracy’s boldest symbol and practice” (p.244). By writing a book such as this one, he contributes to the likelihood of that outcome.

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**Feeding the World: A Challenge for the Twenty-First Century. By Vaclav Smil.  
Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press (2000), xxviii, 360 pp.**

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Whether in Ethiopia or the state of Orissa in India, all around the world, millions of people every year die of starvation, and suffer from malnutrition and under-nourishment. In many parts of the globe, because of either of floods or droughts, the production of food grain is damaged beyond recuperation every year. Moreover, the population growth continues with greater speed than ever before. Overwhelming concern with this situation has plagued the minds of the scientists, politicians, policy makers and planners, and even nonprofessionals, whose discourse on this subject often suggests that doomsday has arrived! After all, can the world possibly feed over ten billion people in the twenty-first century?

At such a juncture, and at the very threshold of the new millennium, Vaclav Smil's *Feeding The World* appears as a welcome relief. It comes up with convincing answers to many of the questions that have, hitherto, remained unanswered. It presents a more hopeful picture and suggests that if efforts are made in the right direction, the future of humanity is not bleak at all; instead, it is bright and encouraging. Above all, Smil's aspirations are based not on fancy but on facts with comprehensive and quality scientific data.

*Feeding The World* is a rare example of rational and logical interpretation of a huge mass of scientific data. Instead of answering the question of how many people the Earth can feed in the twenty-first century, Smil has rightly chosen a more practical, and a more meaningful inquiry to look into the best means of securing the requisite

nutrition for ten billion people by 2050.

After the "Introduction," the book contains nine chapters followed by up-to-date references. Sixty one figures and four tables in the book contain the latest statistical and scientific data with regard to population, land, water, nutrients, agro-economic-system, biodiversity, environmental pollution, fertilizer, animal food production, harvest and post harvest losses, human energy and protein needs, nutritional transition, health and disease, and et cetera.

In the "Introduction," Smil's summation of the debate between the catastrophists and the cornucopians with regard to the growth of global population and the availability of foodstuff is quite interesting in that it indicates a rapprochement between the two diametrically opposed views. On the one hand, the catastrophists, for example Ehrlich (1968) pessimistically conclude that "the battle to feed all humanity is over" and that "at this late date nothing can prevent a substantial increase in the world death rate" (p. x). The cornucopians, on the other hand optimistically "revel in large population increases as the source of endless human inventiveness, and they consider food scarcity or environmental decay as merely temporary aberrations" (p. xi).

Interestingly enough, the catastrophists and the cornucopians both derive inspiration from the great English Clergyman Thomas Malthus; the former from the First Edition (1778) and the latter from the Second Edition (1803) of *An Essay On The Principle Of Population*. In the first edition of the Essay, Malthus does suggest "the power of population is indefinitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man" and that "this natural inequality appears insurmountable in the way to the perfectibility of the society" (p. xxvii). However, Smil questions why the closing lines of the second edition of the great Essay is overlooked by the catastrophists, which suggest that "Our future prospects may not be so bright as we could wish, yet they are far from being entirely disheartening, and by no means preclude that gradual and progressive improvement in human society." (ibid). Malthus further adds:

Although we can not expect that the virtue and the happiness of mankind will keep pace with the brilliant career of physical discovery; yet, if we are not wanting to ourselves, we may confidently indulge the hope that, to no unimportant extent, they will be influenced by its progress and will partake in its success (p. xxviii).

Instead of being a mere critique of the catastrophists, Smil attempts to examine "how correct are the catastrophist's perspective, and to what degree are their conclusions influenced by neglecting those realities that do not fit the pre conceived pattern?" (p. 21). In so doing he also suggests to have a closer scientific look "at the natural foundation of agriculture, at land, water, nutrients, photosynthesis, and biodiversity" (ibid).

After explaining the crux of the population debate in the first chapter, Smil appraises the basics of photosynthesis and crop productivity, photosynthetic efficiency, harvest index, agricultural land, water use in farming, crop nutrients, agro-ecosystem and biodiversity, biodiversity and productivity, and other aspects of agronomy in Chapter Two. In Chapter Three, "Environmental Change and Agro-ecosystems," the author discusses possible consequences of soil changes, soil erosion, soil degradation, soil productivity and maintenance, environmental pollution, ozone level changes, the impact of climatic changes on agriculture, and how agriculture can be made the best source of green house gases. In Chapter Four, "Toward Higher Cropping Efficiencies," Smil deals with two key inputs @ fertilizers and water management. At the very outset Smil declares that instead of intensification and mobilization of new inputs, "we should endeavor to derive the bulk of new needs by increasing the efficiency of the existing uses" (p. 106). More efficient use of fertilizers, prevention of nutrient leakage, reducing fertilizer losses, better use of water, efforts to improve irrigational efficiencies and precision farming have to be the hallmarks for the quest for higher food output during the next two generations.

In Chapter Five, "Rationalizing Animal Food Production," Smil strongly suggests that "diet made up primarily of plant foods but supplemented, especially seasonally, by meat is our evolutionary heritage, and strict herbivory is a culturally induced adaptation (p. 142). In addition to arguing for improving the quality and quantity of animal food by scientific management, Smil also explains the problems and potential of aqua culture development. In Chapter Six, "Consuming the Harvest," Smil suggests that food chain study is an under-researched area and examines three aspects of it. First, he deals with post-harvest losses. Then he looks at the limits of standard methods used to account for food supply. And finally, the author turns to our surprisingly uncertain understanding of actual food intakes.

In Chapter Seven, "How Much Food Do We Need?" the author argues that "our understanding of food requirement is a complex mixture of solid comprehension, tentative conclusions, and continuing uncertainties" (p. 211). Most people do not know what should be a typical daily per capita food energy intake for adults, or how many calories we should consume everyday. In fact, "human food "energy needs are not a simple function of one or two basic variables, but an amalgam of demands whose average rate vary fairly predictably for particular populations with sex, age and body size" (p. 212). Inevitably, these complexities must be kept in mind as we evaluate the adequacy of existing food intakes and as we assess the outlook for desirable change. With high quality data, Smil discusses Basic Metabolic Rates (B M R) i.e. the minimum amount of energy needed to maintain critical body function.

In Chapter Eight, "Searching for Optimum Diets," Smil outlines major trends of often-undesirable nutritional shifts accompanying industrialization and postindustrial modernization. Afterwards, he examines some links between food, health and diseases. Finally, he presents recommendation for desirable diets.

In the last chapter, "If China Can Do It," Smil gives a message to all professionals in this field by

demonstrating that despite its environmental constraints, China has the potential to feed itself. This conclusion is of immense importance for the world's agricultural prospects. Smil hopes that a combination of well-proven economic and technical fixes, environmental protection measures, and dietary adjustments can extract enough additional food from the world's agro-ecosystems to provide decent nutrition during the next generation without a further weakening of the world's environmental foundations.