

The text is replete with beautifully evocative sentences such as "the fetish is a point of weird delirious contamination, so to speak, between life and death" (p. 78) or "a sorcerer is his own other" (p. 67). In the end, while the analysis reveals the extent to which Devisch was inspired by the psychoanalytical vision of his colleague, it also reminds us that good ethnography is grounded in the notions of specificity, locality, and the "situated experience both of cultural creativity and the lucid encounter between cultures" (p. 232). The book is above all a sensitive and finely textured account of engaged anthropology. I only wish the ethnography had been more explicitly grounded in the context of violence, anomie, poverty, and desperation that characterizes modern-day Congo. What better context than the current social and economic upheavals facing so many Yaka to put to the test Devisch's theory of ritual creativity? It looks like we will have to wait for Devisch's forthcoming study, however, to understand how contemporary Congolese defy the limitations and disillusionments brought by an increasingly violent modernity. Despite such inattention to the current crises facing the Central African nation, *The Law of the Lifegivers* is an important work that should be required reading for anyone interested in ritual, healing, and the body. ♦♦

A Generation Later: Household Strategies and Economic Change in the Rural Philippines. James F. Eder. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999. 191 pp.

Raiding, Trading, and Feasting: The Political Economy of Philippine Chiefdoms. Laura Lee Junker. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999. 477 pp.

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Together, these two books present a wide sweep of political-economic culture change in the Philippines. At the macro level, Junker analyzes the evolution of Philippine chiefdoms from 500 B.C. to A.D. 1600. At the micro level, Eder gives us a view from the other end of the telescope: the transformations that have occurred in just the last fifty years in a once remote migrant community on the Philippine frontier. One book covers the whole archipelago for a period of 2,000 years; the other focuses on the same topic in a single village on Palawan Island from 1950 to 1995. Both volumes describe the evolution of social inequalities during their respective periods.

Archaeologist Laura Junker presents a model of how chiefdoms evolved in the Philippines from the first millennium B.C. to the arrival of the Spaniards. Her method is "integrative" in that she brings together historical, ethnographic, and archaeological sources on the Philippines to make her argument. Her archival sources include recently discovered Chinese records written a thousand years ago and translated by the late William Henry Scott. The resulting volume draws first on the work of many others—her bibliography has 800 references—and then on her own and her colleagues' years of archaeological research on Negros Island.

Junker disagrees with the popular view that Philippine chiefdoms did not rise until the second millennium A.D. or that most

complex societies in the 1500s were tribal rather than chiefdom (pp. 142–143, 373, 375). She recognizes that Philippine chiefdoms became more complex with the surge of Chinese trade in porcelains during the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960–1279) and especially during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). But she argues convincingly that chiefdoms were evolving in the archipelago "since at least the early first millennium A.D. and probably earlier" (p. 5; see pp. 119, 145, 171, 375). This was at the same time that pottery, metal objects, and other status goods were circulating through Philippine interisland trade networks (pp. 5, 378). Filipinos were conducting long-distance trade with China and other areas of Southeast Asia by the early first millennium A.D.; and by the tenth century Filipinos were themselves making voyages to China to trade for Chinese goods (pp. 189–190, 215, 220). The later trade in porcelain and other Chinese prestige goods on the eve of Spanish contact fueled the expansion of the political economy and complexity of chiefdoms, but did not precipitate the evolution of them.

Junker goes into great detail about how the introduction of foreign trade goods affected Philippine coastal chiefdoms as well as the tribal and hunter-gatherer societies living further inland. As top-echelon elites realized the political-economic power of controlling the China trade goods to their own ports, they increasingly sought to gain hegemony over other chiefdoms and upriver swiddens and forest foragers (mainly Negritos). To compete for control over foreign trade, chiefs needed more and more tributes under them to supply them with rice, craft specialties, farm labor, and especially to collect the forest products that Chinese traders wanted in exchange. Powerful chiefs were not seeking to expand their territories; there was plenty of free land in the then-underpopulated Philippines. Rather, political leaders needed laborers to increase their own power. Junker describes the internal changes in economic organization that came about to support this expanding emphasis on foreign trade. Agricultural intensification was a first necessity, and patron/client systems, interpolity warfare, and slave raiding began as ways to secure more farm laborers. Again drawing from Scott, Junker refers to Chinese chroniclers mentioning the problems of slave raiding at the beginning of the second millennium (p. 24). This slave raiding greatly increased in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (chapter 12) as a means for chiefs to enhance their productive capacity.

I appreciated Junker's description of the role that Negrito foragers played in this international trade between China, Insular Southeast Asia, and Philippine chiefdoms. Her model establishes that these interior foragers, near her own research site in Negros as well as elsewhere in the archipelago, were "linked into coastal trade networks by at least the thirteenth century" (p. 246). Indeed they were, and in my opinion for the very reasons Junker suggests: The Negritos also wanted trade goods from the lowlands—pottery, metal knives, other lowland commodities, and rice and root crops to sustain them in their carbohydrate-poor tropical forest (p. 244). And these Negritos had resources of their own to exchange for those coastal commodities, resources that coastal Filipinos—and later Chinese—wanted: spices, tropical hardwoods, hemp, wild meat and pelts, rattan, resins, plant medicines, honey, and beeswax. As Junker says, symbiotic relationships had developed long ago between these Negrito foragers and their downriver neighbors that facilitated this trade. Archaeological evidence suggests this Negrito/lowlander

symbiosis began from at least A.D. 500 in Junker's research area in Negros (p. 260; see pp. 309, 312). It probably began much earlier in other Negrito areas in the Philippines, "by at least the first millennium B.C." (p. 382; see p. 246).

This volume will prove to be of theoretical import for anthropologists and historians beyond the Philippines because of the author's theoretical discussions of how and why complex societies develop. Junker relates the Philippine case to the general literature on the evolution of chiefdoms, and where the Philippine case conforms to or differs from those general models. Cultural evolutionists will find the book a valuable contribution to their field of interest. Philippinists will find it a must reading.

With *A Generation Later*, we move from prehistoric change and archaeology to recent ethnographic fieldwork based on James Eder's six field trips to the village of San Jose between 1971 and 1995. San Jose was established in the 1930s when a few families migrated from Cuyo Island into Palawan's "unbroken expanse of virgin forest" on the Philippines' last frontier. In 1941, San Jose consisted of 16 Cuyonon households practicing swidden cultivation. By 1971, when Eder arrived, there were 112 households of 765 Cuyonon immigrants and most of the area was still forested. Today, 1995, there are 477 households of 2,175 people and the area is long since stripped of forest.

As one might imagine, drastic cultural and economic change has occurred in San Jose during the last fifty years. The forest and wild game have been depleted as a result of general environmental deterioration and loss of natural resources, the people have changed from relatively autonomous subsistence slash-and-burn farmers to peasants tilling permanent fields of cash crops. Linked today by highway to the now-nearby city of Puerto Princesa and the national market system, San Jose farmers are now growing crops for outsiders instead of food for their own children. Landless households increased after 1971, while the average size of households' landholdings decreased from three hectares to one (p. 74). Land increased thirtyfold in price. There have been at the same time increases in political behavior and agricultural intensification, and from a relatively egalitarian society to social differentiation and some proletarianization (p. 152). By the 1990s far more adults were working for others instead of on their own farms and "greater numbers of women were in the wage sector" (p. 34). The population of eastern Palawan has quadrupled since 1950 while the population of San Jose grew ninefold during the same period. The Cuyonon language is dying out in San Jose as Tagalog takes over, the traditional religion is changing from Folk-Catholic to evangelical Protestantism, and a growing number of the community members are non-Cuyonon.

The most interesting question addressed in this book is, *Are the citizens of San Jose today worse off or better off than were the San Joseans in earlier decades?* As an ecological anthropologist, I have usually found myself leaning toward those who predict the former. Since the 1980s, I have often viewed the Philippines as an environmental disaster area. My own area of study in northeastern Luzon, where I have lived for most of my adult years since 1962, is undergoing the same overall changes that Eder describes for San Jose. But like Eder for San Jose, I have also seen signs of economic betterment among the poor in my area in the 1990s. Maybe there is room for hope.

While I feel a sense of sadness at seeing the language and traditional culture of the San Jose Cuyonon people dying out, it is

refreshing to read what Eder learned as he patiently collected long-term fine-grained measurements in San Jose. His analysis of those data indicate that the changes since 1950 "have [actually] brought considerable prosperity to San Jose" (p. 37), and that the resident Cuyonons are presently on "a relatively favorable trajectory of socioeconomic development" (p. 73; see p. 162). Eder found, for example, that mean total annual household income from 1971 to 1988 increased 30% (in real buying power) (p. 82), and that most households were "even better-off in 1995 than in 1988" (p. 86). When Eder looked at "living standards" instead of "real income," he also found quality of housing, educational levels, and personal property much greater in 1988 than in 1971, and greater yet in 1995. Instead of small thatch houses without furniture, many houses in the 1990s were built of hardwood and cement, and many had furniture (60%), televisions (53%), refrigerators (27%), washing machines (27%), and motorcycles (20%), and 75% of college-aged children were in college. "In sum, most offspring households appeared genuinely to be prospering by 1995" (p. 86). More interesting, for those interested in rural postpeasant capitalist development, Eder finds the San Joseans today practicing a successful and potentially sustainable postswidden upland farming system, a system that ameliorates the destructive consequences of deforestation in the Philippine uplands. If Eder is right, and if many other Philippine upland farmers are moving into this kind of cultivation system, the future for the Philippines may not be as bleak as many predict.

How did dirt-poor swidden farmers rise to an improved economic life under Philippine modernization? Eder answers this question in chapter 5. First of all, not all did. The egalitarian San Josean society evolved into some social differentiation after mid-century, with some families living today at the low end of the "status" order. Eder describes the reasons he found for this, putting most of the blame on internal reasons rather than outside exploitation. Many other San Joseans made smart changes in livelihood that put them ahead: intensifying agriculture, growing cash crops for the market, and economic diversification off the farm. Some men and women went overseas for contract work, women consciously lowered their fertility, and wives took full-time wage employment in the nearby city. In short, people who in the 1950s had been living not too differently from those in the Philippine chiefdoms that Junker describes for 1600 learned in short order the advantages of capitalist development; and they put what they learned to good use.

While this volume looks at just one village, Eder thinks that what he describes is typical of what may be going on in many other rural communities not only in the Philippines but in other nations of Southeast Asia today. My own experience studying rural socioeconomic change on Luzon for the same fifty-year period leads me to concur. And therein lies the value of Eder's book. If one wishes to get a better understanding of economic change in rural Southeast Asia, this book provides an example that in my experience seems similar to what is happening in many other areas.

This is a book that not only social scientists and community development planners would find valuable, but any town mayor in the Philippines. Indeed, any educated Filipino contemplating investing in upland market agriculture today would profit from this volume. Unfortunately, the scholarly prose, while fine for

social scientists, would be hard going for a lay audience in America or the Philippines. ♦♦

Veil: Modesty, Privacy and Resistance. *Fadwa El Guindi.* New York: Berg, 1999. 242 pp.

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This study is an engrossing, scholarly, and comprehensive analysis of the veil in its historical, social, and contemporary political context. It distinguishes between *hijab* (head covering) and the face-veil, and it challenges Western ideas of the veil as a symbol of women's oppression in Islamic societies. El Guindi focuses on the multilayered areas of women's cultural identity. By drawing on the analysis of data and personal fieldwork, she synthesizes ethnography, history, Qur'anic text, *Hadith* (sayings of Muhammad), and *Tafsir* (interpretations) (p. iv). In her own words, El Guindi is bridging two orientations to Middle Eastern phenomena, "that of scholars of Religious and Islamic Studies, who rely heavily on textual sources, and that of anthropologists of the Middle East, who rely heavily on contemporary ethnography" (p. xiii). Her interest in visual anthropology and the anthropology of dress in its sociocultural context captures the meanings people give dress in their everyday lives. Presentation of numerous photographs and art accompany her descriptions and analyses, making the reading of the study extremely enjoyable.

The author documents how the veil occurred historically in earlier periods, such as the Persian, Hellenic Byzantine, and Greek, but feels that viewing it only as borrowed lessens its cultural use. Certainly in most Mediterranean and desert cultures, covering parts of the body in deference to the sun and sand is quite rational. Not confined to Muslims, it was an urban phenomenon associated mostly with the upper classes. Christian Coptic women wore long veils until the early 1900s when Western Christian missionaries influenced them against it. Most discussions are in relation to women, while men have also had a variety of head coverings, which are discussed in terms of dress codes and status. Few of these have negative associations. In the area of hierarchy and dress, clothing for both men and women was used in Assyrian/Persian history both as prohibition and punishment if people were to go outside their political or economic class status. El Guindi notes that the early secular feminists in the Arab world, such as Huda Sha'rawi, lifted the face-veil (*burqu'*) not the hijab, the head cover, in the 1920s.

In the chapter "Ideological Roots to Ethnocentrism," the author presents a critical analysis of Western and Christian views and interpretations of veiling. She stresses that the concentration on the veil and harem imposed Christian or Western feminist ideas on Islamic cultures, focused on gender alone, and usually omitted the cultural context. She makes the interesting point that some of the confusion relates to the fact that in Christian culture, seclusion has been associated with religion and religious concepts of purity, concepts both absent in Islam.

El Guindi criticizes the overemphasis that Women's Studies uses when it associates the veil almost exclusively with seclusion. Western feminist discourse, she feels, is "politically

charged with connotations of the inferior 'other,' implying and assuming a subordination and inferiority of the Muslim woman" (p. 157). To demonstrate this point, she extends the study of dress in Arabo-Islamic culture to connote "family and gender as haven-shelter-sanctuary (all in one)—a protective shield as it were" (p. 70). Sacred privacy is discussed in its different meanings with relation to space in the West and the Middle East. Western culture emphasizes individual space and privacy, while space in Eastern culture conveys messages about kinship distance, group status of the individual, identity of the group, and sacredness of privacy. She criticizes Abu-Lughod for focusing her book *Veiled Sentiments* (University of California Press, 1986) on modesty, deference, and sexual shame, noting that this distorts other aspects of cultural identity (p. 90). She quotes extensively from the rich materials Young has presented in *The Rashaayda Bedouin* (Harcourt Brace, 1996) to show how dress and veiling serve to establish a woman's identity and status (p. 93). A kinship chart is presented (p. 86) showing those with whom a woman can loosen her guard. This is a valuable discussion, and it is here that one would have liked more analysis of patrilineality, its relationships and power privileges. Many factors are included in identity, but where the patriline is stressed, and does not compete with other groups' associations (such as, for example, age-grades in Africa), the purity of the line is seen as an important part of the ideology. Concepts of honor, covering, and modesty are similar to other patrilineally based societies such as India, and earlier periods of China, where virginity at marriage is seen to ensure biological progeny for the husband.

In the chapter on "The Veil of Masculinity," we find that some men in Arabia covered their faces before Islam, as do matrilineally organized Berber men in North Africa. There are also instances of Islamic textual data in which the Prophet is mentioned as having veiled his face on some occasions. Thus it is not the veiling per se but the code underlying the veil that should be the focus of research attention.

In a very interesting chapter, El Guindi discusses the veil and *hijab* as a symbol and tool of resistance against occupation and oppression. In Algeria during its liberation from French colonialism, the veil became a symbol of liberation, and the occupying French attacked it. She discusses the recent Islamic revitalization movements in Algeria and Iran and their relation to veiling. She quotes Hamami's study of Palestinian women under Israeli occupation (*Middle East Report* 20, 1990, p. 24), which describes the variation of dress forms by class, region, religion, and age. Hamami shows how the rise of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) has sought to restore the hijab, often harassing women into wearing it, as have other Islamic revitalization movements.

In sum, the study demonstrates that the veil and hijab are complex symbols of many meanings relating to privacy, identity, kinship status, rank, and class. "Emancipation can be expressed by wearing the veil or by removing it. It can be secular or religious. It can represent tradition or resistance" (p. 172). It is tied culturally to a particular area of the world where it is related to geography, patrilineal and patriarchal social structure, class, and political movements.

The Veil is the most comprehensive and interesting study to date that explores a misunderstood subject involving the lives of more than one billion persons. The author includes research from anthropology and other disciplines in a rich fashion, and