

variations in food supply. Stini expands on the relationship between unstable food supplies, internal nutrient reserves, body sizes in males and females, and the possibly maladaptive aspects of continuous and plentiful calories, protein, and fats in modern industrial populations.

The next six papers focus on foragers, their reliance on nonforagers, and their growing dependence on political, rather than ecological forces outside of their control. Wilmsen and Durham emphasize that the changing environment faced by the !Kung San has been shaped historically as much by political as ecological factors. Bailey and Peacock (and implicitly Bahuchet) question whether human foraging populations can exist in the tropical forest in the absence of symbiosis with agriculturalists. Pagezy depicts the formerly foraging Twa, who enjoyed commensal relations with the settled Oto, coping with increasing uncertainty in the foraging and commensal environment first by settling, then by leaving. Both Freeman, and de Garine and Koppert argue that as sources of income diversify, cultural factors—the act of sharing for the Arctic Inuit and bridewealth for the Massa and Mussey—still hold cultures together. But readers will be left wondering how individuals, households, and societies decide to maintain traditional values, and how meanings change nevertheless.

The remaining papers deal with mixed agricultural, fishing, pastoral, and in some cases nomadic commercial economies in Africa and Asia. Most of these cases suggest that new strategies for income diversification, that augment both within- and between-group stratification, are adopted at some nutritional cost for those in the lowest stratum. As Watts notes, one can distinguish between “chronic states of undernutrition as aspects of human energy costs of production, and seasonal or cyclical reductions in dietary intake causing or exacerbating states of malnutrition” (p. 287). Turkana and Sahelian pastoralists who can still rely on their herds, and move with them over the seasons, can be adapted and healthy, even if they do suffer seasonal diminution in nutrient intake. But Afghan, Iranian, and Indian tribal peoples, who are increasingly dependent on commercial clientage after losing lands, resource ranges, and traditional livelihoods, face both chronic and seasonal deprivations. Income diversification is their “strategy for survival,” but hardly adequate.

Huss-Ashmore and Thomas summarize that “self-interested national level agricultural policies” usually are not optimal for marginalized smallholders who would prefer

to provide food security for their households. But positive counterexamples would be excluded by definition. De Garine and Harrison’s conclusion that “women . . . do not appear to be as disadvantaged as is commonly supposed” (p. 472) raises the question whether *traditional* coping mechanisms favor women more than those evolved in more stratified, commercially oriented societies. Finally, de Garine and Harrison note that an anthropological concept of food security “implies being happy and feeling secure about food. Most societies have exchanged this seasonal anxiety over food, which was emotionally dealt with by religion and magic, for a monthly or weekly uneasiness, for the expression of which they do not possess any commonly accepted channels . . .” (p. 474). This assertion actually constitutes a next research question for nutritional anthropologists in both the developing and the developed world.

Developing and Implementing Marketing Strategies. Volney Steffire. Praeger Special Studies. New York: Praeger, 1986. 270 pp. n.p. (cloth).

DAVID B. KRONENFELD
University of California, Riverside

Volney Steffire, one of my academic heroes ever since I first met him when he was a Junior Fellow at Harvard, remains one of the few social scientists who has the confidence to apply his theory and method to our society’s real world of business and who has a theory and method powerful enough to justify such confidence.

He can interview a small number of people about products in some particular market, run a few hundred through a sentence completion task, and then construct a tinker-toy model of the market. From the model he can predict what percentage of the market a new product (constructed to have such and such cognitive attributes—related to function, appearance, advertising description, or purported use) will take, and from each of which existing products it will take how much of that market. When—after the five years it takes to develop a product that has those attributes—the product is introduced, it usually behaves exactly as he has predicted.

Steffire’s methods do not create desires where there are none. What he does is to find out, better than anyone else I have heard of, what people actually want and how they recognize a product as being what they want. His

effectiveness at discovering people's desires and conceptualizations offers an exciting glimpse of the predictive standard to which a science of anthropology might aspire.

His theory has to do with the relationship of semantics to perception and action, and his success long ago convinced me of the importance of semantic relations and the cognitive structures they tap. His faith in his theoretical insights, his need for research support, and his desire to subject his theory to the most rigorous tests possible all led him to marketing. Instead of trying to get the public to pay for his research via grants, he let his research pay its own way.

Written as a text for the business world, and not for anthropologists, *Developing and Implementing Marketing Strategies* takes as its focus the problem of garnering a larger market share and more profits.

Part 1 of the book (and a brief appendix) treats market assessments, product development processes, and marketing plans, but does not foreground them enough for the reader to see how they are actually carried out. The focus is more on the goals and effects than on the theory and methods. Part 4 briefly tabulates the successes and failures of his approach.

He seems, however, to regard the product development and marketing problem as relatively uninteresting, and perhaps too easy, since he has already solved it. Instead, in parts 2 and 3, he focuses on what he sees as the big problem: why corporations seem so resistant to doing things that are so clearly good for them, and what corporate leadership should do to change this situation. The issue here involves not semantics but organizational structure—that is, the distribution of power, the nature and flow of rewards, and so forth.

In an epilogue, Steffre shares his perspective on the long-range past and future of human organizations, bureaucracy, and social control. In passing, he speaks of the morality of finding out what people want and trying to provide it for them, contrasting his approach with an Orwellian one in which people are told what they should (and can) have.

Steffre's observations, as a whole, make for interesting reading; his style is fresh and well-illustrated with many firsthand examples. The situations are familiar and seem accurately and insightfully perceived—even if the examples are too thinly presented and too informally observed to be used by others. I don't know enough about the business world to know if his organizational insights represent fresh advances (as did his product development and marketing work) or if they only add instances of what everyone already knows.

Since these insights lack the detailed methodological machinery of his semantic insights, the value of the book to business depends on their freshness and plausibility.

I wish he would give us—anthropologists and psychologists—our book on the details of his semantic theory and methods.

Development Policies: Sociological Perspectives. Anthony Hall and James Midgley, eds. Contemporary Issues in Development Studies. New York: Manchester University Press, 1988. 158 pp. \$35.00 (cloth).

A. F. ROBERTSON

University of California, Santa Barbara

Midgley's introductory chapter to this book makes an appeal, entirely familiar to anthropologists, for greater sociological interest in the formation of development policy, and reminds us that this involvement brings with it ethical and normative demands. He laments "the lack of a distinctive sociological conception of development" (p. 19), which he feels is reflected in a lack of respect among development specialists for "sociology's distinctive disciplinary character and professional potential" (p. 9). However, the book still leaves us in doubt about whether the usefulness of sociology in development would improve if sociologists *did* appropriate development in the way Midgley wishes. It is very doubtful that it would make them, as Midgley urges, ethnically more committed or politically more astute.

The usefulness of sociologists, says Midgley, has been inhibited by their lack of professional assertiveness, their critical querulousness, their distaste for applied social science, and their outright hostility to planning officials. This last is a central theme of Anthony Hall's first contribution, which focuses on development projects funded by foreign aid. Nevertheless he argues that the remedy should not be a softening of critical attitudes so much as a more authoritative involvement in bureaucratic decision-making processes. In his second contribution Hall comments on a variety of approaches to the problems of securing popular participation in development efforts. He does not, however, make it clear how sociologists should intervene, nor does he have anything to say about such hazards as the use of the sociologist as *vox populi*, or cheap substitute for democratic process.

Martin Bulmer provides a very useful and generally optimistic survey of the techniques