pine pastures of Lahoul. Then, in the autumn, this migration is reversed as snow returns to the passes. This system of transhumance nomadism has, in recent decades, been subjected to a considerable degree of official and academic attention; arguments have raged over the environmental appropriateness of Gaddi nomadism and, in particular, the use and abuse of natural resources such as forests and pasture. As with pastoralists elsewhere, approaches to Gaddi shepherds' nomadic activities have tended to focus either on adaptation to their environment conceived in a purely physical sense (i.e., external from society) or, to a lesser extent, on the ways in which environment is socially constructed (i.e., ideological representations). In this excellent new ethnographic monograph, Anja Wagner transcends the usual nature/culture dichotomy in order to understand how Gaddi people themselves "make place" in the Indian Himalayas.

Based on fifteen months of fieldwork, Wagner describes Gaddi people as they move "beyond pastoralism." The notion of being postnomadic applies in two distinct ways. Firstly, it is noted that the Gaddi have never been "pure" nomads (if such a thing can exist), but rather combine pastoralism with farming and other activities around their home villages in the Districts of Kangra and Chamba. Outside of shepherding, the movements of Gaddi people through the Dhauladhar Mountains that divide Kangra from Chamba are driven by a range of cultural, social, and economic factors. Without neglecting those Gaddi who work as shepherds, Wagner extends her focus to follow men, women and children, pilgrims, teachers, and college students as they travel through forests and mountains to visit temples, ancestral villages, and holy lakes and to attend fairs and festivals.

The second sense in which Wagner moves "beyond pastoralism" concerns the ways in which environments might be understood. Wagner transcends the usual preoccupations with pastoralists as existing in landscapes already predefined by the researcher in biophysical terms. Instead, her aim in this study is to determine the processes and paths through which those who live and work in this part of the Himalayas conceptualize their surroundings. Unbound by locality much less by village, Wagner uses Gaddi mobility as a means to reveal how the people of the Dhauladhar understand their mountain home. She writes: "The more I listened to how people talked about places, the more I realized that notwithstanding general ideas about the mountains and the plains – up and down – it is the places in between that are much more emphasized in local discourse than the extremes. It is also the places in between that are interesting in terms of the activities that take place there" (3).

Following an introduction that compares the work of Descola, Latour, and Ingold, Wagner goes on, through eight closely interwoven chapters, to trace the ways in which Gaddi people exist in, think about, and move through their environment. Chapter 2 juxtaposes popular music DVDs, tourist advertisements, and colonial era ethnographies to show how Gaddi people are frequently imagined in close proximity to nature and in opposition to "modernity." In chapter 3 we learn of the significance of the god Shiva for the construction of a Gaddi identity around religious practices based on seasonal movement. Here detailed examination of marriage rituals and the *nuālā* ceremony are used to demonstrate the practice of place-making that links Shiva, the Gaddi, and the Dhauladhar Mountains. The connection to Shiva "is not only about who the Gaddi are, but also about where they live." Again touching on the overlap between kinship and religion, chapter 4 traces the multiple points of contact between social relations and place-making. Social networks of kinship are mirrored in the geographical connections between locations. A short 5th chapter borrows from Bourdieu to look at walking as a social practice through which human-environment relations come into being. This leads into the 6th chapter which traces the "places, deities, and religious practices that lead people into the mountains." *Jāgrā* and *jātra* are described as pilgrimages to visit deities residing in remote temples; moving further up towards the peaks we learn of *nhauṇ* – taking a holy dip in particular high-altitude lakes. Explaining the concept of "water change," the focus of chapter 7 is on processes through which changes in place are experienced and embodied. Chapter 8 is concerned with the aesthetics of environment particularly the "cool water, short green grass, and fir trees" which exemplify the Gaddi concept of "a good place." Leafing through family photo albums Wagner concludes her journey by relating these positive attributes to the appearance of the alpine meadows where shepherds take their flocks in the summer months.

This is a theoretically engaging and empirically detailed exploration of making place in the Indian Himalayas. Wagner concludes by stating that "approaching human-environment relations through place-making … not only works for the Gaddi and the Himalayan region, but also points to a general importance of practices for an understanding of how humans engage with and enact their environment." Linking persons and place to photography, pilgrimage, and paragliding, Wagner departs from clichés and stereotypes to present a revealing picture of contemporary Gaddi mobility that moves far beyond the usual preoccupation with pastoralism. In doing so, she delivers a valuable contribution to understandings of how people exist in, and interact with, environments that are at once material, aesthetic, social, and spiritual.

Richard Axelby

Wassmann, Jürg, Birgit Träuble, and **Joachim Funke** (eds.): Theory of Mind in the Pacific. Reasoning across Cultures. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2013. 277 pp. ISBN 978-3-8253-6203-4. Price: € 36.00

In my view, broadly speaking anthropology and psychology rarely communicate, much less collaborate actively. However, Gustav Jahoda writes in the "Foreword" that there are moments where researchers from these disciplines work together productively to make signal contributions to our understanding of the dynamic relations between culture and mind. The contributors to this collection represent a balanced team of developmental psychologists and ethnographers who address an important

contemporary question in psychology and anthropology today: what is the effect of culture on the development of children's "theory of mind" abilities? Overall, this collaboration shows the great promise of paired collaborations between anthropology and psychology and also provides a template for a best-practices model of how to do it well.

Theory of Mind (ToM) abilities involve people's attributions of other people's observable behaviors to particular unobservable qualities of mind, such as their knowledge, beliefs, intentions, emotions, etc. The associated ability to place oneself in another's shoes and imagine that person's states of mind given a particular context of action is thought by many ToM researchers to be a core human cognitive-emotional capacity. A particularly important element is the associated capability to see that understandings and beliefs might be independent from reality, such that individuals can be understood to have either empirically false or true ToM beliefs. The psychologists who study theory of mind assert that this capacity is a human universal that typically emerges in children sometime between the third and fifth years. As Jürg Wassmann notes in the "Prologue," "In the theory of mind[,] the human being and her/his possible relationships to others is [*sic*] at the center of attention, so is her/his inner life and her/his transparency for others" (1).

But "transparency of mind" beliefs are not culturally universal. People in many societies, particularly in Oceania, share a belief that it is quite difficult to know the minds of others. These beliefs result in what some anthropologists describe as the problem of the "opacity of mind." Which leads to an intriguing scholarly dilemma: on the one hand, psychologists' experiments reliably find that most toddlers in Western societies of the age of three cannot place themselves in another's position and correctly guess that these others would have false beliefs about the unexpected contents (e.g., colored pencils) of a familiar container (e.g., a candy box). However, by the age of five most children can correctly imagine the false beliefs of others (e.g., beliefs or understandings that falsely represent reality).

In their excellent review of the relevant research, Träuble, Bender, and Konieczny argue in chap. 1 that the ontogeny of ToM processes in young children is so fundamental to human social cognition that it is unlikely that variability in cultural contexts could entirely mediate their development, such that ToM capabilities themselves would be culturally variable. However, variability in the cultural organization of contexts of child development could certainly moderate the *timing* of the emergence of these capabilities. A particularly important moderating factor are those communicative practices that might either encourage or discourage children's taking the perspectives of others.

A more distal cultural variable that might shape those communicative practices that might then moderate the development of children's ToM abilities are ethnopsychological beliefs. One of the central claims that these authors have adopted from anthropological research from Oceania is that there is a strong cultural emphasis on "secrecy, concealment, privacy, and the virtue of self-governance" (24) that appear to be part of "opaque minds" ethnopsychological understandings. In these societies, people seem "more concerned with effects of actions than with their causes such as motives or intentions" (24). Is it possible that where ethnopsychological understandings might strongly shape the kinds of communicative practices and perspective taking of children one might also find a moderated developmental timing of theory of mind capabilities in children?

There are five empirical chapters that summarize the results and findings of investigations conducted in Tonga (Tietz and Völkel), Samoa (Mayer and Riese), Yap and Fais Islands in Micronesia (Oberle and Resch), and two sites in Northeast Papua New Guinea, the Yupno (Hölzel and Keck) and the Bosmun (von Poser and Ubl). In each of these an ethnographer tasked with studying the relevant ethnopsychological beliefs and contexts was paired with a psychologist tasked with developing and conducting a locally appropriate experimental protocol that would test the theory of mind abilities of a sample of children between three and six years of age.

The psychological experiments consisted of the Change of Location Task and the Deceptive Container Task. The procedures for adapting these studies to local contexts in these five sites are very clearly presented. The general pattern of results, as summarized in the "Epilogue" by Jürg Wassmann and Joachim Funke, suggests that great majority of 5 to 6 year-old children in the Micronesian, Tongan, Yupno, and Bosmun sites had developed the theory of mind ability. However, in Samoa, this was not the case for children younger than seven years. But, as Wassmann and Funke suggest, this apparent delay in the development of theory of mind abilities for Samoan children might reflect the way the experimental tasks themselves might mask children's competence. Overall, then, the authors of the "Epilogue" find that there is compelling evidence that theory of mind abilities develop universally among human populations in early childhood. Culture might be a moderating factor in terms of the timing of the development of this ability, but these studies do not lend clear support to this particular.

The ethnographic summaries associated with adult ethnopsychological understandings in each of these studies are very well researched, clearly presented, and nicely located within contemporary social and economic contexts. But, as one reads this collection, one increasingly has a sense that the ethnography would fit better with the psychological experiments if it had been focused differently. For example, the ethnographic contributions are not well focused on children's developmental experiences and the cultural organization of those contexts. Rather, the ethnographic contributions emphasize adult ethnopsychological understandings associated with mutual sharing and support, relational understandings of personhood, and theories of the opacity of mind. These, it seems, are quite distant from contexts of early to middle childhood in these societies. Of particular interest for future studies would be a more focused examination of ethnotheories of children's development and how these shape those communicative experiences that might matter for the develop-

mental timing of Theory of Mind capabilities for children in a particular cultural context.

Overall, I find that this book would be of interest to anthropologists and psychologists who are working to better understand the dynamic relations between culture and mind. The book offers fairly convincing support for the universalists who claim that certain core capacities of mind develop universally among human populations. But, the book also opens many possibilities for how culture can matter in shaping the local cultural elaboration and personal experiences of these core abilities in everyday practice. Like any good collaborative study, this collection not only helps to settle certain key debates, it also points the way forward to yet more exciting psycho-cultural research to come. Edward D. Lowe

Wilson, Mary Beth: Impacts of Participatory Development in Afghanistan. A Call to Reframe Expectations. The National Solidarity Programme in the Community of Shah Raheem. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2013. 524 pp. ISBN 978-3-87997-431-3. (Studien zum Modernen Orient, 24) Price: € 39.80

This dissertation in Human Geography can be read as directed towards mainly two types of audiences. First, it gives a first-hand, empirically-based account of the perceived impacts of one of the largest participatory development programmes implemented on a country-wide level over the last decade. Secondly, it provides insights into development dynamics in Afghanistan based on a historical review and the lessons learned from one particular in-depth case study, the northern Afghan community Shah Raheem. Thus, both, scholars and practitioners of development in general and those interested in the fairing of participatory approaches in Afghanistan are being addressed.

The National Solidarity Programme (NSP), launched as nation-wide development programme in Afghanistan in 2003, started its initially planned, three-year implementation period with the vision to reach every single village in the country. Financed by a group of Western bilateral and multilateral donors, the programme aimed to bridge the gap of subnational governance between the population and the central government through the community-driven provision of services and grassroots democratization. The underlying rationale was that through the application of participatory approaches in planning local-level reconstruction and infrastructure measures, rural living conditions would be improved and the legitimacy of the central government thereby enhanced. For this purpose considerable funds were made available via block grants to especially created NSP-communities which were supposed to undertake the planning and implementation of community-based development projects themselves. To facilitate this process, representative decision-making bodies involving both male and female community members were supposed to be democratically elected. It was hoped that – in the medium to long term – these elected Community Development Councils would unfold the potential to overhaul "traditional" community governance structures which were commonly perceived to hinder development and block transition. Mary Beth Wilson's book exemplifies the interest of the development practitioners, scholars, and maybe even ordinary taxpayers of the countries financing the development interventions in Afghanistan, that the claim and scope of this megaproject have generated. Taking on the lens of a monitoring and evaluation specialist, Wilson offers an analysis of the impacts of the NSP-programme from the eyes of the target population in Shah Raheem community on factors of human security (understood as combination of political, economic, and social security) and empowerment. Though limited to a single case study, but relying on mainly qualitative fieldwork and data, the findings show a minimal positive impact in the areas of investigation. Except for social security and selective potentials for empowerment in the future, the effects turned out to be rather incremental than transformative. Thus, the author concludes that a significant disconnect exists between the claims and promises of the programme on the one side and its experienced realities or local-level achievements beyond infrastructure-implementation on the other side. Based on this finding she suggests that the rhetoric surrounding the participatory element in the NSP-framework should be tempered and needs urgent reevaluation – not only for the sake of "saving" the NSP in the Afghanistan case, but in order to save the status of participatory approaches from being abandoned as failure altogether.

The analysis represents an empirical contribution to the extensive literature on participatory development approaches. Given that existing evaluations of benefits and shortcomings of participatory approaches across the globe are highly ambiguous, due to different foci and approaches of research which nevertheless often apply a meta-perspective; Wilson's book supplements the insights with a view "from below." The well-structured thesis departs from a historical review of the emergence of the participatory development paradigm in development theory and practice and elaborates the evolution of participatory approaches in the context of Afghanistan. Interestingly, the local popularization of such approaches from the mid-1980s, but mainly in the 1990s, was not so much due to the general trend in popularity related to the perceived capacity of these approaches to yield a qualitative change after decade-long development attempts following World War II, but rather due to the absence of stability, security, and a strong government that was the only force thought capable to sustain development interventions at that time. The main innovation in this study is derived from the community-level perspective based on five months of field research in the three villages Shah Raheem consists of. The in-depth work with households and elected community representatives informs great empirical depth – thematically concerning the perceived NSP-experience, and with regard to the political and development setting of Shah Raheem as part of the "oasis, market, and battleground" which is Khulm District.

However, the dissertation's main interest, the assessment of the impact of the NSP-programme across the dif-