

sind, wird nicht angesprochen. Das aber war meine zentrale Frage. Denn immer wieder höre ich bei den Mafa in Nordkamerun: "Im Krankenhaus konnte nicht geholfen werden, der Arzt sagte, da müsst ihr zu den traditionellen Heilkundigen gehen." So bin ich also noch weiter auf der Suche nach Erklärungen für solche Phänomene.

Godula Kosack

**Hoffman, Katherine E., and Susan Gilson Miller** (eds.): *Berbers and Others: Beyond Tribe and Nation in the Maghrib*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010. 225 pp. ISBN 978-0-253-22200-8. Price: \$ 24.95

I remember like it was yesterday: A distinguished Moroccanist anthropologist (the year is 1990) is walking with me at some conference quizzing me about my dissertation-in-progress. When I finish babbling on about out-migration from the Berber dominated North of Morocco, he responds with a jeering sarcastic tone, "You aren't doing another Berber village study are you?"

He might as well have slapped me I took it so hard. Yes, I guess I was doing a study of an ethnically Berber city and its hinterland. But not really a *Berber* study because we young Moroccanists-in-training at the time knew the political climate in Morocco and the academic climate in the U.S. were not conducive to Berber studies. Besides, it was my duty as a knee-jerk progressive to resist dwelling on the exaggerated importance of colonial-inspired ethnic splits with their divide-and-conquer motivations. That, anyway, was how the Arab-Berber divide was usually described. The fact that my Berber activist informants were occasionally beaten up and Berber majority cities in Morocco were overflowing with ethnically Arab police provided further incentive, if I needed any, to tone down the Berber angle to my work.

Thankfully those bad old days are over and the study of all things Berber is flourishing, judging from the remarkable collection of work under review here. Hoffman and Miller, the editors, open the anthology with an excellent introduction to the history of Berber studies over the last half century, plotting the rise and fall and rise again of Berbers as both objects of analysis as well as agents of their own renaissance.

In fact, the articles gathered here pay as much attention to the Berber renaissance and Berber activists' attempts to publicize, contest, and advocate for all things Berber as they do to more traditional anthropological subjects. For example, Jane Goodman's article traces the ways Algerian Berber activists in the 1980s managed to politicize the courtroom and draw international attention to their claims that the Berber right to be free of Algerian oppression and to have their language, history and culture nationally recognized was a species of human right which global public opinion was duty-bound to support. Lisa Bernasek takes a long look at the ways Berber advocates have recently sought to dominate the staging of Berber culture as art, not ethnography, in France's museums. While Cynthia Becker discusses the way activist Berber artists have appropriated traditional Berber icons and images and turned them to their own ends. Mokhtar

Ghambou also provides a very interesting study of the ways in which Berber activists have seized upon ancient Greek and Roman historians in order to revalorize the pre-Islamic period in North Africa as one of Berber greatness, as opposed to the dominant view of the period as one of ignorance (*jahiliyya*).

Besides the study of Berber activism and advocacy in contemporary North Africa and France, this collection is especially refreshing for its emphasis on three things 1. ethnicity as a matter of identity that is historically contingent, 2. the importance of discourse as a marker and maker of Berberness, and 3. the heterogeneity of Berber identities. This third emphasis finds interesting support in the article by Mohamed El Mansour who traces the career of an 18th-century government official of Berber ancestry, born in Fez, who traveled to the Ottoman court. His identity was thus quite fluid, depending on his circumstances: he could pass himself off as Berber when among his tribesmen, as Fasi when in other cities of Morocco, and as Moroccan when outside the country. Ethnicity remained a much more manipulable part of one's identity in the early modern period. Katherine Hoffman's contribution is exemplary of the above-mentioned emphases in that she investigates the historical fluidity that used to characterize Arab-Berber identities in the plains regions of southern Morocco. Prior to the colonial period, Moroccans moved from one linguistic group to the other and the two languages mutually influenced each other. Not any more. Today Arabic holds dominance. Berber speakers may become Arabophones, but not vice versa. Those Berbers living in the plains and having plentiful contact with Arabic speakers, especially through education, are now looked down upon by mountain-dwelling Berbers who consider themselves purer because they have less contact with the Arabic language and the Arabic-speaking population. David Crawford follows up on the study of mountain dwelling Berber society. He places special emphasis on the importance of the mountain Berber household as the dynamic locus of production and consumption, as well as the source of spiritual and cultural solidarity, and thus an important wellspring of Berber identity. Strong allegiance to the household allows its children to become labor migrants in the towns and cities of Morocco. They can descend onto the plains secure in the knowledge that they have a place that is their own, to which they can return, and to which they are tied.

I want to reserve special mention for two other articles in the collection, that of Paul Silverstein and James McDougall. Silverstein's very smart piece takes up the fascinating but little studied aspect of the micro politics of activism within the heterogeneous Berber society in southeastern Morocco. He does a brilliant job of unraveling the tensions that have developed between the historically dominant, lighter skinned landowning Berbers, the "Iqqliyin," and the darker skinned "Haratin" slaves and servants inhabiting the same space. The black-white racial animosity that has recently come to dominate social relations in the region is often disguised by the Iqqliyin activists who portray their struggle for recognition at the state level as a David and Goliath battle in which they are

the victims and the oppressed; thus completely erasing the domination they are practicing on their Haratin co-Berbers back home.

The other piece due special mention is James McDougall's wonderful study of the historical anachronism of reading contemporary ethnicity back onto history. Berber activists and Moroccan nationalists today both agree that Berber identity stands, if not in opposition to, then in tension with the Arabo-Islamic identity that the Moroccan state officially espouses. But these oppositions between Arab and Berber and between Berber and Islam are recent inventions. Historically, Islam was not reducible to either category of personhood. "Islam" stood for the universal history that both Arab and Berber identities were subsumed under as perhaps distinct languages, distinct lifestyles, or even distinct physiognomies, but not as oppositional identities. Only recently have Berbers been reimagined as something other than primarily Muslims. McDougall is to be commended for this masterful study of the ways in which the fluidity of ethnic identity in the past has become reified in the contemporary period.

Hoffman and Miller have done a real service to the anthropology of North Africa by bringing these articles together. Any work done on Berbers in the future will stand on the shoulders of this excellent collection.

David McMurray

**James, Deborah, Evie Plaice, and Christina Toren** (eds.): *Culture Wars. Context, Models, and Anthropologists' Accounts*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2010. 220 pp. ISBN 978-1-84545-641-2. (EASA Series, 12) Price: £ 50.00

"Culture Wars: Context, Models, and Anthropologists' Account" is an important and very interesting contribution to, first of all, critical and reflexive anthropology. All articles in this volume focus on the processes that resulted in particular kinds of anthropological enquiry. We can find some discussion of the way anthropology has been applied or "put to use," producing different social and historical trajectories. On the other hand, several articles show what culture, seen as category, look like as an object of ethnographic study, and how it is used as a function of contemporary social processes "among people whose different histories produce different understandings of what may be claimed to be 'the same' object" (2).

As we know, the perception of culture as a singular, homogenous monolith that is possessed by a specific social group (singular and homogenous) still exists in popular media and in social imaginary. The idea of culture is used to explain the difference between groups, between ethnic identities, between multinational corporations, between consumers with "high brow" and with "low brow," between West and East, and between North and South. Culture is represented in many levels as a simple fact of life. In the editors' opinion, this tendency led anthropologists to adopt a self-aware, critical approach to the knowledge produced and distributed by them.

The book contains an editors' introduction followed by eighteen chapters, each focused on a specific problem.

The first chapter (Andre Gingrich, "Alliances and Avoidance: British Interactions with German-speaking Anthropologists, 1933–1953") provides trajectories of émigré anthropologists who moved to Britain or interacted with members of the former British school. The author examines the roles of anthropologists in nationalist projects; these included the case of Nazi Germany, where several anthropologists were official apologists for and actively worked in the service of Nazi projects (e.g., in Jewish ghettos in occupied Poland). In a similar way, John Sharp ("Serving the Volk? Afrikaner Anthropology Revisited") reviews some material he has found in the internal archive of the University of Pretoria. This material clarifies "what Volkekunde and its adherents stood for" (33) in the discipline in the early years in Pretoria.

The following chapters describe some connections between anthropology and policymaking (Evie Plaice, "'Making Indians': Debating Indigeneity in Canada and South Africa"); between anthropology and Greek academy (Dimitra Gefou-Madianou, "Culture in the Periphery: Anthropology in the Shadow of Greek Civilization"), and between the conception of culture and indigenous people's movement in South Africa (Alan Barnard, "Culture: the Indigenous Account"). Aleksandar Bošković ("We are All Indigenous Now: Culture versus Nature in Representations of the Balkans") looks at a myth about this specific region and its process of transformation into an anthropological reality. He suggests that "representations of the Balkans in mainstream Europe carried the implication that Balkan peoples had little or no culture" (86). Gerd Baumann ("Which Cultures, What Contexts, and Whose Accounts?: Anatomies of a Moral Panic in Southall, Multi-ethnic London") examines an irrational phenomenon of moral panic and folk devil. Gillian Evans ("What about White People's History?: Class, Race and Culture Wars in Twenty-first-Century Britain") analyzes why white working-class people in Britain are now categorized as a "new ethnic group" and enquires into the meaning of "British-ness." Stephen Gudeman ("A Cosmopolitan Anthropology?") discusses two methods of ethnographic work: (1) fieldwork's conversations with local informants and experts, (2) work with an intellectual heritage and practices. He terms them "local and universal (or derivational) models" (137). João de Pina-Cabral ("The Door in the Middle: Six Conditions for Anthropology") argues that modernist anthropological theory that emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, reaching its peak in the 1930s and 1940s, has come into a serious impasse. Pina-Cabral suggests some ways out of this impasse, as reflected in the title "Door in the Middle".

The last chapter is devoted to Adam Kuper. Isak Niehaus ("Adam Kuper: an Anthropologist's Account") believes that his background as a Jewish South African had a very significant impact on his work. Niehaus describes Kuper's early education, his stay in Cambridge, fieldworks in the Kalahari and Uganda, academic work at University College London, Leiden University, and at Brunel University, his activities linked with *Current Anthropology* and the European Association of Social Anthropologists.