

riert hätten. Sie dagegen integriert in ihrer Behandlung des so genannten Peyote-Bakánowa-Komplexes globale und lokale Verflechtungen (398), indem sie beispielsweise auf die staatliche Krankenstation und die Missionsstation eingeht. Sie verweist dabei auf das große Interesse an Rarámuri-Heilern unter den Mestizen, was, wie jeder Lateinamerikanist weist, kein Einzelfall ist. Auch hier stellt sie am Ende einige Lebensläufe von Heilern vor.

Das elfte Kapitel (Colonia Tarahumara und die Entstehung einer modernen, reflexiven Rarámuri-Ethnizität) stellt die Gründungsgeschichte der Siedlung (1991) vor und zeigt, wie sich die Rarámuri-Ethnizität gewandelt hat. Kummels hebt dabei hervor, wie das Betteln an Äpfeln zu einem Bestandteil dieser neuen modernen Ethnizität wurde. Das zwölfte Kapitel beinhaltet eine ausführliche Zusammenfassung des Buches (mit Schwerpunkt auf dem zehnten und elften Kapitel) und endet mit der knapp formulierten Quintessenz, dass die drei Gemeinden keinen Stamm bilden, aber dennoch verbunden sind (526).

Wie dieser Überblick über das Buch zeigt, behandelt das Werk sehr unterschiedliche Themen. Die Autorin möchte damit ein möglichst umfassendes Bild der drei Gemeinden liefern. Es wäre allerdings besser für die Leserschaft gewesen, wenn sie sich auf einige Themen konzentriert hätte und diese dann in einen größeren Kontext eingebaut hätte. Dadurch wäre deutlicher zum Ausdruck gekommen, dass ihre Interpretation übertragbar auf andere Regionen ist und daher weit reichende Konsequenzen für die Disziplin Ethnologie hat. Ich befürchte daher, dass das Werk vor allem etwas für Kenner der Rarámuri bzw. Mexikos ist, aber Kollegen, die über andere Regionen arbeiten, nicht anspricht. Dieser Umstand ist zu bedauern, denn es handelt sich bei dieser Publikation um eine wichtige Habilitationsschrift. Bettina E. Schmidt

Ladányi, János, and Iván Szelényi: *Patterns of Exclusion. Constructing Gypsy Ethnicity and the Making of an Underclass in Transitional Societies of Europe.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2006. 227 pp. ISBN 978-0-88033-574-4. (East European Monographs, 676) Price: £ 29.50

This book by two well-known sociologists with a long record of research on East European Roma is an amalgam of previously published articles and parts written specifically for this work. The mixture does not hang together very well, and the title is too ambitious an indicator of what the book is really about. Between the covers we find the results of two research projects. The first one is a large-scale survey of poverty experienced by Roma in six postcommunist countries that took place between the late 1990s and early 2000s. The results, presented in chapters 4 and 5 and confined to Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria, suggest that while Roma in all three countries are far more likely to experience poverty than members of the majority, the level and type of poverty differ from country to country. So, while in Bulgaria virtually all Roma find themselves excluded from most realms of the larger

society – thus constituting an “undercaste” – in Hungary we see the Roma differentiated into roughly equally sized segments constituting an “underclass” at the very bottom of society, an upwardly mobile elite integrated into the Hungarian middle class, and a “lower class” in-between. The second, and in my opinion much more interesting and original, project presented here seeks to prove that the variability in the social position of Roma observed across national boundaries can also be seen in a single location examined diachronically. This location is the small village Csenyété in northeastern Hungary where the authors conducted research intermittently between 1989 and 2000.

The case study from Csenyété provides an intriguing opportunity to observe changing patterns of relations between local Roma and ethnic Hungarians. Ladányi and Szelényi extracted an array of fascinating historical material from a variety of sources which enables them to offer interesting hypotheses about spatial and demographic changes going back to the mid-19th century. They claim that far from resembling a unilinear progression (often postulated by other scholars) from segregation to integration and assimilation, the historical record discloses unexpected fluctuations in interethnic relations. During the latter half of the 19th century, local Roma seem to have been surprisingly well integrated into the community not only economically but also spatially. The early 20th century brought about a radical change in their settlement pattern as Csenyété was “ethnically cleansed” and the Roma banished to a ghetto on the outskirts of the village. The gap between the two groups narrowed down again during the socialist era when increasing numbers of Roma managed to move back into the village proper. Alas, their return coincided with an exodus of the Hungarian peasants (prompted initially by better opportunities elsewhere) that continued into the postsocialist period until Csenyété evolved into a community inhabited solely by Roma. The loss of contact with their former patrons and middlemen has plunged the Roma into unprecedented isolation which has led to the emergence of numerous social problems.

The authors link the changing patterns of majority-minority relations with fluctuating levels of infant mortality, premarital pregnancies, and the mother’s age at first birth which they see as indicators of social welfare and conformity. Interestingly, there seems to be a correlation between the sociopolitical (degree of exclusion) and the sociodemographic variables. This would explain why the postsocialist era has generated an unprecedented degree of segregation *and* a breakdown of control mechanisms regulating sexual and reproductive behaviour. Ladányi and Szelényi ascribe this breakdown to a “culture of poverty” which they define as a coping mechanism adopted by local Roma in response to their devolution into “underclass.” As both concepts are controversial, the authors spend considerable energy qualifying their use of these ideas. They regard both culture of poverty and underclass as conditions resulting from external changes (such as the massive wave of deindustrialization and discrimination following the break-

down of socialism) rather than some primordial and self-perpetuating attribute of the society in question.

Historical reconstructions are always fraught with problems, and the one presented here is no exception. In order to substantiate their repudiation of the unilinear model of interethnic relations, Ladányi and Szelényi try hard to convince the reader that Csenyéte underwent a radical break with tradition when the village was “ethnically cleansed” at the end of the 19th century and local Roma were expelled to a new ghetto. But the evidence for this claim is pretty shaky, based as it is solely on two village maps, of which only the more recent one indicates the presence of a segregated Roma quarter. While it is possible that some Roma had, indeed, resided in the village proper, the fact that there is no genealogical connection between the integrated and the segregated Roma makes it plausible to speculate that the ghetto was built for a new wave of Romani immigrants who may have had little in common with the integrated old-timers. The authors show that immigration of new groups of Roma, often followed by the exodus of the old elite, has been a constant factor in the recent history of the village, and one wonders why they fail to take it into consideration when explaining the more distant past. Its speculative elements aside, though, this is a most interesting case study which makes a significant contribution to our knowledge of Hungarian Roma.

David Z. Scheffel

Lesorogol, Carolyn K.: *Contesting the Commons. Privatizing Pastoral Lands in Kenya.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2008. 250 pp. ISBN 978-0-472-05024-6. Price: \$ 28.95

This volume concerns a comparison between two Samburu group ranch schemes situated on the Leroghi Plateau of Northern Kenya. The first, Mbaringon, was selected as representative of Leroghi grazing schemes in general, where private ranches for some pastoralists coexisted with group ranches for others who shared grazing rights to the exclusion of nonmembers. The second, Siambu, was the most progressive scheme in the region. It was situated in an unusually fertile area and had reconstituted their group ranch scheme to allocate suitable plots for individual cultivation, while retaining less suitable parts for shared grazing. This scheme has attracted younger and more educated members, all from the Masula section of Samburu, and it displays a shift towards individualism as compared with Mbaringon.

The author provides a detailed comparison of the recent history of land adjudication in these two communities in order to clarify the contrasts between them. The account is slow moving, but very clear. The tables and charts, showing very relevant socioeconomic data and based on meticulously conducted surveys, are less easy to follow, but they are very consistent with the text and reveal few surprises in these earlier chapters. On just one point, I would question the author’s evidence on the more progressive outlook in Siambu, and concerning recent violations of clan exogamy. Earlier published accounts and colonial archives reveal that the Masula have long

regarded themselves as the most progressive section of Samburu, and they had displayed violations of clan exogamy and indeed of established age restrictions more than 40 years earlier.

This work builds up towards the penultimate chapter on “experimental economics,” which is evidently still in its infancy and much harder to follow for those who are unfamiliar with this field. The clear exposition of earlier chapters now gives way to specialist outlines of work on this topic. This was pioneered by involving American students in hypothetical “games,” and then elaborated by adapting these games for relevance to other societies in a search for universal patterns underlying individual choice.

In this series of games, volunteers from Mbaringon and Siambu were each offered a free stake, broadly equivalent to the wage for a day’s labour, and they were invited to invest any portion of this stake according to rules that were based on the premise of authority in one game, of trust in another, of influence over the choices of others in a third, and so on. It was at this point that the consistent differences between the two communities seemed to break down, and the author’s predictions of their responses to the games were repeatedly rebutted. Thus she expected the more traditionally oriented members of Mbaringon to be less individualistic and more community oriented in their choices and to endow a larger portion of their “stakes” on their fellows as an investment in an unknown future. But in fact, these Mbaringon players consistently retained a larger portion of their stake for themselves than those from the more progressive Siambu. One applauds the author’s ambition in attempting this approach and her frankness in admitting the way in which it questions the consistency of her earlier analysis. However, in trying to explain the anomaly, she does not consider a basic premise underlying this whole approach. This is an assumption that the monetary economy had been equally integrated with the traditional economy in both communities. In other words, the findings do not necessarily suggest a greater measure of individualism in Mbaringon, contradicting all the previous chapters. They may instead reflect a lower stake in the monetary economy, which remained a more separate sphere of exchange than among the sophisticated Siambu, where the cash economy had penetrated the expectations of community life to a greater extent.

That this work displays little concern for traditional aspects of Samburu society limits discussion, but it does not really affect the argument. Beyond the two communities, the loose grasp of Samburu history under successive administrations on issues affecting land use and grazing restrictions raises a more serious concern. It is ironic that a work that builds up to experimental games pioneered using university students, should refer to group ranches as a “rather direct translation of ideas generated in academia into government policy” (44). Whatever the shortcomings of group ranches, these were aimed at coping with the problems of overgrazing and soil erosion, which are apparently dismissed as misconceived. The author spent ten years in the area, mostly concerned with