

Book Reviews

Pastoralists

The Keeping of Animals. Adaptation and Social Relations in Livestock Producing Communities. RIVA BERLEANT-SCHILLER and EUGENIA SHANKLIN, Eds. Allanheld, Osmun, Totowa, N.J., 1983. xxii, 186 pp., illus. \$23.95.

This book is a collection of essays on human groups that rely on animal-raising for part or all of their livelihood. It proposes to examine these groups in new ways. It also suggests that these studies can advance the field of anthropology as a whole. Although the book is not entirely successful in its theoretical aims, it does indicate some useful orientations, some of which are new, in the study of herding peoples.

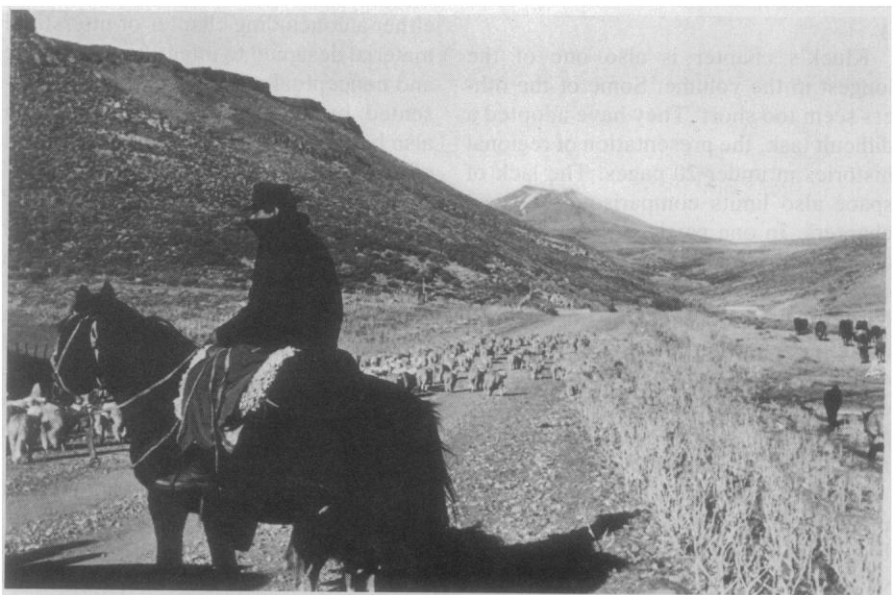
The introduction, written by the editors, reviews briefly previous work on livestock-producing groups and presents a long list of questions about them that directed the 1978 American Anthropological Association symposium from which the book derives. The other chapters cover a variety of topics. Rada Dyson-Hudson offers a short and general ecosystemic model of East African pastoralism. Shanklin examines the use of goats in Cameroon as a unit of currency, with values different from their cash prices, and offers a generally symbolic explanation. Vincze reviews patterns of cooperation in livestock herding among Eastern European peasants in the 1940's, showing them to challenge the assumption, made by some, that peasants are inherently individualistic and non-cooperative. Pinson's historical study traces the shift in the last century from subsistence herding to commercial ranching in rural Iceland, in which community governing committees sponsored sheepherding associations that permit cooperative rangeland use. Berleant-Schiller shows continuities in collective land use patterns in a very different setting, the Caribbean island of Barbuda, where livestock-raising forms part of a mixed agro-pastoral production system that allows local peasants, partly dependent on cash-crop production, to cope successfully with low incomes in drought periods. Herd formation among Aymara-speaking pastoralists in Bolivia, exam-

ined by West, includes social and ritual, as well as economic, elements. Bergmann contrasts small-scale *minifundista* herders and large-scale ranchers in Argentine Patagonia. Kluck emphasizes the economic rationality of livestock-raising by diversified small farmers in southern Brazil. Smith's study of the collapse of sheep ranching in northern New Mexico focuses on environmental degradation caused by labor contracts that encouraged wasteful land use and on the crisis provoked by an influenza epidemic. Maloney examines Hispanic and Anglo ranchers in a nearby portion of the same state; he explains differences in the ranching practices of the two groups by looking at their different historical experiences and their current economic alternatives.

Despite the apparent diversity of themes, the chapters have several features in common. Most of them examine groups that engage in both agriculture and pastoralism rather than relying solely on the latter. This theme is treated with particular depth by Vincze and Kluck, who look at the conflicting demands that the two sorts of production place on land use, labor time, and capital and the ways in which households resolve the conflicts. Most of the authors examine geographical areas other than

the classical areas in which pastoralists and nomads have been studied, East Africa, the Middle East, and Central Asia. In the regions discussed in this book, most livestock were introduced more recently than in the classical areas, and many of the people studied have smaller herds. The book thus implicitly challenges standard anthropological images of herders. Rather than looking at more familiar themes (such as spatial mobility, patrilineality, and possible non-economic motives for large herd sizes), the editors in the introduction adopt a more general task, the linking of economic, political, symbolic, and ecological anthropology. This effort is laudable, since both materialist and mentalist approaches in anthropology are weakened by the lack of integration between the two, but few of the studies are successful in it. Berleant-Schiller, for instance, looks at ecological fluctuations but not at variations in prices of cash crops. Shanklin discards ecological explanations in favor of symbolic ones, rather than attempting to synthesize. Maloney's work integrates the two kinds of explanation most convincingly. He explains different approaches to risk avoidance on the part of Hispanic and Anglo ranchers, drawing on their different experiences in recent decades and discussing in some detail their reasons for choosing different reference groups.

A historical framework is a strength of other studies as well. Pinson and Berleant-Schiller demonstrate continuities of collective decision-making patterns, rather than taking such patterns for granted. This work is of particular interest given usual assumptions about the



Fall migration from upland to lowland pastures in Patagonia. [From J. F. Bergmann's chapter in *The Keeping of Animals*]

independence and autonomy of herders and the tendencies of capitalist economies to generate individualism. The focus on change comes easily to the study of non-indigenous groups, the descendants of immigrants who settled in uninhabited areas or eliminated native populations, as in the chapters by Pinson, Berleant-Schiller, Bergmann, Kluck, Smith, and Maloney.

This historical approach challenges some functionalist themes in the study of herding populations, with respect to which other researchers have adopted a synchronic adaptationist stance. Various chapters attack this functionalism by examining other aspects of herding populations, inequality and differentiation (West, Bergmann), ecological degradation (Bergmann), and links to the world-system (Pinson, Berleant-Schiller, Kluck, Smith, Maloney). Some of these aspects have been studied previously by anthropologists such as Salzmann, Barth, Beck, Irons, and Shahrani in areas of more classical pastoralism.

Few of the studies are problem-oriented. Kluck's chapter is a successful exception. She explains several economic practices that would appear to be inefficient or unprofitable, including the retention of draft animals (they require less investment of time and money in repair and maintenance than do more efficient machines); the presence, despite low returns to capital and labor, of labor-intensive dairying (it shows a positive, though small, net profit and helps reduce risk by maintaining diversity); and the production of unimproved swine varieties (they are used to dispose of maize and manioc surpluses; improved varieties require more care). Like several other authors, Kluck uses quantitative data successfully.

Kluck's chapter is also one of the longest in the volume. Some of the others seem too short. They have adopted a difficult task, the presentation of regional histories in under 20 pages. The lack of space also limits comparisons between chapters. In one particularly glaring example, both Maloney and Smith offer explanations for the shift from sheepherding to cattle ranching in adjacent portions of northern New Mexico differently, the former attributing it to the decline in wool prices and the latter to the scarcity of labor. They do not attempt to resolve this difference.

The introduction to the book ends by presenting it "not as a set of answers, but as a preliminary exploration of . . . issues and themes . . . worthy of further study." This description is accurate. With fewer but longer chapters,

with a closer integration of mentalist and materialist orientations, with a chapter of conclusions that drew out comparisons and contrasts of the particular studies, the exploration would not have been so preliminary. The book, nonetheless, is of value for the study of livestock-raising populations and, more generally, for the anthropological study of change.

BENJAMIN S. ORLOVE

*Division of Environmental Studies,
University of California, Davis 95616*

Relationships Among Children

Peer Relationships and Social Skills in Childhood. KENNETH H. RUBIN and HILDY S. ROSS, Eds. Springer-Verlag, New York, 1982. xvi, 414 pp. \$28.90.

Siblings. Love, Envy, and Understanding. JUDY DUNN and CAROL KENDRICK. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1982. xii, 290 pp. \$18.50.

These two books underscore the recent shift from exclusive focus on parent-child relationships in early childhood to a consideration of the broader and more diverse social context in which children develop. Both books illustrate the validity of this new perspective by describing important research and identifying promising areas for future investigation.

The contributors to the volume edited by Rubin and Ross describe a variety of studies concerned with peer relationships from infancy to early adolescence. As with most collections, the quality of chapters is somewhat uneven. The editors must be faulted for the sketchiness of their introduction and the absence of either a concluding chapter or interstitial material designed to integrate the diverse and conceptually disparate material presented by the contributors. They can also be faulted for neither asking several of the contributors to elaborate the theoretical implications of their findings nor ensuring that sufficient methodological detail was included to allow evaluation of the empirical studies described here for the first time. The absence of a thorough introduction, conclusion, and theoretical elaboration is especially troubling, for a number of the contributors limit themselves to purely descriptive accounts.

There are, however, a number of chapters that avoid these problems, focusing on the theoretical integration of previous findings or on the presentation of new data gathered to address crucial issues in the area. Krasnor's review of

research on social problem-solving focuses on a sophisticated and interesting model that is likely to stimulate research on this underexplored topic. The definition of problem-solving in terms of "personal goals" may be unnecessarily egoistic in orientation, as it appears to preclude altruistically motivated behavior, but this is a minor criticism when viewed in light of the advance represented by the model. Berndt's chapter on the conception of justice is also exemplary, not for the presentation of a new model but for a thorough and persuasive attempt to place empirical findings (including several from some of Berndt's prior studies) in the context of major theoretical issues. A similarly useful review is provided by Renshaw and Asher, whose focus is on social competence and peer status. The evidence presented is not new, but the conceptual framework is novel, systematically described, and thoughtfully evaluated. The chapter is certain to be of major heuristic value.

Of the chapters built around single studies, Rubin's is perhaps the best because the selection of measures and the focus of the study were so clearly and explicitly anchored in theoretical issues of central importance today—identifying "the social, cognitive, and social-cognitive correlates of social withdrawal in early childhood." Surprisingly, however, Rubin did not include any measures of emotionality or affectivity in his study, when these would seem likely to distinguish isolated and sociable children. The chapters by Eckerman and Stein and by Ross, Lollis, and Elliott both suffer from a failure to explore the implications of their findings, but the studies reported are certainly among the most interesting descriptive accounts in the area.

For the most part, the remaining ten chapters are not as impressive, largely because they involve unexciting and redundant reviews of the literature in areas that would have benefited from an attempt to move beyond description to conceptual analysis and integration. (The chapter by Stone and Selman, however, is conceptually rich.) It is a pity that the authors, all of whom are at the forefront of research in their areas, did not take advantage of the opportunity to go beyond what is permitted in journal articles and provide what the study of social skills and peer relationships most needs—conceptual clarity and theoretical integration.

The editors describe this as a "state of the art" volume, and the label is apt. Together with Asher and Gottman's collection *The Development of Children's*