

Cultural Minorities

The Prospects for Plural Societies. STUART PLATTNER and DAVID MAYBURY-LEWIS, Eds. American Ethnological Society, Washington, D.C., 1984. viii, 231 pp. Paper, \$16. From a meeting, Lexington, Ky., April 1983.

Anthropology as an academic discipline has always addressed problems of the practical world. This is particularly the case when the survival of minorities is involved. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the president of the American Ethnological Society, David Maybury-Lewis, wished to have the prospects for plural societies discussed at the 1982 annual meeting of this prestigious society the leading scholars in the field rose to the challenge. Maybury-Lewis's own involvement with Cultural Survival, an organization working on behalf of so-called tribal groups and underprivileged ethnic groups throughout the world, provided the symposium with something of a built-in bias toward viewing the nation-state as "the villain of the conference" (p. 5). Yet the responses of the 13 anthropologists and sociologists whose papers are presented here were by no means uniform. Even the liberal idea of the freedom of a people to embrace and perpetuate the traditions of its choice was called into question.

The organizer invited specialists on different geographical regions; from different continents; and of different theoretical persuasions. Their charge was to discuss "the situation of tribal peoples in nation-states; the criteria for evaluating the success of ethnic groups in minority positions; and the possibilities, constraints and impediments to various forms of pluralism entailed in the structure of modern societies" (p. 77). Underlying this was concern with the physical extinction of Amerindian groups in countries such as Brazil and Ecuador and the recent publication of Leo Kuper's study of the United Nations' incapacity to deal with genocide.

From the different geographical regions represented come studies of Brazil, Ecuador, Oman, China, Malaysia, and Pakistan as culturally plural nation-states, as well as studies of ethnic movements that cut across national boundaries in the Andean region of South America, in Indonesia, and in South Asia. The papers themselves suggest

that history and the spread of ideas, particularly religious ideas of tolerance and exclusion, are more important than geography for understanding the conditions of minorities in plural societies.

The selection of contributors from different continents brought forth an even more challenging response. This takes the form of questioning the hegemony of Western social science and the usefulness of a "modern, secular, liberal outlook" (p. 141) in the practical affairs of Third World nations. Such questions are raised by two elder statesmen, the octogenarian Lin Yuch-Hwa from the People's Republic of China and T. N. Madan of India, and disquiet with existing anthropological models of cultural pluralism is expressed in milder form by Akbar S. Ahmed of Pakistan and the Norwegian scholar Fredrik Barth.

The theoretical persuasions represented in the volume are neither very extreme nor very different. Leo Despres reiterates his perception that competition for scarce resources accounts for a great deal of the when and where of ethnic confrontations. M. G. Smith continues to argue for the umbrella concept of pluralism rather than its component parts: race, class, ethnicity, internal colonialism, and social stratification. His well-documented paper demonstrates how the adoption of these particular concepts at different times reflects the social contexts of their users. It might perhaps be noted that at the conference itself younger scholars volunteered papers more critical of current anthropology than those represented here. The dominant theoretical stance of this volume emerged in the early years of the development decade (the 1960's). At that time the center-periphery model of the state associated with the name of Edward Shils and the primordial model of ethnicity associated with his Chicago colleague Clifford Geertz were innovative in the study of newly independent nations. Drawing upon these, but moving beyond them, the anthropology represented here addresses primordial sentiments and civil politics in the global context of the 1980's. The practical problems of legitimacy, ethnoregionalism, and citizenship in nation-building are here placed within the uneasy realities of global politics and threatened sovereignties.

Ironically, given the immediate concerns of the symposium with the condition of minorities within the nation-state, the most challenging paper argues for an anthropological theory of transnational dimensions. This is Fredrik Barth's "joker in the pack." It is generally accepted that there are two contending approaches to the anthropology of the plural society, and these are outlined by Despres in this volume. One approach focuses on the objective "culture-population-group" within a structural framework. The other takes a "more subjective, instrumentally oriented approach" (p. 8). For many, Barth pioneered the second path. In his previous work on boundary maintenance and ethnicity as an organizational vessel, he explored identity and manipulation. Now he launches his vessel upon the "currents" or "streams" of traditions. Sohar, a dominantly Islamic but cosmopolitan Omani town at the edge of the Indian Ocean, provides him with a microcosm. Rich in the complexities of race, ethnicity, religion, and gender, Sohar is viewed by Barth as a plural isolate that has emerged within the "moving context" of historical change. The analysis is openly derivative from the Boasians, and it is no less than the emergence, reproduction, and change of cultural traditions within what they would call a contradiction-ridden manifold that Barth seeks to place again on the agenda of anthropology.

It would be wrong, however, to conclude that this collection of papers is of significance only, or even primarily, for anthropologists. Anthropology's particular expertise in the analysis of the traditions and symbolic expression of various forms of religious and cultural pluralism has an immediacy in both national and international affairs. Two examples may be given. The scholars attempting here to suggest "alternatives to extinction" for the Indians of the Amazon and the Andes delineate how state power in South America maintains stability and the status quo (that is, the privileged position of the current power-holders) through increasingly authoritarian military regimes. Indians, who form a minority in all Central and South American countries, unite as Indians across state borders in order better to stake their claim in the developing world economy. The Indian movement brings together as a political force not only Indians but many others whom the state insists on categorizing only as peasants or citizens. The symbols of Indian ethnicity provide both the organizational vessel and the banner of political opposition.

Similarly, religious movements (dis-

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