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The Foraging Spectrum: Diversity in Hunter-Gatherer Lifeways by Robert L. Kelley

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with a heightened awareness of the indigenous orders, customs and ways of doing things—these are the strongest allies of reconstruction but at the same time can also be its undoing.

All the policy related conclusions make good sense, and this reviewer has no major quarrel with them. It is getting the actual process of reconstruction going and keeping it on track in a way that makes it sustainable that is the real trick. It is difficult for any study of this nature to capture the multi-faceted and often contradictory nature of the social processes that are set in motion by the reconstruction efforts guided (imposed?) by the international community. Political science has a very limited vocabulary when it comes to a description of the lived experience of collapse and reconstruction. Novels do a better job in many ways. To paraphrase Fituni, you know you are in a state under reconstruction the moment you arrive: the capital is overrun with expatriate and international experts all busy making a good living out of reconstructing another collapsed state in Africa. One wonders if they will read Zartman.

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THE FORAGING SPECTRUM: DIVERSITY IN HUNTER-GATHERER LIFEWAYS. *By Robert L. Kelley.* Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995. Pp. xvi, 446. \$60.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper.

The study of hunting and gathering, or foraging, societies is of long-standing interest in anthropology, especially in sociocultural anthropology and archaeology. Historically, the great interest in foragers has centered on the belief that such societies can provide important insights about the human past prior to the development of food production. In *The Foraging Spectrum*, Robert Kelley critically examines this assumption, as well as a wide variety of methodological and theoretical approaches used in the study of foraging peoples. Potential readers who are interested in an introduction to foragers as "real people" should be advised that *The Foraging Spectrum* is not aimed at conveying what it is like to live as a forager from a humanistic or life history point of view. Instead, the book is cast in an empirical framework and is very rich in comparative data on foragers drawn from anthropological studies done in Africa, Australia, Asia, the Arctic, sub Arctic, South America, as well as other areas.

Africanists will find that all of the major African foraging societies are included such as the Ju/'hoansi (until recently known as the !Kung), G/wi and Kua peoples of the Kalahari; the Hadza of Tanzania; and the Mbuti, Aka and Efe peoples of the central African forests. These societies, especially the Ju/'hoansi, have been

at the forefront of some of the recent debates and revisionist interpretations of foragers. Some of the lesser known African foragers such as the fishing oriented Elmololo and honey gathering Okeik of Kenya might be useful additions for Africanist readers to the discussions of subsistence issues. Whereas consideration of African foraging peoples plays a significant role in the book, it is the global contrasts and comparisons, framed in theoretical contexts, that make this book especially interesting.

Kelley illustrates the varied lifeways of the world's foraging people with the important goal of negating "descriptive, typological approaches that proceed in a dictatorial fashion, where one model is toppled only to be replaced by another that is different, perhaps more politically fashion able, but just as restricted in scope" (p. 35). Kelley is quite successful in achieving this goal. He certainly dispels many of the overgeneralized ideas that have been perpetuated about foragers concerning the nature of food sharing, work effort, gender roles, the egalitarian concept, and a range of other subjects. It will become refreshingly difficult for many readers who teach undergraduate courses to discuss the origin of some of these key concepts in an evolutionary context in their introductory classes. Kelley also does a very good job of informing readers about where the existing data on foraging societies is weak, and about some important areas for future research.

Kelley is an archaeologist and the book "has been written with archaeologists in mind" (p. 3). However, *The Foraging Spectrum* should also be of major interest to sociocultural anthropologists and others interested in ecology and biocultural evolution. Kelley emphasizes that the book was written for teachers of introductory anthropology courses as well as upper division undergraduates and graduate students. *The Foraging Spectrum* should become a standard work in courses on hunter-gatherers. Moreover, the discussion of birth spacing as related to infanticide and breast feeding, as well as the role of women as hunters will be of interest, as a resource, in the area of comparative gender studies.

In the opening part of *The Foraging Spectrum* Kelley does a good job of surveying the theoretical and conceptual history of hunter-gatherer studies from the early cultural evolutionary work through the patrilineal and patrilocal band models to the impact of the influential "Man the Hunter" conference held in 1966. The historical background also considers cultural ecology, behavioral ecology, as well as Marxist and other approaches to the study of foragers. Some Africanist readers, especially historians, might wish to see a longer discussion of the recent impact of the "great Kalahari debate" featuring Richard Lee, James Denbow, Edwin Wilmsen and others.

The chapters following the historical and theoretical survey are devoted to topics such as subsistence, mobility, sharing/exchange and land tenure, group size and reproduction, gender and a consideration of egalitarian/non egalitarian hunter-gatherers. Key models that have been applied to the study of foragers such as

optimal foraging, linear programming, diet breadth and patch-choice are discussed and readers will learn about the strengths and weaknesses of these approaches.

The tables in the book are extensive and include details on group size, population density, mortality, residential moves, birth spacing, and a range of other topics. This information will be very useful for instructors of introductory as well as advanced classes who seek comparative data.

In the final chapter deals on prehistory Kelley makes the cogent point that there

is no original human society, no basal human adaptation: studying modern hunter-gatherers in order to subtract the effects of contact with the world system (were that possible) and to uncover universal behaviors with the goal of reconstructing the original hunter-gatherer lifeway is simply not possible—because that lifeway never existed (p. 337).

This is a point that reveals how far we have come since the "Man The Hunter" conference. At the same time, this conclusion does not mean that archaeologists should abandon reconstructing the past through utilizing "modern" hunter-gather data. The theoretical discussion that Kelley presents on the development of nonegalitarian societies shows how useful such data can be in the development of models pertinent to the evolution of culture. Reducing residential mobility and increasing sedentism are key factors in Kelley's model for the genesis of nonegalitarian societies. These factors are related to the nature of the environment, population density, and the development of food storage. In this discussion Kelley draws on many key ideas developed in previous chapters. Archaeologists who study this key transformation in human society will be interested in Kelley's model as well as his use of data from the northwest coast of North America to illustrate it.

In conclusion, *The Foraging Spectrum* is highly recommended as an up-to-date standard reference on comparative hunter-gatherer data and theory.

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TRADITIONAL RELIGION AND GUERRILLA WARFARE IN MODERN AFRICA. *By Stephen L. Weigert.* Basingstoke and New York: McMillan Press, 1996. Pp. ix, 151. £40.

Mr. Weigert has contrived a dull book out of a fascinating subject. He does not become fully aware of the potential of the subject until the last page, too late. By