

## Book Reviews

**Ethnoecology of the Coffee Forest: Human-Nature Relationships in the Montane Forest of Southwestern Ethiopia (*Kobi no Mori no Minzokushi: Ethiopia Nanseibu Kochi Sinriniki ni okeru Hito to Shizen no Kankei*).** Yoshimasa Ito, Kyoto: The Center for African Area Studies, Kyoto University, 2012, pp. 129 (in Japanese).

Recently, “wild” coffee growing in the mountain forests of southwestern Ethiopia, the home of *Coffea arabica*, has attracted interest from the coffee industry and forest conservationists around the world. However, exactly how this global interest could contribute to the local economy or to rural sustainable development has not been specified. Sometimes this type of interest can lead to an imposition of conflicting developmental views, which can lead to severe problems in the future. In this book, Yoshimasa Ito provides an important ethnographic view of the small-scale coffee farmers who live near the mountain forests of southwestern Ethiopia.

The first chapter outlines the notion of the “coffee forest”, the research methods and the ongoing conservation project of the coffee fair trade system, which provides an economically viable way for farmers to protect the coffee forest. Criticizing a conservation approach, Ito clarifies the relationship between the coffee forest, locally known as “badda buna”, and the people who use it. Top-down and market-oriented development approaches sometimes lack a critical basic view of those livelihoods based on natural resources. Ito conducted historical, anthropological and ecological surveys from 2004 to 2009. Based on his field research, the book explores the management of the coffee forest by coffee farmers, and looks at the current situation, focusing on sustainability and livelihoods.

Chapter 2 discusses the study area and subsistence of the Oromo people, who use the coffee forest. The Gela district, which lies at an altitude between 1600 m and 2900 m, has several types of agriculture. The Oromo usually live in the towns, cultivate the farmlands, and visit the coffee forest several times a year (although some live there for half the year), to collect coffee cherries and maintain the woodland. Ito focuses on three forest products that provide an income for the Oromo: honey, korarima (*Aframomum corrorima*; an indigenous Ethiopian spice), and coffee.

Chapter 3 reviews the history of the Gera district from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and discusses the changes in the forest landscape. Ito notes that the current landscape is completely different to that at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Oromo arrived during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when they settled and established the Gela kingdom, and the forest area gradually reduced over time. Then, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Amhara people arrived and destroyed the Gela kingdom, which led to an increase in the surrounding forested area as the result of a decrease in population. This clearly shows a link between population dynamics, such as influxes of other ethnic groups, and the area covered with forest. Institutional changes, such as the coffee fair trade system and national forest conservation policies have also contributed to these changes. Ito concludes that political dynamics, coffee price controls, land reform, and cultivation strategies explain why the coffee forest constitutes a secondary growth. He also indicates that it has never been common land, or an open access area. Individuals have utilized and managed the forest as private property since the establishment of the Gera kingdom.

Chapter 4 analyses the Oromo’s use of the coffee forest for honey and korarima collecting, with an explanation of how these forest products are harvested and distributed. Honey is collected in the rainy season by the landowners, their relatives and those with permission from the landowners. Ito mentions that the labor exchange system, *daadoo*, which is mainly used for agricultural work, is also used for honey collecting. Beehives are prepared in the dry season while people collect the coffee cherries in the forest. In each district, the harvested honey is disseminated among collectors and landowners, whereas all the korarima collected is kept by the gatherers. Ito points out that the sale of honey and korarima are not especially important sources of cash income; rather, they fulfill an essential non-economic need, such as providing amusement and creating social networks.

Chapter 5 discusses the collection of the coffee cherries in the forest. Coffee cherries are mainly collected by the land owners, their families and relatives. Ito emphasizes the importance of seasonal workers who come from other places into the area to collect the coffee cherries. The work, which involves cutting back small trees and shrubs under the coffee trees, is

called *ciru* by the seasonal workers, and it determines the subsistence year's yield of coffee. Ito describes the distribution system for the harvested coffee cherries among collectors, which is called *yakuto*. Landowners and seasonal workers share the harvest equally. He also points out that the sale of coffee cherries is not a vital source of cash income for either party.

Chapter 6 explores the changes in the vegetation of the coffee forest as a result of human intervention. The results of a vegetation survey are documented; it includes the yields of the coffee trees, the international market coffee prices, and labor forces. Moreover, Ito mentions that the characteristics of *C. arabica*, which is an alternate bearing crop (with a heavy crop one year and a light crop the next), may be a key factor limiting human activities, and that this contributes to the low-impact humans have on the forest.

In the final chapter, Ito concludes that the utilization of the forest falls into the "minor subsistence" category. He emphasizes that the Oromo can survive without the coffee production, since their principle means of subsistence is provided by cereals cultivated on agricultural land. He suggests that forest conservation and local development projects lacking a deep understanding of the forest and the role of local subsistence will only expand the market and hence increase the risk to subsistence farmers. He also states that market-oriented approaches risk changing the current mixed coffee forests into monoculture coffee forests.

To summarize, this book sets out the role and significance of minor subsistence farming in forest conservation and development. It provides a good example of a type of human intervention that maintains a sustainable forest, creating a Satoyama-like landscape.

However, future sustainability must be considered very carefully, given the changing socio-economical contexts. Unfortunately the book does not make it clear whether the Oromo people recognize the current situation, or the importance of the coffee forest, including the commercial value of the forest products, in their lives. In all other respects, it is, however, an essential resource for academics, planners and policy-makers and anyone else who is interested in coffee.

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**Nomads of Siberia and Africa: Livelihoods with Domestic Animals in the Arctic and Desert (*Shiberia to Afurika no Yubokumin: Kyokuboku to Sabaku de Kachiku to Tomoni Kurasu*).** Hiroki Takakura and Toru Soga, Sendai: Tohoku University Press, 2011, pp. 205+xv (in Japanese).

This book is a record of public lectures titled "Siberia and Africa: Nomads of Reindeer and Camels" delivered at the Center for Northeast Asian Studies, Tohoku University, in 2008. During the lectures, Takakura and Soga each presented the results of their anthropological research in Siberia and Africa. This book was written jointly by these two speakers for a general readership or beginners. However, the book is also important and interesting for researchers because it represents a response to recent requests to share the results of research conducted by universities with the broader community.

This book includes ethnographic descriptions by both authors, followed by a question-and-answer session as a final discussion. Takakura wrote the Preface, and Soga added a chapter titled "Livelihood as Hope" after the comprehensive discussion. The Preface explains that the general purpose of the book is to produce "a simple ethnography with good grace." Takakura argues that, in recent years, it has become difficult for anthropologists to contribute to the edifices of knowledge because anthropological theories have evolved into complexity. Therefore, this book aims to return to the basic position: how ethnographical facts can contribute to the understanding of other cultures and specific geographical areas.

The first part of the book, called "The Pastoral Culture and Society of the Gabra Camel Herders," was written by Soga. As an introduction to the ethnographic descriptions of the Gabra, he begins by explaining pastoralism and the role of livestock in Africa, including the process of camels' introduction into Africa, the distribution of pastoral societies in Africa, and the characteristics of East African pastoral peoples. Then, based on the results of his fieldwork, Soga describes the culture and society of the Gabra, both of which are closely related to their pastoral means of procuring a livelihood. The Gabra possess a wealth of knowledge and livestock-keeping skills, especially related to camels. He focuses on the "camel trusting system" among the Gabra and claims that this system functions to construct and maintain their social relationships as well as to disperse risks. This system also supports the authority of the eldest sons in Gabra society. Finally, Soga explains the social changes and difficult situations that pastoral societies in Africa face due to their marginalization and encapsulation into states. He emphasizes that when pastoralists are involved in conflicts caused by

local and national politics, it has profound influences on the pastoral societies.

The second part of the book, "Pastoral Culture and Skills of Even Reindeer Herders," was written by Takakura. First, he gives an overview of Siberia, a region vast in physical geography and cultural historic ways, and situates Siberia in its relationship with Asia. Then, he explains his main research field, East Siberia. Takakura describes how people rear reindeer, which are well adapted to the environment, in order to survive the severe Arctic environment. He emphasizes that people make use of reindeer in various ways such as for food, for transportation, and in material culture. He compares this Arctic pastoral livelihood with that of tropic pastoral peoples who rear several kinds of livestock. Then, he describes the reindeer pastoralism of the Even in detail, focusing on skills in controlling their reindeer herds, their migration pattern, and their material culture. Finally, he examines the kind of difficulties faced by the Even as they have been incorporated into the USSR and then the Russia state. Because the Even are an indigenous minority, their ethnic identity and their livelihood supported by reindeer pastoralism are in crisis.

The final section presents a three-person discussion panel that followed the lectures and included Takakura and Soga, with Masahisa Segawa as the moderator. Many pertinent remarks and questions were raised by the lecture audience, and these were addressed by the authors. These discussions suggest that this public lecture was a great success. As the conclusion, the two authors exchanged their views about the relationships of pastoralists with states by comparing case studies in Siberia and East Africa. In the "The Livelihood as Hope" chapter, Soga supplements their lectures and argues that we can find hope for the future in these livelihood activities. He argues that the pastoralists are trying to improve their quality of life by pursuing their pastoral activities, even though they face many difficulties. Finally, Soga shows the potential of anthropological work that is well versed in local situations. He claims that such research can contribute to pastoral societies, taking Takakura's activities as an example, and also appeal to the global society.

This book has three distinctive features. First, this is not a scholarly book but a book for a general readership and beginners in the field. Therefore, the two authors employed various ideas to make the book understandable for readers who have no knowledge of anthropology or pastoral societies. Because of their deep desire to contribute to society, the book has much to offer researchers as well.

Second, both authors pointed out contemporary difficulties that pastoral societies are facing. They worried that they concluded their lectures pessi-

mistically. However, it was very important that the lecturers shared the reality of pastoral societies with the audience. That said, this book does not forget to show the positive side of pastoralism.

Third, this book made an ethnographic comparison of two areas, Siberia and Africa. Although Takakura argues that such comparison is one of the most important characteristics of anthropological work, a researcher cannot help but concentrate on one geographical area or ethnic group. Therefore, the book offers a valuable opportunity for public readers, as well as for the authors, to compare ethnographic descriptions of different continents. Researchers who would like to develop more opportunities to showcase global perspectives will be impressed by this book.

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**Anus of Feces: Social Change and Illness among the Turkana in Kenya (*Kusokômon: Kenia Turukana no Syakaihendô to Byôki*).** Shinsuke Sakumichi, Tokyo: Kouseisha-kouseikaku, 2012, pp.230+x (in Japanese).

Focusing on a new illness that has emerged in a pastoral area along the border between Kenya and Uganda and that is characterized by etiological roots in the local environment, a locally defined diagnosis, and a local method of healing, this book elucidates indigenous medical knowledge and practices and empirically analyzes individual experiences with health and illness in the context of historical and societal forces. Its chapters are written from an accurate understanding of the cultural theory of globalization and ethnography, and are pitched at a high level of abstraction, resulting in a high-quality observational record that forms the basis for insightful reflections on illness in the context of social change and suffering.

Sakumichi previously studied divination, migrant workers, family caregiving, and coping with illness from a social-psychological perspective based on field research in Kenya and Japan. He has been conducting field research in Turkana-land since 1993. Among his subsequent scholarly achievements, he is well known for his analysis of divination in Turkana society, as an emotion-focused approach to coping with the pain caused by interpersonal conflict, and on atopic dermatitis as a representation of food contamination and social contradictions in Japan.

The "new illness", which has been prevalent among the Turkana in northwestern Kenya since the 1980s, is featured in the book title, *Ewosin-a-ngacin* (EAN), which literally means "anus of feces". It refers to

constipation, which leads to various health problems affecting the entire body, including paralysis of the legs. Although the establishment of free facilities has promoted the availability of biomedicine, even at a grassroots level, hospital staffs often recommend local remedies for local ailments, including EAN. The author explores the culturally explanatory model of intractable EAN in terms of local understandings of, and the bodily responses to, historical social conditions. In the context of the extant scholarship resulting from field studies conducted in Northeast Africa, this volume ranks as a pioneering work in critical ethnomedicine. The following is a brief overview of its chapters.

Chapter 1, "Transformations in the research setting," provides an account of the changes in health-care and in social and economic factors as the context in which EAN has emerged. Specifically, local people experienced social changes resulting from the great drought that occurred between 1980 and 1981, which resulted in the establishment of a huge refugee camp in 1992, reductions in livestock, migration into town, sedentarization, population increases, the provision of relief supplies, dependence on a market economy, changes in staple foods, and the development of medical resources.

Chapter 2, "The strange body," explains how EAN is understood as logical response to hunger and changes in food and livelihood given the structure of the human body. In terms of etiology, it is thought that the abdomens of pastoralists react to the scarcity of food, leading to the consolidation of feces. According to this perspective, the feces combine with maize, which had been initially supplied as relief food, and this combined substance bruises the intestines.

Chapter 3, "New illness," shows analytical perspective standpoint. Whereas many previous studies have employed a perspective rooted in traditional cosmology, this book applies an anatomically-based understanding of the body and of the effect of directly touching the body, including for therapeutic purposes, to explore how somatic phenomena interact with other components of the world.

Chapter 4, "How to catch a wild cat," elucidates the general characteristics of Turkana indigenous medicine, which assumes that systemic diseases and treatment-refractory conditions are caused by substances that collect in the intestines and must be excreted. The folk classification of illnesses focuses especially on the adjunctive characteristics of the primary symptom and the affected part of the body. Descriptions of these phenomena are used for labeling, which consist of such a "deductive category" as generated by using *a priori* attributes independent of the illness itself, like parts of the body.

Chapter 5, "Making the body," describes the study methodology, which involved observing the movement of the masseuse's hands on the body of the patient, focusing particularly on the movement of the fingers and the nonverbal reactions of patients, as well conducting interviews. Each of following three chapters uses this method to provide detailed descriptions of every diagnosis and massage given to male patients complaining of abdominal, lower back, and leg pain and of difficulty defecating and to female patients with symptoms related to the area between the abdomen and the thorax, stomachaches, and difficulty walking and defecating.

Chapter 6, "Gap of the heart," discusses how EAN is transmitted from the intestines to contiguous sites, such as the heart and ribs and, finally, to the entire body through blood vessels. Thus, massages are designed to return the illness that has spread to various body parts to the ribs and to eliminate the swollen intestines to restore the gap between the heart and the ribs.

Chapter 7, "Abdomen in the throat," discusses how the Turkana understand the progression of this illness. People interpret cues such as coughing and chest pain as reflecting the spread of EAN from the aorta, to the swelling of the intestines, to the throat.

Chapter 8, "Flesh in memory," addresses the fact that bodies afflicted with EAN have become the common signifier with which the Turkana remember and communicate their experience with droughts. Although different nomenclature is used in different areas, the relationship between EAN and drought is consistent, and all masseuses heal the body by attending to the configuration of the intestines, the pulse of a blood vessel, and the location of the heart.

Chapter 9, "Massage for dwelling in the world," argues that the somatic symptoms of EAN and the use of massage as a medical procedure activates a kind of traumatic memory network in both patients and healers, who share experiences of the loss of cattle herds, of suffering from hunger, and of migration to town for survival.

During the past three decades, medical anthropologists have detailed dozens of folk illnesses that are related to distress and that are characterized by culturally informed etiologies, diagnoses, and means of healing (Csordas 1983). This book presents precise details of, heretofore, only theoretical experiences and does so based, primarily, on the phenomenology of the body. It also presents critical medical anthropological ideas and arguments in plain language that can be understood by lay individuals. Thus, readers may resonate with the notion that illness reflects the experience and understanding of the sufferer and that an interpersonal approach to discussing and treating illness provides emotional support to, and reaffirma-

tion of, the worth of patients. The original contribution of this study is in its detailed descriptions, based on a unique heuristic, of an indigenous remedy that opens new possibilities for medical care. The step-by-step analysis of massage provided in Chapters 6 to 8 vividly illustrates the interaction between the feeling experienced by the masseuse via his or her hands and the somatic response of a patient, by which a sick body can be felt and visualized. This micro-interactional approach seems to elicit a positive response, which may lead to a radical change in the dominant perspective that still shapes thinking about healthcare in sub-Saharan Africa. Let us consider this further.

Similar to previous studies on health-seeking-behavior in developing countries, this book discusses the many ways in which people cope with illness in environments offering a variety of remedies and examines the process by which laypeople, including patients, choose among specialists. However, Sakumichi's detailed analysis of the relationship between healers and patients goes beyond a specialist-centered perspective that views medical knowledge and practices, whether indigenous or biomedical, to be the exclusive provenance of specialists and to be inaccessible and incomprehensible to others. This book demonstrates that Turkana's medical procedures involve treatments provided by former patients (i.e., patients become healers) that are carried out according to the particular characteristics of each patient's body. This approach is based on the notion of embodiment, and this book convinces the reader of the transformative process by which the body is engaged with the world. This process initially involves the appearance of unusual bodily phenomena, which patients experience as a somatic mode of consciousness and which healers view as matters for concern. These are then connected with the tangible anatomical body through massage.

Finally, I want to note a possible link between the main point of this book and my research experience in Karamoja in northeastern Uganda, which contains Eastern Nilotic groups such as the Karimojong, Jie, and Dodoth as well as the Turkana. During my field research last August at the border between Uganda and Kenya, where the Turkana, Jie, and Karimojong co-habitate, a Karimojong traditional healer explained enema treatment, which is administered by breathing into the anus of a patient, as follows: "The body of people you treat are often soiled with diarrheal stool and vomitus. You must feed and rest them in your compound. You must love people." The marginalized status of Ndembu traditional healers facilitates their emotional involvement with, focus on, and respect for their patients, which evokes trust from the latter (Turner 1967). Sakumichi noted that Turkana

individuals who have been marginalized, "swept away" from the traditional pastoral safety net that provides reciprocal aid, act as healers in that society as well. Care, respect, love, and similar characteristics are important elements in the Turkana philosophy of healing, extending to their humane approach to diagnosis and treatment, which involves close mutual attention to the contact points between bodies.

In the Epilogue, Sakumichi cites a passage describing the desperate maternal and child health situation in the shantytowns of rural northeast Brazil: "Seeing, listening, touching, recording, can be, if done with care and sensitivity, acts of fraternity and sisterhood, acts of solidarity. (...) Not to look, not to touch, not to record, can be the hostile act, the act of indifference and of turning away" (Scheper-Hughes 1993: 28). He then asks readers whether 'the primacy of the ethical' has been achieved through his ethnographical description. I want everyone to encounter with the Turkana medicine and somatic expression and decide how to reply to his question.

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**The Fascist War: Italian Invasion to Ethiopia in the Context of World Politics (*Fashisuto no Senso: Sekaishiteki Bunmyaku de Yomu Echiopia Senso*).** Ken Ishida, Tokyo: Chikura Shobo, 2011, pp. 270 (in Japanese).

The author of this book is a leading expert on fascism\* and the political and diplomatic history of Italy during the period between the two world wars. In 1994, he published a book (in Japanese) on the foreign policy of fascist Italy between 1935 and 1939.\*\* His recent work, *The Fascist War: Italian Invasion to Ethiopia in the Context of World Politics*, consists of three chapters taken from the three articles on the Second Italo–Ethiopian War (1935–1936) that he published between 1994 and 2010:

Chapter 1: War of the Sub-leaders

Chapter 2: The Illusory International Volunteer Army

Chapter 3: The War in Literature: Comparison between the Second Italo-Ethiopian War and the Second Sino-Japanese War

The Second Italo-Ethiopian War is known as the last colonial war and the first war in which economic sanctions were imposed by the League of Nations. This war, started by fascist Italy on October 3, 1935 without a formal declaration of war, is the only war that the Italian fascists took the initiative and won. It was also a watershed event for both the fascists and the anti-fascists, leading to important changes in these movements, their ideologies, and their leadership. As the last colonial war, it also elicited an international response and became a turning point in world history. In this book, the author attempts to understand the Second Italo-Ethiopian War as "The Fascist War" by analyzing it in the context of the international political history of the inter-war period.

During the Second Italo-Ethiopian War, Mussolini strengthened his dictatorship by managing the fascist sub-leaders under his leadership. In the first chapter, the author categorizes the fascist sub-leaders who took part in the Second Italo-Ethiopian War into three groups: "viceroys", who were rivals of Mussolini (I. Balbo, D. Grandi, & G. Bottai); "parasites", who maintained their political positions by subordinating themselves to Mussolini (A. Starace, R. Farinacci, & G. Ciano); and "political generals", who conducted the war (E. de Bono, R. Graziani, & P. Badoglio). The author analyzes the political performance of these fascists in the Second Italo-Ethiopian War and examines Mussolini's negotiations with them. The author argues that fascism changed in the hands of its Italian proponents during the Second Italo-Ethiopian War; its original ideology and political orientation were abandoned, and Mussolini's success in consolidating his dictatorship through this war led to his own downfall and the collapse of fascism in the long run.

The second chapter examines the international volunteer soldiers who took part in the Second Italo-Ethiopian War and plans of international volunteer army for Ethiopia. The author categorizes the international volunteer soldiers into three groups: (1) volunteer soldiers who came from "the broken empires" caused by World War I; (2) volunteer soldiers or people who planned to establish an international volunteer army in West Africa, the US, and Europe (Belgium and Sweden); and (3) Germans and Japanese, future allies of Italy. In this chapter, the author demonstrates the worldwide influence of the Second Italo-Ethiopian War by investigating the international volunteer army's plan to resist "The

Fascist War". He also describes the bellicose and racist characteristics of Italian fascism, which have been overshadowed by those of the German Nazi Party because of the military weakness of Italy in the World War II. The author concludes that the Second Italo-Ethiopian War was not only the last colonial war but was also a turning point, during and after which, oppressed people began to seek liberation.

The Second Italo-Ethiopian War and the Second Sino-Japanese War began at almost the same time, and Italy and Japan started on the road to World War II after these wars. In the third chapter, the author analyzes the interpretations of these wars offered by writers in both countries and examines the influence of these interpretations. In this chapter, the author points out that the images of these wars contained in the literary works of both countries differed from the image of the "The Fascist War" articulated by fascist sub-leaders and foreigners. The author cites similar nationalistic sentiments affirming the wars as well as differences in the critiques of, and resistance to, the regimes in the literature of both countries. The author argues that the Second Italo-Ethiopian War produced a new ideological basis for resistance to the fascist regime because this war was viewed as "The Fascist War".

The main title of this book is "The Fascist War", and its subtitle is "Italian Invasion to Ethiopia in the Context of World Politics". At the beginning of the book (p. 3), the author addresses confusion that may be generated by the fact that he analyzes the Second Italo-Ethiopian War in a book whose main title is "The Fascist War". In the epilogue, the author notes that some readers may believe that "The Ethiopian War" would be a more appropriate main title. He also points out that Ethiopia was "only the stage of the event" and "the main characters in each chapter created their own stories, setting the Ethiopians aside, although they were the victims of this war" (p. 201).

The author investigates the Second Italo-Ethiopian War from various perspectives, making effective use of his study of fascism and international political history as well as comparative analyses. This book contributes to the study of the Second Italo-Ethiopian War by extending our knowledge of this war and by underscoring its identity as "The Fascist War". As the author states, we should not overlook the role of the Ethiopians in the Second Italo-Ethiopian War or in the history of fascism and international politics. Scholars of Ethiopian and African history need to understand this role to clarify the importance of the Second Italo-Ethiopian War.

\* In a narrow sense, "fascism" refers to the movement spearheaded by the Italian Fascist Party, the

ideology of this party, and the regime characterized by its tenets. In a wide sense, it refers to movements, ideologies, and regimes in other countries, such as Nazism in Germany, which was similar to fascism in Italy. Following the author, the narrow sense of this term was used in this paper.

\*\* Ishida Ken, *Chichukai Shin-Romateikoku heno Michi: Fashisuto Italia no Taigaigaiko, 1935–39*

(The Road to the New Roman Empire in the Mediterranean: The Foreign Policy of Fascist Italy, 1935–39), Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Syuppankai, 1994, pp. 399 + viii (in Japanese).

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