

## Book Reviews

**Rivalry between Religions and the State: Conflicts and Symbiosis of Religions in Ethiopia** (*Semegiau Syūkyō to Kokka: Ethiopia Kamigami no Sōkoku to Kyōsei*). Minako Ishihara (ed.), Tokyo: Fukyosha Publishing Inc., 2014, pp. 436 (in Japanese).

As readers of *Nilo-Ethiopian Studies* (NES) may know, in Ethiopia many people believe in magic or spiritual beings while also practicing the major religions of Judaism, Christianity, including Protestantism, and Islam. Most of the contributors of *Rivalry between Religions and the State: Conflicts and Symbiosis of Religions in Ethiopia* are cultural anthropologists who have carried out fieldwork in Southern Ethiopia since the establishment of the EPRDF government. In this ambitious book they have attempted to describe the magico-religious cultures from various points of view. The compilation consists of the following five main parts.

- Part 1: The State and Religions
- Part 2: Omnipresent Religions
- Part 3: Spirits and the Devices of Power
- Part 4: Antagonism and Symbiosis
- Part 5: In Search of Maldistributed Divinity

In Part 1: 'The State and Religions', two articles have been contributed by Minako Ishihara, the editor of this book. In Chapter 1, 'Religion for the State: the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church', Ishihara details the history of the Ethiopian state and the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church, and in the following Chapter 2, 'Religion against the State', she examines how Islam was accepted by the people in Ethiopia, where Christianity had been dominant since the earliest kingdom of Abyssinia. These two articles teach us that Ethiopia was formed through these two major religions, namely the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church and Islam, despite the fact that the Ethiopian government may claim that modern-day Ethiopia is a secular state. Part 1 serves as a general introduction to the book.

In Part 2: 'Omnipresent Religions', Fujimoto and Tagawa focus on the faiths practiced in two ethnic groups in southern Ethiopia. In his 'Evil Eye, Transformation, and Cannibalism: Some Aspects of Magical Faiths among the Malo, Ethiopia', Takeshi Fujimoto details the magical faiths of the Malo, and

points to their uniqueness. He states that beliefs in spirit possession, magic, and "evil eye" are widely found in Malo daily life, although their traditional customs such as smoking, drinking, and polygamy have been formally prohibited due to the strong influence of Protestantism. Some anthropologists claim that belief in witchcraft, commonly found in sub-Saharan ethnic groups, does not exist in Ethiopia, but Fujimoto emphasizes that the Malo people have similar notions of witchcraft. Gen Tagawa's 'Causes of Happiness and Misfortune: Religious Concepts and Practices among the Borana Oromo' focuses on the notion of *waak'a*. This word means heaven and/or god. He describes how the Borana Oromo people augment the narration and interpretation of the meaning of occurrences by using the word *waak'a*. Tagawa explains that, through the transition rituals of the *gada* age grade system, the social order created by *waak'a* is repeatedly reproduced to create an image of a brighter future. In contrast, when the Borana Oromo people face misfortunes they may sometimes consult local diviners called *raaga*, but they never blame or accuse anyone of causing the misfortune. According to Tagawa, these facts show both sides of a mutually complementary relationship in their cosmology.

In Part 3: 'Spirits and the Devices of Power', beliefs in spirit possession among the Hor and the Kafa are examined. Yukio Miyawaki's 'Spirit Possession and Reconstruction of their Lifeworld' provides descriptions of the *Ayana* possession cults among the Hor. The *Ayana* possession cults, which originally came from the Borana, were accepted by the Hor after they were incorporated by the Ethiopian Empire. The invasion of the Empire destroyed the Hor's traditional beliefs, and created a kind of religious void. The newly imported cults filled this void. In the following chapter, 'Mediums in Secularization: Rise and Fall of the *Ego* Cults in Kafa Zone', Sayuri Yoshida examines spirit possession cults. *Ego* cults had been dominant among the Kafa during the era of the Kafa Kingdom. Although the Kafa Zone was incorporated into the Ethiopian Empire at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *ego* cults were still popular and influential among the people as late as the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. However, after the establishment of the EPRDF government in 1991, Protestantism became powerful in the region,



and the *ego* cults were marginalized.

In Part 4: 'Antagonism and Symbiosis', Ken Masuda details the changes caused by protestant missionaries in the Banna. In his 'Antagonism, Interference, and Apathy: On Amplitude between Evangelicalism and the Banna Tradition', Masuda relates how the presence of the protestant missionary community stimulated strong antagonisms in the lifeworld of the Banna while, at the same time, some Christians came to a new understanding of the valuable aspects of their own tradition. In the next chapter, Keiichiro Matsumura focuses on the peaceful symbiosis of Muslims and Christians. His 'Social Interaction toward Détente: Muslims and Christians in Jimma Zone' reminds us that religious differences are not always a cause of antagonism.

In Part 5: 'In Search of Maldistributed Divinity', Yasuo Matsunami focuses on pilgrimages to sacred places in his 'Agony and Countermeasure among the Oromo in Shoa Zone: Communality of Pilgrims in Bosato, Ethiopia'. He discovers *communitus* in the communality of pilgrims, and emphasizes that this *communitus* enables pilgrims to share their agonies, even if this might not provide simple solution to their problems.

The main title of this book is *Rivalry between Religions and the State*, but not all the articles necessarily place an emphasis on the relationships between religion and the Ethiopian state, and the interests and points of view of the authors are surprisingly varied. This fact seems to reflect the depth and complexity of the religious situation in Ethiopia, and Western researchers may be surprised to see that the book covers Christianity, Islam, and even local beliefs such as magic and spirit possession. This may be a unique quality of the book. Ishihara mentions that the all authors are Japanese, who have a polytheistic background, and suggests that this is why this book is so diverse. If this is the case, then promoting dialogue between the Japanese authors and western scholars will prove beneficial.

SHIGEO KIKUCHI  
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**Modes of Construction and Preservation of History among People without Writing Traditions: The Oral Chronicles of the Boorana, Southern Ethiopia (*Mumoji Shakai ni Okeru Rekishi no Seisei to Kioku no Gibou: Koutou Nendaishi wo Keishou suru Etiopia Nanbu Borana Shakai*).** Chikage Oba, pp. 463, Tokyo: Shimizukobundoshobo (in Japanese, English translation forthcoming in 2015).

"Peoples without history" is a well-known cliché used to describe two aspects of the (lack of) "history"

of groups studied by anthropologists. One aspect concerns the lack of a writing system, which presumably prevents them from transmitting their history to their offspring even if they have their own historical memories. The other is concerned with a society's ostensible immunity to change, which was expressed by the concept of a "cold society", developed by Levi-Strauss in his "Savage Mind". According to Levi-Strauss, a cold society rests on a binary structure that absorbs social changes, which renders the society immune to change. Thus, the society cannot have a history.

However, during the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, several researchers began to investigate the histories of these peoples by collecting oral traditions. For example, Vansina investigated the histories of central African peoples, and many researchers followed his pioneering study, showing that the societies of "peoples without history" actually had long histories, histories that included social changes, which they had been transmitting via various methods other than written documents. The field of ethnohistory has now diversified, covering a number of topics such as the reconstruction of pre-colonial histories, the histories of colonial domination by Western powers, and the ways in which these peoples conceptualize their own historical experiences.

In this book, Oba focuses on the construction of the history of the Boorana people, systematically analyzing very detailed historical narratives.

The Boorana are agro-pastoralists living in southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya. They belong to the Oromo linguistic family and are known to have an elaborate age-grade system known as *gada*. *Gada* consists of eight grades of generations. The elders, called "fathers of *gada*", are elected from certain clans and belong to the sixth age grade, called the *gada*; they rule the Boorana for the eight years they occupy this grade. Using the *gada* system to structure their memories, some Boorana elders can recall their history, which dates back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

According to Oba, there are two categories of research regarding the histories of African peoples. One involves ethnohistorical studies that try to reconstruct the chain of historical events of the societies studied. The second involves studies of folk history that examine how peoples construct, transmit, and interpret their historical experiences. Oba places her study of Boorana history in the latter category.

Oba investigated the way in which the Boorana construct their history by identifying the elders who were known as experts in *argaa-dbageettii*, both the history and the customs of the Boorana. Of the 46 elders in all the Boorana areas, she chose 14 who could narrate the history of the Boorana in detail and recorded their narratives in writing.

Oba's analysis of these data revealed that the elders



relied on several common methods of recalling and organizing their narratives. Dubbing them “patterns of narratives”, she categorized them into four types. The first is “the pattern of arranging events by causal laws”, which involves organizing some events according to a certain causality by referring to folk concepts, such as *dbaaccii*, which means the recurrence of misfortunes within the same lineage. The second is “the pattern of making texts from events”, in which “texts” refers to formalized expressions such as poems and verses. These formalized expressions organize actual events into patterns, rendering them easy to memorize. The third is “the pattern of explaining the events from the perspective of politics”. Some difficulties are interpreted and explained as the results of the unjustified succession to the position of the fathers of *gada*. The fourth is “the pattern of diverting some stories of certain events to other events”. Some stories, such as those about extraordinarily heavy rain during certain eras, are reframed as consensually accepted expressions and are repeatedly referred to as such in stories about other episodes. According to Oba, 80% of all narratives show some of these features. She then directs her investigation to three topics she considers important for understanding the construction of the historical narratives of the Boorana. The first involves the narratives of prophets, which add causal connections to events in narratives; the second is the utilization of poetic expressions, which organizes events into patterns, making them easy to remember; and the third is the use of *maqa-baasa* cycles in narratives. A *maqa-baasa* cycle is a system based on the *gada* age-grade system that assigns each generation of the fathers of *gada* a particular destiny and offers explanations of the events that occurred during their leadership.

Prophecies issued by prophets (*raaga*) are often included in these narratives. Prophets are said to have supernatural power, including the ability to predict calamities and wars and provide advice when the Boorana are confronted with serious difficulties. According to the narratives, migration to new territory, wars with the neighboring Arsi people, and the conquest by the Ethiopian empire have been predicted by prophets. Oba shows that the events in these narratives that are fatal for the society are discussed as if they had been known beforehand by the Boorana through these prophecies. Events that turned out favorably for the Boorana are interpreted as if the outcome was caused by the acceptance of the advice of prophets. Those that turned out unfavorably are interpreted as the result of neglect of the prophecies. In any event, the unpredictability of an event is given meaning and incorporated into the causal logic of the Boorana.

Oba found that the mode of the narration of the

*argaa-dhageettii* often changes from its usual form to a poetic one when it is employed to describe the activities of heroes. The Boorana have several kinds of poems, and poems concerning wars are often included in narratives. This mode of narration is characterized by strong rhythms and formalized patterns. They are easy to verbalize and remember and, therefore, tend not to change. Thus, narrators share the same historical narratives. On the other hand, these poems and verses are so formalized that it is difficult to understand their meanings without any historical context. For this reason, narrators often try to add information about their context to elicit the appropriate interpretation. If the narrators provide different historical contexts for the same poem, it is possible that different histories for the same event are created and passed on.

*Maqa-baasa* plays the most important role in the construction of the history of the Boorana. *Maqa-baasa* means the names given to the fathers of *gada*, who are the leaders of the Boorana age-grade system and rule Boorana society for eight years, and a kind of destiny is believed to be attached to each generation. Boorana identify seven generations of the fathers of *gada*; these repeat on a cyclical basis, and each is given a particular name. They believe that some of these *maqa-baasa* have specific destinies such that certain events, such as wars or internal conflicts, occur during their rule. As *maqa-baasa* consists of seven generations, the narrators tend to think that similar events happen when the generation with the same name rules during the next cycle. This structural and cyclical explanation is so influential that events occurring during a certain generation are selected and reconstructed according to the code of a *maqa-baasa* cycle, and history is constructed accordingly.

After considering the roles of prophecies, poetic expressions, and the *maqa-baasa* cycle, Oba points out that they contribute to the construction, memorization, and recollection of the narrations of Boorana history. Prophecies and the *maqa-baasa* cycle play an important role in generating and constructing historical memories. By imputing causality to successive events, both practices connect events according to a certain story, provide interpretations of the events, and depict them as if they were predictable and acceptable. Additionally, poems and the *maqa-baasa* cycle contribute to the memorization of history. The rhythmic and verse forms of the poems make events easy to memorize and recollect, and the cyclical pattern of *maqa-baasa* provides a kind of law-like rule that helps to recollect what has occurred in each generation.

As noted above, Oba is very successful in clarifying the structure and mechanisms of transmission of the historical narratives of the Boorana. Many anthropologists have studied Boorana society, but no



one has investigated their history from a constructionist perspective. In this respect, this book makes a major contribution to the study of the Boorana and also to ethnohistorical research in anthropology.

Although Oba's study is very impressive, it may also be viewed as providing another version of the Boorana as a "cold society", which absorbs any social change. While I cannot refute this interpretation, I can draw attention to two interesting points offered by Oba.

First, Oba mentions not only the constructive aspect of Boorana history but also its instrumental influence on Boorana politics. She found that most of her informants came from the lineage of the fathers of *gada*, pointing out that, before the state conquest, criticizing the power-seeking activities of other lineages as well as knowledge of *argaa-dbageettii*, which justified succession, had been important for achieving a position as a father of *gada*. This knowledge played a role as political capital and was passed down within each lineage.

Second, Oba identifies historical change among the Boorana. According to Oba, *argaa-dbageettii* refers to the historical narratives and customs of the Boorana rather than to their "history" before this change. These narratives had been inextricably linked with the *gada* system and customs, and they were narrated according to the cyclical system of *magabaassa* and *gogeessa* (another cycle of *gada* consisting of five generational sets). It was Asmarom Legesse who, in the 1960s, conducted the first intensive study of the *gada* system of the Boorana. He was also the first to ask his informants to present Boorana history in chronological order. Subsequently, one of his Boorana informants publicly narrated the historical events in chronological order. Other Booranas recorded it, and copies of this tape have been sold widely to the Boorana in northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia. The ethnic education taught in Ethiopia after 1991 enhanced the spread of "the chronological history" among the Boorana. Oba aptly chronicles this change in their treatment of history and their separation of history from customs. She notes that it was caused by the diversification of the conditions under which history is narrated.

Thus, this book very convincingly presents the mechanism by which Boorana history is constructed and preserved. Furthermore, it makes us aware of the relative nature and social embeddedness of "history" and expands our view of the social conditions of history-making. It is a must-read book not only for the anthropologists who study Ethiopia but also for those who are interested in the ethnohistory of "peoples without history".

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**Million Fieldworker's Series, Vol. 1: Entering the Field (100man-nin no fuirudo wabkab siriizu: Fuirudo ni bairu).** Wakana Shiino & Soichiro Shiraishi (eds.), Tokyo: Kokon-Shoin Publisher, 2014, pp. 242 (in Japanese).

*"An important element in the development of research based on fieldwork is visiting someone else's field and communicating with people in different fields."*

This remark was made by a retiring professor at his commemorative lecture, who had been conducting research on natural resource management in agricultural villages in Southeast Asia. The field to which the professor referred had two meanings. One was the place of investigation, and the other was the academic field. He was trying to communicate the importance of fieldworkers' discussing their research with people working in different places and in different academic fields. This process allows researchers to learn how others view their own research, and to learn to view their own research from different perspectives. In reality, however, researchers do not have many opportunities to visit other people's fields or to meet researchers from different academic fields. The book, *Million Fieldworker's Series, Vol. 1: Entering the Field*, enables us to visit others' fields, helps us realize the importance of knowing how people in different fields see and think differently, and allows us to view our own fields in a critical manner.

The book consists of four parts. The first is *Fieldwork as social activity: do social relationships change research?* It emphasizes the necessity for mutual trust between fieldworkers and local people that goes beyond their relationship as researchers and research subjects. Sekiguchi, the author of Chapter 2, suggests that it is important to be interested in every aspect of the everyday lives of the local people in the field, because mutual trust is usually built at times that are not related to research *per se*.

The second part, *Polar region fieldwork: its excitement and survival*, describes three completely different ways of entering fields. The first way involves entering the fields by help of counterparts as if it were a good model. The second way, which is unconventional, involves entering the fields individually in a disorganized way. The third way involves following a predecessor's example. This part of the book also emphasizes the importance of meeting a trustworthy and congenial key person. For example, Matoba tells his experience with Tetsuhide Yamasaki, the Arctic explorer, in Chapter 5. In response to a request issued by Yamasaki, Matoba traveled to Greenland, where he conducted research under unexpectedly severe conditions using a dogsled. Matoba, however, implies that this experience, prompted by Yamasaki, changed his life and his view of research and gave



him confidence.

The third part, *Fieldworkers and field: mutual relationships between the field and research*, focuses on the functions of the mediators of the relationships between fieldworkers and research subjects. The mediators mentioned in this part are cameras, undergraduate students, and research assistants. In Chapter 6, Niwa presents her understanding of how local people see things through the act of taking photographs. In Chapter 7, Konishi, Kadota, and Sugimoto underscore the importance of the undergraduates brought by fieldworkers, noting that local people talk willingly to these students. In Chapter 8, Umeya introduces the report written by his research assistants. Based on this report, Umeya suggests that research assistants who view relationships among fieldworkers, local people, and research themes in an impartially dispassionate manner are necessary elements in fieldwork.

The last part, *I who performs fieldwork: researchers in participatory research*, discusses how the change of relationships between researchers and people who are being studied help develop researches. In Chapter 9, Daimon, who studies the lives of stage performers in Uganda, states that repeatedly "becoming a performer" and "becoming a researcher" was important for her research. Inazu, who is the author of Chapter 10, discusses his experiences while researching Japanese-Peruvian societies, remarking that the daily lives of the people he was studying are inseparably associated with his daily lives. This implies that his relationship with Japanese-Peruvians changed from one of researcher and research subject to one of neighbors.

Other than taking readers to different "fields," the book also has a function of letting readers to encounter different fields by chance. Researchers tend to restrict themselves to their own interests or fields, and to not devote much attention to studies conducted in other fields. This book may challenge this tendency. At the time I began this book, I had never imagined that I would learn how fieldworkers in a polar region enter the field and conduct research. Now, I want to know more about this experience and about research conducted in polar regions. This book provides readers with an opportunity to know and experience fields that they had never imagined visiting. Several books about how people should conduct fieldwork based on fieldworkers' experiences have already been published, but the contributors to these books are from similar academic fields. Reading these books has narrowed my image of fieldwork. It was a delight to find a book, which is the first in a 15-volume series, that enables researchers to encounter and experience various fields in ways that may develop and broaden their own research.

I have only one criticism of this book. Specifically, it offers little to help us answer the question of, "Why fieldwork is important given its expense and complexity and the severe experiences it can involve?" I wanted to know how fieldworkers in different fields find meaning in their performance of fieldwork in their academic field. It has been recently suggested that Japanese youths tend to remain inside. This book makes an important contribution by discussing the significance of fieldwork. It may encourage young people to recognize the meaning of such endeavors, prompting them to travel, experience, or work outside, thereby perpetuating the fieldwork performed in each academic field.

This book stimulates readers to not only think about research, but to also think about their own everyday lives. Thus, I recommend the book to both researchers and people who are struggling with everyday human relationships or are reflecting on the course of their lives but with two requests. I strongly request to those people who are attempting to read this series to, first, read as many volumes as possible because if you read many you will find many elements that help your research and life. Second, read this series carefully while thinking about how fieldworkers' thoughts, feelings, and attitudes toward their field change though whole series seems to be read easily and quickly.

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**Anthropology of Nomadic Pastoralism and Sedentarization (*Yuboku to Teiju no Jinruigaku*).** Sun Xiaogang, Kyoto: Showado, 2012, pp. 196+vi (in Japanese).

This book is based on the author's PhD thesis entitled "Continuity and Dynamics of Pastoral Subsistence among the Rendille in Northern Kenya: With Special Reference to Livestock Management and Response to Socio-Economic Changes," submitted in 2005 to the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies at Kyoto University. The book's main objective is to investigate how pastoralists of the semi-arid lands of East Africa have survived severe and repeated droughts, and how they have coped with drastic socio-economic changes including sedentarization brought by Kenyan government and international development policies. At the end of the introduction, the author states that he hopes the book will contribute to readers' understanding of the "pastoral way of life," stressing that the book focused on indeed a way of life, and not merely a means of subsistence or food production.

The book includes seven chapters:



- Chapter 1. Current Life of East African Pastoralists
- Chapter 2. Environmental Changes Surrounding the Pastoral Rendille
- Chapter 3. Social Responses with the Aim of Continuing Pastoralism
- Chapter 4. Techniques and Strategies for Maintaining Pastoralism
- Chapter 5. Newly Emerging Economic Activities Accompanied by Sedentarization
- Chapter 6. Changes in Pastoral Subsistence and Livestock Values
- Chapter 7. Coping with Both Nomadic Pastoralism and Sedentarization

This book has two distinctive features. First, it adopts the concepts of new ecology as its academic framework, and second, it makes extensive use of the results of a study by Sato (1992), undertaken among the same people about 25 years before the author's survey. In Chapter 1, the author sets out the book's academic framework. He introduces the key concepts of the new ecology, describes the historical changes in the natural environment and in the socio-economic forces affecting East African pastoralists, and provides an articulate historical overview of previous studies on pastoralism and the natural environment. The author defines the new ecology as a new theory that challenges the notion of a "balance of nature," a long-held traditional view in mainstream ecology. The author supports the "non-equilibrium" theory advocated by Scoones (1999) and other scholars of the new ecology, and emphasizes the necessity of analyzing the "changing and dynamically interacting social, political, economic, and ecological processes in order to understand the actual pastoral way of life, thus making it possible to achieve both a synchronic and a diachronic understanding of the dynamism of pastoral subsistence through comparisons with previous studies" (p. 12).

The new ecology differs from traditional ecology in that it incorporates the uncertainties inherent to natural environments. In looking back on the history of ecological research pertaining to pastoralism and its natural environments, it is apparent that early studies had characterized pastoralism as a form of subsistence that was reasonably suitable for the East African semi-arid environment. But after the land degradation that occurred in the 1970s and 1980s due to devastating droughts, overgrazing by pastoralists came to be seen as a cause of the desertification. Scholars invoked the well-known concept of "carrying capacity" and the theory of the "tragedy of the commons" to identify pastoralists, who were allegedly driven by their intentions to maximize their numbers of livestock, as the "cause" of overgrazing. In contrast, this

author introduces several studies claiming that violent fluctuations occur in arid lands with an annual rainfall of less than 300 mm, and concludes that the carrying capacity concept does not apply in this situation. As a result, he uses the new ecology as one of the key starting points for his analysis.

In Chapter 2, he shows how the Rendille land is indeed subject to violent fluctuations. The unpredictable rainfall, unstable ethnic relationships, and drastic socio-economic changes, including sedentarization and a cash economy penetration, illustrate the natural and social uncertainties inherent to the region. In Chapter 3, he explores the ways in which the Rendille people are coping with these changes with the aim of maintaining pastoralism, and points out that the separation of the homestead from livestock camps is a typical action of the sedentarization movement. In Chapter 4, he offers detailed descriptions of the pastoral practices of the Rendille people. He uses Landsat images of the Rendille land to introduce the reader to its varied natural environments and to the various usages of the land, which involve the separation of herds by livestock species such as camels, cattle, goats, and sheep. One impressive outcome of such herding practices is that in one clan, the number of camels that had greatly diminished due to the severe drought of 1982–84 eventually increased over the period of a quarter century and has fully recovered. The author credits the flexible use of natural resources and the cooperation among people of various age categories or between clans as key factors contributing to such resilience in the face of drought.

Chapters 5 and 6 discuss how the Rendille have coped with a cash economy, increasing the number of cattle they raise due to their relatively high value in the livestock markets, to be able to purchase food and pay for hospital fees and education. Migrant work in the cities has also proven to be an important activity to cover those expenses, minimizing the number of livestock sold and contributing to the maintenance of pastoralism. In Chapter 7, the author describes changes in value systems with reference to pastoralism, discussing, for example, how the Rendille use cattle to align with new values such as individualism or the demands of the cash economy, while maintaining religious and social values through the raising of camels.

This book reaches the simple and clear conclusion that "people are maintaining a pastoral way of life by changing its forms, and at the same time they are also searching for new activities outside of pastoral practice" (p. 194). This conclusion is based on highly accurate empirical data based on the author's own fieldwork. His careful analysis and application of the data permeate through the seven chapters. The book also includes five essays that vividly describe how the



author lived a pastoral life with the Rendille people, and how he felt and thought during this time. The chapters and the essays provide a balance that makes the book suitable not only for scholars of ecology, anthropology, or African studies, but also for readers seeking an introductory guide to Africa and/or pastoralism. The numerous professional-quality photographs throughout the book also demonstrate the depth of the author's attraction to the pastoral way of life while he carried out his research.

The author argues that in East African pastoral societies, the most important factors in maintaining pastoralism are social structures. These are the age and clan systems, with an emphasis on valuing and respecting age and age-related rituals. I myself have conducted research in the Samburu land, which is adjacent to the Rendille land, although not as dry, and have personally witnessed an increasing number of people receiving formal education together with a gradual shift from pastoral to agricultural and sedentarized ways of life. Compared with the Rendille people, the pastoralism of the Samburu is currently being more heavily influenced by social changes. Researchers studying East African pastoralism need to carefully observe these societies and clarify the reasons for this difference: Could it be due to differences in the amount of rainfall? To the degree of involvement in development projects? Or to some unique features in Rendille social systems? This book will surely contribute to such future large-scale studies of East African pastoralism.

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**The Reality of Discrimination: Ethnography of the Kafa and the Manjo in Ethiopia** (*Dare ga Sabetsu wo Tsukurunoka: Ethiopia ni Ikiru Kafa to Manjo no Kankeishibi*). Sayuri Yoshida, Yokohama: Shunpudo, 2014, pp. 372 + xl (in Japanese)

The 21<sup>st</sup> century has produced a considerable body of literature with titles including such terms as "transnationalism", "postmodernism", and "neoliberalism". These terms conjure up images of a borderless and egalitarian world in which inherent classificatory systems are forced to the background. This book draws us back to reality, to the real world, where inequality based on wealth, social status, ethnicity, and occupation still exists and where many people suffer from these phenomena. Ethiopia, a country in

which foreign aid agencies abound and people struggle to live between tradition and modernity, contains multiple ethnic and linguistic groups who are not necessarily socially or politically equal. The Manjo, who live among the Kafa, are among those peoples who formed their identities in opposition to the "other", their neighbor, the Kafa. In Africa, such groups, having distinct skills and having inherited occupations such as hunters, potters, tanners, blacksmiths, and minstrels, have formed endogamous societies. Neighboring groups, which usually have superior social and political status, enshrine the "otherness" of these groups in cultural conceptions and customs. The Indian caste system has served as a model for those Western scholars who have blindly reified these relationships without detailed examination of the extent to which this "discrimination" has been established and is experienced in modern settings.

Yoshida perceives this "discrimination", a term currently recycled among the Manjo, the Kafa, the Ethiopian government, and aid agencies, as historically and politically constructed. Based on her fieldwork, which involved spending a total of 30 months in Ethiopia since 2004, she discusses how the relationship between the Manjo and Kafa was constructed as "discrimination" through interactions between the Government, Christian missionaries, and aid agencies.

After reviewing the literature on "discrimination" in Chapter 1 and providing background information about the general situation of the people living in the Kafa area in Chapter 2, Yoshida uses Chapter 3 to show how the Kafa kingdom was formed in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and then incorporated into the Ethiopian Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and describes how Kafa society changed under subsequent regimes (the Italian, Haile Sellasie, Dergue, and Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) regimes). These regimes exerted a significant influence on the relationship between the Manjo and the Kafa. Chapter 4 presents an ethnographic description of how the Manjo living in two villages lead their daily lives. Chapter 5 describes how the life of the Kafa is infused with avoidance rules and taboos, which enable the reader to understand that the Kafa attitude toward the Manjo constitutes a custom of avoidance. This chapter also offers many examples, in the form of personal narratives, of how Kafa and Manjo individuals have dealt with each other in a variety of situations. This approach helps us to grasp how the Kafa, through their interactions with State authorities and the Amhara elite, began to describe the Manjo in negative, stereotypical terms, conceived of and justified with reference to "culture" and "religion". The first-hand description of events experi-



enced offered by the author herself exemplifies how actual “discrimination” is acted out in daily life. However, the author also notes the gap between the traditional customs of avoidance and the discourse related to “discrimination”.

Chapter 6 focuses on religion. Orthodox and Catholic Christianity was first introduced to the Kafa region in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but it was not until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the Kafa kingdom was incorporated into the Ethiopian Empire, that Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity spread to the general Kafa population. However the Orthodox Christian customs of fasting and food taboos made it difficult for the Manjo to accept this religion. The Protestant missionary churches, with no such customs, began their proselytization in the region during the middle of the last century, and this religion spread rapidly among the Manjo under the EPRDF regime. Yoshida points out that the conversion of the Manjo to Protestant Christianity from their local belief in spirits (eqo) coincided with their effort to reconstruct their own identity vis-a-vis the Kafa, who are primarily Orthodox Christian.

Chapter 7 deals with the efforts of a group of Manjo who petitioned the Government, accusing their Kafa neighbors of “discriminating” against the Manjo and requesting the status of an ethnic group distinct from and equal to the Kafa. Under the EPRDF regime, the right to self-determination was constitutionally guaranteed to “nations, nationalities and peoples”, and it was possible for the Manjo to seek recognition from the government. Yoshida describes how the petition movement developed, who led it, and how the content of the petition changed from the initial stage in 1997 to its final version in 2013. The author also analyzes the content of the petition, focusing on the justification of the claim for a distinct Manjo ethnicity.

Chapter 8 describes the 2002 attack by the Manjo against the Kafa, an incident involving Manjo and Kafa residents in a number of villages in the region, and discusses the aftermath of this incident. After this incident, a number of NGOs entered the area

with projects that framed the relationship between the Manjo and the Kafa in terms of “discrimination” and placed it under the banner of “human rights”. This incident also induced the government to provide a final answer to the Manjo, denying their claim for a status as a distinct people but launching affirmative action policies for the Manjo, who were re-described as a “discriminated minority group”.

Chapter 9 discusses how the customs and rules of avoidance embedded in Kafa society regulating interactions between the Manjo and the Kafa were reconceptualized and reframed as “discrimination” by policymakers, Christian missionaries, and aid agencies, including NGOs. The author argues that the notion of “discrimination” by the Kafa against the Manjo was introduced by multiple actors and that this undercurrent became visible in the shift in terminology. Ironically, those protesting against “discrimination” “enlightened” those who are the targets of such “discrimination” by convincing them they are actually “discriminated” against and that they need help to overcome their current plight in the service of self-determination, egalitarianism, and human rights. Additionally, the notion of “discrimination” constructed and criticized by policymakers, missionaries, NGOs, and researchers has been justified by “substantiated facts” derived from observations of the everyday interactions between the Kafa and Manjo.

This book provides invaluable ethnographic documentation, offering not only an in-depth description of the current situation of the Manjo living among the Kafa but also a reminder of the fact that social issues (such as “discrimination”) are likely to be framed by those outside the society through interactions among multiple actors (including foreign researchers). Such construals, of course, may affect local situations. Although written in Japanese, this book, if translated into English, deserves to be read by those interested in “discrimination” in local settings throughout the world.

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