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Review

Reviewed Work(s): *The Dark Side of Humanity: The Work of Robert Hertz and Its Legacy*  
by Robert Parkin and Robert Hertz

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**Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996. xxiv + 236 pp. figures, bibliography, index.**

PAUL J. MAGNARELLA  
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Larry Naylor, whom the book describes as the director of the Cultural Sensitivity Training and Research Center at the University of North Texas, offers a comprehensive discussion of the numerous anthropological concepts associated with culture, culture change, and applied anthropology over the past century. After devoting the first two chapters to a historical review of the culture concept, the author presents in chapter 3 an "environmental adaptation/interaction" model of cultural change in the form of a flow diagram. Naylor devotes chapters 4 through 7 to a discussion of directed cultural changes processes. Chapter 8 treats the problems and considerations associated with introducing culture change or applied anthropology. These considerations include psychological factors such as motivation and adherence to tradition.

Naylor's approach falls within the positivist tradition. Throughout these chapters, he illustrates various ideas with empirical references to particular societies and published works. He does not, however, offer fully developed case studies.

Naylor's writing tends to be wordy, and on occasion he tends to reify key concepts. He writes, for example, that "[culture] is real, yet we speak of it in the abstract" (p. 16), and "evolution points to the continuous nature of change" (p. 38). Although his "environmental adaptation/interaction" model clearly grants priority to the natural environment as the major causal element of culture change, he qualifies (or contradicts) this on occasion. For example, at one point he writes that "[communication] may be the single most important force of change" (pp. 158–159), and at another point, he states that "change may begin with an idea" (p. 18). Thus the author's logic in use is more eclectic than his stated model suggests.

Naylor's approach is certainly multidimensional in that he considers various facets of the cultural change process as conceptualized by many different anthropologists over the decades. His references to the literature are abundant and well chosen. Consequently the work should appeal to anyone seeking an organized review of the topic. He ends the book with some advice with which I certainly agree: "Anthropologists must move from their parochial cultural research interests, develop more global interests, and become more willing to engage in international activities" (p. 213).

***The Dark Side of Humanity: The Work of Robert Hertz and its Legacy.* ROBERT PARKIN. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1996. xi + 226 pp., notes, bibliography, indexes.**

NUR YALMAN  
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Among the countless innocents who died in the first World War on the distant battlefields from Ver-

dun to Gallipoli was a young man, tall, attractive, and one of Durkheim's most brilliant students. Robert Hertz was 31 when he volunteered for active service on the Marchéville front. He had recently been married and had been working with Durkheim in those dark times under the miasma of the Dreyfus accusations that had engulfed French intellectual circles. He had just published some brilliant essays and reviews that became, in time, profoundly influential in the development of anthropological thought in two of the critical academic centers, Paris and Oxford, and that were later translated as *Death and the Right Hand* (Cohen and West, 1960) by Rodney and Claudia Needham (with an introduction by E. E. Evans-Pritchard). He also left a monograph on Saint Besse, based on his brief fieldwork in the Italian Alps, that had been published before he was killed. His incomplete 1922 work, "Le péché et l'expiation dans les sociétés primitives," which Marcel Mauss discussed in his lectures at the Collège de France in 1935, was not published in English until 1994 (*Sin and Expiation in Primitive Societies*, British Centre for Durkheimian Studies, Occasional papers, 2, trans. by Parkin). Given these comparatively few works, it is impressive that Hertz left such a profound impression on his contemporaries and has proven significant to important, later followers. We can only surmise what his contribution might have been had his life not been sadly cut short. Robert Parkin has produced a meticulously researched, detailed, carefully reasoned and moving intellectual biography that covers Hertz's life, his intellectual production, letters, and works, and the reactions to these works both during his brief lifetime and since his death. Parkin also provides a precise and valuable guide to the more recent discussions and controversies emanating from the work of this remarkably fecund thinker.

In the early chapters of his book Parkin provides excellent information on the activities of the *Année sociologique* group in Paris; he evocatively describes the relations of Hertz with Durkheim, Mauss, Halbwachs, Hubert, Simiand, Bouglé, Granet, and others of their circle. Parkin also notes Hertz's interest in socialism, activism in connection with the launching of *L'Humanité*, and work with Mauss, Herr, and others. Parkin's lucid style conveys the intensity of their effort and the excitement that surrounded their development of social theory. For anyone interested in the intellectual ferment in France during those heady years, Parkin's erudite commentary provides a veritable treasure trove of leads and references. The detailed research that he has condensed into a few pages is noteworthy: we learn, for instance, that Marcel Mauss was in the audience both when Marcel Granet spoke on the usages of right and left in China in 1933 at the Institut Français de Sociologie, and when Hertz's ideas were subjected to public discussion for the first time (p. 65).

In the chapters on Hertz's life and career, the Durkheimian background, and Hertz's role as a reviewer and pamphleteer, Parkin offers a useful discussion of Hertz's political writings that is well-annotated with references. It is after thus clearing the ground that Parkin enters into the heart of his work:

in the next four chapters he provides a systematic and exemplary analysis of Hertz's main ideas and their present significance. First Parkin presents Hertz's ideas, then Parkin presents the reactions of Hertz's contemporaries to his work. Only then does Parkin direct us to the lines of connection from the discussions of the 1920s and '30s in France and England to present-day concerns. We are presented with essentially four main issues. The problem of "right and left" leads into a useful discussion of "oppositions"; the work on "death" leads into an examination of *rites de passage* and the organization of ritual; and Saint Besse concerns the problem of "solidarity" and the management of history. Finally there is the ambitious and incomplete (and highly Durkheimian) project on "Sin and Expiation." How does the moral dimension of society express itself in the individual conscience through the sense of sin? How does expiation work? How are transgressions to be treated? What are the ritual patterns through which solidarity is reaffirmed and errant individuals are reunited with their group? These are the main concerns of Hertz's writings. Their connection with the *Année sociologique* tradition is evident.

Parkin is to be commended for the way that he links these problems to the past and present. He has compiled interesting notes to show how Louis Dumont, who had been a student of Mauss in Paris, is invited to Oxford in the period after the war. Through Dumont, Evans-Pritchard became involved and then included the work of Hertz every year in his lectures. The main questions raised by Hertz have certainly remained of perennial interest. Parkin's commentary is extremely helpful in providing the outlines of the most recent investigations around these subjects without digressing into a lengthy discussion of the associated controversies. The work of Needham is discussed. Lévi-Strauss is only mentioned.

This is a valuable and admirable work. We are indebted to Parkin for his meticulous and extensive research on critical intellectual traditions.

***Anthropology of Organizations.* SUSAN WRIGHT, ed. New York: Routledge, 1994. xi + 217 pp., contributors, notes, references, index.**

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Britain, home of my ancestors (obscure Cornish miners and Welsh farmers), intrigues me but remains too often an anecdotal mystery (land of "mad cow disease," "football hooligans," "New Labour," and "Princess Di"). I fear that I am most likely to "keep up" with it through television programs such as "East-Enders" and "Chef" and novels by Anita Brookner, Pat Barker, or James Kelman. I do know that anthropology was first made vivid to me not by Americans but by the "classics" of British Social Anthropology (BSA)—Polish-born Malinowski in the Trobriands, Evans-Pritchard with the Nuer, and Leach in Highland Burma.

So, I ask, what do British anthropologists do today? Judging from the numerous smart-looking new titles (many published by Routledge) that I have re-

cently seen displayed in bookstores, quite a lot, and much of it "at home." This book, by nine female and four male authors (all British except for one Australian), is composed of three major parts (on indigenous Third World management, gender inequalities, and empowering clients) with often gritty, urban, and distinctly "unexotic" (and therefore somehow appealing) settings and characters: a trade union, a mutual life insurance company, a welfare agency, community-based psychiatric care, divorce courts, a housing authority office, and Australian secretaries. Meanwhile, two chapters concern water irrigation rights in Kashmir and administrative behavior in Papua New Guinea.

Susan Wright's introduction states that this book "concerns the contribution of anthropology [especially the "culture concept"] to the study of government, non-government (voluntary), and private sector organizations" (p. 1). The contributors pay particular attention to three periods of anthropological interest in formal organizations: (1) the 1927–32 study of the Western Electric Hawthorne Plan in western Chicago and in Cicero, IL (which involved Lloyd Warner and the "social system" ideas of Warner's British mentor, Radcliffe-Brown); (2) studies in the 1950s and 1960s by Manchester University anthropologists (including Max Gluckman and Harvard's George C. Homans) of industrial "shop floors"; and, most recently, (3) efforts to reestablish the credibility of a "British urban anthropology"—efforts that have, according to Wright, in the past "been written out of the discipline's history" (p. 15). (Such rare tensions in the book may suggest the sometimes onerous weight of that original, "exotic" BSA tradition.) Only today, says Wright, are anthropology and organization studies again finding common ground in the "culture concept," which applies Geertzian concepts of "systems of meaning" and "shared beliefs."

The contributors to this book raise numerous important issues—especially important, perhaps, for a nonacademic, "practicing" anthropologist like me who must continually figure out how to "legitimize" anthropological research in domestic, "at-home" settings. Gender inequality (i.e., the chronic undervaluing of women's work and roles) emerges as an important theme for many of the authors. I struggled sometimes to "translate" what this must have meant if it came from researchers who were members of a highly traditional, even class-bound society where, I could only assume, "women's liberation" was still less viable than in the United States. I also saw the need to translate various more prosaic, non-American references and terms (e.g., "tendering," as in putting up for competitive bidding [p. 164], and "gangmasters," meaning subcontractors who find seasonal farm labor for farmers [p. 142]).

For all its merits, I did not find this book very enlightening methodologically; fieldwork (i.e., participant-observation) is mentioned but rarely discussed and does not seem to be problematic for most of the authors (despite the fact that the authors claim that anthropology inherently relies on "problematising" sociocultural settings [p. 4]). Although Wright lauds anthropologists' capacity for doing "fine-grained" ethnographies, a phrase that she uses three times