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Susan Friend HARDING, *Remaking Ibieca: Rural Life in Aragon Under Franco*: Chapel Hill and London, University of North Carolina Press, 1984. 221 pages, US $24.95 (cloth)

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city. All this makes one query how well the larger system can be analyzed from one small village.

In contrast, Judith and Hans Beuchler look at migration from the other direction: they describe the life histories of individuals comprising two "kindreds," (really cognatic kinship networks) over several generations, in different locales in Spanish Galicia. They show the complex factors (wealth, gender, birth order, land, timing of inheritance, kin ties) which affect choices in earning a livelihood (investment in land or commercial ventures, skills, migration) in a national and international context.

A compromise between village-focus and individual focus, and a clear attempt to use "social field" as against bounded units and cultural explanation, is provided by the last section and Joan Vincent's exploratory paper on class, religion and marriage strategies in a northern Irish locale between 1846 and 1920. Here, marital patterns varied amongst the gentry, entrepreneurs, artisans, farmers, servants and labourers; and the overall process was one in which land became consolidated in the hands of Protestant farmers.

In all, this volume is an interesting summary (with some exceptions, most notably social history, dependency theory and class analysis) of Europeanist anthropology today. It also sums up what is, in fact, one of Arensberg's legacies: the difficulty social anthropologists have in finding a substitute for "community" and the inability of many cultural anthropologists even to see the problem.

Susan Friend HARDING, *Remaking Ibieca: Rural Life in Aragon Under Franco:* Chapel Hill and London, University of North Carolina Press, 1984. 221 pages, US $24.95 (cloth).

By Winnie Lem
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Remaking Ibieca is a reponse to the challenge in anthropology of integrating historiography and ethnography within a single coherent framework. It is a lucidly written study of the transformations of rural community life in northeastern Spain between 1950 and 1975, a period marked by the expansion of capitalism and state intervention in agriculture through the reformist policies of the Franco regime. In attempting to portray social change at the local level against a backdrop of historical developments in the national political economy, Harding uses the technique of focusing on individual lives to demonstrate the impact of larger forces on the village population. Her book is generously laced with detailed accounts of individual and family histories and through these she pursues her main objective—the reconstruction of the events and processes leading to the displacement of both a "preindustrial" (but not "precapitalist") labour intensive agriculture and a peasant agriculture by a capital intensive market-oriented agriculture. As a result of closely scrutinizing these case studies, the author suggests that, contrary to the common assumption in modernization theory, peasants are not seduced to give up their preindustrial ways of life by the material rewards offered by industrial capitalism. Rather, not only did the process of transformation precede the advent of capitalist consumer culture but the people of Ibieca willingly participated in the social processes that irrevocably transformed the village economy and society. One of the main themes in the book is that, for centuries, peasants in Ibieca had been modifying and adapting productive strategies according to the imperatives of changing political regimes, all with the goal of preserving their *casas*,—the people and property associated with a household. Harding asserts that, despite the commitment to ensuring the continuity of the *casa*, the actions and strategies followed by the villagers during the Franco era yielded the unintended consequence of promoting their own culture's demise.

In the first part of the book, Harding describes the changes in forms of production that obtained in the pre-Franco era under the hegemony of several political and economic orders: under feudalism; under constitutionalism in the 19th century; the constitutional monarchy and the dictatorial politics of Primo de Rivera in the early 20th century; during the Second Republic in the 30's; and finally under the civil war and anarchist revolution. From the manifold changes in the political wind, Harding distills the essence of production relations in the village, and we find that Ibieca at the threshold of Spain under Franco was characterized by "three interpenetrating realms of social relations". One realm involved the organization of work on the larger estates which generated a hierarchical set of relationships between the families of landowners and labourers. The second generated a set of egalitarian relations between families on smaller estates, while the third involved the continuity of the *casa* and was common to both realms. A subsistence-oriented peasant form of agricultural production made up of small estates existed alongside an early, preindustrial capitalist form on the large estates.

In the second part of the book, Harding

describes the collapse of the two forms of production into one advanced capitalist form and the concomittant changes in the social, political and cultural order of the village with the breakdown of the realms of social relations. Agriculture was "remade" into a capitalist form as a result of a series of individual decisions that responded to state reform programmes and changing market conditions. Ibieca was transformed into a village of farmers who were dependent on the market for the sale of their product and the purchase of items of consumption, while farms were becoming rapidly mechanized. Divested of the social obligations in the system of patron-client ties existing in the pre-Franco era, relations between landowners and labourers were laid bare as the mere exchange of wages for labour. Social links between *casas* distintegrated under the impact of the reforms, while the *casa* itself became reorganized as a unit of production and social reproduction. For example, mechanization produced a situation of surplus labour on the farm, which promoted the rise of migration creating different residential patterns, the stem family as a household form and "moral universe" fell into decline. As Harding argues that the social and economic transformation of Ibieca is the outcome not only of imposed state policies and programmes but also of the participation of the villagers in decision making processes, she suggests that the villagers unwittingly colluded in bringing about the cultural death of Ibieca. With this formulation, Harding asserts that social change in Ibieca is the unintended product of the various strategies used by individual households to adapt to changing political and economic environments. In final chapters of the book, the issue of the possibility of forming agricultural cooperatives is taken up and Harding uses this forum to underscore her conclusion that the old order in Ibieca has died and there will be no resurrection.

As an historical ethnography, the book successfully responds to the need for including history in the analysis of agrarian societies. It is a very accomplished study of the historical forces which contributed toward shaping a village community. While offering what is for the most part a comprehensive (at least comprehensive for students of the local community) account of the forces at work in the larger political economy of Spain over the last 100 years, it never loses sight of the principle motive for the historical exposition—the understanding of the transformations occurring and that have occurred in the local community.

As ethnography, *Remaking Ibieca*, is a skillful reconstruction of the socio-cultural, political and economic universe of a community of agricultural producers in a peripheral area of Western Europe. It achieves several rather difficult tasks that confront the ethnographer. It manages to offer a richly detailed account of the social life of a rural community in a flowing narrative, while conveying to the reader a vivid sense of the individuals who make up the community. It captures the range of forces at both the local and the wider level that converge to give a particular character to the village at various points in its history. The analysis of the relationship between state and locality has long been acknowledged as fundamental to the understanding of rural communities in the European context, but it remains a very daunting task in ethnography. Harding has overcome the difficulties and convincingly argues that the state and the forces of capitalist penetration work hand in hand to undermine non-capitalist agricultural forms.

As a study that contributes to theories and analyses of agrarian transformation, it has a number of limitations. It presents a forceful argument against modernization theories of social change by asserting the centrality of the state and the state regulated market while demonstrating, at the same time, that people do not respond passively to the wider forces of change. Within any given context people make decisions and this is at least as influential in the creation of social structures as historical forces. "People not structures make both society and history. History is structured-people do not make it exactly as they please—and in making history people also remake social structures." (p. 25) While Harding seems determined to demonstrate that social change in Ibieca is not unilaterally governed by the forces of state integration and the penetration of capitalism, there is the tendency in her work of de-systematizing the analysis of social change. "When agrarian policies and market conditions change, *casa* decisions shift, and the village economy is altered. In this context social change is a mere side effect, an unintended consequence of the *casas*' adjustments to their environment of opportunities and constraints." (p. 159) It is difficult, given such statements to ascertain any precise conception and systematic understanding of the process of rural transformation. It is impossible to deny that people are decision-makers and follow certain strategies in certain contexts and that human actions have both intended and unintended consequences, but to extrapolate from this basic assumption to the view of social change as epiphenomenal—a by-product of human action—seems reductionist and self-defeating in a discipline that is committed to generating a comparative perspective. Perhaps the emphasis placed on the decision-making process

stems from a commitment to the empirical tradition, which denies the validity of essences while reifying surface appearances. The author seems to assign an undue measure of significance to the content of individual and family histories in a search for explanatory clues. The case material is thus extended beyond the realm of mere illustration and metaphor and given explanatory weight. In combing the domain of individuality, one is inevitably led into the area of human motivation that informs decisions to follow various courses of action. To the extent that what is uncovered here does provide explanations, it can only account for why certain decisions are made at the individual level. But it is to skip a number of levels of analysis to make causal connections between human psychology and socio-historical processes. The variation uncovered in this arena undermines systematic interpretation and, perforce, one arrives at the conclusion that social transformation is in the end fortuitous—an historical accident, a view to which she manifestly does not subscribe given her analysis of history, state and economy. Yet she is led to this proposition. Perhaps this is more due to the problematic and rather narrow definition of social change itself. Harding regards social change, in essence, as the disintegration of a way of life or cultural death, which by tautology seems to feed into its characterization as historical accident. People follow actions to ensure the survival of their own culture as represented by a certain way of life. If their strategies nevertheless result in the disintegration of a variety of "traditional" production practices, social relations and cultural habits, this cannot be a desired state. Therefore, these consequences are unintended. It follows then that social change *qua* cultural death is unintended. Whether social change, narrowly or broadly defined, is intentional or unintentional seems less the issue than the need to understand the logic of historical transformation. Fortunately, Harding does not draw greatly on her own formulation for the purposes of describing the transformations in Ibieca except in the final chapters of the book, where there seems to be some equivocation over the complete cultural death of Ibieca, over those aspects of village life that have died and those that live on. Had Harding been less preoccupied with the idea of the passing of the old order and concentrated on change as a process whereby forms become transformed, such vascillation could be dispensed with. But this is a minor point. Despite the excursus into the indeterminant which detracts from the overall coherence of the study, Harding does in fact present a highly systematic account of rural transformation.

Frederick K. ERRINGTON, *Manners and Meaning in West Sumatra: The Social Context of Consciousness*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984. 175 pages, US $20 (cloth).

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Errington has portrayed one aspect of Minangkabau culture and social life which has been largely neglected in the numerous publications about this society which have appeared during the past twenty years: the ways in which Minangkabau men talk about, interpret, enact and show off their *adaik*, Indonesian: *adat*. *Adat* is their cultural universe; the word *adat* is an umbrella term covering law, social and political organization, customary behaviour patterns, etiquette and also those elements of the sacral and magic universe which have not yet been fully superseded by Islam. The red thread through *adat* is the concern with the ideology of matrilineal descent and its manifestations in the various fields of social life. Minangkabau *adat* has always fascinated western (but also eastern) observers. "Most members of western culture", says Errington, "would find the Minang exceptional, not because they also explicitly interpret their culture, but because they interpret it so much" (p. 93). Errington's account, based on 6 months field research in the village of Bayur, is very well written. It is also very personal. He lets the reader share his experiences: how he was initiated into the proper behaviour *(baso basi)*; his conversations with men, and lineage heads, *panghulu*, in particular, who are the real experts in *adat*; his admiration and surprise at their eloquence, the ease with which they reproduce innumerable *adat* proverbs and sayings, master the ceremonial *adat* language full of allusions and with which they make sense of everything—social and political changes, new technologies, etc.—in terms of *adat*. Everyone who has lived in West Sumatra for some time will immediately recognize the pictures evoked in Errington's book and certify to their beauty and likeness. Equally interesting and readable are the chapters on the ceremonies around the ascension to *panghulushiip* ("*Adaik* Incarnate") and the pig hunt—the social forms which Errington sees as the extreme poles in Minangkabau men's life: The former showing a maximum of constraint within ceremonial enclosure, the latter the expression of freedom in which an abundance of energy, capacity for violence, anger and malice are acted out. This makes Errington's book a very welcome and