

AUSTRALIAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY
NEWSLETTER

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Australian
Anthropological
Society
NEWSLETTER

MARCH 1987 NO. 34

Chair: Joel S. Kahn
Dept. of Anthropology & Sociology
Monash University,
Clayton, Vic. 3168

Hon. Sec.: Michael Stevenson
Dept. of Anthropology & Sociology
Monash University,
Clayton, Vic. 3168

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The Australian Anthropological Society was formed in 1973 to "promote the advancement of anthropology as a professional discipline". Its membership of approximately 350 includes most practising anthropologists in Australia, with some members in countries overseas such as New Zealand, Papua New Guinea and Fiji. It also includes a broad representation of people working in related fields.

The AAS NEWSLETTER is published four times a year and provides a forum for the discussion of current matters relevant to anthropology and anthropologists. Contributions from all quarters are welcome. Such contributions should not normally exceed three thousand words and should be typed on A4 and single spaced.

The NEWSLETTER also publishes on occasion, contents of Australian journals, notices of other publications, conference notices, notices of positions vacant and sought, and "co-operation" notices. The last mentioned are notices of information, appeals, notices of material or equipment sought or offered, and is free for members.

Membership is currently \$20 per annum for salaried and \$10 per annum for unsalaried persons. It is open to anyone who is prepared to contribute to the objectives of the Society.

Further information is available from the Secretary:

Dr. Michael Stevenson,
Department of Anthropology and Sociology,
Monash University, Clayton, Vic. 3168.

Correspondence regarding the NEWSLETTER should be sent to the Publications Officer:

Dr. Dawn Ryan,
Department of Anthropology and Sociology,
Monash University, Clayton, Vic. 3168.

The DEADLINES for material to be published in NEWSLETTERS are:

For March edition - February 28
June edition - May 31
September edition - August 31
December edition - November 30

The views of contributors are not necessarily those of the AAS.

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5. Drs. Salim Lakha and Michael Stevenson
Dept. of Anthropology & Sociology, Monash University, Clayton, Vic. 3168.

Social Movements

Capitalism with its revolution of the relationship between human beings and nature and with its chronic class struggles has not only produced wealth on a scale hitherto unknown but has also inspired many social movements which in themselves seek to oppose or even go beyond what is offered by bourgeois civilization. The convenors of this session call for papers that focus on such processes of opposition and criticism.

AAS CONFERENCE 1987

DATE: Monday 24 August - Wednesday 26 August, 1987
 VENUE: Monash University, Clayton, Victoria 3168
 SPONSOR: Department of Anthropology & Sociology, Monash University
 CONFERENCE CHAIRPERSON: Professor Joel Kahn
 ACCOMMODATION: Halls of Residence, Monash University. Bed and Breakfast, room unserviced, \$22.50 per night. No deposit required. Pay individually at end of stay. But we do need to know how many people require accommodation - so please write to AAS Secretary, Dr. Michael Stevenson no later than 15th June otherwise a bed cannot be guaranteed you.

CONFERENCE SESSIONS: Those of you who wish to convene a session contact AAS Secretary by no later than 15th June. Please contact the convenors if you wish to give a paper.

CONVENORS AND SESSIONS CURRENTLY ON OFFER:

1. Dr. Dawn Ryan Current Problems in Melanesian
 Dept. of Anthropology Ethnography
 & Sociology, Monash
 University, Clayton,
 Vic. 3168.
2. Dr. Don Miller Issues in the Ethnography of
 Dept. of Anthropology South and South-East Asia
 & Sociology, Monash
 University, Clayton,
 Vic. 3168.
3. Dr. Deborah Rose Culture and Ecology
 Australian Institute The theme is how people construct
 of Aboriginal Studies, and maintain the world they live
 P.O. Box 553, Canberra, in.
 A.C.T. 2601.
4. Ms Julie Carter Aborigines in Settled Australia
 Dept. of Prehistory Earlier interpretations are being
 & Anthropology, challenged by new evidence and
 The Faculties, A.N.U., theory. Current research focusses
 P.O. Box 4, Canberra, on structural and cultural
 A.C.T. 2601. continuities between Aborigines in
 remote and settled Australia, on
 ideology, and on the relationship
 with other fourth world situations.

EDITORIAL

As you will see, the AAS has a new Constitution which will come into effect when incorporation is completed. There is still a lot of work to be done if the new structure is to provide the benefits of professionalization and those who are interested in the future of the Society are urged to take an active part in making sure that the new structure is effective.

I have once more included the new requirements and guidelines for those seeking research visas to Papua New Guinea, in case they did get overlooked last time.

If the historic occasion of the Conference being at Monash is to be marked in proper style, members will need to attend and to contribute papers. Details so far and the first call for contributions are set out at the end of the Newsletter. We are all looking forward to your company in August.

Dawn Ryan
 AAS Publications Officer

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1986

RECEIPTS	EXPENDITURE
From previous year:	Newsletter Costs ex Griffith \$ 557.09
Ex L. Crissman Jan 86 \$2149.81	Phone, Stationery 141.16
Ex TAA May 86 200.00	Darwin Accom. Outstanding 57.00
Ex M. Jolly Aug 86 1747.60	Legal Costs on Above 47.00
Annual Subscriptions and Conference Fees etc 3347.67	Conference Accom. Deposits 226.40
Bank Interest 80.12	Refunds 10.00
Griffith University School Donations 300.00	Bank Charges 4.20
	Conference Dinner, Catering and Room Hire 1150.27
	Forwarded to 1987 Committee:
	August 1986 453.00
	November 1986 5000.00
	December 1986 179.08
<hr/>	<hr/>
\$7825.20	\$7825.20
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A.K. Chase
School of Australian Environmental Studies
Griffith University
Nathan, Qld. 4111

8. The anti-War and anti-conscription movements. Dr. Max Teichmann,
Dept. of Politics,
Monash University,
CLAYTON. VIC. 3168.
9. The Vietnam Veterans Association. Dr. Barry Wright,
School of Humanities and
Applied Social Sciences,
Nepean CAE,
KINGSWOOD. NSW 2750.
10. The Agent Orange Controversy. Dr. Jock McCulloch,
School of Humanities,
Deakin University,
VICTORIA. 3217.
11. Psychiatric and psychological effects of the war. Professor Chris Tennant,
Professorial Psychiatric
Unit,
Royal North Shore Hospital,
ST. LEONARDS. NSW 2065.
12. Vietnamese in Australia. Dr. Gary Lee,
School of Behavioural
Sciences,
Macquarie University,
SYDNEY. NSW 2109.
- ALSO Psychodrama Workshop organized by Drs. Max Clayton and Leon Petchkovsky and expected to include participation by Vietnam Veterans with psychodramatic training. Dr. Leon Petchkovsky,
Box 57,
HAZELBROOK. NSW 2779.

N.B. This order is not necessarily the order in which sessions will actually be held.

PLEASE NOTE: The conference secretary is:

Mr. W.H. (John) Jones,
C/- Registrar's Office,
Macquarie University,
SYDNEY. NSW 2109.

SESSION	CONVENOR
1. What kind of war was being fought in Vietnam (peasant, national liberation, insurgency civil)?	Dr. Carlyle Thayer, Dept. of Politics, Australian Defence Force Academy, CAMPBELL. ACT 2600
2. Australian military operations in Vietnam.	Dr. Peter Dennis, Dept. of History, Australian Defence Force Academy, CAMPBELL. ACT 2600.
3. Ecological and environmental effects on Vietnam.	Professor Jim Rose, School of Earth Sciences, Macquarie University, SYDNEY. NSW 2109.
4. Regional and international relations during and since the Vietnam War.	Mr. Peter Moir, PO Box 221, KATOOMBA. NSW 2780.
5. Impact of the War on Australian society and culture.	Mr. Jim Woolford, Dept. of Education, Catholic College of Education, Box 201, CASTLE HILL. NSW 2154.
6. The Media and the War.	Ms. Virginia Nightingale, School of Humanities and Applied Social Sciences, Nepean CAE, Box 10, KINGSWOOD. NSW 2750.
7. Art and Literature.	Dr. Peter Pierce, Dept. of English, Australian Defence Force Academy, CAMPBELL. ACT 2600.

POSTAL BALLOT FOR A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR THE AAS

The vote closed at 5 p.m. on 15th December 1986. The votes were counted by Mrs. V.M. Kutschbach, Secretary to the Assistant Registrar, Faculty of Arts, Monash University.

The result was as follows:

Yes	34
No	15

As the number of votes was sufficient, and yes votes exceeded the required 2/3 majority of the votes cast, the new Constitution is deemed to have been accepted.

J.S. Kahn
Chair, AAS
18/2/87

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The instruction of the 1986 AGM that the 1986/7 Executive undertake the incorporation of the AAS has meant that there is some confusion about the status of the new Constitution which was accepted in December. It seems that the only practical way out is to consider that the old Constitution remains in force until incorporation has been completed. This process is now in train, and when it is completed the Society will have to undertake the transition from current, unincorporated, Society to the new, incorporated, body according to the regulations of the NSW Corporate Affairs Commission.

JOB VACANCY

WANTED: Ethnologist to document rapidly changing culture of recently exposed hunting and gathering people in Papua New Guinea. Must secure most of own funding and remain in the field, with breaks, for at least one year.

Government approval and institutional affiliation, plus some support, provided. Must be physically fit. PhD candidate acceptable; supervision by PNG Institute of Medical Research should be anticipated. For further information, write Carol Jenkins, Research Fellow in Medical Anthropology, PNG Institute of Medical Research, PO Box 60, GOROKA, PNG.

1986/7 OFFICERS OF AAS

At the AGM in August 1986, it was noted that the two people proposed for the positions of Secretary and Treasurer were not current members and hence were ineligible for office. In order that the business of the Meeting could go forward, Martha Macintyre and Grant Evans agreed to be nominated as interim Secretary and Treasurer respectively.

Michael Stevenson and George Silberbauer, both of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at Monash University, are now current members of the Society and have taken over as Secretary and Treasurer.

All officers are now located within the one Department, as was the original intention of those who will be responsible for the organization of the 1987 Conference.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

MACQUARIE 1987

CONFERENCE ON AUSTRALIA AND THE VIETNAM WAR

Nearly twenty-five years ago Australian troops were sent to Vietnam (1962). Ten years later the last troops were withdrawn. An increasingly bitter and divisive controversy characterized the "home front" during that period, rivalling the conscription split in World War One.

The Vietnam question continues to haunt Australia. Externally, there is controversy over relations with Vietnam. Internally, there is the long-running debate over Agent Orange. Perhaps less obvious to the public eye, but of great importance, is the impact of the War on Australian thought and society, and on the lives of the persons who - in one way or another - were in it. These effects are still working themselves out, long after Australians ceased to be militarily active in Vietnam.

Macquarie University is sponsoring a conference during the week beginning 27 April, 1987 (following the Anzac Day weekend and preceding the National Conference of the Vietnam Veterans Association).

About a dozen sessions will focus on selected aspects of the War at home and abroad and on the impact of the War at the time and since. The conference promises to be unique in its breadth of approach, in the variety of specialisms, experiences and points of view which it will bring together, and in the range of opportunities it will present for assessing a war and the effects of war.

Most sessions will last half a day, but as others could run all day it may be necessary to stage some concurrently. It is expected that documentary and other films will be screened during the conference, in addition to which it is hoped to stage the play "Hearts and Minds" (by Vietnam veteran and drama student, Fred Spalding).

Persons interested in giving papers should get in touch with the convenor of the session to which they would like to contribute.

The conference directors are:

Dr. Barry Wright, School of Humanities and Applied Social Sciences, Nepean CAE, Box 10, KINGSWOOD. NSW 2750.	AND	Professor Kenneth Maddock, School of Behavioural Sciences, Macquarie University, SYDNEY. NSW 2109.
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Phone: (047) 36 0222

REFERENCES

- Counts, D.A., "Fighting Back is Not the Way: Suicide and the Women of Kalaiaia", American Ethnologist, 7, 1980: 332-351.
- Godelier, M., La production des grands hommes, Paris, Fayard, 1982. (English trans. 1985, The Production of Great Men, Cambridge, CUP.)
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- Strathern, M., "No Nature, No Culture: The Hagen Case", in C. McCormack and M. Strathern (eds), Nature, Culture and Gender, Cambridge, CUP, 1980: 174-222.
- Strathern, M., "Culture in a Netbag: The Manufacture of a Subdiscipline in Anthropology", Man, 16, 1981: 665-688.

Chris Healey
 Department of Sociology and Social Policy
 Darwin Institute of Technology

PNG RESEARCH VISAS

In a letter to Martha Macintyre, the Director of the Institute of PNG Studies, Jacob Simet asked that the following requirements and guidelines for those seeking research visas be publicized.

INFORMATION FOR FOREIGN RESEARCHERS IN PNG

- (a) Intending researchers should apply as early as possible to their nearest Papua New Guinea Embassy for a research visa. This is then processed by the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies in order to get recommendation from the relevant academic and provincial authorities.
- (b) The application should be accompanied by 3 typed copies of proposal showing in full the nature of research, location of research, intended length of stay, curriculum vitae, names of academic supervisors (if appropriate) and letters of recommendation.
- (c) Each member of a team must apply separately for a visa.
- (d) For a researcher who is not a member of a team nor a film-maker a fee of K100 plus a bond of K50 is payable for a visit of less than two months. The bond is returnable on proof of deposit of results. K50 of the K100 fee will be paid to the Provincial Government whose area the researcher is visiting or shared amongst the Provincial Governments whose areas are being visited.
- (e) For a researcher who is not a member of a team nor a film-maker, a fee of K200 plus a bond of K50 is payable for a visit (or series of visits) of two months or more. The bond is returnable as above. K50 of the K200 fee will be paid to the Provincial Government whose area the researcher is visiting or shared amongst the Provincial Governments whose areas are being visited.
- (f) For groups or teams of workers, a group fee of up to K500 is payable depending on the number of members of the team, plus a bond of K50 as above. Part of the group fee will be paid to the relevant Provincial Government as appropriate.
- (g) Film-making teams pay a fee of K500 (part of which will be shared with the relevant Provincial Government) plus a bond of K500 returnable when a copy of the film has been deposited.

- (h) Researchers should understand that the relevant academic and provincial authorities have the right to advise the researchers on their provincial priorities and policies or to recommend that the researcher not come, that the application might fail, and that there is no guarantee in case of failure of the full or any part of the fee being returned.
- (i) Each researcher or group will be affiliated to a relevant institution and the staff of such institutions will give advice where necessary. However, the institution to which the researcher is affiliated has no official obligation to assist the researcher with accommodation, transport, telephone calls, postage and expenses. All correspondence are to be made with IPNGS only and intending researchers are advised not to cause too much confusion by corresponding directly with Provincial Governments and Affiliating Institutions.
- (k) The procedure we follow when processing research visa requests is as follows:
- (i) On receipt of a visa request we at IPNGS or other institutions evaluate it to ensure it is acceptable in relation to our conditions and guidelines.
- (ii) We then inform the Provincial Government in which proposed research is to be conducted and request their acceptance. Because IPNGS cannot affiliate, researchers in some disciplines, such as the natural sciences, we have to request for affiliation with more appropriate institutions. For this we send a request to the respective institution.
- (iii) After receiving favourable response from Provincial Government and Affiliating Institution then we make recommendation to Immigration Department for visa issuance.

This can be a very slow process so please make your requests well in advance of anticipated commencement of research. Four months would not be too soon.

ignores Marilyn Strathern's (1972) discussion of the vengeful, Samsonic and therefore autonomous and controlling element in Melpa suicide as well as comparative material from other Melanesian societies (e.g. Counts, 1980). Her discussion of poisoning also does not differentiate adequately between fears or suspicions and actual acts. There may be a lot more fear among men of female poisoners than actual cases of it, and this may say a lot more about the ideology of gender than it does about actual female strategies to assert autonomous control over their own lives.

At a more general level of criticism, Josephides' attempt to provide an analysis of Melpa gender relations and ideology of exchange is hampered by a double conflation. Firstly, she treats "reciprocity" as referring to an ideal of balance or equitable, more or less amicable and ceremonial exchange of objects - for the Melpa, pigs and pearlshells. Thus, she takes the position that for a relation of reciprocity to exist "political conditions conducive to exchange must be established (that is, conditions of peace)" (p. 2, my emphasis). Thereby, she eliminates systematic attention to hostile relations of reciprocity, such as warfare and vengeance killings, in which big-men may play a prominent role; i.e. forms of reciprocity with implications for the construction and expression of inequalities between contesting groups or individual men. Secondly, having confined her discussion of exchange to amicable, ceremonialized forms, she further effectively narrows the focus to the moka system of ceremonial exchange. A diversity of ceremonial exchanges may be classed as moka, and by all accounts men do see moka as the pinnacle of all exchange activities. But if analysis is to penetrate beyond the overt and consciously articulated, as is the intention of the essay, it must itself go beyond the Melpa conceptions, the more so as Josephides is at pains to identify crucial Melpa ideas of exchange as "mystificatory". Thus, the place of moka in a total environment of exchange activity should also be considered.

Finally, the analysis of exchange centres around big-men. Such figures undeniably dominate in moka. Josephides provides a useful analysis of the manner in which big-men exercise direct control over the labour of "rubbish-men", who become like women, being producers rather than transactors. But the bulk of ordinary Melpa men who are neither "big" nor "rubbish" get little consideration. This is by no means a fault of Josephides alone, for a big-man view of the world dominates much of the ethnographic literature. Yet ordinary men should not be written out of analyses, for in societies such as the Melpa they importantly help create the big-man, not simply because the productivity that they, as men extract from women is appropriated by politically and structurally favoured individuals, but because they yield their productivity. Focussing on transactional and exploitative strategies of big-men is to overlook strategies of compliance to inequities in an otherwise vigorously egalitarian society.

Such comments go beyond the purvey of the essay under review. To return to the narrower focus, the essay is rich in ideas, and tightly argued, notwithstanding these criticisms. The quality of the analysis augers well for a new series, and one hopes the editors of Research in Melanesia will maintain the standard.

inequalities between men are not created within the exchange sphere, but in the relation between production and exchange. Crucial to a good performance in exchange is access to adequate resources of pigs and shells. These are acquired through both "home production" of pigs, raised on garden produce, as well as by "financial" connections, that is, through the use of preliminary exchanges with a ramifying network of partners, though Josephides downplays the latter strategy. Male control of women is crucial in both connections. Women undertake the bulk of everyday agricultural activities, including pig-raising, and it is through the deployment of sometimes unwilling or recalcitrant women in marriage exchanges that men create and sustain exchange partnerships.

Josephides argues that the moka ceremonial exchange system is mystified as a field of activity which directly generates wealth, whereas in fact it is women who ultimately produce wealth. Indeed, women are represented as having considerable autonomy in day to day production of crops. Since garden produce is not employed in exchange, men are not concerned to exercise direct control in this sphere of the economy. Pigs, however, inspire male appropriation, coupled with justificatory claims of the superiority of males over females, articulated in terms of men's association with "important things", and women's association with "insignificant things".

In fact, I would suggest that women's relative autonomy in production does not stop at garden produce, but extends to pig production. While Josephides argues that a woman is unlikely to take vengeance on her husband's appropriation of produce by starving his pigs in her care, the decisions she makes about levels of planting, garden care and harvesting may limit the number of pigs he may expect her to care for in the first place. One presumes that men are constrained to defer to their wife's expert judgements in such matters. Thus, while ideally all pigs are destined for transaction, and are therefore only in the stewardship of women, easily appropriated by men, women can gain a degree of hidden autonomy in the productive process itself. As Josephides remarks, the literature on female issues reveals little of "the women's point of view" (p. 43), and despite the efflorescence of women's studies in anthropology, I think this comment is still largely valid for Melanesian ethnography, particularly in relation to supposedly mundane activities such as female decision-making in productive activities.

I am suggesting, then, that women's autonomy in production may cut a lot deeper than Josephides allows. It may do this precisely because it is not overtly perceived, nor dramatic in its operation, contrary to the three main avenues of pursuing autonomy from male control that Josephides identifies. These are recourse to 'self-help', or wayward behaviour, poisoning of men, and suicide. These are all metaphorically or literally self-destructive. The first two bring harsh retribution from men, which underscores the co-incidence of interests that different groups of men have in re-asserting male control over women. Suicide is perhaps the more successful, and least anomic attempt at autonomy, though in treating it as the last resort of a desperate and tragic individual Josephides reaches the contrary conclusion. Her treatment of suicide quite

CONDITIONS AND GUIDELINES FOR RESEARCH IN PNG

Below is the list of conditions and guidelines for research in PNG. Signing of this form by researchers is an important prerequisite to the granting of research visa by PNG Immigration Department. Each intending researcher is asked to read these conditions and guidelines properly then sign the form. After signing this list please return to: Institute of PNG Studies, Box 1432, BOROKO, PNG.

Research visa applicants must:

- (1) give evidence that results of earlier research in PNG have been deposited in the country.
- (2) agree to deposit copies of the result of forthcoming work with IPNGS or other institutions in the country.
- (3) agree to lodge any fees or bonds as required by Immigration Department and IPNGS.
- (4) show that their forthcoming work has some bearing on the development needs of the people amongst whom they intend to work, the Province or the country.
- (5) agree not to get involved in any kind of activity that might put them at strains with local people and government authorities.
- (6) agree to call at IPNGS on their arrival in PNG and also before departure for overseas.

I have read the above list of conditions and guidelines. I fully understand them and hereby agree that I will observe them.

SIGNATURE:

FROM AAA NEWSLETTER, SEPTEMBER 1986: 7

SHOULD PRACTITIONERS BE CERTIFIED?

In April (too late to make the May Newsletter) a plenary session at the Northwest Anthropological Meetings, "Anthropology and the Law", featured not only practitioners working with law enforcement agencies but also practitioners whose job was to help their clients stay within the limits of laws protecting antiquities and Native American religious practices. At that same meeting practitioner Helen Norton and ethnobotanist Steve Gill organized and chaired a session on ethics in anthropological research and practice with Native Americans.

As a participant in one session and a close observer of the other, I was disturbed to see how many full- or part-time practitioners are having to develop standards of professional behavior for themselves as they go along. Even more disturbing were the stories that circulated informally about the people who had not developed any ethical standards or whose standards departed noticeably from what other practitioners thought appropriate. I left the meetings persuaded that practitioners need a code of professional ethics that can be enforced.

A code of conduct, however, cannot be enforced unless violators can expect to suffer real consequences. If practitioners were certified by a national practitioner organization in cooperation with local organizations, and if such certification could be made part of a state licensing process, those who flouted professional standards would risk losing their certification.

Putting teeth in ethical standards is only one of several good reasons why NAPA members should be developing criteria for certification and lobbying for their acceptance by the profession and by regulating agencies in the states. A growing number of practitioners are beginning to see the need for a "union card".

What should certification involve?

- A. Professional Qualifications
 - 1. Training
 - 2. Experience or apprenticeship as a practitioner
- B. Professional Conduct
 - 1. Standards of ethical practice
 - 2. Standards of professional quality

IN FAVOUR OF CERTIFICATION

What are the arguments in favor of certification for practitioners? Basically, there are two kinds of arguments, one based on the interests of practitioners and the other based on the interests of potential clients. From the practitioners' perspective, certification should protect anthropologists against competition from

REVIEW

JOSEPHIDES, Lisette. no date [?1982], Suppressed and Overt Antagonism: A Study in Aspects of Power and Reciprocity Among Northern Melpa (Research in Melanesia, Occasional Paper No.2), Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Papua New Guinea. 51 pp. No price given.

The Melpa or Hageners of the Papua New Guinea highlands are one of the best known societies in the ethnographic literature on Melanesia, principally through the voluminous writings of Andrew Strathern and Marilyn Strathern. The densely argued essay under review draws upon this material for both ethnographic data and theoretical orientation.

The central concern of the essay is the emergence of inequality and exploitation among men, and between men and women, in an intensely egalitarian but competitive society, a concern which has informed much recent work in Melanesia. The essay is, however, somewhat dated from the outset. Though going to press in 1982, the text is substantially the same as a 1978 Diploma Dissertation at University College, London. As the author admits in the preface, no attempt was made to incorporate subsequent developments in the study of inequality and gender relations, including, in particular, several publications by Marilyn Strathern (e.g. 1980, 1981) directly dealing with issues addressed by Josephides. This makes the essay a less valuable contribution to the literature on gender relations and exchange and Melpa studies than it might otherwise have been. Since its publication, a number of arguments raised in the essay have been developed more fully in subsequent publications, notably in A. Strathern (1982), by Godelier (1982), and by Josephides herself in an ethnography of exchange and gender relations among the Kewa (1985).

In the light of these comments a detailed review is hardly appropriate, so I confine myself to a few brief comments. Josephides focusses on the ideology of reciprocity and gender relations, especially as engaged in the context of corporate, ceremonial exchange. The "ideology of reciprocity" disguises actual inequalities among men in the distribution of social, political and economic power. This disguise is deemed necessary if group unity and solidarity is to be preserved. The ideology of reciprocity is also explicitly engaged in defining women as inferior to men. Male status is achieved in the exchange sphere: men are transactors; women are producers (of valuables transacted by men), rather than transactors, and therefore unable to achieve status. Inequality between the sexes is overt, institutionalized and antagonistic. It appears in the form (among others) of male control over female labour and appropriation of its products and male fears of female pollution and accusations levelled against women of poisoning.

Inequality between men is masked or suppressed by the ideology of balanced reciprocity. Josephides rightly notes that

sciences researchers: the importance of the doctor-patient relationship. They also indicate the real reason for dissatisfaction with conventional medicine, and record a comment on the social needs of the 1980s society.

They suggest that an alternative to a dominant ideology and even a system of healing is a response which may be a universal feature of human nature and one which could be more fully studied, by social epidemiology on a global scale or by psychologists in small discrete national groups. The link between traditional medical systems and modern alternative therapies, partially or fully linked to these early or more indigenous medicines offers further scope for research.

The broad scope covered by Australian medical anthropologists in their work and research has meant that the many and diverse interests of American medical anthropologists (in epidemiology, traditional and modern health and medical systems, medical education, concepts of illness, healers/shamans/medical men and professionals, client-patient relationships, organized health systems etc.) has been followed in this country. The paucity of trained researchers engaged in work in Australia has made it more appropriate that there be considerable variety.

Nonetheless, the variety is embracing those areas of study which show a unique Australian flavour. Aboriginal healing systems and beliefs, migrant and ethnic groups using or seeking medical care in Australia, tropical and environmental patterns of diseases can justifiably accommodate studies on Australia's alternative medical systems.

FOOTNOTES

1. D.M. Weisner, "Medical Sociology and the Natural Therapies", Journal of Australian Natural Therapists' Association (JANTA), 1, 1, 1983: 7-9; and "Sociological Aspects of Naturopathy", Unpublished MA thesis, Adelaide University, 1981.
2. Commonwealth of Australia, Report of Committee of Inquiry into Chiropractic, Osteopathy, Homoeopathy and Naturopathy, AGPS, Canberra, 1977; and R. James, M. Fox and G. Taheri, "Who Goes to a Natural Therapist and Why", JANTA, 1, 1, 1983: 4-6.
3. Ref. 1 and 2.
4. D.M. Weisner, The Place of the Natural Therapies in Australian Community, Sydney, January 1985. Submitted to Victorian Social Development Committee Inquiry into Alternative Medicine.
5. Ref. 4, pages 15-17 inclusive.
6. Case studies individual reports in Wiesner (1981): 90-end.

people lacking anthropological expertise. Furthermore, certification would help define the uses of anthropologists for potential clients. Certification with its code of professional conduct and responsibilities would also make it easier for practitioners to resist clients or employers who pressure the practitioners to evade ethical guidelines.

From the clients' perspective, certification would provide protection from unscrupulous or inadequately prepared practitioners.

Certification of practitioners would even benefit the academic anthropologist because clear criteria for professional standing would make it easier for graduate departments to organize and develop training programs and recruit specialists to lecture or supervise field placements.

AGAINST CERTIFICATION

There are two kinds of arguments against certification. One is practical, the other, philosophical.

The practical objections are basically questions about the cost of certification. Practicing professionals will have to devote a lot of time and energy to developing criteria, lobbying legislatures and evaluating would-be practitioners. At this time there is no money available to help defray the heavy costs of implementing a certification program.

The philosophical objections are more difficult to articulate but are, nevertheless, powerful. (Surveys show that a significant segment of the current NAPA membership is actively opposed to certification.) Some practitioners see certification as bureaucratic restraint of individual opportunity. Others are unwilling to subject people to evaluation by their peers. Some resistance to certification seems to flow from the academic orientation practitioners learned as graduate students. Requiring certification smacks of denying academic freedom.

Let's hear from NAPA members what you think about the need or desirability of certifying practitioners!

IS ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE A VALID CONCERN FOR THE MEMBERS OF AN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY FOR MEDICAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS?

Response: Diane Wiesner,
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Australians enjoy a high standard of living, government subsidized health and education services and minimum guaranteed levels of wage and social support. Their dominant form of medicine reflects the importance placed on science and technological developments particularly since the last half of the nineteenth century. Acceptance of and demand by the public for, pharmaceutical drugs, organ transplant surgery, CAT scanners, IVF and biotechnology confirm a modern preoccupation with these products of science in medicine. As a result, access to an "instant" cure and preoccupation with treatment rather than prevention of illness has tended to hedge more gentle and slower-acting methods of therapy into the background. A complex network of supportive services provided by hospitals, laboratories, pre- and post-intervention units compliment the primary contact role monopolized by medical doctors and specialists.

However, many Australians are not entirely satisfied with conventional medicine. Patients express dissatisfaction with the casual attitudes taken by doctors and the de-personalized nature of care provided in hospitals and by health professionals working there. They complain of adverse effects from potent pharmaceutical drugs, and worries about their long term implications. They demand care that is more responsive and sympathetic to concerns and symptoms which they, as patients consider of importance. They question the need for the drugs or surgery used and criticize the concealment of facts about diseases and side effects as a farce perpetrated by their doctors.

This situation has seen a great increase of interest in and demand for alternative medicine in general and natural or non-interventionist forms of therapy in particular.

AUSTRALIA'S INDIGENOUS ALTERNATIVES

Australia has no indigenous and popular system of healing which characterizes the major population group and has a history of use in this country. The system which can act as an alternative to conventional medicine or as an adjunct to the "crisis" health care provided by doctors, is a mix of diverse therapies. These therapies share similarities in their underlying philosophies and beliefs. In addition, their treatments are either dependent on using physical, manual skills, such as massage or acupressure, on whole plant, mineral or animal products as herbs or homoeopathics, or on restoring body well-being through counselling, acupuncture or lifestyle therapies like tai chi and meditation. The unity between these therapies lies in common commitment to holistic beliefs about the

nature of life, emotion and states of well-being, and reliance on the healing energies and powers of whole, integrated natural living bodies.

RESEARCHING AUSTRALIA'S ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE

There has been a small amount of research undertaken into Australia's natural and alternative therapies. However, only sections of these studies have been conducted in and by universities and under health department auspices.

Research undertaken in 1980 and 1981(1) followed a series of patients over an extended period initiated by presentation at one of three clinics providing natural therapies, with a variety of symptoms for which the patient was seeking alternative therapy. Results confirmed that patients using alternative therapies rely on personal contact with a caring practitioner prepared to expend time and energy in developing a close relationship with a patient thereby to design and coordinate with that patient on an appropriate and acceptable treatment regime.

A number of studies have independently confirmed that patients seeking and returning to alternative therapies cannot be grouped on the basis of age, income or religious affiliation.(2) Interest in and use of alternative medicine is more often shown by women and users tend to possess tertiary levels of education. In more than two-thirds of total patients surveyed, prior use of conventional medicine and some degree of dissatisfaction with therapy for the condition reported, was confirmed.(3,4)

Among those conditions and problems perceived by patients as being most suitable for alternative therapies were chronic ill-health of a musculo-skeletal origin (arthritis, sports injuries) diseases of civilization, including hypertension, stress and depression, and general digestive and cardiovascular problems associated with food tolerances.(5)

All studies and surveys tended to either suggest or confirm the importance of the relationship between patient and practitioners in alternative therapy. Care, support and communication were crucial to expression of patient-evaluated success or satisfaction with treatment.(6)

In these circumstances, the issue of any scientifically proven efficacy attributed to herbal medicines, homoeopathic remedies, vitamins or acupuncture pales into insignificance, particularly when such agents are established as being of low potency and safe. In other words, alternative medicine exploits the placebo effect but unfortunately often attempts to apologise for so doing. In addition, it also attempts to bolster effectiveness through counselling, psycho-social support and tactile therapies.

THE RELEVANCE OF RESEARCH INTO ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE TO A MEDICAL ANTHROPOLOGIST

These studies carry one clear message to medical and social