

tures: the rice-cultivating culture which brought collectivism and inter-group responsibilities, and Confucianism, the philosophical approach on which most value systems are based. In focussing on Asian business values in general she draws a comparison between two sets of countries, China/Japan and Thailand/Malaysia, and between the countries themselves. The topic of chapter 9 is the historical background of the relations between Asia and Europe from antiquity to pre-colonial times. The author argues that although the relationship in pre-colonial times can only be described in terms of power, competition and conflict, this relationship was held in balance until the beginning of the 19th century. The need to improve our understanding of the past in order to develop useful perspectives for the future should be considered as a background for all further studies in this regard.

The fact that the contributors to this book belong mostly to Asian countries can be seen as an implicit and explicit contribution to the debate on Asian values, because it is their own personal view which is expressed on different levels and with different verve. And as the editors themselves say, the book "may indicate the lines" along which further investigations could be conducted. The book can be seen as one contribution along these lines. However, it requires much more depth and enlargement of historical and methodological reflection.

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JÖRG ZIMMERMANN, *Kleinproduktion in Pakistan. Die exportorientierte Sportartikel-industrie in Sialkot/Pakistan*. (Abhandlungen – Anthropogeographie, 57). Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1997, XV, 331 pages, 12 maps, 123 tables, 16 photographs, DM 62,-. ISBN 3-496-02625-1

The author, a geographer from Berlin's Free University, has studied Pakistan's small scale industry, especially the export-oriented sports articles industry in the Sialkot District of Punjab Province. Sialkot was one of the few industrial towns that Pakistan inherited when the British divided India as well as the Punjab before leaving the subcontinent in 1947. Until then, the areas which became West Pakistan (Bangladesh, then East Pakistan, seceded in 1971) had served as agricultural hinterland of British India. Sialkot was known for its sports articles and surgical instruments. Most of the entrepreneurs were Hindus and Sikhs; they fled or were driven out of Pakistan during the turmoil that accompanied Partition. Soon relations deteriorated between the two new dominions India and Pakistan; Sialkot literally became cornered in the North East of Pakistan's Punjab Province, close to a border that stretched from the Karakorum to the Arabian Sea with just one check point near Lahore, which only a few Pakistanis and Indians were allowed to cross. The Muslim merchant communities, mostly from Bombay, moved to Karachi where they set up various industrial enterprises; in Punjab Lyallpur (now Faisalabad) became the centre of the expanding textile industry. Sialkot, however, could not attract any considerable number of entrepreneurs and never regained its position as a major industrial centre. However, it still has its skills, since the workers had been mainly Muslims, and over the decades the manufacturing industry could make up some of the losses, especially in sports articles, whereas surgical instruments no longer play a prominent role in Pakistan's manufacturing industry.

The sports articles industry had started in the 19th century with orders mainly from the army. Initially hockey sticks and tennis rackets dominated production, footballs gained importance later. They are still literally manufactured, i.e. made by hand; the sewing is done mainly in small workshops and only the final stages of production are done in factories, which today mostly work for foreign firms.

The first decades of Pakistan saw a steady decline in Sialkot's importance as an industrial centre; during the 1950s and 1960s textile mills, producing yarn and cloth, sprung up elsewhere; when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came to power after the Bangladesh War, he shifted the emphasis to heavy industry like the steel plant in Karachi and the Heavy Foundry in Taxila. During the 1970s and 1980s the potential of light, consumer goods industry was finally discovered and a series of small industrial towns in north-eastern Punjab developed. Much was also expected from the informal (however defined) sector. However, as Zimmermann reports, out of 365 projects sanctioned in six industrial parks by 1985, only four had started production (p. 116).

What is remarkable about the sports articles industry, especially the manufacturing of footballs, which are the focus of interest in the study, is, that it bears elements of the formal as well of the informal sector. Most of the production is export-oriented and has to meet the high quality standards of the international market, yet much of the work is being done under most primitive conditions, by unskilled, even child, labourers, in primitive shacks in small villages outside the city, which is the hub of this industry, although the town itself is no longer of any remarkable centrality, not even under the conditions of a rural based third world country. The division of labour and the working conditions within Sialkot's sports articles industry are described in great detail; the effects of globalization on the remote rural hinterland are also demonstrated.

That footballs have quite often been made with the help of children, attracted world-wide media attention in connection with the last world championship. Zimmermann dedicates a sub-chapter to this social impact of the division of labour (p. 278ff.): He quotes a number of sources, which – depending on definition – give the number of child labourers in Pakistan in the mid-1990s between 2.5 million and 16.5 million or 7 resp. to 40 per cent of the total number of workers. According to his own survey of those sewing the footballs (more than often working in bondage), only 10 per cent are over 30 years old and only 47 per cent are adults; more than one in three are under 15 years old, and every tenth under ten years old (p. 283ff.). One should, however, not forget that the largest number of child labourers work in agriculture. Surprisingly, the young workers do not necessarily earn less than the grown-ups (p. 291), once they have gained the necessary skills, although the skills argument is often overemphasized, when it comes to finding excuses for child labour. In more than 75 per cent of the cases it is the economic pressure which forces the families to let their children work as football sewers.

The book is well documented with many maps, charts and pictures. The sports articles industry is no longer one of the main industrial activities in Pakistan nor is it a major foreign exchange earner. But one can see how an industry changed over more than a century. Sialkot's declining importance is, of course, a result of Partition and geography, although the main development axis of the country, i.e. the

Grand Trunk Road from Lahore to Rawalpindi/Islamabad and onwards to the Khyber, is close by. Only the sports articles production is still of some importance; the government has done little to increase Sialkot's attractiveness for new industries.

The book should be of value not only for those interested in Pakistan's regional geography or small industry; it also sets a fine example of a careful and informative analysis of a selected industry within a regional pattern. Unfortunately, no translation is yet available and there is only a short English summary on pages xiv and xv. The author should thus be encouraged to make the results of his work available to researchers on and to the decision-makers in Pakistan, as more than often the complaint in Pakistan has been that the country can only benefit from the academic exercises of foreign researchers, if their findings become accessible in one of the major languages of the country, i.e. English or Urdu.

Wolfgang-Peter Zingel

ANNA SCHMID, *Die Dom zwischen sozialer Ohnmacht und kultureller Macht. Interethnische Beziehungen in Nordpakistan*. (Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung, 179). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997. XII, 313 pages, DM 112,-. ISBN 3-515-07211-X

The Dom constitute a marginal ethnic group whose members work as musicians and blacksmith and settle predominantly along the Southern Himalayan range between Bengal and Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province. The present study focuses on the social and cultural position of this minority in the former kingdom of Hunza (Northern Pakistan) where they comprise about 1-2% of the total population. It deals with the Dom in the context of economy, social structure, politics, religion and entertainment, and provides an account of their culture as understood from a sociological perspective. Special emphasis is laid on their ethnic identity and their interethnic relations with the Burusho, the dominant group. In her concise analysis the author highlights the essential ambiguity between the "social powerlessness" and the "cultural power" embodied in the Dom. Referring to ascriptions by the Dom themselves, by the Burusho as well as by the king (with whom the artisans are related in a system of patronage), she discusses the historical, spatial, and occupational dimensions of identity construction and group formation. In a central thesis the author points to the asymmetrical, albeit quasi-symbiotic structure of interethnic relations between the socially stigmatized Dom and the Burusho.

After the problem and the setting of the study are outlined in chapter 1 (including reflections on the method of anthropological fieldwork), chapter 2 deals with historical narrations in the context of identity formation, following herein the ideas of Elizabeth Tonkin. Here, I would like to add that even if this conception of history as a constructed phenomenon is especially revealing in the case of the Dom, generally, the work of the ethnohistorian in reconstructing history through oral traditions (also with regard to a relative chronology of historical events) has not become obsolete.

In a well argued analysis (chapter 3) the author points out how particular topographical sites in the Dom village of Mominabad relate to the process of identity formation. Localities mirror the social position and power of the actors within the village. It is enlightening to read, for instance, how the school became the central