

ing tradition in the Northern Areas, as a strategy to supplement the dwindling supply of firewood from natural forests. The practice of farm forestry is not as firmly established in the study area as in other parts of Pakistan; the author, however, argues that a development of the farm forestry potential is more likely to meet the energy demands of rural households within the short or medium term than the development of hydropower, which, in his opinion, will not provide an alternative to the use of biomass fuels for the foreseeable future.

Jürgen Clemens' work is a painstaking and diligent study, which shows effectively the potential of geography for a study of the complex relations between humans and their environment within the framework of energy use. The author's specialization is in the field of social and economic studies; environmental aspects are, however, competently dealt with by taking recourse to excellent sources such as the vegetation map of the Nanga Parbat region by Carl Troll and by incorporating the findings of studies on human impact and forest degradation by other members of the CAK project. The author's carefulness in procuring data, which I rate as one of the outstanding qualities of this book, can be exemplified by his approach to the study of firewood consumption. The reliability of firewood consumption surveys is often compromised by the enormous variation of quantitative data. Variation is to a large extent due to the fact that estimates of firewood consumption are often made on the basis of questionnaire surveys alone, which produce results of doubtful quality because of imprecise questions or the inability of respondents to give a correct quantitative answer on the spur of the moment. The author has therefore opted for a more labour-intensive combination of participant observation and actual measurements of firewood consumption. A most interesting and valuable contribution are his studies of territoriality and seasonality of firewood supply given in map 8 on p. 115. The book is well endowed with maps and diagrams, and the maps are, on the whole, of a very good quality. Map 7 a, however, which shows exposure and vegetation cover in the Chichi Gah, would have benefited from the use of contour lines.

My reservations are few. The author's style is a bit laboured, and a comparison with studies on forest resource use from other parts of the Himalaya-Hindu-kush region would have been helpful in placing the study in a larger context. Nonetheless, I rate Clemens' study as a very valuable contribution to the field of human environment studies.

Dietrich Schmidt-Vogt

ALAIN LEFEBVRE, *Kinship, Honour and Money in Rural Pakistan. Subsistence Economy and the Effects of International Migration*. (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, 78). Richmond: Curzon Press, 1999. 303 pages, £ 40.00. ISBN 0-7007-0984-3

Labour migration is an eminent factor of economic and social change in Pakistan. At times the remittances Pakistani workers abroad sent home were the most

important source of foreign exchange for the country. The unskilled and semi-skilled labourers with a rural background went almost exclusively to the (Persian) Gulf countries without their families, who stayed at home, supported by the remittances of the migrant workers. Having their families join them and leaving Pakistan for good was hardly possible; nor was it intended by the migrants and their families or by the labour "importing" countries. Labour migration to the Gulf is still on a rotation basis: the "importing" countries have even started to favour non-Muslim labour "exporting" countries, mostly for political reasons.

The author's aim was, as he writes, to analyse international labour migration from two Punjabi villages in Pakistan with different forms of agriculture, in order to determine the connection between the level of economic development and the necessity to take a job abroad, and also to ascertain the nature of the changes brought about by foreign remittances. (p.259). To this end, he chose two small villages in the rain-fed region of North Punjab, one in the alluvial plains of Sialkot District and the other on the Potwar Plateau, an area with loess soils, deeply eroded, where irrigation is hardly possible. The Potwar Plateau was a favoured recruiting ground for the colonial army and thus has a history of labour migration. Both villages saw forced migration at the time of the partition of India. The introduction of high-yielding varieties in the so-called green revolution had less impact in the areas under review than in the "canal colonies" of central Punjab. Holdings are small and fragmented and the traditional system that supports and binds the landless artisans' groups (the *kamis*) to the land-owners has long been in the process of eroding.

It was thus a happy coincidence that the new government under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto showed a more liberal, and later supportive, attitude towards labour migration at the time when the oil states began to recruit millions of workers, initially preferably from Muslim countries, to build up their infrastructure, after having significantly raised the oil price in 1973. "Dubai chalo", i.e. let's go to Dubai, seemed to be the answer for all economic and social ills, on the micro as well as on the macro level. The author conducted his field research in the early 1980s (no year given) and obviously also wrote the manuscript at that time. This is very much reflected by the jargon of his introductory chapter, which now reads like a time warp of neo-Marxian discourse. He starts by discussing European history of migration which would, however, need a deeper and more careful analysis to elaborate the parallels (and non-parallels) to that of the Third World in general or of Pakistan in particular. The rest of the study is devoted to a detailed description of the economic and social conditions in the two villages, followed by a briefer account of the impact of migration, all in all rather unrelated to the initial theoretical underpinnings. Lefebvre had obviously greatly benefited from the research of his Pakistani co-researcher, Shahida Haque, who, as a woman, had access to the women of the villages. The accounts of their experiences in general, and, in particular, during the times when their husbands and protectors were abroad, are among the most interesting parts of the book.

The author has obviously not had the opportunity to revisit the villages or follow later events. This would have been most interesting, since much must have happened since. "In accordance with other studies" he tells us that spending patterns have developed over time, starting with repaying the debt incurred for funding migration, "marrying off" daughters and sisters, building houses and buying land. But the familiar complaint that too much of remittances is used for "honour" (prestige) and consumption might need differentiation. If we use a wider definition of investment and include education ("human capital"), we usually find that child labour disappears, and boys and later girls as well go to school etc. What Lefebvre describes as examples of wasteful consumption, like buying TV sets in households that are not connected to the electricity net, may simply have been done in expectation of such a connection. There are few alternatives anyway, since investing in agricultural implements does not make much sense for villagers with little or no land, who constitute most of the migrants studied. There is no mention of savings behaviour, something which the villagers may be reluctant to disclose, though the government saw to it that the nationalized banks opened branches in all the rural areas.

The book concludes with a list of organizations consulted, a list of castes in one of the villages in 1876, 1886, 1905 and 1994, a glossary, an extensive bibliography, and an index. Except for a minor flaw (7 *tolas* are not 1.12 kg, p. 184; correct on page XIII), the book makes good reading and will be of interest not only for anthropologists but for everyone interested in the development of rural South Asia.

Wolfgang-Peter Zingel

SELIG S. HARRISON / PAUL H. KREISBERG / DENNIS KUX (eds), *India and Pakistan: The First Fifty Years*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. 215 pages. £ 37.50, ISBN 0-521-64185-3 (hb.). £ 13.95 ISBN 0-521-64585-9 (pb.)

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the independence of India and Pakistan the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars organized a conference of leading scholars in the USA aimed at assessing the progress, problems, and prospects of the two countries. Political, economic, and social developments plus foreign and security policy were analysed separately for India and Pakistan. The editors were well suited for the task: Selig S. Harrison looks back at half a century of watching and analysing events in South Asia as correspondent, senior journalist and analyst. Paul Kreisberg served as a diplomat in India and Pakistan and moderated a series of "second track" dialogues between the two countries, while Dennis Kux served as senior diplomat and intelligence coordinator in and on South Asia.

The first part deals with economic development. India's well-known achievements in democracy are listed (Paul R. Brass: "India: Democratic progress and