

An Archaeology of Cultural Identity

by Shaun Hides

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**Faculty of Arts
University of Leicester
November 1998**

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis addresses the problematic issue of the relationship between artefacts and collective identity in the study of the past. It examines how one current strand of contemporary archaeological theory attempts to recover the truth of the identities of peoples in the past, by utilising a form of interpretation derived from semiotics and idealism, to 'read' their artefactual traces. The conception of cultural identity utilised by contextualism (post-processualism) is re-examined in three ways. Firstly, the central concepts of these approaches are critically examined in terms of their dependence on, and constitution in, contemporary theoretical discourse, utilising an approach influenced by the strategies of the post-structuralist authors which post-processualism has itself enlisted in support of its interpretive approaches. Secondly, the practices and concepts which support current archaeological conceptions of cultural identity are re-examined in an historical account of their emergence and transformation since the Renaissance derived from the *archaeological* and *genealogical* strategies of Michel Foucault. This demonstrates the extent to which conceptions of the identities of the peoples of the past, from those of Antiquarians to contemporary archaeological theorists, have consistently been projections, or reconstructions, of contemporary views of identity. This seeks to show that such conceptions are historically determined and specific whilst claiming to transcend and recover history. Thirdly, current archaeological conceptions of cultural identity are juxtaposed against an account of the forms of cultural identification in the contemporary Indian communities of Leicester. This is undertaken in order to demonstrate the cultural specificity of archaeological notions of cultural identity. The implication of this critique is the acknowledgement that descriptions of past cultures are constructions incorporating artefacts within a theorised framework which includes conceptions of identity. These conceptions and accounts of past cultures are artefacts produced in the present, not recoveries of a 'real' past.

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CHAPTER ONE

Definition of the Problem: the Search for the *Arche*

INTRODUCTION

Much of current archaeological theory and practice rests upon a series of fundamental pre-suppositions about the nature of identity and the artefact, which would include: i) the idea that artefacts are 'significant' (meaningful and interpretable, e.g. Hodder 1982; 1985; 1986); ii) that the past was populated by discrete cultures, which were characterised more-or-less directly by distinctive assemblages of material culture (See any of the numerous books on Celts e.g. Megaw & Megaw 1989, the Franks e.g. James 1991, Ancient Britons, e.g. Cunliffe 1991, or Romans e.g. Wachter 1979; 1987); iii) that the significance of artefacts enables the reconstruction or description of these past cultures (ibid.)¹.

Thus it is assumed, within diverse strands of archaeological thought and practice that artefacts, both individually, and collectively as the archaeological record, are meaningful evidence of the past. Further, it is treated as axiomatic that this meaning can be interpreted or recovered using appropriate methodological means. At least part of what can be understood through such interpretation is the nature and identity of the past societies and cultures in which the artefactual traces were produced, used, and discarded. Central to the constitution of archaeology as a discipline is the view that artefacts must constitute an origin, or source of authority for the theoretical statements which link those objects together in accounts of past cultures. Archaeology seeks the true past in Ranke's² sense, through the scientific discovery and proper interpretation of its material traces. This location of the authority of archaeological statements in the artefactual traces of the past is seen to forestall the charges of 'presentism' and relativism: producing the past in the image of contemporary culture, or on the basis of 'subjective' interpretations. Moreover, it is also treated as axiomatic that archaeology requires its 'own' distinctive body of theory - and that this theory is derived in relation to the artefact of the past - so that archaeology can be considered a properly defined discipline.

However, the privileging of the artefact's status appears to have had the effect of curtailing thorough-going debate of the nature of the archaeological object, and archaeology's theory of cultural identity. Paradoxically, despite the burden of epistemological and ontological significance placed on the artefact, archaeological theory has only rarely addressed the

¹ There are of course, other, presuppositions which are important to contemporary archaeology and some of these will be addressed below.

² The search for the real truth of the past, in the face of competing interpretations. Trigger (1989: 382) offers a brief discussion of this view of history in archaeology. Samuel (1980) a reading from within contemporary History

status of its material object, or the justification of its use of materialist and other theories of the relationship between materiality and identity directly³. Greater emphasis has been put on more instrumental concerns such as site formation and depositional processes, sampling strategies, etc. (e.g. Schiffer 1978-86). Commonly, the articulation of cultural groups with material cultures have been based on borrowed culture-historical, functionalist or ecological conceptions, or 'common sense' notions of possession, and the simple assertion of an association between the distribution/ presence of 'diagnostic' artefacts and the distribution of a population. Recently, in the last 20-25 years, archaeologists have become more sophisticated in their theoretical argumentation and borrowing, but the problem of the relationship between materiality and identity remains.

This chapter will locate the problematic nature of this relationship in contemporary attempts to theorise archaeological cultures (artefact patterns) and their correlation to the cultural identity of specific social groups in antiquity. It will identify the particular theoretical difficulties encountered by those archaeologists who have addressed the issue most directly and will re-appraise the central impasse faced by these theorists: the impossibility of deriving a universal articulation between materiality and identity legitimated by the evidence of archaeological artefacts alone. This particular issue will be related to the broader question of the lack of a fully developed and coherent theory of materiality, and a concomitant theory and practice of interpretation within archaeology.

The last section of the chapter will examine the strengths and limitations of contemporary theoretical and historical critiques, in order to understand the ramifications of this problem in greater detail. It will then introduce the strategies of theoretical and 'historical' analysis to be adopted in the rest of the dissertation. It will introduce and justify the adoption of an historicising (Archaeological/Genealogical) critique of discourses and practices linking materiality and identity, based on Michel Foucault's strategies of "archaeology" (Foucault 1970; 1972; 1973) and "genealogy" (1977; 1981; 1986; 1987) or "Effective History" (Foucault 1977: 153-7).

THE LOCATION OF THE PROBLEM

The concrete is concrete because it is the concentration of many determinations, hence a unity of diverse elements. In our thought it therefore appears as a process of synthesis, as a result, and not as a point of departure.

([Marx, Grundrisse] McLellan 1980: 34)

The relationship between objects and collective identity has been important for archaeology

³Hodder's work (e.g. 1982; 1984; 1986; 1987) constitutes one of those few examples. Previous frameworks such as New Archaeology and Functionalism have presumed that the artefact is a blank vehicle for identity, composed around its function.

and its cognate disciplines, anthropology in particular, throughout their modern development. The idea that a collection or assemblage of objects necessarily embodies some kind of objective representation of the group from which it emanates is one of the basic a-priori conditions of contemporary archaeological interpretation⁴, irrespective of the particular theoretical position adopted or the field of enquiry (e.g. Abercrombie 1912; Binford, 1962; 1965; Childe 1925; 1926; 1929; Clarke 1968; Hodder 1982; 1984; 1986; Millett 1990; 1990a; Renfrew 1984; 1987). Moreover, the search for evidence, both in literary and material traces, of specific named peoples, cultural or tribal groupings has been a consistent feature of enquires into the past from the Renaissance antiquarians until the present day, even if the forms of that enquiry have altered considerably over time.

However, despite, or perhaps because of, the centrality of the linkage between materiality and identity in these pre-suppositions - it has conventionally been taken as self-evident that objects were produced and used by specific social or cultural groups, peoples, or tribes, and therefore necessarily reflect that group in some manner - attempts to define these groups, and their relationship to material culture patterning have proved difficult to achieve. This difficulty has not called into question the assumption of an intrinsic link between artefacts distributions and ancient groups. Rather, it has been attributed to the complexity and incompleteness of the artefactual record, or to the problems of deriving an appropriate interpretative method. This viewpoint and the problems it engenders is evident in numerous twentieth century instances e.g. Abercrombie (1912); Piggott (1938; 1954); Shennan (1978); Harrison (1980); Renfrew (1984).

Two interrelated areas of doubt are raised by the problematic nature of defining these notions and assessing their centrality: firstly it appears that the derivation and precise nature of these presuppositions, although often strongly asserted, are rarely addressed - discussions of archaeological theory accept these notions, in one form or another, rather than interrogate them (e.g. Childe 1925; 1929; 1956; 1958 Clarke 1968; 1972; Hodder 1982; 1984; 1986; Renfrew 1984; 1987 - even New Archaeologists like Binford 1972; 1977; 1983, accept much the same premises, albeit with less emphasis on cultural identity). Secondly, the scarcity of theoretical discussion of the foundations of these presuppositions implies both that they are taken for granted, and that they are seriously questionable.

Traditional histories of archaeology (e.g. Daniel 1967; 1975; 1981; Piggott 1958; 1985; Trigger 1980; 1984; 1985; 1989; Malina and Vasicek 1990; Willey and Sabloff 1974; 1980) locate the problems associated with the relationship between materiality and identity within the origins of archaeology in the 19th century development of the 'school' of

⁴This presumption also applies beyond Archaeology, French anthropologist Marcel Mauss for example thought objects were the most reliable kind of ethnographic evidence, being "authentic, autonomous objectsthat thus characterise types of civilisations better than anything else" (Mauss 1931: 6-7)

Culture-history. Indeed it seems incontrovertible that it was within the concepts and interpretative practices of 'culture-history' that the issues of ethnicity, culture, and cultural identity were first explicitly addressed in terms which are familiar from the standpoint of contemporary archaeology. Culture-historical archaeology is seen as the outcome of the wider development of the usage of the term culture in ethnography, anthropology and history, together with a rejection of evolutionist schemes of explanation, and the improvement of classificatory and typological methods (Trigger 1989: 148-206).

It has been suggested that the origins of culture-history lie in the changes occurring during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when the usage of the term 'culture' shifted from the notion of the practices of cultivation and beyond the idea of self-cultivation or improvement (e.g. Arnold 1869), to indicate the idea of the lifeways of particular societies or groups (Williams 1976; 1981). Such usages are seen to have emerged earliest in the fields of German culture history (*Kulturgeschichte*), and ethnology (e.g. Klemm 1843-52). These influenced E. B. Tylor, who in *Primitive Culture*, (1871), gave the 'classic' early definition of culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society"⁵ (Tylor 1871: 1). The notion of discrete cultures, as entities with distinctive identities and histories has usually been attributed to ethnographers such as Friedrich Ratzel and Franz Boas (Trigger 1989: 162).

Archaeology's development of the term culture (beginning in central Europe in the late nineteenth century the terms civilisation and culture came increasingly to designate a distinctive artefact distribution which was also taken to represent an ancient social grouping) has been seen partly as a response to the complexities of the archaeological material, and the limitations of chronologies such as Thomsen's 'Three Age System', and has been intrinsically linked to the wider development of the concept (Malina and Vasicek 1990: 55-6; 61-2; Sklenár 1983: 90-1; 146-50; Trigger 1989: 161-3).

Oscar Montelius's synthesis of European prehistory in terms of a series of cultural diffusions, has been traced back to the Viennese culture-historical and ethnographic schools (Trigger 1989: 152) and their explanations of the inter-relationships between *Kulturkreis* areas; together with the work of Ratzel on the explanation of the transmission of innovations from one *Kulturprovinz* (culture area) to another (Malina and Vasicek 1990: 65-6). This was paralleled in Boas's belief that cultures were the product of unique diffusionary combinations, the reconstruction of which was the way to understand each culture's past (Harris 1968: 250-89; Stocking 1968: 209-10). Montelius's most distinctively 'archaeological' innovation, the typological method - in which he subdivided the existing chronology of Europe by identifying associations within artefact clusters,

⁵It should be noted though that Tylor saw these cultures as stages in general cultural evolutionary sequences, rather than as the discrete entities sought by culture-history (Stocking 1968: 69-74).

through the formal and decorative features of artefacts from 'closed contexts' such as burials - was linked by Trigger to enlightenment progressivism and Thomsen's three age system (1989: 157); Malina and Vasicek (1990: 39-40; 46-7) add the influence of Darwinian evolutionary ideas, Klemm's culture-history and the anthropological typology of Pitt-Rivers. A similar heritage for typology is outlined by Sklenár (1983).

Failures of Existing Histories of the Discipline

Whilst there is little doubt about the facts of such accounts - archaeological theories of cultural identity can clearly be seen to emerge in the context of Culture-History - there are none-the-less serious problems with this mode of historical enquiry, especially as it relates to the analysis of theoretical concepts. An initial difficulty with seeking the origins of specific archaeological conceptions in other disciplines, and the influences of one disciplinary tradition on another, is that it merely displaces a series of central theoretical questions backwards in time, or to another discipline. It presumes that key issues such as; whether material cultures and ethnic/cultural groups are linked? and if so how? whether it is possible to recover the identities of past cultures from their material traces? etc., will be, or have already been answered within the other disciplines. The issue of the endlessly retreating origin of traditional historical⁶ knowledge will be addressed below.

Traditional histories of archaeology, especially those by British authors have tended to construct narratives of gradual progress around the pioneering figures in field archaeology (e.g. Daniel 1967; 1975; 1981; Piggott 1958; 1985). They have also generally avoided discussions of archaeological ideas or theory. During the last twenty years the level of debate about archaeological theory has increased dramatically, and more recently the history of these ideas has received sustained attention, particularly from Bruce Trigger (1980; 1984; 1985; 1989), but also from Malina & Vasicek (1990), McNairn 1980 and Willey and Sabloff (1974; 1980).

Trigger's discussions of archaeological thought in particular are both innovative and valuable in that they emphasise the social and political contexts in which specific traditions of archaeological thought arose (Trigger 1981, 1984, 1989). They also assess the influence of the interests of specific groups and ideologies; notably the bourgeoisie and liberalism in Europe and America, and state archaeologists and Marxism in the Soviet Union (Trigger 1978, 1981, 1985, 1989). However, Trigger is also keen to retain the concept of the development or progress of archaeological thought. To this end he suggests that whilst archaeology is constantly under the influence of political and subjective forces - construed as the aspirations and politics of those who practise it - nevertheless, the discipline is gradually attaining an objectively better understanding of the past (Trigger 1989: 399-404).

⁶Foucault addresses this as one of the founding 'doubles' central to traditional 'continuist' history (1970: 328- 35).

For Trigger to be able to claim that archaeology is progressing in this way he has to, and indeed is ready to, claim that the truth of the past is attainable. For him, archaeology as it is practised obviously undergoes changes which are the result of the social, economic and political circumstances in which the archaeologist works. However, it is their post hoc interpretations of the past (peoples' ideas and understanding of what occurred) which change. The truth of that past is constant and independent of those interpretations, archaeology is gradually getting closer to that truth. In addition, the one true past conceived in this way must be accessible to all archaeologists, based on an objective source. Therefore Trigger sees artefacts as having some form of inherent, universal, objective significance for the past, they are the origin and source of authority for archaeological interpretation - the *arche* .

Whilst the history of archaeological thought is undertaken in this mode to enable Trigger to describe its "progress" towards greater objective knowledge of the past; I would argue that this can occur only at the expense of precluding a full critique of the conceptual conditions which make archaeology possible, either at the present moment, or at any point in its history. For example, the nature of the significance of the artefact for the past must be presumed to be transcendentally secure, unchanging and thereby beyond critique. The critique of any specific interpretation of the artefact is acceptable, and welcomed, as it is a key procedure in establishing the objectivity of the process. Archaeology in this mode of theorisation is not merely the sum of what archaeologists do, but is defined in relation to its object - the *arche* - the originary and authorising artefact of the past. Differing interpretive schemas are then 'explained' through the influence of somewhat nebulous zeitgeists, e.g.

In the late nineteenth century a growing preoccupation with ethnicity encouraged the development of the concept of the archaeological culture and the development of the culture-historical approach to the study of prehistory.

(Trigger 1989: 161)

which of course merely displaces the question of emergence onto the question of the origin of people's pre-occupations with ethnicity - another version of the displacement noted above.

This theory of history is problematic in terms of the analysis of archaeologists' theorisations of materiality and identity because it presumes exactly that which it should seek to discover. Thus, the absolute truth of a correlation between material culture and collective identity is presumed (albeit in the abstract) as one element of the foundation of the whole archaeological project. This is what guarantees archaeology's gradual progress, via better theory and method, and more successful data collection, towards an increasingly "objective understanding of the behavioural significance of archaeological data" (Trigger

1989: 400). Historical analysis then consists of tracing the earliest moment when a concept adequate to representing, or a methodology capable of revealing, the pre-existing fact emerged. Whilst an historical narrative in which the scales of mistaken interpretation fall from the eyes of the archaeologist (as rational, objective, scientific archaeological theory replaces irrational, superstitious, mythological antiquarianism), may be reassuring, it is an inaccurate image of our current state of knowledge and the history of this field. Through the Modern and Postmodern eras (from the 19th century up to the present day) the relation between archaeological artefacts and the ethnic/cultural groups they purportedly represent has continued to be important to the discipline. It has simultaneously become increasingly difficult to define and increasingly politically charged.

EXEMPLIFICATION OF THE PROBLEM IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORY

Given the problems associated with exploring the emergence of the archaeological conception of cultural identity in 19th century Culture-History through conventional historical approaches outlined above, an alternative strategy must be sought. Instead of presuming its foundational status, this thesis will investigate whether any possible unity can exist between such apparently diverse archaeological positions as: the extreme nationalism of the late 19th century (e.g. Gustav Kossinna), 20th century Marxist/Functionalist and Evolutionary schemas (e.g. Gordon Childe), and late 20th century theories of material culture as text (e.g. Ian Hodder). In short this question implies a critique of the assumption (central to most archaeological history and theory) that all archaeological projects are united by their pursuit of a common object of enquiry: the 'true past'⁷, and that each successive interpretation should achieve an incremental progress towards that goal, based on the objective evidence of that past.

Post-processual / Contextual Archaeology

The starting point of this critical enquiry into the nature of archaeology's theorisation of materiality and identity is the work of Ian Hodder. Hodder's 'post-processual'/'contextual archaeology' (e.g. 1982; 1984; 1985; 1987) will be examined in some detail, so that current theoretical conceptions, and the presuppositions on which they depend, can be clarified. This work has been chosen because it is clearly taken by those within archaeology - both sympathetic (e.g. Shanks & Tilley 1987; 1987a), and antagonistic (e.g. Binford 1986) theorists, historians of archaeology (Trigger 1989) and even field workers critical of theory (e.g. Pryor 1987) - to be one of the most important and influential theoretical positions of recent years. This particular kind of grounds for justifying the choice of Hodder's work will be clarified below, but suffice it to say here, that the choice does not

⁷ In the case of this thesis, the truth of the ethnic or cultural identities of the past

claim for Hodder the status of genius or pioneer of this theoretical field. Rather, it indicates an already existing estimation of his work, as an expression of current archaeological thinking, within the discipline.

Hodder's theorisation of the relationship between material culture and identity in archaeology is developed from ethnographic analyses of the material culture of the Baringo District in Kenya, and other groups, including the Dorobo of Kenya, the Lozi of Zambia and the Nuba of Sudan (1981; 1982). Hodder firstly criticised the then current attempts to resolve the long-standing debate on the link between artefactual patterns and ethnic groups on the grounds of the simplistic assumptions made about such distributions, e.g. that they could be understood through the analysis of random associations (Hodder 1982: 6-8; Hodder and Orton 1976). He rejected traditional constructions of artefacts as essentially dumb tools, or passive reflections of cultural practices (Hodder 1982: 9-12). In his 'ethnoarchaeological' field-work Hodder observed artefacts, not merely used as tools, possessions, or simple badges of rank or belonging, but being 'actively manipulated' in the negotiation of identities based on age, gender and ethnicity. With recourse to a complex theory of interpretation and social determination, he went on to argue that all objects, including prehistoric artefacts, were meaningful in this way, and furthermore, that the archaeologist could 'read' that meaning and so reconstruct the cultures of the past (e.g. 1982; 1986) .

The central fieldwork on which Hodder's theory is based was carried out in the Baringo region of Kenya where he examined the interactions between, and material culture of, three ethnic groups: the Tugen, the Pokot and the Njemps. He first rejected the behaviourist / inter-actionist hypothesis: that the degree of material culture similarity is a reflection of inter-group contact. Hodder observed high levels of economic and social interaction, including inter-group marriage, across sharply delineated group boundaries (1982: 22). In a similar vein to Barth's 'classic' definition in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969)⁸, Hodder also asserted that the degree of ethnic identification, and therefore distinctiveness, occurred where the economic stress on people is greatest. This did not, however, result in a lack of interaction between the groups, but rather a concentration of the processes of self definition, which is taken to be a form of social resource (Hodder 1982: 28-31).

Hodder (1982: 37-58) went on to describe how particular categories of material culture such as: items of personal ornament - women's ear decoration and necklaces; men's wooden stools; the position of hearths; and domestic pottery, all acted to distinguish between ethnic groups (see figs. 1-3). He notes for example that women, on marrying into another ethnic group will adopt the material culture of their husband's group (ibid.: 27). Whereas, other artefacts such as the spears of young un-married men (the Moran) and the

⁸Although no reference is made to Barth , nor is any theorisation of ethnic/ cultural identity referred to or attempted.



(fig. 1)

"A Tugen woman .



(fig. 2)

"Njemps woman ...



(fig. 3)

"A pokot man ..."

from Hodder, I. 1982 *Symbols in Action*

that the images provided a ready, fixed focal point for the viewer's attention. The images were not intended to represent the individual but the group as a whole. The images were intended to represent the group as a whole and not the individual. The images were intended to represent the group as a whole and not the individual. The images were intended to represent the group as a whole and not the individual.

women's decorated calabashes disrupt ethnic boundaries as they are integrated into the conflicts between men and women and between age-sets, common to all groups. Thus he concluded that:

Regional material culture tribal boundaries in the Baringo district are maintained and re-enacted from day to day in the trivia of pots, trinkets, stools eating bowls and cooking hearths.

(Hodder 1982: 84)

These examples also indicated that whether specific items of material culture were, or were not, active in the production of ethnic identity was dependent on the particular social and ideological circumstances of the groups concerned and the meanings which they attach to the artefacts. Even the link in this case between competition for resources and ethnic distinctiveness "cannot be built into a general predictive model" (Hodder 1982: 85) as in other instances different meanings will be attached to material culture and such stress will be mediated differently. The study of material culture patterning amongst the Lozi is given as one instance where material culture similarities between groups are used to mask the hierarchical nature of access to resources within them. Thus the shared meanings of Lozi material culture reinforce competition with the neighbouring Mbunda, and naturalise the dominant position of the Lozi elites (Hodder 1982: 105-24).

From these studies Hodder drew two general conclusions: firstly, that material culture patterning is the result the active manipulation of artefacts within systems of meaning. Artefacts are "symbols in action" rather than passive reflections of cultural interaction for example. Secondly, that the whole of the particular set of social and ideological circumstance in which each group's systems of meaning are embedded must be examined in order to interpret the meanings of specific items of material culture (Hodder 1982: 185-6). These two principles are summarised as "material culture is meaningfully constituted" and "each particular historical context must be studied as a unique combination of general principles of meaning and symbolism" (Hodder 1982: 217-8). Hodder goes on to use these two general principles to examine the archaeological context of the environmental evidence, artefacts, chambered tombs and henges of Late Neolithic Orkney. He argues, with Renfrew (1979), that there is a shift from relatively egalitarian communities to ones centred on elites and that this is evidenced in the change from collective burial monuments - cellular, chambered tombs, through the henge monuments, to the centrally focused megalithic tomb of Maes Howe. Thus the meaning of the large tomb, as an embodiment of the position and power of the elite - a central social focus, is read as an inversion of the collective principle embodied in the henge monument which was physically a central focus. The argument is that the henges provided a centralised location for collective ritual, but that this in turn could be utilised to support an elite who in time became themselves the focus of social organisation and symbolised their position in the tomb of Maes Howe (Hodder 1982: 218-

Through a combination of semiotics derived from structuralist anthropology and stylistic analyses (e.g. Faris 1972; 1983; Washburn 1983), a neo-Marxist interpretation of ideology (e.g. Althusser (1971) via Shanks & Tilley 1982), and an idealist historical perspective, derived from Collingwood (1946), Hodder suggested that the archaeological record can be treated as a kind of text or language which has structuring principles which are recoverable in artefactual patterns. Having identified an artefact's archaeological context, the artefact can be "read" within this context. (Hodder 1986; 1987). Although Hodder (1986: 101) follows Collingwood in the suggestion that self knowledge is the ultimate achievement of history and that historical interpretations are finally uncertain, through an inter-subjective reading, a 'real' if not strictly objectively true past can be recovered. Hodder argues that Collingwood's definition of historical interpretation as a re-enactment of the thoughts of the individuals of the past authorises such a reading.

I take Collingwood to conclude implicitly that a universal grammar exists when he suggests (1946, p.303) that each unique event has a significance which can be comprehended by all peoples at all times.

(Hodder 1986: 124)

The contemporary context of excavation, conservation, interpretation, enables the archaeological context to be read in order for the past context (the past culture) to be reconstructed from artefacts and their distribution. But a problematic circularity exists here because the artefact's meaning is derived from its context, and its context is defined by those associated artefacts which give it meaning. Thus,

Understanding of the object comes about through placing it in relation to the larger functioning whole. This type of context occurs at many spatial and temporal scales simultaneously...

(Hodder 1987: 2)

The context of an object is the totality of its relevant environment, where relevant refers to a relationship with the object which contributes towards its meaning.

(Hodder 1987: 4-5)

For example, cultural/ethnic identity is always recoverable from artefacts, and/or is a contextual presence shaping all aspects of the object's meaning. Thus in his field studies the ethnic identities described seem pre-ordained, defined at the outset by language (1982:16), but unaltered, for example, by the migration of people across their boundaries. Moreover, these collective identities are represented as being manipulated by autonomous individuals which are undifferentiated with respect to the different cultural /ethnic groups

described (1982: 24-27). Circularity also undermines the necessary separation of past and present contexts in the archaeological interpretations. If social organisation, cultural values and ideological conditions determined the significance of an artefact in the past, and are thereby determining factors in the constitution of the pattern of material traces, surely the same determinations operate on the artefact in the present. This suggests that current interpretations are merely the products of contemporary ideological conditions, which in turn implies that artefacts do not reveal past social contexts (in the strict sense), but are only 'meaningfully constituted' by the specific context of the ideologies and codes of contemporary archaeology.

These examples reveal two difficulties which have beset most archaeological theories of cultural identity (e.g. Childe 1929; Clarke 1968; Hodder 1986; Renfrew 1987). First, they attempt to place their conceptual definition beyond historical determination; the relationship between artefacts and identity must be expressed as an intrinsic property of the artefacts themselves. Childe conceptualised artefacts through functionalism and a normative concept of culture, Hodder asserts that all objects are meaningfully constituted. These propositions make 'culture-historical' and 'contextual' archaeology possible. Secondly, both with Childe's culture-history and Hodder's contextual archaeology, there is an apparent acknowledgement of the contemporary context of the discipline, which is in fact an exercise in circumscribing and negating its relevance, so that a trans-historical interpretation is apparently validated.

THEORETICAL IDENTIFICATION OF THE CORE PROBLEM

Malina and Vasicek (1989: 3-5) have noted that the etymological derivation of the word archaeology is from the Greek *Arche - logos*, meaning a discourse (logos) on beginnings, sources, and origins (arche). This root is seen to link the modern discipline with the philosophers and historians of Classical Greece. Thus for Aristotle the water of Thales was the *arche*, the original state of things - primeval matter (Malina and Vasicek 1989: 3) . However, archaeology in its modern form also carries with it another sense in which *arche logos* has relevance. Archaeology incorporates a continuing discourse on its own sources, origins and authority⁹ . Thus , in terms of archaeology's modern practice, the search for the *arche* is the search for the origin of, and authority for, all its meaning and interpretation in the material traces of the past, in artefacts. Thus as Wheeler (1954) put it, archaeology is from the earth and more recently, for Ian Hodder, the role of the archaeologist is to make the traces of the past speak again (Hodder 1986).

In this respect archaeology is little different from most scientific, or social science disciplines, which define and constitute themselves around what is presumed to be an

⁹symbolised in the link between the meanings of *arche* as origin or source and power or government, linked with *archon*. (magistrate).

autonomous object of study. Each of the disciplines of the arts and human sciences: Art History, Economics, English Literature, History, Politics, Sociology, etc. are constituted around their respective proper objects of study: art, economic exchange, literature, the historical past, society, which are presumed to have existed prior to (if not chronologically, at least in epistemological terms) the emergence of the academic practices of their formal study (e.g. Hemple 1965; Popper 1959 and within archaeology e.g. Salmon, M.H. 1982; 1982a; Salmon W.C. 1982)¹⁰. Conventionally, the legitimacy of a field of academic enquiry requires that the priority, autonomy and validity of its object of study is constantly re-substantiated¹¹.

However, it is the position which artefacts occupy within archaeological thought that causes the persistence of the difficulties in defining archaeology's theory of cultural identity. Whether described in terms of the metaphor of a material text or stated simply, the assumption that artefacts must be the ultimate source of authority for all archaeological ideas precludes achieving answers to two questions of crucial importance. The question of whether artefacts are meaningful at all, or better, the question of the ways in which they can be meaningful, cannot be answered solely by an arrangement of artefacts of the past, either theoretical or practical. Equally, the question of the relationship between social groups and their material traces depends upon a thorough re-assessment of this first question, because to question the meaning inherent in artefacts appears to make social reconstruction impossible and reduces archaeology again to the mere production of artefactual arrangements and typologies.

I am not attempting to question archaeology's focus on the material traces of the past. Rather, my aim is to suggest that whilst artefacts are central to both the theory and practice of archaeology this does not mean that they can provide answers to all questions which archaeology must address. Specifically, the pattern of artefacts cannot resolve the question of what their own significance is. They cannot authorise the conceptual framework through which they are to be interpreted - a position which would clearly be circular - the position which Hodder seems to occupy with his definition of context. The incorporation of theoretical developments from Semiotics, Structuralism, Post-Structuralism and Critical Theory, etc., into archaeology; together with anthropological and ethnographic studies of the significance of material culture, have given archaeology new models for the interpretation of artefacts (e.g. Hodder 1982; 1984; 1985; 1986; Shanks & Tilley 1987; 1987a; Thomas 1991; 1993). However, these models, as they are currently formulated in the discipline, still depend upon the assumption that artefacts do constitute archaeology's source of authority in exactly this way.

¹⁰Popper offers a view of the philosophy of science based on the classical pluralist position of Kant in which the objects of enquiry exist first as 'Nuomena' "things in themselves".

¹¹ Feyerabend (1975), Foucault (1965; 1970; 1972; 1973), Kuhn (1970) and Lyotard (1985) offer three of the most (im)famous and distinctive critiques of this position, which also share a number of common features.

TEXTUALITY

The problematic position of the archaeological artefact can be further examined by extending the analogy of the archaeological record as a text. Recently, the theorisation of textual critique has undergone a radical re-orientation, particularly with reference to the issues of the status of philosophical texts, the 'translation' of texts from other cultures, and the place of the reader, the author and the text in the determination of meaning. Within what have come to be termed 'Post-structuralist' critiques, received notions about the location of meaning within the text have come under severe scrutiny. Roland Barthes, after his renunciation of the structuralist project (1975; 1977), systematically questioned the 'presence' of the primary intentionality or 'voice' of the author as represented through the mimetic text. Instead Barthes asserted a de-centred authorship (including his own), aligning his account of the production and subsequent reading of the text with Kristeva's (1986) notion of inter-textuality: that each text is a condensation of the matrix of all discourses/texts.

We know now that a text is not a line releasing a single "theological" meaning (the message of the Author-God) but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from innumerable centres of culture.

(Barthes 1977: 146)

One of the most extended and concerted series of critiques of textual meaning of recent years has been that associated with Jacques Derrida. His so-called 'deconstructions' of the rhetorical/textual devices upon which the meanings of texts rest have challenged accepted understandings of the relationship between text, author, meaning and reader¹². Derrida's central charges are that each of the canonical texts he deconstructed (e.g. Derrida 1974; 1978; 1981; 1987; 1994) can be seen to be founded on what is termed the 'metaphysics of presence' (the presumption of an authentic voice or being behind and represented in the text), and that the 'plenitude' (the texts loading with, and revelation of its own meaning) is itself an effect of textual devices, particularly the use of the unacknowledged privileging of one term of a each of a series of binary oppositions, e.g. speech over writing, presence over absence, identity over difference.

Derrida's strategy of deconstruction comes out of his reading of Saussure's structural linguistics. Saussure (1974) asserted the dual nature of the linguistic sign, arguing that it

¹²Derridean deconstruction is far from uncontroversial, even sympathetic critics like Said (1978a; 1984: 178-225) find Derrida's close reading of texts problematically self-limiting. Others such as Callinicos (1989), Dews (1987), Norris (1990) challenge the value of the whole project of the deconstructive questioning of the limits of the language of rationality.

comprised a material, phonic or graphic element the signifier, and the conceptual referent the signified. For Saussure the relation between these two was arbitrary, and the construction of meanings within language was the product of the deployment of relational differences organised by the rules of the *langue* (language system). However, Derrida argues that the play of 'differences without positive terms', was too radical an analytic position for Saussure, and was therefore limited by his privileging of speech over writing in order to forestall the dizzying prospect of undecidability. The deconstruction of Saussure's linguistics (Derrida 1977: 27-72) highlights the role of expressions which identify speech with the voice of the subjective consciousness, the truth, and the 'transcendental signifier' (Derrida 1977: 20) - which guarantees meaning in the relation of difference between the signifier and signified.

Highlighting that this 'presence' within the text is only sustainable through metaphorical devices of the text itself, Derrida argues for an overcoming of the notion of writing as being the supplementary representation of pure speech, and the replacement of logo-centric linguistics with Grammatology (a generalised exploration of writing not limited to the graphical form) (ibid.). Derrida, taking seriously the idea the languages are systems of difference without positive terms, argues that 'the text' is characterised by *différance* - the endless deferral and undecidability of meaning - each signifier relating to another before fixing the meaning of the first. He goes on to pursue the metaphysics of presence in the works of most of the major theorists of the human sciences: e.g. Rousseau and Levi-Strauss (1977); Descartes, Freud, Foucault, Hegel, Levinas (1978); Nietzsche (1979); Kant (1987); Marx (1994)

Moreover, in perhaps his most famous phrase "il n'y a pas de hors-texte"¹³ (1974: 158), Derrida encapsulates the intrinsic writerly constructedness of all knowledge. In the context of recent human science projects, the critique of the construction of knowledge through writing is evident within 'critical anthropology' (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Clifford 1988; Fabian 1983), and in 'Post-colonial studies' (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1994; Spivak 1987; Thomas 1994), amongst others. The implications of this stance have been partially explored in terms of the interrogation of archaeological texts (Bapty and Yates 1990; Hides and Moran 1990; Tilley 1990), in critiques which have focused on the tropes and figures of writing which attempt to project the past as something with existence beyond the text, and recovered by it. Thus the various forms of archaeological 'writing' (excavation, recording, planning, monographic reporting, theoretical discussion, synthesis) are all seen to rest on the inscription of the metaphysical presence of the past in the 'original' archaeological text: the artefactual record, and can therefore be legitimately subjected to 'deconstructive'

¹³ Usually translated as "There is nothing outside of (or beyond) text", often in support of the criticism that Derrida is not interested in 'reality' e.g. Callinicos (1989). This phrase can also be understood to imply there is no outside-text - there is no boundary between the text and the world, a reading which seems more sympathetic with Derrida's borrowings from Barthes and Kristeva.

reading. Further, despite the criticisms levelled at Derrida (see note 11 above), deconstruction is both more accepted as a strategy for dealing with (strictly graphic) texts, and justifiably invoked because of the adoption of the notion of textuality, and indeed the references to post-structuralism, in Post-processual archaeologies (e.g. Hodder 1986; 1989; 1990; 1995; Shanks 1992; Shanks and Tilley 1987a: 101-2; Tilley 1990; 1991)

The critique of the metaphysics of presence in archaeological conceptions of the relation between cultural identity is clearly possible, and the instance cited above (Hodder's work) quite readily reveals its textual devices and the 'writing' of the presence of the past. The relation is organised around a distinctive construction of transcendental subjectivity, the voice behind the artefactual 'text' recoverable through Hodder's assimilation of Collingwood's notion of universal subjectivity which guarantees the recovery of meaning.

However, this critique does not adequately address other questions of the writing of the past as a form of textual interpretation. Whilst Derrida often insinuates his own critique of a text into the body of another writing (e.g. his reading of Hegel (Derrida 1986) is approached via Sartre's (1951) Study of Jean Genet), this particular strategy of intertextuality is problematic in the face of the archaeological record construed as a text or discourse. Whilst Derrida's notion of writing, and its exploration: *grammatology* (1974), claims not to privilege printed or graphical writing, but extends writing to all inscribing practices, little if any discussion of any other forms of 'writing' or their 'literary' manifestation is ever raised (see Said 1984; Norris 1990). Thus for archaeology, the relationship between the strategies for inscribing and reading graphical texts, and those aligned to artefactual, material discourses remains to be elaborated¹⁴. The mode of close, attentive reading which Derrida utilises may be applicable to the interrogation of archaeological 'writing' in the usual sense (in publications), but the reading of artefacts, although also characterised by *differance* of some kind, must surely be undertaken in a different, if equally careful, way. This would most definitely not be achieved through the current practice of 'borrowing' theoretical approaches in piecemeal fashion from anthropology, sociology, semiotics, etc. For example Hodder (e.g. 1982; 1986), and Tilley (e.g. 1990) essentially transpose a structuralist/semiotic reading strategy from analyses of contemporary visual/cultural traditions (Faris 1972; Levi-Strauss 1962) onto the reading of archaeological artefacts, apparently without reference to the fact that such structuralist analyses required access to a whole set of instances of the *parole* to deduce each *langue* ¹⁵. The development of the kind of careful reading of the *differance* of artefacts of the past would however, require the development of a substantial new theoretical field:

¹⁴Since Post-processual archaeology has so far done little to define what such a close reading of material traces - as distinct from texts, or indeed as distinct from simply 'coming up with an interpretation', might be.

¹⁵Thus in describing Nuba notions of symmetry, etc. Faris (1972) needed to observe many instances of its application and to have the 'phonemic' and 'phonetic' distinctions elucidated to him, further he went on (Faris 1983) to question the adequacy of such semiotic approaches alone. There is also of course the issue of the established critiques of structuralist analyses (e.g. Bourdieu 1977)

an archaeological analytic which could offer a series of strategies for the reading of the artefact. This is the kind of theoretical project which will be outlined in the last part of this thesis.

FAILURES OF EXISTING THEORETICAL CRITIQUES

Given that a significant aspect of Ian Hodder's contextual archaeology (Hodder 1984; 1986; 1987; 1990; 1995) was its attempt to produce a critique of the processualist explanations of the 'New Archaeology' of the late 1960s and 1970s; together with its assertions: that material culture is meaningfully constituted; that the archaeological record is a kind of text; and that the meanings of artefacts can only be read in context (Hodder 1982: 218), it appears to constitute a possible mode of reading the artefact of the past in its *differance* (Derrida 1978). Moreover, Hodder's attempts to derive a critical stance, which places archaeological practice in its contemporary socio-political context (e.g. 1986; 1987a; Hodder and Shanks 1995), appears to substantiate such a claim further.

However, the central issues of the description of a theory of signs (artefacts of the past) explaining how artefacts are significant, and the method of interpretation capable of interrogating and representing this meaning, mark a point of instability. Hodder's semiotics of material culture (1982; 1986; 1987) rests on the attempt to recover the voice of the past. "The artefacts do speak (or perhaps faintly whisper) to us -the problem comes in the interpretation" (1986: 123), and this voice is that of the trans-historical subject, speaking a universally accessible language of action which can be mentally re-enacted by the archaeologist¹⁶.

Ironically therefore, the very artifice which supposedly authorised the contextual reading of the past, collapses that past wholly into the present of Hodder's writing. Recognised as a formulation of writing, the contextual reconstitution of past subjectivity (either the 'active individual' or ethnic group) elides the separation of the contexts of the 'past' and the 'present' and erodes their autonomy. Moreover, it subsumes the determination of meaning in the 'past' - on the grounds of ideology and practice (e.g. Hodder 1986: 55-76) - into the 'ideological' conditions of the present. The more the theoretical elaboration is increased in an effort to fix the truth of the past (the adding of new theorists seems almost parodic in places; Adorno, Bourdieu, Foucault, Giddens, Habermas, Horkheimer, Levi-Strauss, Marcuse, Saussure, are enlisted without reference to contradictions between their projects), the more the writing of 'past' contexts enmeshes itself as writing within the contemporary discipline. Most recently, following Moore (1990) Hodder has supplemented Collingwood's idealism with Ricoeur's view (1981) that events are structured like narratives because of the intentionality of the actors and the emplotting of coherent lived

¹⁶The weight of Barthes and Derrida's critiques of presence seem to be sledge-hammers to this particular metaphysical nut.

stories (Hodder 1995: 168). However, such phenomenological constructions of transcendental subjectivity are no more secure from the charge of metaphysics (Derrida 1978: 154-68).

Other writers, notably Shanks and Tilley (1987; 1987a) and Miller and Tilley (1984) have further extended the incorporation of critical theories into archaeology, attempting to define its social and political context in the present more explicitly. Shanks and Tilley (1987; 1987a) seek to retain some element of the autonomy for the past context as a ground upon which politics can be argued. Accepting as inevitable that the charge of relativism is a potential consequence of their ideological critique of the presentation of the past as heritage, they assert that the ideological stance of the author is the first ground upon which the validity of a description of the past can be judged (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 46-99; 1987a: 186-208).

These authors and others have also explored a number of recent critiques, including those of Derrida and Foucault, which are critical of traditional views of meaning (Bapty and Yates 1990; Tilley 1990). Although the theoretical and methodological frameworks which archaeology has constructed around the basic assumption that artefacts are socially meaningful have been criticised and reformulated, the founding assumptions that artefacts 'contain' meaning, and that subjectivities 'exist' are recuperated in some degree. Surprisingly, having summarised Foucault's work and described the relevance of a genealogical examination of archaeology, Tilley still concludes that "the associations made between artefacts and their context occur *as much in the linguistic medium of the text as they do in that which the text may seek to describe*" (Tilley 1990a: 332 [my emphasis])¹⁷. Going on to reject the idea that the text exists as an endless play of language (in a book which includes a lengthy chapter on Derrida commenting on his notion of textual play (Yates 1990)), he equates meaninglessness with "an assertion that writing material culture is an entirely fictional enterprise" (Tilley 1990a: 332). This view contrast strongly with Foucault's critique of the ability of the text to 'describe' (1970), his destabilisation of the 'truth effect' of discourse, the provisionality with which he writes of his own archaeological and genealogical projects (1972: 248; 1977a; 1981: 8-9), and his assertion that, "I am fully aware that I have never written anything other than fictions. For all that I would not want to say that they were outside the truth." (Foucault 1979: 75 cited in Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982: 204). Moreover, with a few exceptions which seem to wander uncertainly between personal monologues, critique and description (e.g. Shanks 1992), the implications of the 'Post-structuralist' critiques, described at great length, have not been worked through or with.

Thus the 'deconstructive reading' of material culture in archaeology to date (e.g. Hodder et.

¹⁷Returning to a traditional distinction between text and object.

al. 1995; Tilley 1990) has been limited to the summarisation of critiques from literary, textual and discourse theory, with reference to the archaeological literature and its production of the past. Once these theorists move beyond the question of the textual strategies involved in the reading/writing of the literal (graphical) text, the scheme of interpretation of the artefactual traces of the past appears to lapse into naive readings of the object and the identities it contains. In other words, having struggled with the complexities of the text, they return to the 'simple', 'common sense', universalising assumption of the intelligibility of material culture, and the identities artefacts 'embody'.

THEORISING THE PERSISTENCE OF THE PROBLEM OF THE ARCHE

This limited 'deconstruction' of the artefact as signifier within archaeological texts leaves a series of inter-related problems unattended. Initially it is important to mention that the Derridean critique of 'Western Metaphysics', the 'Philosophy of presence' and 'logocentrism', places deconstructive reading against a presumed European cultural (politico-juridical and ethical) heritage. This heritage, which is deeply implicated in the determination and continuity of the forms of discourse being criticised, is never itself specified or articulated with the discourses at hand. In this respect, Foucault's conception of the discursive field as being, interdiscursive, and extradiscursive - articulated with institutions, practices regimes of truth (Barrett 1991: 129), is more effective, in that it can address the specificity of the discursive production of the truth in different forms.

Firstly then, although, the description of Hodder's work in terms of its dependence on the notion of 'presence' highlights the presumption, rather than the theorisation of the materiality, meaning and identity in archaeology, an alternate construction of difference in the discourses (material, textual, etc.) of the past still needs to be theorised. Archaeology, in its 'traditional' modes (supported by western metaphysics) has theorised the link between materiality and identity as 'presence', in the image of contemporary conceptions of such a relation. These kinds of relationship are asserted as universal/uniformitarian principles at the outset, making archaeology possible, the material traces determined by this relation are then 'recovered' through particular methodological instruments.

Miller (1987) has attempted to devise this new kind of theory of the artefact, in terms of the concept of the 'objectification' of cultural values, meanings, beliefs and identities in artefacts, derived from Hegel's concept of alienation (Miller 1987: 27-82). However whilst this example usefully identifies the theoretical gap facing archaeology, this construction itself requires critical historicisation, since its central concept of objectification is derived from the context of 19th and 20th century Western culture¹⁸. The theorisation of the

¹⁸Since it is derived from Hegel's notion of alienation (1977) via Marx, this view of objectification becomes problematic as it is extended to other cultural contexts - as it is utilised anthropologically. Thus does Munn's account of the Walbiri (1973) describe a different instance of

reading of difference in the traces of the past will require an historical re-examination of the relationships that archaeologists have hitherto presumed, in order that the 'self-evidence' of current archaeological conceptions can be destabilised, and so that the relations between the systems of thought, practices and institutions through which they were articulated can be made intelligible.

A second problem is that the artefactual record is incomplete (as archaeologists are well aware). Therefore, not only can the meaning in archaeological 'writing' not be exhausted, finished, or 'closed' in the Derridean sense (see Yates 1990: 224-5), but more prosaically, it is the equivalent of a series of artefactual sentences with most of the words missing. Evidently this problem becomes more acute as the traces of the past being interpreted become more ephemeral, as less 'text' survives. Yet the question of how the traces of the past might be synecdochic of that past has not been as adequately dealt with in the interpretative archaeologies. The parallel issue of data loss has been addressed more directly within the positivist treatments of depositional and post-depositional processes in New Archaeology (Binford 1983; Schiffer 1976; 1978-86).

Further, the difficulty of defining the relationship between artefacts and identity can be linked to archaeology's specific epistemological problem. Whilst for other disciplines objects are interpreted in their social context, archaeologists attempt to recreate that context from the objects themselves. Thus for example the standard ethnographic practice of triangulating interpretations between different categories of evidence (Hammersley and Atkinson 1989: 198-200) is untenable. This has particularly important consequences for the way in which objects and identity are linked and understood in contextual archaeology, where precisely those elements of social organisation, ideologies, and practices which would have constituted the context giving meaning to the individual artefact, are the features which the reading of the artefacts is attempting to recover.

Thirdly, different cultural traditions embody not only different spoken languages, but also different material discourses; that is to say, the interpretation of meaning and identity in material culture also constitutes a problem of translation. Acknowledging the difference of the past offers up a particular version of this challenge of translation. To date European archaeologists have simply presumed that the conceptual and interpretational devices which enable us to read contemporary material culture can be transferred to the artefacts of the different cultures of the past, although in one sense there is no other possibility open to them, there is no position outside of their own culture's discursive formulations of translation. However, there has been little critical reflection (see Graves-Brown, Jones and Champion 1996; Webster & Cooper 1996) of how the reading of the otherness of past identities has been attempted. The reduction of the difference of the identities of the past to

the same process - objectification, or are there radically different objectification processes. This question is left somewhat begging in the interests of Anthropology.

reflections of our conceptions of autonomous individuality, possessive individualism, racial vigour and collective labour, etc. are surely inadequate.

HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY, GENEALOGY

It was argued above that conventional histories of archaeology (e.g. Daniel 1981; Piggott 1976; Trigger 1989) accurately describe the activities of early archaeologists and antiquarians, but are founded on a theory of history which embodies the same problems as the interpretations of the past being described. They presume that the historical object being discovered - the true account of the past - and the historical subject revealed through interpreting that object - the people of the past - remain constant throughout this history, gradually being more and more fully described. Thus history comes to be the never-ending search (in terms of influence, precedent, tutelage, etc.) for the earliest recognition of the transcendental phenomena which define contemporary knowledge, either in their current or nascent form; simultaneously, it is the description of the processes which led inevitably, if by unpredictable degrees, to a present which is the culmination of that historical process¹⁹. The traditional history of archaeology is therefore continuist (presumes the continuity of object and subject), cumulative (presumes knowledge grows and improves) and unidirectional (presumes progress is inevitable, on average) (see e.g. Trigger 1989: 4-26; 396-400); it is therefore also teleological (its outcome is implicit in its origins), and thereby metaphysical (based upon a belief in transcendental identities and causes). Some of the difficulties inherent in such an approach have already been raised, but the work of Michel Foucault offers both a persuasive diagnosis of the nature and problems of such histories, and a series of examples of alternative strategies for exploring the history of knowledge.

To begin with the notion of 'presence' the idea of a transcendental subjectivity inhabiting the traces of the past, introduced above, is clearly a target for Foucault's project,

... ever since a discipline such as history has existed, documents have been used, questioned, and have given rise to questions; scholars have asked not only what these documents meant, but also whether they were telling the truth, and by what right they could claim to be doing so, But each of these questions, and all this critical concern, pointed to one and the same end: the reconstitution, on the basis of what the documents say, and sometimes merely hint at, of the past from which they emanate and which has now disappeared far behind them; the document was always treated as the language of a voice since reduced to silence, its fragile, but possibly decipherable trace.

(Foucault 1972: 6)

¹⁹Thus antiquarian texts are read to find the first recognition of stone tools as artefacts (Trigger 1989: 53; 88); the first theory of appropriate ethnic divisions in prehistoric Britain (Piggott 1967: 11); the pioneers of scientific excavation techniques (Daniel 1981: 48-97).

For Foucault, this view of the presence (or 'voice') of the past in its material traces is untenable because of its metaphysical nature; modern historical projects are questionable because they assume this as their dubious basis. Further, such histories are supported by three hypotheses which mean that they presume exactly that which they should be seeking to establish. Continuist history supposes that a common causality links all the phenomena of each field, it supposes that the same form of historicity and therefore the same kind of transformations affect each field's phenomena, and that history is composed of great stages or phases containing the principles of their own cohesion (Foucault 1972: 9-10). The central presumption which this history supports is that of the transcendental subject.

Continuous history is the indispensable correlative of the founding function of the subject: the guarantee that everything that has eluded him [Man] maybe restored to him; ... Making historical analysis the discourse of the continuous and making human consciousness the original subject of all historical development and all action are the two sides of the same system of thought.

(Foucault 1972: 12)

Therefore in *The Order of Things* - which will act as a partial model for this 'history' of archaeology - Foucault (1970) does not presume that the unifying subjectivity of 'Man' underpins the history of knowledge (ibid.: xxiii), rather he sets out to show the fundamental cultural codes through which each moment constructs what counts as knowledge. The '*archaeology of the human sciences*' is not an attempt, "to describe the progress of knowledge towards an objectivity in which today's science can finally be recognised". Rather, Foucault describes the ordering of knowledge through three discrete epistemic fields, the Renaissance, Classical, and Modern *epistemes*. This constitutes an account, "...in which knowledge, ...grounds its positivity and thereby manifests a history which is not that of its growing perfection, but rather that of its conditions of possibility;" (ibid.: xxii).

Thus, *epistemes* were seen by Foucault as "...the total set of relations that unite, at a given period, the discursive practices that give rise to epistemological figures, sciences and possibly formalised systems;" (1972: 191), they therefore constituted the ways in which truth was produced within the formal discourses of the human sciences. For instance, in the 19th century the figure of 'Man' acting through the "analytic of finitude" paradoxically constituted both the source of authority for all interpretation and the object of those interpretations (Foucault 1970: 303-43). Man's limitation is measured (through his physical body, through his language, in terms of productivity) by his own sciences (Biology, Philology, Economics). But these sciences take as their foundation the absolute necessity of the search for those finite limits.

This recognition of finitude [instigated by Kant's Anthropology (ibid.: 340-3)] established knowledge in the tension between a series of paradoxical couples - 'Man's doubles': the *empirico-transcendental* double [empirical knowledge of Man gradually reveals what makes all knowledge possible i.e. it describes its transcendent authority - Man himself](Foucault 1970: 318); the *cogito and the unthought* [the necessity for knowledge to progress from what is known by the *cogito* , to that which is as yet unknown - unthought] (ibid.: 322); the *retreat and return of the origin* [the endless search for Man's origins in those empirical phenomena which define his nature, but exist beyond him - Life, Language, Labour](ibid.: 328). For Foucault this mode of the constitution of knowledge underpinned all modern anthropological (in the Kantian sense of universalising) projects and histories, but also ultimately led to their frustration and ultimate exhaustion, because the doubles could never be resolved or finalised.

Foucault claimed that archaeology, by making "a *pure description of* [serious] *discursive events* " (Foucault 1972: 27), enabled him to escape the analytic of finitude, 'Anthropology', and its founding, but ultimately limiting contradictions, because it did not rest on the search for truth in the founding subjectivity of 'Man'. Because Foucault suspended his own judgement as to the meaning and 'proper' significance of each text, and instead solely described the relations within and between discourses as they occurred within the *archive* (ibid. : 130), and as they had been constituted by the serious intent of their producers - archaeology enabled Foucault to avoid Man's doubles. The empirico-transcendental double was replaced by the description of the positivities of discourse; the *cogito* and the *unthought* was displaced by the account of the discontinuities between the epistemes; and the *retreat and return of the origin* was itself analysed through the description of the human sciences.

Foucault suggested in the *Archaeology of Knowledge* that instead of trying to interpret the document and reveal its inner message, deciding if it is true, archaeology - " now organises the document, divides it up, distributes it, orders it, .. discovers elements, defines unities, describes relations." (Foucault 1972: 6-7). Foucault described discursive formations in terms of how they constitute particular objects, ways of speaking, concepts, and discursive strategies (ibid. 31-70), i.e. the opposite of conventional approaches which would see a discipline and its statements as being defined around its proper object and method. Foucault characterised the difference between 'archaeology' and history, in terms of their respective attitudes towards their sources arguing that,

history in its traditional form, undertook to memorise the *monuments* of the past, transform them into *documents*, and lend speech to those traces, ... in our time history is that which transforms *documents* into *monuments* history aspires to the condition of archaeology, to the intrinsic description of the monument.

(Foucault 1970: 7)

Leaving aside this unflattering, and hopefully dated conception of archaeology (as typology) Foucault's *archaeology* was problematic²⁰. Critics complained that archaeology could not resolve the issues of the definition of subjects and objects only by making reference to discourse, and that this whole approach was too limited by its concentration on discourses, to the exclusion of the facts of the material, social and institutional contexts surrounding them (e.g. Ingram 1986: 318; Rousseau 1972-3; Steiner 1992: 87). Although Foucault recognised the importance of non-discursive practices in the definition of the objects which serious discourses deal with (Foucault 1970: 45), in his archaeological phase he argued that discursive formations were autonomous.

However, *archaeology* can be criticised on at least three grounds. First, it unnecessarily privileges one domain of cultural practice: writing, and that this privileging depended upon an untenable model of textual reading and re-writing. It was impossible to produce a pure account, orthogonal to the discourses it described (Rabinow and Sullivan 1982: xx), and as Foucault later conceded, "... what was lacking here was this problem of 'discursive regime', of the effects of power peculiar to the play of statements" (1980: 113). Partly, this was linked to the second criticism - that archaeology could not free itself from the truth-claims, and thereby the doubles of the human sciences. This critique was pursued most closely by Rabinow and Sullivan (1982: 90-100), who argued, in somewhat overly schematic terms, that in the effort to establish its own status, archaeology suffers its own versions of the empirico-transcendental, and cogito-unthought doubles, and thereby incorporated their contradictions (ibid.: 93-4). This point became most telling when related to the issue of the seriousness of Foucault's text - the third criticism. As long as Foucault claims detachment from the seriousness of historical discourses which are described in terms of discursive formations, his own text is either un-serious - in which case why should we address it, and/or is subject to the same rules of discourse - it becomes just a product of contemporary discursive regularity (ibid.: 97-100). Evidently, this was a position Foucault did not accept for long.

In his Genealogical work Foucault (1977; 1977a; 1979; 1986; 1987) maintains his critique of continuist history, arguing that genealogy produces effective histories and that "History becomes 'effective' to the degree that it introduces discontinuity into our very being" (Foucault 1977a:154). Genealogy still seeks to explore discourse through the "discursive regime" (1980: 113) conceived as an implicit connection of the discourses, practices and technologies that specific institutions have employed over time to produce certain kinds of human subjects. It therefore replaces the presumption of the transcendental subject of the human sciences, with the genealogical examination of its emergence and transformation. In this, it is addressing a topic not unlike that of Mauss (1979 [orig. 1938]), however, its

²⁰ Foucault hinted, in sympathy with the most 'serious' (that is engaged) critics, that the archaeology might only be a partial solution to the limitations of the Human Sciences (1970: 208)

mode of operation is more radical.

Foucault's *archaeology* is not replaced, but retained as an initial, strategic, step towards objectifying and analysing the discursive regime. In "Nietzsche, Genealogy and History" (1977a) Foucault introduces the formulation of Power/Knowledge acting on the body, which links the interpretation of discourse, the practices producing knowledge (truth), and the daily routines which institutions utilise to control and define individuals. In the "non-place" in which confrontations of power and value take place,

only a single drama is ever staged .. the endlessly repeated play of dominations. The domination of certain men over others leads to the differentiation of values; class domination generates the idea of liberty;This relationship of domination is no more a "relationship" than the place where it occurs is a place; and, precisely for this reason, it is fixed, throughout its history, in rituals, in meticulous procedures that impose rights and obligations. It establishes marks of its power and engraves memories on things and even in bodies.

(Foucault 1977b: 150)

Foucault's genealogical exploration of the production of the modern individual as object (1977), links the power articulated through specific punitive rituals and procedures to the kinds of subject, ('docile bodies') that each produces. For instance Damians the 17th century regicide has the absolute sovereignty of the Monarch physically inscribed in his body through torture (1977: 3-5), whereas the inmates of the 'House of young prisoners' in the 19th century have their every waking moment surveilled and prescribed (ibid.: 6-7). *Discipline and Punish* clarifies the central insights of Foucault's genealogy: it describes the key features of the regimes of discourse and practices of specific historical moments showing how each constitutes a different subjectivity²¹. It also describes the intrinsic mutuality of power and knowledge in these contexts and demonstrates the relation between specific and generalised regimes - e.g. how penal surveillance becomes generalised into the carceral society²².

In his most recent works (1979; 1986; 1987) Foucault, following Nietzsche, sought to produce a genealogical account of the correlation between the emergence of ethics and the individual as subject. The three volumes of the History of Sexuality, describe the continuities and discontinuities in the constitution of modern Man as a sexual subject, through the discourses and practices of 'Bio-power'(1979: 24). His argument is that sexuality and the subject positions that support it do not simply exist, but that the modern

²¹ This is exemplified through a series of figures - Damians, Faucher's rules, the Panopticon (1977: 195-228).

²² Surveillance is of course present in other regimes, in military academies, schools etc. (Foucault 1977).

notion of sexual identity is the outcome of a long and discontinuous history in which; ancient texts on who and how to love (1986b: 344-5), Christian confessionals from the Middle-ages onwards; the medical pathologization of women's sexuality in the 19th century, amongst many others, constituted the "technologies of the self" through which subjectivity in each moment was constituted (1979). This suggests, more generally, that the subject (of history etc.) cannot be presumed, but can be analysed in terms of its production in specific contexts.

Foucault's shift towards the genealogical interrogation of power/knowledge conferred great advantages over the detachment of *archaeology* alone. It offered substantive correlations between discourse and the fields of cultural practice - the rejection of which had left the *archaeology* of the human sciences open to criticism²³. It also opened up a new and complex field of enquiry defined by the inter-relationship between regimes of truth, technologies of power, and techniques of the self (Dean 1994: 194-5). In this new field *archaeologically* speaking "Truth is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements", and *genealogically*, "Truth is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to the effects of power which it induces and which extend it. A regime of truth" (Foucault 1980: 133). Power is thus not merely the possession of the few and repressive, but a ubiquitous differentiated field which was also productive.

Genealogy moved the analytic of power, truth and the subject further from the contradictions of the Human Sciences, even as it addressed them. But the *genealogist* still faced difficulties. Foucault questioned the detachment of his earlier *archaeological* position, in terms of the notion of "the speakers benefit", the idea of the general intellectual who claims any degree of detachment from the relations of power and the current forms of knowledge to judge them and prescribe a future. For the *genealogist* power and knowledge are intrinsically enmeshed (Foucault 1977b: 150; 163), "power and knowledge directly imply one another; .. there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations." (Foucault 1977: 27).

Foucault's writing, of course must also exist within the mutual immanence of power/knowledge, although it cannot be reduced to it. Thus whilst Foucault's works were enmeshed in relations that included his position as Professor of the History of Systems of Thought at Paris's E.N.S., those relations did not 'explain' the work, neither did they define and limit it, nor positively authorise it. For example, replacing the usual claims to the truth status of his account with the analytic of power/knowledge did not resolve the question of evidence - it did not relieve Foucault of the requirement of making some

²³ See above (c.f. Ingram 1986; Norris 1990; Poster 1985; Rousseau 1972-3; Steiner 1992)

methodological statements about his choice of textual evidence. This gap leaves his work susceptible to the criticism that it is partial, selective, or mistaken because of its dependence on limited or 'wrong' sources (e.g. Foxall 1994: 145; Poster 1986: 214; Rousseau 1972-3: 248 n30)

CONCLUSION

The critical position outlined in this Chapter implies the adoption of a strategy which will enable the production of a 'discursive' account of the relationship between material culture and identity. Such a discursive account of the history of the conceptual tools, technologies and institutions of contemporary archaeology requires the adoption of a particular stance with respect to the history of the discipline. It can no longer be presumed that the object of archaeological enquiry has remained constant throughout the development of the discipline - and that the discipline has merely been refining its representation of that object as it became more rigorous/scientific (Trigger 1989). That the object of the study of the past has itself changed through time must be acknowledged²⁴. To achieve this, a particular strategy of reading history, informed by Foucault's archaeological and genealogical projects (1970; 1971; 1977; 1986) will be undertaken in Chapters Two and Three.

A history of archaeology, and its construction of materiality and identity is necessary, not in the sense of "writing a history of the past in terms of the present" (as in traditional history's search for the true object of the discipline's 'real' past), but rather in that "writing the history of [its] present" (Foucault 1977: 31) will avoid the contradictions of those traditional histories. This approach recognises that,

We have no recourse to objective laws, no recourse to pure subjectivity, no recourse to totalizations of theory. We have only the cultural practices which have made us what we are. To know what that is we have to grapple with the history of the present.

(Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982: 204)

Thus a history of archaeology's present would describe the formulations of power/knowledge in which its contemporary constructions of cultural identity and material culture have arisen. The conceptualisations of this relationship will be examined as regimes of truth articulated with particular technologies of power/knowledge, that is, as conceptual artefacts constituted in their specific domains of operation - and transformed historically and politically. This approach necessitates an account which correlates the continuities and discontinuities in archaeology's conceptions of materiality and identity with those of other

²⁴ It must also be recognised that the other founding concepts of 'the past' (e.g. the conception of the subjectivities of the past; the conceptions of the collective identity; notions of the evidence of the past; the methods of investigating the past) have all undergone radical, discontinuous change.

domains, and which can also establish their connection to specific institutional practices. It will present a description of the emergence of the specific features of contemporary archaeological theory which support its conception of cultural identity and materiality: collection, the significance of artefacts, continuity of subjectivity, the materialisation of ethnicity in artefacts, etc. This will therefore, be a strategic and selective, rather than comprehensive, history of the discipline.

A 'Foucauldian' reading of the 'history of the [archaeological] present' is preferable not only in that it undermines the self-evidence of contemporary conceptual schemas, but also in that it highlights the necessity of sensitivity to the difference of the past in discursive-empirical terms. That is, it offers a model of methodological adequacy not based on the search for objective truth, nor made undecidable by relativism, but which measures itself against the discursive traces (both textual, institutional and material) of the past, as they exist around us now. Thus a re-examination of the associations made between the identity of objects and socio-cultural groups, from the emergence of the formalised interest in the identity of archaic peoples in the Antiquarianism of the 16th century, up to those made within contemporary archaeology, will illuminate the problematic theorisation of this relationship.

CHAPTER TWO

A Genealogy of Materiality and Cultural Identity

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the historical emergence of the formal discourses on the past which have related material culture and collective identity. It describes and analyses the historical emergence of the various presuppositions, conceptions and practices which characterise contemporary archaeological discourses on that relationship, and the continuities and discontinuities which have characterised them over time. Thus it describes the beginnings of the practices of collection, the development of the materialistic valuation and interpretation of objects, together with theories of identity based upon resemblance during the Renaissance. The chapter goes on to describe the conceptions of natural order, and practices of cataloguing which characterised 17th and 18th century antiquarianism. It concludes with the 19th century and the emergence of Modern historical modes of interpretation, new institutional locations for the articulation of artefacts and identity - the museum, the exhibition and the arcade - and the new political, bureaucratic and technical practices through which the past was produced.

RENAISSANCE ANTIQUARIANISM

Although it is clearly possible to trace interest in the past back to classical scholarship - for example to the histories of Thucydides and Herodotus, it is clear that most historians of archaeology (e.g. Daniel, 1967; 1981; Trigger, 1989) have identified the Renaissance revival of those classical texts and concerns as the moment at which modern concerns with the past emerged. From this perspective, the "quasi-historical" activities of antiquarians like John Leland (1503-1552) and William Camden (1551-1623) are important because they reject the medieval, mythological frameworks like that of Geoffrey of Monmouth (Kendrick, 1950: 4-5) in favour of more rational and objective methods. They are however, presented as lacking a coherent methodology with respect to evidence, and limited by their reliance on literary sources:

They did little deliberate digging and had no sense of chronology apart from what was known from written records.

(Trigger 1989: 48)

Antiquarians produced itineraries - literary collections -assembling without priority: genealogical material, heraldic imagery, monastic literature, local folk tales, myth

and anecdote, together with the occasional description of a curio or artefacts.
(Piggott 1976: 6-8).

However, these apparently haphazard activities take on a different significance when examined in relation to the form of knowledge, and the conceptions of identity current in the late Renaissance. These formulations can be summarised in terms of three concepts: resemblance, the microcosm (as collection or book) and the exotic.

Renaissance Materialism and Identity - Resemblance

In *The Order of Things*, Michel Foucault (1970:17-45) describes the way in which knowledge of the world was constituted during the late Renaissance (c.1550-1650). He suggests that scholars attempted to read signs, visible in all things, which revealed their resemblances to others. Resemblance, in the form of four specific kinds of similitude - *Convenientia*, *Aemulatio*, *Analogy*, *Sympathy* - and its opposite, *Antipathy*, united and structured the Renaissance universe, articulating every object, word and being.

Notwithstanding the important critical qualifications of this position, such as: Rousseau (1972-3: 241-2) who asserts that other texts show that the 'doctrine of signatures' was not universally accepted in late Renaissance culture; or Steiner (1992: 87) who argues that more detailed, and complex studies of the ubiquity of the philosophy of resemblance already existed, it is evident that resemblance united many (probably most) forms of Renaissance discourses on materiality and identity.

Foucault argues that the process of acquiring knowledge consisted of recognising and reading the visible signs, 'signatures' which revealed other deeper, or invisible resemblances:

It is the same with the affinity of the walnut and the human head: what cures
`wounds of the pericranium' is the thick green rind covering the bones - the shell -
of the fruit; but internal head ailments may be prevented by use of the nut itself
'which is exactly like the brain in appearance'[Crollius, *Traite des signatures*; 4].

(Foucault 1970: 27)

However, this mode of understanding only produced the same knowledge of each object, i.e. what resemblances it held. This in turn implied that certainty, with respect to even one analogy, could only be attained through the infinite collation of resemblances across the entire world; each resemblance pointed immediately to the next before confirming the first.

Microcosm

This potentially endless project of accumulation was, Foucault argues, limited by the concept of microcosm, wherein the visible, concrete world constituted a finite instance of the greater, divine macrocosm. For example, Man acted as the focal point of the operation of *analogy*, 'his face is to his body what the face of heaven is to the ether' (Foucault 1970: 22). Two particular forms of the microcosm: the book and the collection, are important for this discussion.

The Book

The enormous social and cultural impact of the development and expansion of printing during the 15th and 16th Centuries is now widely accepted (Einstein 1979; Mandrou 1978; Mukerji 1983; McLuhan 1962). Printing induced the broad dissemination of texts, wresting their control from clerics and transforming their content. The emergence of editor-printers; the re-printing of classical (secular and pagan) texts and the expansion of a Latin-literate, international academic community are inextricably bound-up together. However, the book was also important as a configuration of knowledge. During the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries language was implicitly enmeshed in the similitudes and signatures which ordered objects.

The great metaphor of the book that one opens and pores over and reads in order to know nature, is merely the reverse and visible side of another transference, and a much deeper one, which forces language to reside in the world, among the plants, the herbs, the stones, and the animals.

(Foucault 1970: 35)

Indeed, there was not the clear distinction we draw between words and things. Words were seen to be ordered through the same principles of resemblance which linked other signs; letters were drawn together by their sympathies.

The book both authorised the writing, the signs, that are manifest in nature, with the word of God (Foucault 1970: 38), and offered a figure of containment, a microcosm, in which knowledge could be fixed. It is unsurprising then, that the activities of Renaissance antiquarians were focused on, and expressed through literature, as Evans (1956: 3) notes of John Leland, and Hunter of William Camden and Ole Worm (1588-1654) founder of the *Wormian* Museum (1971: 118-9). Similarly, Leland's acceptance of Henry VIII's commission,

... to peruse and diligently to serche al the Libraries of Monasteries and Collegies of this yowre noble Reaulme, to the intente that the Monumentes of auncient Writers as welle of other Nations, as of this yowr owne Province mighte be

brought owte of deadely darkenes to lyvely lighte,

(John Leland 1546: xviii)

emphasised the literary nature of Renaissance antiquarianism, describing his enquiries into ancient scholarship and the textual basis of his studies and travels¹. The priority of the written word and the reliance on literary sources is also evident in the interpretation of historical identity at this time as identity was traced through resemblance. Foucault (1970: 39) cites Aldrovandi's *Historia serpentium et draconum* which characterised the serpent through, amongst other features: the etymology and synonyms of the word, its form, its anatomy, habits, antipathy, sympathy, modes of capture, wounds caused by, remedies, epithets, allegories, emblems and symbols, historical facts, dreams, miscellaneous uses. This is also the kind of "mass of miscellaneous notes" (Piggott 1976: 12), in which Leland collected accounts of antiquities, topographical features and genealogies, etc.. Camden's *Remains Concerning Brittain* (1607) includes: a history of costume, place-names and "... an essay on British coins, ... and another on Anglo-Saxon, with examples; a very full list of proverbs current in his day, two selections of medieval Latin verse ..." (Cited in Piggott 1976: 37). No particular priority was attached to different types of historical, genealogical or mythological evidence, because it was, as Foucault (1970: 39) puts it, "all *legenda* - things to be read".

The Collection

Whilst antiquarians were not often explicitly concerned with artefacts, the collection of objects was a crucial feature of Late Renaissance culture. Collection emerged from medieval, clerical stores of relics, the hoarding of wealth, and early Renaissance 'princely' collections (Hooper-Greenhill 1992:47-52; Piggott 1976:102). Several socio-cultural changes of this time (Mandrou 1978; Burke 1974) are relevant to the proliferation of collecting, these include: the emergence of formal discourses concerned with the secular, aesthetic valuation of objects²; the partial dissipation of clerical authority in the face of expanding mercantile power; and the burgeoning class of editor-scholars. Each marks the growing distinction made between the natural world, and the artificial world which reproduces (mirrors) nature (Baudrillard 1994: 50-52)³.

¹ Wherefore I knowing by infinite Variete of Bookes and assiduus reading of them who hathe been lemid, ... And as touching Historical Knowledge there hath beene to the numbre of a fulle Hunderith, or mo, that from tyme to tyme hath with greate Diligence, ... prescribed the actes of yowr moste noble Prædecessors, and the fortunes of this your Realme, so incredibly greate, that he that hath not seen and thoroughly redde theyr Workes can little pronounce yn this parte. Wherefore after that I had perpendid the honest and profitable studies of these Historiographes, I was totally enflamed with love to see thoroughly al those Partes of this your opulente and ample Reaulme, that I had redde of yn the aforesaid Writers: (John Leland 1546: xx-xxii).

² Many examples of these emerging discourses existed in the City states of Italy during the Renaissance, where mathematical education, concerned with solid geometry and the estimation and valuation objects as commodities developed, as did contractual and aesthetic valuation of paintings (Baxandall 1972).

³ For example, Robert Fludd's cosmography, *Integrae Naturae Speculum Artis que imago* [The

The collection of objects in 'Cabinets of Curiosity' *Wunderkammer* and 'Cabinets of the World' *Kunstammer*, has been characterised as the acquisition of a disorganised mass of rarities (Malina & Vasicek 1990: 26). However, the radical diversity of objects found in collections such as: those of Francesco Calceolari and Ulisse Aldrovandi in Italy; Ole Worm (1588-1654) in Denmark; and the *Musaeum Tradescantium*, the Cabinet of Rarities, or Ark, collected by the John Tradescants (father (d.1638); son (d.1662)), gardeners to Charles I, whose collection in England was arranged by,

'materialls', the first group being Natural, and including Birds, four footed Beasts and Fishes, Shell-creatures, insects, Mineralls, Outlandish-fruits and the like..... The second group was of 'Artificialls', 'as Vtensils, Householdstuffe, Habits, Instruments of Warre used by several Nations, rare curiosities of Art, &c.', and included Roman pottery and pre-Roman British coins

(Piggott 1976 p106).

are all in fact closely ordered according to the forms of similitude, visible or innate, which linked them, and through the mirroring of Nature in Art. Collections were often organised into Natural and Artificial objects (Hodgen 1956: 123; Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 13,125; Piggott 1976: 107). What appears to be incongruous juxtaposition of natural curiosities, mineral and animal rarities, with exotic artefacts and antiquities, is in fact, an attempt to represent the whole world, an Encyclopaedia (see figs. 4; 5). Antiquities were not separated from other exotic objects by their age, but united with them through resemblance. The web of resemblances between the diverse objects could be read in this microcosm in much the same way as in the literary collections or the signatures inherent in nature.

One feature common to all such collections was the emphasis on rarity, curiosity, and the exotic (Murray 1904: 186-7). This interest was manifested in a number of ways⁴. In part, rarity itself conferred value on these objects; they were collected less avidly when more commonplace (Impey & MacGregor 1985: 3). However, the taste for exotic objects was widespread enough to generate both an academic (Findlen 1991) and commercial exchange (Piggott 1976: 107). This interest can be directly linked with the rapid expansion of

Mirror of the Whole of Nature and the Image of Art] (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 111).

⁴The letter from John Tradescant "To the marchants of the Ginne Company & and the Gouldcost Mr. Humphrie Slainy Captain Crispe & Mr. Cloberry & Mr. John Wood Cape marchant." (1625) gives an excellent illustration of this theme. It requests that they find amongst other things: "on Ellophants head with the teeth In it very larg - of All ther strang sorts of fowelles & Birds Skines and Beakes Leggs & phethers that be Rare or Not Knowne to us - of All sorts of strang fishes skines of those parts the Greatest sorts of shellfishes shells - of Great flying fishes & sucking fishes withe what els strang // of the habits weapons & Instruments - of ther Ivory Long fluts - of All sorts of Serpents and Snakes Skines & Espetially of that sort that hathe a Combe on his head lyke a Cock - Of All sorts of Shining Stones or of Any Strang Shapes - Any thing that Is Strang". (MacGregor 1983: 20).



(fig. 4) Frontispiece of the Catalogue of the Wormian Museum [pub. 1655]



(fig. 5) 'Ferrante Imperato's 'museum' in Naples'

knowledge of the world beyond Europe. Not only did the limits of the known world recede dramatically after the discovery of America in 1492, but the number and diversity of 'voyages of discovery' increased exponentially (Hodgen 1964: 112)⁵.

The exotic, in accounts of customs, practices and objects, was incorporated into both forms of microcosm: the book and the cabinet. The narratives (histories) in which the ship's captain or doctor chronicled these voyages, assembled information by interweaving navigational observation, accounts of customs, mythological and biblical quotations, etc.. Occasionally, these were separated into an inventory and a chronology (Defert 1982: 12-14), although similitude under-pinned the interpretation of the various observations (Boon 1982: 38; Defert 1982: 12). Johann Boemus in 1520 produced one of the first collections of this proto-ethnographic material *Omnium Gentium Mores*, published in England in 1555 as *The furdle of façons*, with the aim of assembling information on exotic cultures in print, "as others had employed the 'cabinet de curiosities,'" (Hodgen 1964: 131).

The relationship between the identities of these cultures (Patagonians, Feugians etc.) and Europeans, were also interpreted through resemblance. Medieval conceptions of monstrous races were amalgamated with Old Testament antediluvianism and direct observations such that the monstrosity of these natives' lack of Christian morality was signified by their physical monstrosity (Mason 1990; Boon 1982). Moreover, the effort to assimilate 'other' cultures into Renaissance understanding operated in concert with the interpretation of ancient peoples, through the observation of similitudes. For example: circumcision identified the resemblance between Indian tribes and Old Testament Jews (Boon 1982: 162), and the degrees of monstrosity of the Plinian races revealed their existence beyond Christendom, and their lack of sociality (Mason 1990: 71-94), images which persisted into Renaissance accounts of discovery (Hulme 1986).

Renaissance Power/Knowledge and Identity

Beyond the *archaeological* description of some of the forms of knowledge of antiquity, it is clear *genealogically* that Renaissance antiquarianism was also implicitly bound up in the relations of power/knowledge - the politics - of the day. However, this relationship is complicated by the effects of discontinuities occurring at different levels within different time-scales - at least if Foucault's accounts are followed to any extent. Thus, Foucault presents us with a description of the discontinuities in the formation of knowledge occurring in the mid-17th, and the end of the 18th centuries (1970); shifts in political theory in the 15th, 16th and 18th centuries (1979); and changes in political practice and

⁵In 1532 William Hawkins presented a Brazilian king to the court of Henry VIII; in 1550 a whole Brazilian village was returned to France (Piggott 1976: 30-31), and in 1600 the East India Company was granted a charter by Queen Elizabeth I, consolidating the commercial exploitation of these discoveries.

technologies in the mid-17th, mid 18th and early 19th centuries (1977), which need to be correlated to the specific field being addressed here.

Although many different kinds of socio-political entities, such as: city-states, cantons, ecclesiastical principalities, nascent states and empires existed in Europe at this time, these different polities were often founded around the interests and structures of similar institutions: the church, the royalty / nobility, and similar socio-economic circumstances - the shift from feudalism to mercantilism (Smith 1986:130-1). In England, Spain, Portugal, etc., the monarchy, Catholic or Protestant, was the centre of the empire; whereas in the city-states of Florence, or Venice, collective identity was defined by the interaction between Papal power, Princely households, and increasingly over time, merchants. A new form of political discourse exemplified by Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1513-14), confronted traditional political thought, in that it separated the judgement of what was good for the country from theologically bound notions of justice and law, replacing it with 'political' counsel on the relation of the Prince's power to his territory, and how it could be retained (Foucault 1979: 5-9). These 'administrative states'(Foucault 1979: 21), partially de-coupled from divine authority, required secular knowledge of the world and history to articulate new notions of legitimacy.

Scholars, churchmen and statesmen were concerned to establish the ancient precedents for contemporary institutions, especially the sovereignty of the monarch (e.g. in England with reference to their Celtic or Saxon origins (Evans 1956: 11; Piggott 1976: 6)). Beyond the specific narratives that any history or collection represented, the very act of establishing a cabinet or collection expressed the status of the merchant and their city (e.g. the Medici Palace built in Florence c.1440), or monarch (e.g. James I's coin cabinet established c.1610). The patronage of scholars like antiquarians (e.g. Henry VIII commissioning John Leland to tour libraries and monasteries in 1533) emphasised the prestige of the patron and the importance of the history of the kingdom, but was also an important political device since royal authority was inherited - the past was a source of legitimacy.

Thus although John Leland, a typical Renaissance antiquarian, doubted the truth of all of Geoffrey's of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* of c.1135, which supposedly traced the origins of Britain back to Brutus the Trojan⁶, nonetheless he and other Tudor antiquarians, preserved those elements which bolstered the independence of England. Leland defended Arthur from the damning critique of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* by Polydor Vergil in his *Anglica Historia* c.1534. Leland was an overt patriot, writing his *Antiphilarchia* in the 1540s as propaganda against the Pope, and in Praise of Henry VIII, he asserted that Saxon Laws showed the early English Church was independent of Rome (Kendrick 1950: 49). His *New Years Gift* (1546) asserts that antiquarian scholarship will

⁶He traced the descent through the tribal kings facing Caesar's invasion, to the Romano-British lineage of King Arthur and to the coming of the Saxons (Kendrick 1950).

aid in proper biblical teaching such that "al maner of Superstition and craftely coloured Doctrine of a Rowte of the *Romaine* Bishopes totally expellid out of this your moste catholique Reaulme" (xix)

Under Elizabeth I, the College or Society of Antiquaries (founded c.1580-6), sought to establish the cultural longevity of England, seeking the origins of Parliament with the Romans, and the origins of British Christianity with Joseph of Arimathea (Evans 1956: 11). The antiquarian, poet and playwright, Edmund Spenser produced, in the *Faerie Queene* 1590-6, an historical allegory linking Elizabeth I to the Trojan Brutus (he did not treat the myth as true) by associating her with Arthur. Whilst the work is clearly poetic rather than historical, it was a serious assertion of the importance of the study of the past, and offered up British history as a necessary development towards its culmination in Elizabeth I (Kendrick 1950: 126-33), cementing her sovereignty in the land and its past. Similarly valorising histories were written across Europe, and Scandinavia (Trigger 1989: 49-51).

Generally, antiquarian narratives interpreted identity through genealogical studies of quasi-historical documents and comparisons of 'named' tribes through the philosophy of resemblance, e.g. *Galatae, Celtae, Galli*. Aylett Sammes' *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata* (something of an anachronism when published as late as 1676) links Britons with the *Cimbri*⁷ of the continent because of, "...the similitude[resemblance] of Name between these *Cymri* of Britain and the Ancient people, the *Cimbri* .." (Piggott 1976: 60). William Camden (1551-1623) in *Britannia* (1586) retained some adherence to the Arthurian legend, but none-the-less dispensed with the Trojan myth, and sought primarily to illuminate the remains of Roman and Post-Roman Britain. Its chapter on inhabitants offers a more positive account than predecessors of the English language, and the "warlike, victorious, stiffe, stoute and vigorous nation" of the Saxons than had appeared in previous antiquarian works, but it ended in Elizabethan style with Epitaphs. Within the philosophy of resemblance language was linked by similitudes both to the things it 'represented', and to those who used it, since the form and sympathies within a language are themselves signatures of the shared analogies between the people who use it⁷.

This move away from the Tudor 'British History' was also expressed in Richard Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities concerning the most Noble and Renowned English Nation* (1605), which asserted the importance of the Anglo-Saxon heritage to England, tracing their origins to the Germans and thereby back to Noah's son Japhet. He dedicated the work to James I "who was descended of the chieftest Blood-Royal of our ancient English-Saxon Kings" (cited in Kendrick 1950: 117). But under James I Antiquarianism faced a more complicated political context. In 1614 the already ailing

⁷See Foucault (1970: 37) on the analogy between directions of writing, the course of celestial bodies and the position of various peoples within the celestial order.

College of Antiquaries was suspended after James, "Took a little Mislike to their Society", either from the Scottish King's fear of the antiquarians' pro-English and Tudor sentiments, or the idea that interest in antiquity implied nostalgia for the catholic past. Indeed Verstegan's valorisation of the Saxon heritage of the English could itself be read as a challenge to Stuart authority (Banton 1987: 13)

Another factor significant in the construction of the antiquarian notion of the identities of past and present cultures was the appearance of images of exotic peoples, and the rapid equation of their appearance with that of ancient peoples. Following the publication of works like Boemus's *furdle of façons* (1520) (England in 1555) accounts of other cultures proliferated (see Hodgen 1964: 111-61). The analogy between exotic and ancient cultures became explicit in John White's illustrations (1580s) of Ancient Britons, which combined his observations of Virginian Indians made in North America, with elements of Britons of Lucas de Heere, based on classical sources (Piggott 1076: 9). Images of exotic peoples had been available in England from the 1560s, e.g. Edmund Harman's monument 1569 (Piggott 1976: 10), and 'Indians' became the constant point of reference for imagining ancient cultures (see figs 6,7,8,9).

These images of other cultures understood through resemblance, were then integrated into European understanding through narratives which compared exotic peoples with those of Europe. Thus, Samuel Purchas's in *Purchas His Pilgrims* (1625), collected the accounts of explorers, and linked Indic (Sumatran, Javan, Balinese and Mugal) Royalty, with English Monarchs (Bon 1882:154-177). Citing the testimony of voyagers encountering prior knowledge of the names of Elizabeth I and James I, he asserted that this fame evidenced England's superiority over Catholic Spain and Protestant Holland (ibid. 160). Signs of resemblance in the practices of exotic peoples were also read 'politically'; to Catholics (Columbus, Vespucci, Pigafetta, etc.) cannibalism, circumcision, sodomy and polygyny were similitudes of devil-worship; but Purchas re-directed this view, arguing that such practices revealed the corruption of the natives by the Pope's emissaries (the Anti-Christ to the English). However, such interpretations were not theological, being instead narratives which articulated the sovereignty of the monarch and reconciled knowledge of the exotic within the context of struggles between imperialist monarchies - Purchas also argued that the kingless peoples of North America were essentially vagabonds who should therefore be colonised (Ibid.: 168-73).

During the Late Renaissance, objects and identity were both interpreted through the philosophy of resemblance. The microcosm provided the dimensions which limited encyclopaedic collection, either in the book or in the cabinet of curiosities (*Kunstammer*), and manifested the similitudes which crossed the entire known world. Ancient peoples and their artefacts were understood through readings of their curiosity, or strangeness (Mullaney 1983). They, like the exotic cultures being discovered at the time, constituted, in



(fig. 6) "Drawings by John White c.1585 a. A Red Indian; b. A native of Britain" (British Museum)

(fig. 7) "a. A Pict: drawing by John White c.1585 (British Museum) b. Ancient Britons: a drawing by Lucas de Heere, c. 1575" (British Museum Add. MSS. 28,330,f.8b)



Male neighbour unto the Picts



Woman neighbour unto the Picts



(fig. 8) Engravings by
Theodore de Bry c.1590



(fig. 9) Ancient Britons
from Speed's *Histoire* 1611

different ways, the limits of the world. Renaissance antiquarians were neither confused, nor lacking rigour in their interpretations of ancient peoples. Rather, their mode of ordering the world was radically different from our own. This mode of interpretation which was intimately enmeshed in the contemporary forms of power, introduced or consolidated several conceptions, which in modified form, are still important in archaeology today: the notion of the representative collection (microcosm), the idea that artefacts are signs (signatures) of identity, the legitimization of contemporary institutions in past origins, and the inter-relationship of identity and difference.

THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES: THE WELL LAID TABLE

In traditional, 'continuist' accounts, 'scientific antiquarianism', characterised by Baconian empiricism, is taken to have rationalised the study of antiquity to some degree by the mid-17th century (Trigger 1989: 61), gradually replacing the mythical, narrative elements with more rigorous first-hand observation and recording. However, this view implies a large degree of continuity in the aims and objects of enquiry from the 15th to the 17th century, whereas Foucault suggests that at this moment a seismic shift occurred from a Renaissance *episteme* based on interpretation, to a 'Classical' *episteme* based on representation. This new *episteme* coincided with the attempts of political philosophers', like Hobbes in works such as *Leviathan* (1651), to reconcile the discourses on the 'art of government', which construed government as a question of 'economy' - the measuring and controlling of the dispositions of people and things - with 'contract' theories of absolute sovereignty (Foucault 1979: 15-16). This reconciliation together with the political crises of the first half of the 17th century meant that monarchic sovereignty was the dominant political formula long after the theory of the 'art of government' appeared (This discourse had emerged in the 16th century and persisted until the 18th). Therefore the new discursive formulae of knowledge as pure representation were coincident not so much with the theory of 'art of government' but with the practical political rationality of absolutism in the mid-17th (ibid.).

The articulation of the exercise of absolute sovereign power with detailed knowledge of the populace and its material circumstances is exemplified for Foucault in the practices of public torture and punishment at this time. Thus the torture of Damians the regicide in 1757 (Foucault 1977: 3-6), was strictly calibrated according to the penal codes that had closely specified the nature and degrees of torture, according to the severity of the crime against the state (and thereby against the person and body of the monarch), since the second half of the 17th century (ibid.: 32-59). This form of punishment was clearly also an important representation of power, which the public must witness.

The public execution, then, has a juridico-political function. It is a ceremonial by which a momentarily injured sovereignty is reconstituted. It restores that sovereignty by manifesting it at its most spectacular.

(Foucault 1977: 48).

That sovereignty expressed through public torture, located the body of the condemned in the nexus of power/knowledge. As, "a body effaced, reduced to dust and thrown to the winds, a body destroyed piece by piece by the infinite power of the sovereign constituted not only the ideal, but also the real limit of punishment."(ibid. :50) - it revealed the real limit of power, and the limit of knowledge. The required confessions of those on the scaffold, re-incorporated them into the sovereign scheme of things, replaced them within the law, and thereby within the appropriate disposition of bodies and things - the natural order. The tasks of the law and the emergent empirical sciences were therefore similar in that both sought to establish the natural order through forms of representation, the former punitive, the latter descriptive.

The Classical Episteme

Some suggest that Foucault over-emphasises the discontinuity between the Renaissance and Classical *epistemes*, (e.g. Boon 1982: 32; Rousseau 1973) since certain practices, such as collecting, continue into the 18th century and later. But this is to treat the question of *epistemes* in isolation from forms of Power/knowledge etc. which clearly complicate the transition. However, it is clear that in the mid-17th century the way in which knowledge was accumulated changed dramatically. Language was removed from the world of similitude to become the transparent medium of representation.

The essential problem of classical thought lay in the relations between *name* and *order*: how to discover a *nomenclature* that would be a *taxonomy*, or again, how to establish a system of signs that would be transparent to the continuity of being
(Foucault 1970: 208)

For Foucault this episteme is typified by: attempts to define a general grammar, or ideal language, e.g. Condilliac and Adam Smith (Foucault 1970: 124); the development of classificatory systems in natural history based on observing differential morphology, e.g. Linnaeus, Buffon (Foucault 1970: 162); and the analysis of economic exchange in terms of wealth, e.g. Hobbes, Locke, Condilliac (Foucault 1970: 167-8). The attempts to derive a universal grammar implied that language should reflect objects in as direct a way as possible; understanding consisted of ordered representation. Foucault argues that neither Cartesian rationality, nor Baconian empiricism, made natural history possible (Foucault 1970: 125-6), but rather, the restriction of the gaze to the observation of a species' morphology. The *Systems* of Linnaeus, Ray and Grew (1681:150) provided a language through which each species was represented in the grid of identities. Each acquired its place (name) through observable features, and was simultaneously differentiated from others approximating to it.

Similarly, the understanding of commerce was transformed from an interpretation based on money as a sign of all intrinsic values, to one in which money was valued because it was the means to conduct exchange; all wealth was seen to be convertible into coinage, since, "For Classical thought in its formative phase, money is that which permits wealth to be represented." (Foucault 1970: 177).

The analysis of goods in circulation, on the basis of the exchange of monetary values, follows the same pattern as the differentiation of species in natural history, and of words in grammar. In this case the table or grid of values (identities) is established by the monetary values with which all goods are commensurate⁸. Locke (1690) extended the analysis of wealth in this way in the labour theory of value, viewing a man's body as his inalienable property. For Locke, man can, through labour, incorporate material parts of the state into his own property, as extension of himself. This definition construes the individual as prior to society, which is itself founded on the needs of these 'social atoms' and the exchanges of their property. However, the individual is defined by his possessions, and moreover, his identity is linked through labour, to the analysis of wealth. Thus in the philosophy of "possessive individualism" (Macpherson 1962) there is a conflation of the relations between things and the relations between people. Market relations are taken to be the same as (and sum total of) social relations.

The analysis of other cultures proceeded similarly, through the measurement of their customs or bodies as deviations from the natural norm. Thus Voltaire describes "l'Ingenu" as a native *naïf* amenable to enlightenment reason, Condilliac orders linguistic diversity, and Helvetius distinguishes between man and the animals according to physical characteristics (Boon 1982: 33), and analyses human diversity "from Hottentots and Caribs to Fakirs and Brahmins" in terms of gradable divergences from natural moral laws (Boon 1982: 34). Blumenbach's *De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa* (1775) recorded the names the Spanish gave to descendants of various inter-racial relationships in the New World (Banton 1988: 32-3). Medieval-Renaissance monsters - the giant Patagonians - even survive empirical disproof to be recast by Byron in his letter to Lord Egmont (1765) in classical terms i.e. through scientific generalisation and measured comparison. "People, who in size come nearest to Giants of any people I believe in the world" ... "nine feet high" (Boon 1982: 38-9). Buffon (1971 [orig. 1749]) defines a series of human kinds and examines,

traditionally sensational cross-cultural topics - eunuchs, harems, human

⁸For Hobbes this grid corresponded to the natural order by virtue of the sovereign's power to legitimate its denominations (by minting the coinage) in the heart of the Leviathan (State) (Foucault 1970: 179) and through the utility of the objects exchanged. Hobbes also invests authority over the meaning of words and the definition of identities in the sovereign of the absolutist state, identifying its configurations with the natural order (Ryan 1982: 3).

sacrifice - by charting them as innocuous, physiological correlations between sexual forces and vocal range.

(Boon 1982: 34)

These proto-ethnographies also display a clear concern to identify (name) groups, and attempt to differentiate (order) them in terms of the material conditions which each displayed, utilising the methods and measures of natural history, etc..

Royal Society Antiquarianism

In England, the institutional centre for such projects was the Royal Society, founded in 1660. One of the aims of the Society was to replace the collection of curiosities, in cabinets of the world, with the systematic acquisition and cataloguing of objects representing the whole natural order. The establishment of this collection, the 'Repository', was articulated through the 'scientific' schemes of natural history and general grammar. The initial ordering of the collection was based on the universal language schemes with which several of the societies fellows, including John Wilkins and the curator Robert Hooke, were involved (Hunter 1985: 164). Hooke made explicit the link between the collection of objects, the universal languages and taxonomic tables in his *General Scheme or Idea of the present state of Natural Philosophy* (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 154).

However, the Classical character of the Royal Society Repository came entirely from the *post hoc* attempts to order and catalogue the collection. It remained an eclectic assemblage of objects, founded, and later added to, from private collections of curiosities. Following the Society's ideas on rational language and classificatory schemes, Nehemiah Grew catalogued the Repository's artefacts in 1681 (see figs. 10; 11). Whilst Grew hoped "That not only things strange and rare, but the most known and common amongst us, were thus describ'd." (Grew 1681: pref.), the Repository contained little that was common-place. Only the parochial questionnaires, sent out in the 1670s by Ogilby, Machell and Lhywd (Piggott 1985), offered a possible model for such a collection .

Collection continued, both as a private concern related to the aesthetics of mercantilism (Bunn 1980), and also institutionally. However, it was no longer central to the understanding of the material world. This was the age of the catalogue, the written expression of the Classical table of ordered knowledge. The Tradescants' collection was also catalogued in the late 17th century (MacGregor 1983). Ole Worm's Museum was catalogued and rehoused by King Frederik III (Klindt-Jensen 1975), and antiquarians can be seen to have begun, in effect, to write annotated catalogues of field monuments.

Several figures of importance to the Royal Society, John Aubrey (1626-97), Edward Lhywd (1660-1709) and Robert Plot (1640-96), were interested in antiquities.

A Prospect of the whole WORK.

Of the MUSÆVM.

PART. I.

Of Animals.

Sect. 1.

Of Humane Rarities.

Sect. 2.

Of Quadrupeds.

Chap. 1. Of Viviparous; and particularly of Multifidous Quadrupeds.

Chap. 2. Of Bifidous, and Solidipedous Quadrupeds.

Appendix. Of certain Balls found in the Stomachs of divers Quadrupeds.

Chap. 3. Of Oviparous Quadrupeds.

Sect. 3.

Of Serpents.

Sect. 4.

Of Birds.

Chap. 1. Of Land-Fowles.

Chap. 2. Of Water-Fowles; particularly of the Cloven Footed.

Chap. 3. Of Palmipeds or Web-Footed.

Chap. 4. Of their Eggs and Nests.

Sect. 5.

Of Fishes.

Chap. 1. Of Viviparous Fishes.

Chap. 2. Of Oviparous Fishes; particularly such as are Not-Scald.

Chap. 3. Of Scaled Fishes.

Chap. 4. Of Exanguious Fishes.

Sect. 6.

Of Shells.

Chap. 1. Of Shells Whirled and single.

Chap. 2. Of Shells Double and Multiple. To which are subjoyned 7. Schemes comprehending them all.

Sect. 7.

Of Insects.

Chap. 1. Of Insects with Naked Wings.

Chap. 2. Of Insects with Sheathed Wings.

Chap. 3. Of Creeping Insects.

PART. II.

Of Plants.

Sect. 1.

Of Trees.

Chap. 1. Of Woods, Branches and Leaves.

Chap. 2. Of Fruits; particularly such as are of the Apple, Pear, and Plum Kinds.

Chap. 3. Of Calibustes; and some other like Fruits.

Chap. 4. Of Nuts, and divers other like Fruits.

Chap. 5. Of Berries, Cones, Lobes, and some other Parts of Trees.

Sect. 2.

Of Shrubs and Arborecent Plants.

Chap. 1. Of Shrubs, chiefly.

Chap. 2. Of Arborecent Plants.

Sect. 3.

Of Herbs.

Chap. 1. Of Stalks and Roots.

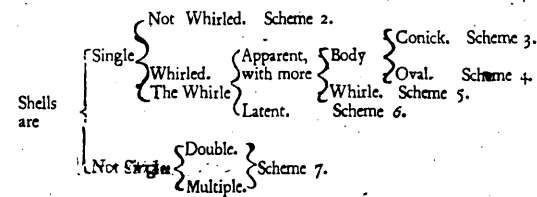
Chap. 2. Of Fruits.

Chap. 3. Of Seeds.

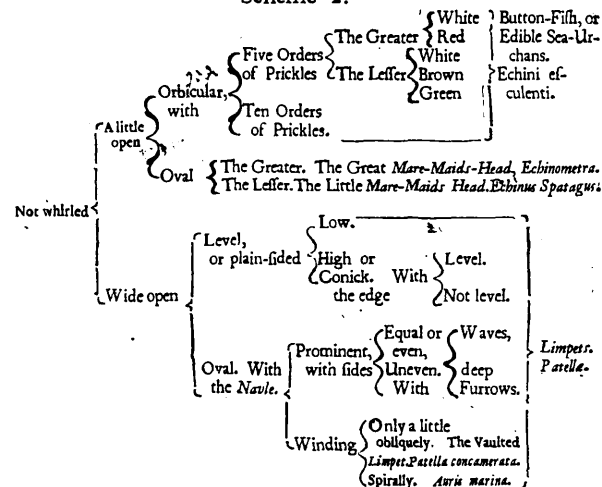
I have seen some of these Shells perfectly formed in all their parts, not much bigger than a Cheese-Mite.

Thus far the Titles and Descriptions; the Schemes follow, which take in all, have one or two of the Sub-Species: and wherein the Order is a little more corrected.

Scheme 1.



Scheme 2.



(fig. 10)

'Contents' and Grew's Schema in 'of shells' Grew, N. 1681
Musaeum Regalis Societatis, London: 150-1

SECT. IV.

Of COYNS, and other Matters relating to Antiquity.

THE Effgies of JOHN HOWARD, the first Duke of Norfolk, in Colours Neald on Glafs. From whom the Right Honourable the present Duke of Norfolk is the eighth, inclusive. Given by Mr. S. Morgan. He is represented kneeling in a Chappel, with his Dukes Cap by him, and Invested in his Coat of Armour, bearing four Coats, Quarterly: *sc.* of Howard, Brotherton (Son to King Edward the First) Plantagenet (Earl of Warren and Surrey) and Fitz-Allan. The first, is Gules, a Bend betwixt six Crofstlets fitchy, Argent. The second, the Arms of England, with a Label of three Points Argent. The third Checky Or and Azure. The fourth, Gules, a Lion Rampant Or.

THE PEDEGREE of the most Noble Family of the HOWARDS, from the first Duke above-said: Engraven on a Copper-Plate. Given by the same Hand.

A ROMAN URNE, of Glafs, with a Handle. Given by Sir Christopher Wren. Above fifteen Hundred years old. Almost like a Bottle containing a Gallon and $\frac{1}{2}$; but with a very short Neck, and wide Mouth, and of whiter metal. Encompassed girth-wise, with five parallel Circles. Found in Spital-Fields.

STONES, not long since found near the Foundation of Charing-Cross at a great depth. Given by Sir Joseph Williamson. They seem to be a sort of coarse Marble. Of a blackish colour, and figur'd into several plain sides; but irregular: from whence they may be argu'd to be very ancient.

A Piece of MOSAICK WORK, found deep under ground, in Holbourn near St. Andrews Church. Inlaid with black, red, and white Stones, in Squares and other Regular Figurés.

A parcel of little square Stones, belonging to MOSAICK-Work, found in a Field near Bath, in the Year, 1664.

Several Examples of MORTARS of old Castles and Roman Buildings. Given by John Aubrey Esq; for comparing them with those now in use.

A ROMAN MONEY-POT. Given (with the Coin below mention'd) by the same Hand. Found in the Year, 1651. in Week-Field, in the Parish of Hedington, in Wiltshire; half full of Roman Coin, Silver and Copper, of several Emperors near the time of Constantine. Of the colour of a Crucible, and fashion'd almost like a Pint Jug without a Neck. Closed at the top, and having a Notch on one side, as in a Christmas-Box. In the same place (where anciently was a Roman Colony) and at the same time, were dig'd up the Foundations of several Houfes for a Mile together.

Of COYNS.

MORE of them being obscure, lest I should mistake, I presently took the help of my Worthy Friend Mr. Abraham Hill, Fellow of the Royal Society, very well acquainted with This, as well as other parts, of Antiquities.

Silver.

Twenty SILVER DENARII; whereof Nineteen given by Sir Paul Whichcote. The

I, II, and III. Consular.

IV. Imp. Ottho Caesar Aug. Trib. Pot.

Reversc. Securitas P. R.

V. Aulus Vitellius Imp. Germ.

..... Augusti.

VI. Caesar Vespasian.

..... Tr. Pot.

VII. Caesar Aug. Pater Patriæ.

Princ. Juvent. Cæs.

VIII. Imp. Cæs. Domit. Germ. Pont. Max. Tr. P.

Imp. iij. Cof. xv. Censor. P. iij.

IX. Imp. Cæs. Trajan, Hadrian Aug.

P. M. Tr. P. Cof. iij. Felicit. P. R.

X. Imp. Caesar Trajan Hadrian. Aug.

P. M. Tr. P. Cof. iij.

XI. Hadrianus Aug. Cof. iij. P. P.

Romulo Conditori.

XII. M. Commodus Anton. Aug. Pius.

Tr. P. viij. Cof. iij. P. F.

XII. M. Commodus.

..... Cof. Exerc.

XIV.

(fig. 11) 'Section IV. Of Coyns, and other Matters relating to Antiquity' Grew, N. 1681 *Musaeum Regalis Societatis*, London: 381

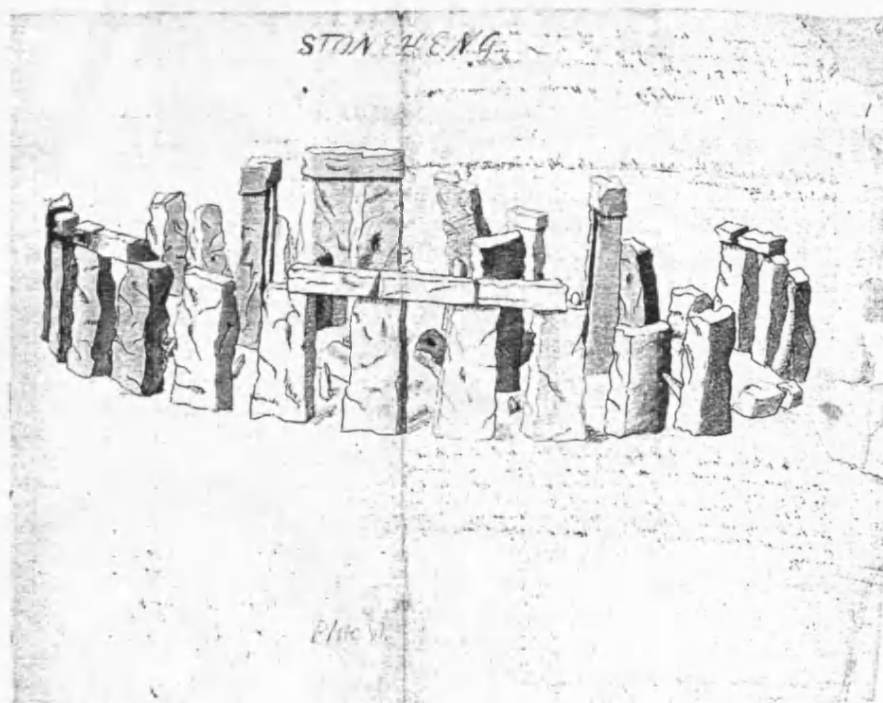
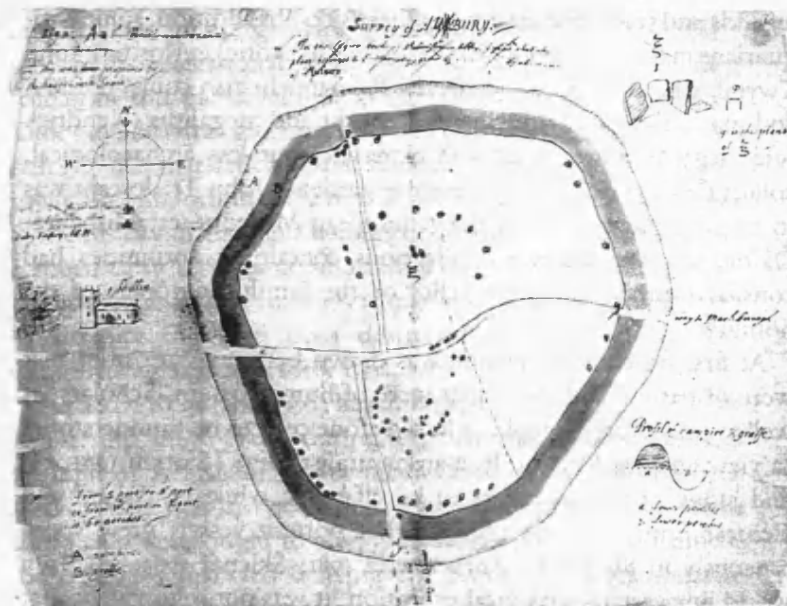
Antiquarianism underwent a radical transformation in the mid-17th century, typified by the work of John Aubrey. Aubrey himself was highly specific about this change in the nature of scholarship, dating it to 1649 (Piggott 1976: 102). Antiquarianism in the Royal Society's mode, evident from the 1680s onwards (Hunter 1971: 114), was characterised by the observation, and visual recording of field monuments, coins, inscriptions and architectural features. Equally important though was the ordered classification of such observations. The distinction between the narratives of Renaissance literary antiquarianism, such as Leland's or Camden's, and the classical mode of Aubrey's *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey*, and the *Natural History of the North Division of the County of Wiltshire* is most evident in the way that the description of identities, locations and antiquities are the central subject matter. An excellent example of this approach is Aubrey's description and plan of Avebury (figs. 12,13) from *Monumenta Britannica* (c.1687) (Trigger 1989: 48)⁹. Even when topics more familiar to Renaissance antiquaries appear in Aubrey's *Miscellanies* (c.1675) they are listed under a series of discrete categories given in the contents: Omens, Dreams, Apparitions, Voices, Impulses, Knockings, Blows invisible, Prophecies, Miranda, Magick, etc.; and the phenomena, and events within each category described with apparent objectivity.

Many antiquarians at the time, like Aubrey and Anstis, believed that recording field antiquities visually and collating them was essential to their interpretation, Lhywd's classification of fossils even offered a model typology for artefacts (Piggott 1976: 20-21)¹⁰. Perhaps most notable of all was William Stukeley (1687-1765), who systematically produced illustrations of field monuments (see figs. 14,15), classified into types, according to their form (Trigger 1989: 62).

The interpretation of antiquities, and their identification with tribes or peoples, was not obviously helped by the application of classificatory schemes to ancient objects. However, language classification came to bear directly on the question of ancient Britons in the form of Lhywd's hypothesis of C- and P-Britons (Piggott 1976: 20). The established Renaissance analogy of exotic and ancient cultures was retained, but in the transformed mode of Classical comparison and differentiation. Whilst the Society's collection included ethnographic specimens, under *humane rarities*, it was rarely concerned with the study of other cultures *per se*. John Locke compiled an annotated 'ethnographic' bibliography and Robert Hooke collected a series of programs of enquiry for travellers in 1692 as *General*

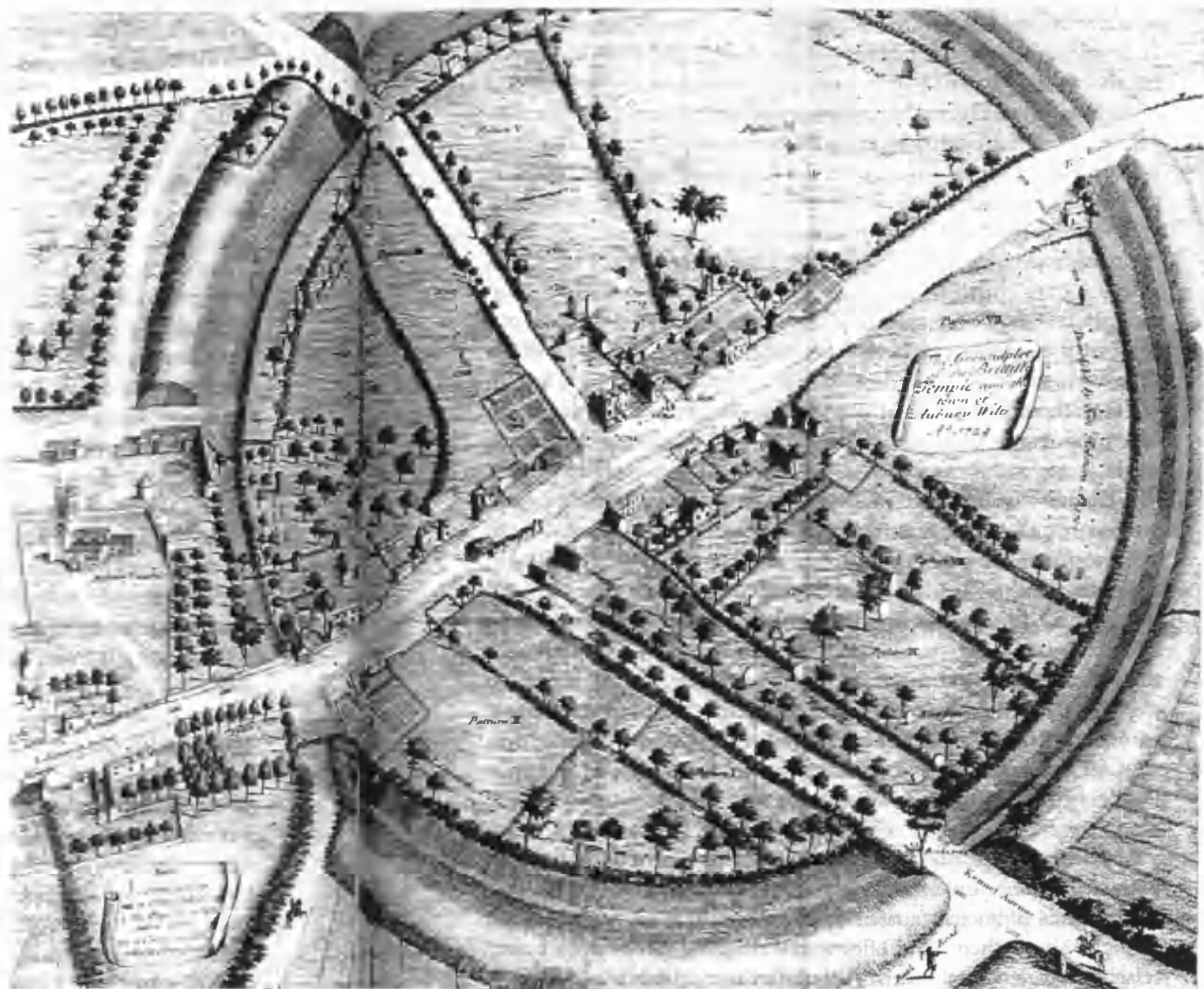
⁹"Aubury is four miles west from Marleborough in Wiltshire, and is peradventure the most eminent and entire monument of this kind in the Isle of Great Britaigne. ... I doe take this old ill-shaped monument to be the greatest, most considerable and the least ruinated of any of this kind in our British Isle. ... It is environed with an extraordinary great *vallum*, or Rampart, as great and as high as that at Winchester: *within* which is a Graffe (ditch) of a depth and breadth proportionable to it: wherefore it could not be designed for a Fortification, for *then* the Graffe would have been on the outside of the Rampart" Aubrey *Monumenta Britannica* c.1675).

¹⁰Others, like Elias Ashmole (1617-92), William Dugdale (1605-86) and Robert Sibbald (1641-1722), operated within essentially the same frame of reference.



(fig. 12) "Aubrey's plan of Avebury, from his *Monumenta Britannica*, c. 1675" (Bodleian MS Top. Gen. C. 24, f.39v-40)

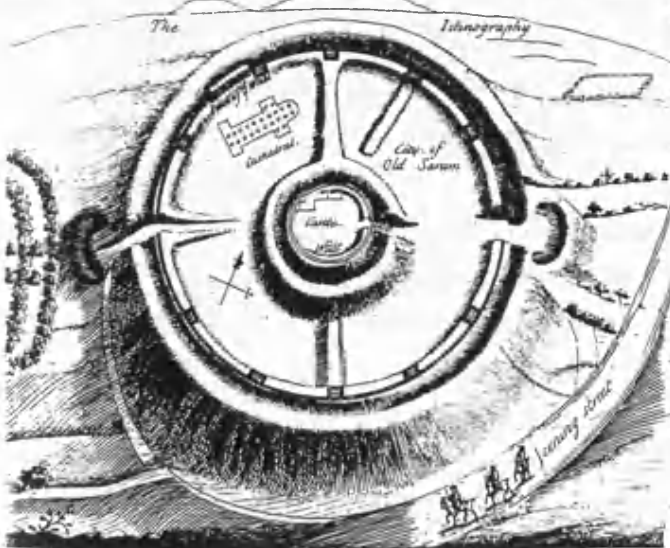
(fig. 13) "Aubrey's Drawing of Stonehenge, From the *Monumenta Britannica*.[c.1675]"



SORBIODVNVM.

Aug. 1743.

500 Feet.



Antique Urbis Cudaver in Æs transfudit
Johes Pine Chalcographus.

Stukeley Delinavit

(fig. 14) "Stukeley's view of Avebury,
published in *Abury*, 1743"

(fig. 15) Plan of a section of old Sarum,
by William Stukeley, from his
*Stonehenge, a Temple Restored
to the British Druids* [1725]

heads for the natural history of a country, great or small; drawn out for the use of travellers and navigators. But the discussion of other cultures was usually raised only in relation to other topics including antiquity.

Hobbes, a friend of Aubrey, presents a model of the 'state of nature', an ancient time in which pre-social men lived. This state is defined, like exotic cultures, in terms of those aspects of rational society which it lacked,

... In such condition, there is no place for industry ... no culture of the earth; no navigation; ... no knowledge of the face of the earth; no account of time; no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short ... The savage people in many places of America...live at this day in that brutish manner.

(Hobbes 1969 : 97-9 [1651 orig.])

Aubrey turned Hobbes's abstract model into an explicit comparison in his *Essay Towards the Description of the North Division of Wiltshire* (1659). He described the topography and flora of the area, the language, transport (curricles), social units (Reguli), defences and religion, concluding:

They knew the use of Iron. They were 2 or 3 degrees, I suppose, less savage than the Americans.

(Aubrey 1659, quoted in Piggott 1976: 9).

Aubrey's description shares Hobbes's low estimation of ancient Britons' lives, and assesses their circumstances in the same terms: their difference from the Native Americans (an image of the State of nature), and its representation in material conditions. Unlike the Renaissance form, which integrated antiquities, with other exotic objects, into the microcosm through similitude, Classical antiquarianism classified and represented objects according to the concrete criteria of the Natural Sciences, and identified them through their graduated divergence from a natural-moral order. Stukeley, often praised for his field work, is criticised for his continual association of monuments with druidic practices - the beginning of antiquarianism's decline into Romanticist fancy (Trigger 1989: 63-5). But Stukeley's interpretation of druidic practices is not categorically different from his contemporaries' identifications of Ancient Britons. He too utilises the notion of a scaled decline from the natural-moral order, but produces a contrary estimation of ancient cultures. To him Druids are highest in that order, closer to primordial monotheism than contemporary religions.

Analysing antiquities through the table of identities itself inhibited the development of

antiquarianism. Unlike natural objects of study, which provided an almost endless series of instances and forms, antiquities were intrinsically rare and unusual. Hence, as Grew notes of the Repository, a systematic taxonomy was impossible "because as yet the collection itself is not perfect" (Grew 1681: 124). Grew devised a complex system for classifying shells, but only a crude categorisation for antiquities. Moreover, whilst the ordering of exotic cultures was possible, their culture and material circumstances being observable, the classification of antiquities itself offered few insights into ancient cultures. As Trigger (1989: 65-67) points out, by the mid-18th century, Romanticism and Nationalism offered new narratives through which artefacts could be interpreted, and their influence was a measure of the limits of the Classical *episteme*, rather than of the foolishness of 18th century antiquarians.

During the 18th century there was also an increasing confluence between political theory, the 'technologies of power' and the forms of formal knowledge. The discourses on the art of government, which until this time had been restricted in their influence to the domains of mercantilism (see Bunn 1980), now began to be expressed in the operation of power, whereby good government became severed from the monarch's sovereignty, and located in achieving the contentment of the populace. This new governmentality (Foucault 1979a) found expression, for example, in the late 18th century penal reforms which ended sovereign torture, and replaced it with codes specifying punishments which transparently fitted the crime committed, and which were judged against the law in abstract, even economic terms, not against the injury to the monarch. (Foucault 1977: 73-103). The rise of Nationalism at this time was clearly associated with this displacement of royal sovereignty by a sovereignty of the populace, it was also implicit in the development of the institutional interpretations of the past characteristic of the 19th century.

MODERNITY, MAN, LANGUAGE, LIFE, LABOUR AND NATION

Rationalist philosophy and systematic field practices are usually seen to have transformed 19th century archaeology into a recognisably modern, scientific form (Trigger 1989; Daniel 1981). Yet there were other dimensions to archaeological thought at the time. For example it has become the accepted view that 19th century archaeology was characterised by theories of racial superiority, and used to legitimise imperialism (Trigger 1984; 1989). However, neither conventional models of the progressive influence of rationality, nor simple ideological critiques of colonialism can explain the emergence of new archaeological discourses relating objects to collective identities, or the development of the competing evolutionary and culture-historical models of human prehistory and social development¹¹. It is clear though, that new modes of interpretation, new forms of discourse and new practices characteristic of the modern discipline **did** emerge in archaeology.

¹¹The idea that these differences are the result of the different academic biographies of their authors or their divergent beliefs merely displaces the question to another level of enquiry.

Man and History in Formal Discourses

In the late 18th century, the 'Age of Revolution', socio-political and economic transformations were so numerous and far-reaching that the constitution of knowledge could hardly be expected to remain constant. However, initially Foucault does not directly link the emergence of a Modern *episteme* to such social shifts. Rather, he explains it as the exhaustion of the Classical *episteme*'s reliance on the representation of the natural order, and the development of the "new empiricities" of 'Labour', 'Life' and 'Language' (Foucault 1970: 250). In Ricardo, and later Marx, labour, ceases to be an abstract equivalence, but as a productive process "is the source of all value" (Foucault 1970: 254). After Cuvier, Biology is constituted around the investigation of the processes of life, organic structure and functions, rather than the form of organisms (Foucault 1970: 263). Philologists like Franz Bopp and Frederick Schlegel examined the history of language and its practical and philosophical operation, but no longer presumed that it could be a transparent medium of expression. These new empirical domains became the foundations of the academic/intellectual disciplines with which we are familiar, for instance Economics, Biology and Linguistics.

Uniting these new discourses is the figure of 'Man'. In what Foucault terms the "analytic of finitude" (1970: 313), Man is both the source of all intelligibility and the subject of all enquiry. He is "a living being (the subject of Biology), an instrument of production (a labouring subject), a vehicle for words which exist before him (subject to the language)." (Foucault 1970: 313). Man, recognising his finite nature, approaches the world through those empirical fields he himself defines; he is thus separated from God's creation, becomes sovereign in place of God; and therefore makes nature intelligible for himself.

'History' - the emergence of the empirical - came to occupy a similar place in the modern *episteme* to that which order had occupied for the classical mode of thought. The task within the new empirical fields, was to examine the point of origin of its features, to analyse their processes of operation and their analogous relations to other structures. Given the foundation of history as the fundamental mode of being, together with the recognition of the historicity of thought itself (Foucault 1970: 219-20), new scientific academic disciplines: Philology, Economics, and Biology were established to explore these fields; as were the "Human Sciences: Anthropology, Psychoanalysis etc., which examined the cultural representation of the new empiricities, and articulated Man's relation to the material world" (Foucault 1970: 344).

Archaeology as a Human Science

As a Human Science, archaeology was principally concerned with the origins and

development of humanity - its history. The question of the relation between human beings and nature had been resolved in the classical *episteme* through the revelation of the natural order. However, in the 19th century the notion of History - i.e. the depth of time and the coming to being of the knowable, empirical world - implied that the human past could only be articulated through some form account of the abstract concept of the progression from the past, and especially how human societies and cultures had come to exist within their evident diversity. A number of narrative forms, each of which constituted a version of the broadly accepted Enlightenment notions of progressivist history, such as Lamarck's idea of evolution through inherited traits, were utilised in efforts to resolve the origins and history of Man (Banton 1987: 16-17; Malina & Vasícek 1990: 69-70; Stocking 1968: 138-9).

One such history (a chronology), the "Three Age System", which constructed an abstract index of history through the empirical field of the products of Labour, enabled Thomsen (1788-1865), and then Worsaae (1821-85), to offer an analytical framework for the study of the [pre-]history of Denmark. This chronology, offered a framework through which the successive phases of the transformation of material by labour could be used to identify distinct epochs, and the societies which produced these successive technologies. Although their schema was not restricted to Denmark, some of the phases of development occurring in other regions, nevertheless, their nationalism was expressed in the assertion of the importance of the study of the origins and history of Denmark and their culture (Language).

In the early part of the 19th century two other forms of 'historical' argument emerged, which attempted to explain the evident human diversity which faced Europeans in their colonial territories. The first of these arose as countries like England, France, and Germany, gradually became fully imperial powers during the 18th and 19th centuries. As the modern nation state acquired its full definition - a sovereign political and military entity, a coherent population, an integrated economy, and a shared culture and language - political nationalisms developed, which were constructed around histories of the nation and emphasised the origins and continuity of language and culture (Smith 1986: 7-15; 181). For example, Johann von Herder (1744-1803) asserted the centrality of the concept of *Volk* - 'The People' - united by a common language - which was later defined as Indo-Germanic¹² in Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatic* (1822-5), and a shared history (Hobsbawm 1990: 57). The search for the origins of *Volk*, through Herder's definition of History as the search for the cultural roots of *Volk*, together with a philological orientation to historical enquiry, were clearly manifested in the German tradition of Culture-History (*Kulturgeschichte*) established by Gustav Klemm (1843-52), and in the ethnology of, for example, Friedrich Ratzel and Franz Boas (Trigger 1989: 162). Culture-historical approaches whilst emphasising the cultural basis of both the definition of their objects of study and their methods, nevertheless also characterised peoples as races (Stocking 1968:

¹²This term was coined by Klaproth in 1823 (Daniel 1981: 115).

36). In this case racial history was construed as a kind of lineage, organised within the biblical constraints of Old Testament chronology and monogeneticism (Banton 1987: 1-27).

Operating within the kinds of framework established by Viennese culture-historical and ethnological schools, and their explanations of the inter-relationships between *Kulturkreis* areas, archaeologists adopted culture-historical explanations of prehistoric material and cultures. Thus the Norwegian Olof Rygh distinguished between 'two Stone Age cultures and two Stone Age peoples' in Norway by 1871; A. Götze described *Bandkeramik* and other Neolithic cultures (Meinander 1981: 103-6); In Czechoslovakia a Únětice culture was described on the basis of the type similarity of finds in several sites, compared to those originally found at the Únětice cemetery (Trigger 1989: 163); and R. Virchow extended the identification of Burgwall-type pottery to the *Burgwallkeramik* culture and associated it with the twelfth century Slavs referred to in literary sources (Sklenár 1983: 110; Malina and Vasicek 1990: 63). Oscar Montelius produced syntheses of European prehistory constructed in terms of series of cultural histories, and cultural diffusions, identified through typological studies of artefacts (Daniel 1981: 104-6 Trigger 1989: 155-61). This framework was paralleled by Boas's view that each culture was the product of a unique history and diffusionary combinations (Harris 1968: 250-89; Malina and Vasicek 1990: 63; Stocking 1968: 209-10; Trigger 1989: 152).

Cuvier's studies in comparative human anatomy, which established a hierarchical series of human races, understood as biological types, constituted the basis of a competing account of human diversity and development. These types were defined on the basis of differences between their respective organs, such as genital (see Gilman 1987) or skeletal differences for instance. Thus cranial variations, were understood in terms of the different capacities of mental functioning of the Caucasian, Mongolian and Ethiopian races (Banton 1987: 28-29; Stocking 1968: 29-41). Although Cuvier conceived of this hierarchy within a monogenetic framework, his work was extended by several others: Charles Smith's *The Natural History of the Human Species* (1848), and later in Arthur de Gobineau's 'hybrid' notion of racial types (1853-5); within the polygenetic accounts of human development by Robert Knox's *The Races of Men* (1850); and most strongly, in the physical anthropological tradition, in work like that of Samuel Morton's *Crania Americana* (1839) and *Crania Aegyptiaca* (1844) which defined distinct races on the basis of (dubious) measurements of different cranial capacities (Banton 1987: 32-46; Trigger 1989: 112).

The emergence of the Darwinian theory of evolution provided a new set of mechanisms for explaining cultural diversity, and collapsed many of the distinctions that had supported the divergence between the historical-lineage-monogenetic position and biological-polygenetic-typological stance. The publication of *On the Origin of Species* (1859), and the *Descent of Man* (1871) Darwin's account of the origin and development of Man in biological terms,

quickly though indirectly influenced thinking on social development. Progressivism: the notion of generalised progress, had been familiar since the enlightenment, and social progress had been described in explicitly evolutionary terms by Jean Baptist Lamarck (Stocking 1968: 234-69), but Darwin's theory of natural selection offered an entirely new (biological) basis through which the differential levels of civilisation evident in the world could be explained. Herbert Spencer's social evolutionary position followed the same form as Lamarck's (Stocking 1968: 234-69), whereas E.B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871) constructed an account of human development, which loosely correlated with Darwinian evolutionism that defined a series of general evolutionary stages (Stocking 1968: 69-109; 1987 163-4; 178-9). Thomas Huxley (1825-95) was most directly involved in translating Darwinian evolution into theories of social evolution based on racial differences. Huxley suggested in 1863 that there was a similarity between Australian Aboriginal and Neanderthal skulls, equating contemporary tribal peoples with Europeans' prehistoric ancestors (Trigger 1989: 113). However, Darwin himself questioned how well this translation had been undertaken (Banton 1987: 68).

John Lubbock (1834-1913) argued in *Prehistoric Times* (1865) that modern Europeans were biologically and culturally more advanced than their 'primitive' counterparts in Africa and elsewhere, and that parallels existed between contemporary primitives and ancient cultures because they occupied similarly low evolutionary positions. He also emphasised the 'degenerate' nature of primitive cultures as a justification for Britain's Imperial rule (Trigger 1989: 116-8). Lubbock's work was extremely influential, particularly in America, and similar colonial ideologies shaped archaeological studies of Africa, and other English colonies (Trigger 1989: 119-47).

Notwithstanding the specific details upon which these theories relied - on correlations between physical characteristics, supposedly innate mental qualities and generalised racial traits, all constructed histories of Man. Increasingly, in the latter part of the 19th century these themes were conflated - evolution (history of the species' Life), being assimilated into material/technological progress (the advances of civilisation through Labour) and cultural and intellectual development (understood through linguistic history). Partly this was due to the persistence of the various kinds of history (culture-history into the 20th century; polygeneticist thought continued to be influential into the late 19th century (after Darwin); typology into the early 20th century), but also archaeologists and others began to deliberately combine elements of each form of history, a strategy which will be discussed below with reference to Gustav Kossinna.

Governmentality and Cultural Institutions

Whilst Foucault relegated non-discursive practices to the back-ground of his *Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1970), it is vital to describe the characteristic discourses of the

19th century (the histories of Man) in their genealogical articulation with contemporary practices, institutions and technologies of power. This is of course what Foucault himself did in later works (1977; 1979; 1986; 1987).

Thus the discourses of the emerging human sciences, found material expression in a series of new institutions: asylums, hospitals, prisons and schools (Foucault 1965; 1970; 1973; 1977). Each of these institutions whilst expressing a specific social function, simultaneously promulgated new modes of existence, actively defining the lives they sought to improve. The late 18th century saw the emergence of the concept of society as a totality: 'the people', or nation. Foucault argues that this social body is an effect "not of a consensus [shared bourgeois values, democratic participation, etc.] but of the materiality of power operating on the very bodies of individuals"(Foucault 1980: 55). These institutions operated practices of subjectification: the production of complicit citizens - "Docile Bodies"(Foucault 1977). Foucault's exemplary instance of such practices is represented by Bentham's Panopticon, an ideal prison in which docility is achieved by continuous surveillance and routinisation. The subject ultimately becoming the instrument of their own subjectification by the inducement of self-surveillance (Foucault 1977: 201).

Revolutionary France was a primary site of emergence for such institutions¹³. The establishment of the Museum Francais in the Louvre in 1793 instituted the explicit integration of artefacts within a disciplinary frame-work (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 171). Conflict and military-bureaucratic organisation enabled the post-revolutionary commissions to acquire new collections of artefacts and to establish a hierarchical system of central and regional museums (Bazin 1967). Moreover, a new administrative apparatus was established to extend the principle of surveillance to the acquisition, distribution, conservation and exhibition of artefacts within the museum (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 179-85).

The French National museum instigated by the Revolutionary commissions had served as something of a model for Thomsen's project of establishing a national archaeology, and for the foundation a Royal Commission for antiquities for Denmark in 1807. Thomsen's student Jens Worsaae (1821-85), later argued that in response to the contemporary political/military defeats (from Britain for instance), Danish nationalism was particularly strongly expressed in the exploration of the origins and history of Denmark (Trigger 1989: 74)

Art works and objects within such collections were re-ordered and exhibited according to the artist's country of origin, and so as to represent the historical development of that

¹³Late 18th and early 19th century France produced specific expressions of the new *episteme* and the disciplinary regimes, but it was not an isolated instance. Indeed, similar institutions formalised cultural practices throughout Europe at this time (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 182-5).

country's art (Bazin 1967: 159). Thus philosophical discourse linked artefacts with disciplinary practices. The educative function of such displays was an explicit discursive mode of the constitution of the social body. The history of France was identified with History per se; as Hudson (1987: 42) points out, the Musée Central des Arts recognised no 'English School' of painting because England was not part of the French empire.

In England, from the early nineteenth century onwards, numerous local philosophical and historical societies were established. These often included museums, founded with donations from colonial administrators, which were also intended for 'public education' (Walsh 1992). Hudson (1981: 16-9) uses the example of the foundation of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society in 1849 to illustrate both the kinds of concerns of such societies, but equally importantly, the 'middle' and 'upper-class' (the titled, the clergy, and (ex-)military) membership of such societies¹⁴. The 1845 Museums Bill empowered local authorities to establish public museums, but it was in the period after 1851 that it had significant effects. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was a prime impetus for the establishment of the South Kensington Museum (now the V&A), which was itself a fulcrum of the implementation of the principles of the modern museum. This new public mode of exhibition 'opened up' the British Museum and set the agenda for the rapid establishment of museums in numerous provincial cities. There were similar institutions formalising cultural practices founded throughout Europe at this time.

Museum exhibits of the mid-late 19th century, increasingly characterised the history of humanity in racial terms and evidenced differential social evolution through the display of artefacts. In the displays of the Pitt-Rivers Museum the biological analogue of history - evolution - was equated with the production of cultural objects. Pitt-Rivers arranged Australian Aboriginal, oceanic and other artefacts into 'evolutionary' or typological series following the earlier typological studies of race, believing that,

Human ideas, as represented by the various products of human industry, are capable of classification into genera, species and varieties in the same manner as the products of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and in their development from homogeneous to the heterogeneous they obey the same laws.

(Lane Fox [Pitt-Rivers] 1874)

A similar schema, if less systematically deployed, representing the evolution of the material culture of other cultures could be found in the Horniman Museum (Coombes 1994: 150-4).

¹⁴ Similarly the Cambridge Antiquarian Society founded 1840 (Clark 1981: 24), and see Piggott (1968) for accounts of the establishment other examples such as Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire 1844, Norfolk 1846.

Conversely, in his curation of the collections of the Smithsonian Institute in New York, Boas arranged the artefacts to represent the specific tribes of North America and their specific 'Culture-history'. These displays acknowledged the regional context and particular historical development of each group, eschewing the attempt to make generalised historical statements about Humanity. Although this framework was oriented around the definition of the identity of specific cultures and indeed was crucial in defining the partative notion of cultures of discrete entities, it was still clearly an historical account. Ethnographic exhibits are often, even today, organised through the complementary and contradictory principles of these two broad schemas.

Colonialism, Civilisation and the Spectacular

Museums constituted one important institutional site of the practices and forms of the interpretation of other cultures, but in the mid-nineteenth century other forms of representation came to have as much significance. Bennett (1994) argues that the viewpoint of power implicit in institutional surveillance has its counterpart in the way of looking at objects invited by the 'exhibitionary complex'. The large-scale, public exhibition of artefacts - the spectacular mode of consumption of the exhibitions and arcades of the mid-nineteenth century - was exemplified by the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in 1851, and the Paris Exhibition of 1855 (Bennett 1994: 128; 132). In these exhibitions the visitor responded to the artefacts only by looking at them, by consuming the spectacle which they formed (Richards 1991). The exhibition articulated power by uniting the viewers gaze with the gaze that controlled and shaped the exhibits. The visitor, simply by looking at the displays, experienced the white, male, bourgeois, colonialist viewpoint which had caused those particular artefacts to be acquired, curated and displayed. Exhibitions put visitors in a position of authority over the artefact and thus the culture which it represented, by offering them up for interpretation. This located the viewer at the highest point within the overall history of Man - civilisation itself.

Furthermore, artefacts were themselves only one aspect of the exhibitionary spectacle, the other was society assembled as a group visible to itself. The power of the Exhibitionary complex is not a reversal of the principles of surveillance, its effect,

lies in its incorporation of aspects of those principles together with those of the panorama, forming a technology of vision which served not to atomise and disperse the crowd but to regulate it, and to do so by rendering it visible to itself, by making the crowd itself the ultimate spectacle.

(Bennett 1994: 131-2)

In such spectacles the social body¹⁵ is constituted from individual beings through three domains (Dean 1994): the discursive practices which articulate objects within the domain of knowledge [the exhibition narratives]; governmental practices problematising objects in relation to power [the administrative and professional roles which produce and control the space of the exhibition]; and the ethical practices "techniques of the self" which order the formation of the self as a desiring but self-referencing subject [the constrained but 'free' choices offered by commodity consumption vs. the decorum of the crowds (Bennett 1994: 134)]. The arcades and department stores, like the great exhibitions, with their spectacularity offered, "the spatial and visual means for a self-education from the point of view of capital" (Tafuri 1976: 83).

Exhibition was a pivotal form, through which the dramatic expansion in the number and diversity of commodities, available to large urban populations, changed the way in which people constructed their lives. Mass produced goods became integrated into a series of practices through which middle and working class identities were articulated. (Briggs 1988; Richards 1991; Bennett 1994). The discourses which ordered objects within these contexts were crucial to the definition of those identities, and to related notions of identity produced by academic discourses. Labour for Ricardo (Foucault 1970: 253-63) and later in Marx's analysis of capitalism constituted the activity which transformed inert matter into value. This value was both economic and cultural. The Great Exhibition represented national identities, and the hierarchy of those identities, through displays of the artefacts produced in each country (Richards 1991: 25). Moreover, exhibition together with its street counterpart the advertisement, offered instances through which cultural development could be analysed. " the Language of the Walls presents us with an *epitome* of this history of civilisation - the progress of commerce - a chronicle of passing events - and a *multum in parvo* of all things"(James Dawson Burn cited in Richards 1991: 47). The view that labour, in transforming nature, (the production of artefacts) constituted the fundamental activity in the rise of civilisation, was widely held, and was certainly central to the modern mode of archaeological interpretation.

Many exhibitions and museums, during the later nineteenth century, characterised the history of humanity in racial terms and evidenced differential social evolution through the display of artefacts. Thus the subjected peoples of Africa and the Americas, represented by "primitive" handicrafts, occupied the lowest levels of civilisation (technological, social and physical evolution). Naturally, European metropolitan cultures were the most spectacularly displayed (Bennett 1994: 146).

The dominant narrative of the Stanley and African Exhibition of 1890, which displayed the

¹⁵The social body implied 'the people', or a nation as a whole, integrated by their common history, language, practices and institutions etc.. It was the object upon which Sociology was founded (see e.g. Giddens 1982).

artefacts and illustrations from Henry Morgan Stanley's expedition to rescue Emin Pasha, was that of the heroic European explorer - an archetypal emissary of European civilisation, trekking through the dense and dangerous wilderness, and simultaneously bringing to it the benefits of European civilisation - commerce, and the moral standards of European bourgeois society (Coombes 1994). Exhibitions, following the 1851 pattern, often self-consciously promoted partisan national interest - the development of national interest being represented as equivalent to the progress of mankind in general.

The Paris Exposition of 1889 included a colonial city where the whole ambit of social evolution was displayed, the primitive "other" present in simulated villages populated by Africans and Asians (Bennett 1994: 148). Similar model villages became a regular feature of exhibitions in European cities around the turn of the century, for example: the Franco-British Exhibition, White City, London 1908 included a 'The Senegalese Village'; and 'The Orient in London', 1908 exhibition also had an 'African Village' (Coombes 1994, 180; 202).

Colonial Government, Representation and Appropriation

As Thomas (1994: 38; 44-5; 48) rightly indicates, one crucial feature of colonial administration was the acquisition and organisation of knowledge of the colonised cultures. He cites Cohn's (1987) examination of the British officials' use of the census as a means of understanding the complexity of the caste system to facilitate efficient rule, as a typical example. But also suggests that the social categories derived in this way were not directly based on the realities of the cultures encountered by colonialists. Instead they operated as a series of 'intellectual technologies', abstractions understandable to Europeans, through which the things and people to be governed were rendered into information. These 'technologies' - written reports, illustrations, charts, graphs, and statistics (Thomas 1994: 46), utilised generalised racial and social types, to make colonised cultures intelligible in European contexts. Indigenous Africans and other 'primitive' peoples were often equated with the prehistoric ancestors of Europeans, construed as social-evolutionary fossils incapable of development and represented as superstitious, lazy, lascivious and untrustworthy. Together with their evident lack of (European) morality this was taken as implicit confirmation of the legitimacy of colonial administration.

Whilst such views, expressed academically in anthropology and archaeology, constituted the kernel of the so-called "Imperial synthesis" (Trigger 1989: 110-147), the various (and often contradictory) mythologies characterising 'primitive' cultures as inferior: sexual promiscuity, cannibalism, witchcraft, superstition, moral laxity, treachery, indolence and degeneracy, were most virulently presented in populist forms. These existed in diverse formats: Christian missionary and political tracts, titillating postcards and illustrations produced for museums (Coombes 1994: 194; 206), societies and exhibitions (Gilman

1987), photographic collections such as those of Thomas Andrews and J.W. Lindt (Quatermaine 1992: 84-102), popular novels and travel writing (Pratt 1992), and illustrated newspapers (Coombes 1994: 16; 18; 19; 20; 21).

'Imperial archaeology' (Trigger 1984: 363-9) was not restricted to the question of the 'Imperial synthesis' (Trigger 1989: 110-47). Aside from the academic rationalisations and apologies for Imperial rule, expressed in the work of writers like John Lubbock, imperialism and colonialism actually enabled many archaeological projects to be undertaken. The national institutions of the Imperial powers utilised the prestige of antiquities to bolster their status, and by association that of the nation. Thus, English, French and German, artists and scholars (e.g. Jacques-Louis David 1748-1825, Eugène Delacroix 1798-1863, John Flaxman 1755-1826, Jean-Baptiste Greuze 1725-1805, Anton Raphael Mengs 1728-79), championed the classical cultures of Rome and Greece, and Napoleon's expeditions in Egypt encouraged the appreciation of its dynastic heritage (Smith 1986: 181). Baron de Denon, Director-General of Museums in France - 1804-15 was part of the group of savants taken by Napoleon to Egypt in 1798 and later accompanied Napoleon around Europe advising on his choice of war spoils (Daniel 1981: 64). Subsequently other French expeditions, based in the Louvre, exploited France's Egyptian connection, e.g. the Champollion-Rosellini survey of 1840, Mariette's¹⁶ collections and excavations from 1850 onwards. Paul Emile Botta, French Consul at Mosul excavated in Mesopotamia (Iraq) at Nineveh in 1842 and Khorsabad in 1843 using his own funds, but later received government funding, Khorsabad sculptures being returned to the Louvre in 1846 (Daniel 1981: 64-73).

The role of British Imperial officials, and institutions at this time is illustrated well by Austen Henry Layard who began excavations at Nimrud in 1845 (which he confused for Nineveh), initially financed by himself, and Sir Stratford Canning, British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte. Following the publicity given to the excavations in 1847, the British Museum added funds and received many of the finds in 1848. Layard undertook a second expedition to Nimrud and Nineveh in 1849-51, again funded by the British Museum. Similarly, The British Vice-Consul at Basra, J.E. Taylor excavated at Tell Mukayyar in 1854-5 (Daniel 1981: 74-8). In the later 19th century new kinds of institutional support for archaeology overseas were established. For example: in 1865 the Palestine Exploration Fund was set up and surveyed and excavated sites in and around Jerusalem between 1867 and 1870 (Hudson 1981: 74); in 1883 this was followed by the Egyptian Exploration Fund, and in 1887 The British School of Athens (Clark 1989: 8-9); in 1895 the British South Africa Company sponsored the Royal Geographical Society's survey of Great Zimbabwe under J.T. Bent (Trigger 1989: 131-2). Despite the slightly different roles that imperial/colonial institutions and officials played in each of these instances, the existence of

¹⁶Auguste Mariette was made Conservator of Egyptian Monuments by the Khedive in 1858 (Daniel 1981: 71).

that role was central to every case. Thus colonialism was both a ubiquitous background to such archaeological projects, constituting the mechanism whereby European archaeologists had access to such places, and was a specific factor in facilitating field-work in many cases.

Culture-History, Race and Nation

The work of Gustav Kossinna is perhaps the most notorious example of an archaeologist "interpreting" the artefactual record in terms of ethnic groups. However, Kossinna's interpretation of German prehistory is also recognised by most archaeological historians (Malina and Vasicek 1990; Sklenar 1983; Trigger 1989) to be one of the earliest systematic attempts to correlate patterns of archaeological artefacts and specific, named cultural (in this case ethnic) groups in the past. Kossinna believed that Europe had been populated by a patchwork of cultures (*kulturen* or *kultur-gruppe*) since the upper Palaeolithic. Whilst these cultures changed or moved over time, a continuity to more recent and historically documented tribes or distinct ethnic groups such as the Germani or Celts, could still be established. Kossinna proposed that by mapping artefact distributions, *Siedlungsarchäologie* (settlement archaeology), could show the location of these culture areas through time and thus plot the cultural history of Europe (Trigger 1989: 165-6).

Kossinna's settlement method, first presented in a paper in 1895, and in developed form in his *Die Herkunft der Germanen : Zur Methode der Siedlungsarchäologie* (The Origin of the Germani: on Settlement Archaeological Method) (Kossinna 1896; 1911), was based on principles summarised in the now famous statement, "Sharply defined archaeological culture areas correspond unquestionably with the areas of particular peoples or tribes" (Kossinna 1911: 3). The settlement method depended upon typological studies of artefacts, usually in museums, and the mapping of them to define homogenous culture areas which were also, and more importantly, distinct from neighbouring areas. These "Clearly defined, sharply distinctive, bounded archaeological provinces .." (Kossinna 1926: 21) could, using the retrospective method - that is using contemporary or historically documented ethnic circumstances to infer the prehistoric situation (Veit 1989: 39) - be argued to "...correspond unquestionably to the territories of particular peoples or tribes" (ibid.). This method therefore rested upon a number of principles: firstly, that archaeological culture areas could be identified by mapping assemblages of artefacts which were typologically defined and associated; then that archaeological cultures corresponded to ethnic groups - culture areas equated to ethnies such as the Germans, Celts, and Slavs, and individual cultures corresponded to the tribes such as German speaking Saxons, Vandals and Lombards; and that cultural continuity implied ethnic continuity - thus through the retrospective method the tribes of prehistory could be linked to the earliest known or documented tribes in an area (Trigger 1989: 165; Veit 1989: 40).

Although the statement that material culture patterns and ethnic boundaries "correspond

unquestionably" posits a clear presumption, it does not make evident upon what basis the claim is made. Kossinna's view has been explained as an assimilation of the idea of cultural wholes from the culture-historical tradition of the German ethnography of Klemm and Ratzel, Sklenar also links it to earlier nationalist interpretations in Danish archaeology (1983: 147-8). However, his political position must also be considered in this respect. That Kossinna was an extreme nationalist, in his later publications a racist, whose view of German prehistory reinforced German nationalism and Fascism in the 1930s, is often expressed and uncontroversial (Daniel 1981: 151; Malina and Vasicek 1990: 64; Sklenár 1983: 160-1; Trigger 1989: 163-4; Veit 1989: 38). Equally, it is usually the case that archaeological theorists and historians have attempted to separate Kossinna's nationalist and racist interpretations of prehistoric material culture from the methodological advances which he initiated. The view of his work as embodying "important theoretical innovations and a fanciful glorification of German prehistory" (Trigger 1989: 164) - essentially, that Kossinna's political affiliations caused him to abuse an inherently useful methodological advance - is supported by Daniel (1981:150-1), Malina and Vasicek (1990: 63-4) and Veit (1989: 39-40). Indeed the main theme of archaeological criticism levelled against Kossinna since the 1930s seems to have been that he did not apply his own method rigorously, and that he manipulated evidence to substantiate the political dimension of his ideas (Malina and Vasicek 1990: 64; Veit 1989: 40-1). However, this approach appears to mis-apprehend the centrality of Kossinna's nationalism and racism.

That nationalism can be seen as a concentration of the broad concern within culture-history in ethnicity and ethnogenesis which had found early expression in philology and ethnography. Indeed Kossinna's search for the ancestors of the Germani was prefigured by the nationalist constructions of the concept of the Indo-Europeans: the Indo-Germans and Aryans, in the 1880s (Malina and Vasicek 1990: 62). Kossinna relocated the centre from which Indo-European migrations took place from the Near East, to the Schleswig-Holstein region of the Danish-German boarder and followed Klemm in his categorisation of *Kulturvolker* (culturally creative peoples) and *Naturvolker* (culturally passive peoples), that is Indo-European (German - Aryan) and other peoples respectively (Trigger 1989: 165-6). His nationalism was manifested in several ways: in the attempts to prove the maximum antiquity for the cultural origins and chronology of the *Germani*; in the assertion of the continuity between historically documented Germanic tribes and those of early prehistory - this longevity of occupation was seen to justify territorial claims; and most crucially, in the assertion that the Aryan peoples of Germany were the most racially pure. The claim that the *Germani* were the first born (*Erstgeborenen*) Indo-Europeans, legitimated their pre-eminence as the prime creators of civilisation in Europe and beyond (Trigger 1989: 166). Moreover, Kossinna's definition of the peoples and tribes whose antiquity he was examining was clearly established on the basis of racial classifications.

Kossinna's nationalism and indeed his belief in the racial superiority of the Aryan, Nordic-

type peoples -tall, slim, fair skinned, calm intellectuals (Veit 1989: 38) - was probably most explicitly expressed in his populist book *Die Deutsche Vorgeschichte, eine Hervorragend Nationale Wissenschaft* (German Prehistory, a Pre-eminently National Discipline) (Kossinna 1914) and other later works. Yet it is untenable to argue that Kossinna's equation of people and race was "a secondary accretion to his method" (Veit 1989: 40). Rather, this ideological position was fundamental to the retrospective method - his assertion of cultural continuity, and even to the equation of ethnic and material culture continuity. His view of antiquity begins with the premise that the Aryan, Indo-Europeans (Germans) were a *Kulturvolker*, their superiority resulted in the longest and purest cultural and racial history, and their place at the centre of migrations and cultural development. Thus the typological studies of artefacts and cartographic syntheses of culture areas were methodologically dependent upon this *a priori* assertion of cultural superiority and continuity.

This historical account is not intended to excuse Kossinna's extreme nationalism and racism, nor does it underestimate the fact that his work, especially the later racist publications, reinforced German Nationalism and Fascism in the 1930s and 40s. Rather it shows that Kossinna's view of prehistory cannot be seen as an isolated individual case. I would argue that although there were deficiencies in Kossinna's actual practice when assessed against his own stated objectives, the main problems which the settlement method raised were inherent in the method, rather than the result of his departures from it. In simple terms, Kossinna does not provide a theorised link between material culture and ethnic or cultural groups, nor between distributions of archaeological artefacts and groups of people in the past. Instead these connections are asserted as self-evident, which for Kossinna they were because they were constituted by his view of the history of the *Germani*. To Kossinna the superiority of the Aryan German race was a manifest, transcendental fact, it was the philosophical foundation of his historical theory and method¹⁷. Thus it was precisely his political beliefs (very much located in the specificity and contingency of the nineteenth century) which enabled Kossinna to establish a link between social groups and artefacts. In short, the Nationalist story of the continuity and superiority of the Germanic Aryan tribes, was not an unfortunate and secondary addition to the settlement method, it was its core.

Kossinna's nationalist archaeology thus embodies and indeed conflates the three empirical domains of the histories of Man found in the 19th Human Sciences. His work collapses both creativity - the productive capacity of the *Volk* - Labour, and their intellectual genius in Language into the racial (biological) roots of the people, thus their superiority is

¹⁷As Foucault characterises it " In the 19th century, philosophy was to reside in the gap between history and History, between events and the Origin, between evolution and the first rending open of the source, between oblivion and Return.(Foucault 1970: 219-20). This is more than evident in Kossinna's work: *The Origin of the Germani*, (1911), *German Prehistory, a Pre-eminently National Discipline* (1914).

guaranteed by their racial origins - 'Life'. Further, for Kossinna the understanding and justification of the identity of the *Germani* is historical, the history of the race. Kossinna's work constitutes an archetypal instance of the concerns of 19th century history, but it is a form of history that should be analysed against the background of the forms of governmentality - the cultural and political institutions and their modes of operation - which co-existed with such histories, and which utilised such histories in the constitution of representations of other cultures which legitimated their domination.

CONCLUSION

From the early 19th century onwards, a distinctive mode of formal discourse on the past emerged. Although there was some continuity with the issues addressed around the construction of discourses on identity and materiality from the Renaissance and the classical *epistemes*, these issues were now re-conceptualised. Thus modern archaeology sought evidence, conceptualised problems and interpreted artefacts, in similar ways to the other human sciences. Philosophy then defined the relationship between objects and identity historically, through the figure of Man, in the study of his languages, his racial origins and his industry. The discourses that articulated this history (the human sciences) operated in a context equally defined by new institutions and practices (their disciplinary, and spectacular technologies) which sought to cure, educate, reform, and cultivate subjects according to normative criteria and through understanding Man's place in the world. These institutions created new forms of identity (new subjectivities), through their regimes, technologies and routines, and through the normalising power of the representations they constructed.

CHAPTER THREE

(Post)modern Materiality and Identity

INTRODUCTION

Chapter One defined the nature of the problem of theorising the relationship between materiality and identity in Archaeology, and established a mode of 'historical' analysis of archaeological discourse and practice which could address that problem. Chapter Two described the emergence of the disciplines discursive forms and practices from the Renaissance to the turn of the 20th century. The main aim of this chapter is to extend that mode of analysis to an examination of archaeological interpretations of cultural identity during the 20th century, up to and including current archaeological accounts. This chapter also necessarily addresses, in a limited way, the arguments around the conceptualisation of the relationship between Modernity and Postmodernity, or more precisely, between the cognate theories associated with Modernism and the challenges of Postmodernism, in their bearing on the localised 'disciplinary' arguments of archaeological theory. Where chapter one sought to problematise contemporary archaeological theorisations of materiality and identity in terms of their dependence on universal/transcendental, i.e. metaphysical, foundations, and chapter two began to describe the historical emergence of those 'foundations' through an archaeological/genealogical account, chapter three will re-examine more recent archaeological theorisations (from Childe to post-Processualism) within the fields of the discourses and practices of the Modern and Postmodern human sciences.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first characterises the conceptualisation of the relationship between materiality and identity within 'Modern' - early 20th century - Archaeology, and the connections between archaeological and other theories of that relationship in the human sciences more generally. In part this can be seen as a description of the extension and modification of the characteristics of 19th Century Archaeology into the 20th Century, but the main purpose of this section is to introduce the intellectual orthodoxies against which 'Post-' theorisations (Poststructuralism, Postmodernism, Post-Colonial Criticism, etc.) have been constructed.

The second section places recent archaeological theory in the context of these 'Post-' theorisations. It examines the significance of the critiques of authority, meaning and reference within Poststructuralism and Postmodernism, and particularly the changed understandings of collective identity and objects. This section then moves on to an evaluation of the Post-processual Archaeologies' theorisations of materiality and collective identity with reference to this broader literature and theoretical discourse.

CULTURE AND HISTORY IN MODERNITY

A Second Note On Foucault

It is important to remember here the reservations raised in the previous chapter about the validity of extending Foucault's schema of *epistemes* (1970), or *genealogy* of Power/Knowledge to new domains of research, as if they constituted a generalizable theory, and the need to take seriously Foucault's rejections of the possibility of establishing a general theory of history or a general theory of power (e.g. 1981: 14). It is also the case that certain key issues: about the determination and status of Foucault's position(s), his treatment of evidence, his choice of questions, and the seriousness of his analytics, are raised in specific ways in relation to the contemporary human sciences and their antecedents, and should be addressed in that connection.

At face value, Foucault's work apparently offers little direct discussion of the Human Sciences after the 19th century, and less of more recent developments. Yet it is clear that the entire orientation of his historical investigations is framed by the consideration of the present. Foucault was not simply interested in the past in the sense of "writing a history of the past in terms of the present ..[but rather] ..writing the history of the present" (1977: 31). This history of the present sought to destabilize the assumed foundations of contemporary thought (the transcendental subject, objective truth, proper objects of study, etc.) and re-describe them in terms of their emergences and discontinuities (1977b: 151;153-4). Thus, the starting point (and justification) for his histories, of madness, discipline, or sexuality, was the problematisation of the contemporary constitution of these objects in current discourse and practice. It can be argued for example, that Foucault's involvement with protests of the Prison Information Group (GIP) in the early 1970s (Macey 1994: 257-353; Poster 1984: 155) was (indirectly) correlated to the writing of *Discipline and Punish* (1975).

Thus the relative absence of published work on 20th century issues cannot be seen as a simple unwillingness to address 'relevant' material. At least two other readings are possible, both of which might be partially 'true'. Firstly, it could be argued that from Foucault's position the Human Sciences of the 20th century largely constitute a continuation of the epistemic forms and practices identified as arising in the late 18th and early 19th centuries; as such their investigation may be interesting, but offer no more than the possibility of analytical repetition. Secondly, as an account of the recent Human Sciences approaches the 'present', the problematisation of Foucault's own position (or one derived with reference to it), would inevitably arise - this was an issue of which he was acutely aware (see e.g. 1972: 130; 1977b: 205-17;1980: 126-33).

In seeking to historicise 20th century (including very recent) archaeological discourse and

practice, this chapter highlights the question of its own epistemological status and validity. An account of the historical emergences of a discipline's founding concepts, which eschews traditional epistemological foundations itself, could/should itself be subject to the same analytical process of historicisation - this is seen to imply a groundlessness for the analytical position. To an extent it could be argued that the problematic status of a Foucauldian account only appears acute from the perspective of traditional theoretical frameworks such as hermeneutics, critical theory or Marxism (Giddens 1987; 1995: 265-7); Habermas 1985: 13-14; 1986), even when they are deployed sympathetically (e.g. Poster 1984; Taylor 1986). However, several crucial questions remain even after the rejection of the attempts by traditional critiques to recuperate Foucault's work into their epistemologies, and after Foucault's own claim that contemporary discourses are produced within limits of the archive, and that "it is not possible for us to describe our own archive, since it is from within these rules that we speak" (1972: 130).

This raises a number of issues which are not strictly separable, especially given the complexity of Foucault's arguments, but they can be roughly 'glossed' by four questions:

Firstly, the question of the choice of project to be undertaken is posed clearly by Poster, "At the pre-theoretical level, before the object of investigation is established or the categories developed, the theorist makes a choice. This choice concerns a political judgement about what is important in the present conjuncture, about what needs to be done, about the theorist's relation to his or her world and the relation of the theorist's work to this world" (1984: 156). However, this construction of the project in terms of choice, intentionality and theorisation, is wholly at odds with Foucault's entire construction of the historical field. For Foucault not only is the intentionality of techniques without agency a possibility, but further, his *genealogical* position (1977; 1979; 1986; 1987) implicitly claims that the current field of power/knowledge configures the densest problematics - it 'offers up' certain questions. Thus, for this thesis, the discipline of Archaeology has come, by way of its history, to a particular mode of discursive construction of its object, and operates with reference to specific economic and political demands, to disseminate its findings via particular communicative forms, under the aegis of particular institutions (e.g. Universities), and in a specific set of social positions (Foucault 1980: 131-2). This suggests that the position of the analyst is now that of the specific intellectual whose choice of question is a pragmatic/strategic one, made within a field defined in advance (ibid.: 124-33). Therefore, questions and objects of study cannot be fully theorised *a priori*, but must be derived from the field.

The central questions of this thesis then, arise out of the contemporary archaeology in which they arose: e.g. in, and against, the discursive formulations of post-processualism, in the context of University teaching and research, etc., etc.. However, whilst this field shapes and defines the form and terrain of possible questions in the present, it cannot

exhaustively specify the strategy chosen. As Dean notes the present "is a mode of struggle over the specific instruments and discourses of power, and a mode of self-constitution" (1994: 52). Thus, this thesis must be reigned within the acceptance that it is one history of Archaeology and its theorisation of materiality and identity, and that it constitutes a specific, strategic, 'political' intervention in the games or battles (Foucault 1980: 130) over the truth of the discipline. Its position in that struggle cannot be justified in advance by reference to an abstract criterion, or generalising theoretical position, and its truth effects can only be measured in the context of the continuation of that struggle¹.

The second question, closely related to the first, is that of the grounds, or criteria which justify Foucault's (or this thesis's) choice, utilisation and treatment of evidence. A partial answer is that the choice is defined because the *archaeology* of the Human Sciences progresses through the isolation of discourses "with the densest and most complex field of positivity" (1972: 241). Therefore the texts and practices that exhibit the greatest concentration in relation to contemporary Power/Knowledge structures in the chosen field, constitute the starting point an 'effective history'; the features identified in contemporary discourses are then pursued in wider and wider networks of texts and practices through their continuities and discontinuities.

This however, is clearly only a partial answer since when, for example Foucault examines "the way in which we perceive insanity or illness" (1986a : 47), the construction of contemporary European culture (we), is a partial one constituted around Foucault's position as a French, specific intellectual, of the late 20th century, etc.. Edward Said's critique is incisive in this respect since it asserts that Foucault, "does not seem interested in the fact that history is not a homogenous French speaking territory but a complex interaction between uneven economies, societies and ideologies." (1984: 222). Foucault's choice and use of historical documents is controversial² since both the development of his historiography and his knowledge of particular historical fields is inevitably shaped by the French academic system he rose through³. For example, Cohen & Saller (1994), Foxall (1994: 145), Mattingly (forth.) Poster (1986: 214) all criticise Foucault's reliance on, and particular reading of, certain core classical texts to the exclusion of other texts or domains, in the Volumes of *The History of Sexuality*. However, a justification for positioning Foucault's work outside of 'normal' historiographic appeals to the facts⁴, is evident in Said's critique, which makes clear his limitations as a specific intellectual; but also reveals

¹It is inevitably the job of others to evaluate and historicise this text, and "to see that [its] papers are in order" (Foucault 1970:17).

² As is the detail of the historical accounts, even though Foucault's critics are often reduced to apparent 'nit-picking' when pushed to make specific criticisms - see Dreyfus & Rabinow (1982: 126) for an illustration of this, or Rousseau (1972) for an example.

³Notwithstanding Foucault's experience of the university and political services in Sweden, Poland and Tunisia, his intellectual landscape was distinctly Parisian-French, see Macey (1994) for a biographical account of his experience.

⁴Again, see e.g. Dreyfus & Rabinow (1982: 126).

Said's own intervention in the battle over truth (Foucault 1980: 132). Said highlights, quite rightly, the limitations of *Discipline and Punish*, arguing,

Much of what he has studied in his work makes most sense not as an ethnocentric model of how power is exercised in modern society, but as part of a much larger picture involving, for example the relationship between Europe and the rest of the world. He seems unaware of the extent to which the ideas of discourse and discipline are assertively European and how, along with the use of discipline to employ masses of detail (and human beings), discipline was used also to administer, study, and reconstruct - then subsequently to occupy, rule and exploit - almost the whole of the non-European world.

(Said 1984: 222)

But this also simultaneously stakes out/justifies a territory for Said's own project: the analysis of *Orientalism* (1978). Thus each position confronts, de-stabilises and/or elaborates the other in an endless conflict, this is how the 'truth' is derived. This view⁵ is not a justification for error, or lapses of scholarship, but an assertion of the 'truth' of the process by which truth is actually decided.

The third question, that of the authority and seriousness of Foucauldian texts; and the fourth, that of the degree to which Foucault's position is 'determined' by contemporary forms of discourse and technologies of Power/Knowledge, are clearly intimately connected. Thus, as both Barrett (1991: 145), and Dreyfus & Rabinow (1982: 85-6; 97) rightly argue, Foucault's texts do make an implicit claim to be taken seriously, in the density of their argumentation and elaboration, and in the presentation of specific interpretations as truths. Taking seriously the analytic of Power/Knowledge seems to imply that Foucault's discourse is itself merely the product of the relation (Power/Knowledge) it addresses (Barrett 1991:145). However, this is to forget that it is possible to separate the doctrine of determinism - the view that a totalising mechanism of external forces shapes all action⁶, from the understanding of determination⁷ (see Williams 1983: 98-102). Thus Foucault's discourse can be entirely determined by its conditions of production whilst not being reducible to the play of those contemporary conditions.

The value of the claims to truth that a genealogical account makes can be assessed by

⁵The essays by Foucault in Gordon (1980), and Foucault(1977c) probably articulate this view most clearly, also see Lyotard (1985: 57; 59; 60-70) for a related 'agonistic' theory of truth.

⁶Typical of 19th century social thought and e.g. crude Functionalism, see Williams 1983.

⁷Understood for example within a Marxist critical perspective, where events are entirely framed by circumstances but not wholly caused by them. E.g. Marx's famous dictum "men make history but not in circumstances of their own making", which of course applies as much to Marx himself as anyone, since his work was clearly entirely determined by the circumstances of 19th century capitalist society and culture (Sheridan 1980: 70-3) , but could not be explained away by, or reduced to those circumstances. See also Althusser's notion of Overdetermination (1966;1971).

measuring its arrangement of the empirical evidence⁸, against the documents themselves, and against other accounts (e.g. Said 1978), and with hindsight, in terms of their effects. The kind of truth claim that is explicitly ruled out, is that an interpretation corresponds best to an abstracted theoretical position, or that it is based on evidence whose pattern matches the prescriptions of such a theoretical position best⁹. Not only can the value and authority of such a genealogy not be measured against the universal rules of the human sciences, but neither can it be established or grounded in the kind of critical 'self-reflection' that Poster calls for (1985: 157). Such an attempt to 'contextualise' a genealogical account by its author would firstly, place them in the position of the general intellectual able to stand above the conditions that determined its production, and secondly, it begs the question of the context of the self-reflective comments¹⁰. Since Foucault accepts his position as enmeshed within Power knowledge, this tactic is ruled out. Indeed he argued that the political task for the intellectual was to "ascertain the possibility of constituting a new politics of truth. ... It's not matter of emancipating truth from every system of power (which would be a chimera, for truth is already power), but of detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic and cultural, within which it operates at the present time" (Foucault 1980: 133).

Finally, Foucault's position has been wrongly described as subjectivist, anti-rationalist, and relativist, because of the instability it appears to display from the point of view various neo-modernisms¹¹ in relation to authority and seriousness. Yet the genealogy of the subject does not deny the effects of the founding subject, but rather re-describes it as being constituted by certain technologies through an historical account; nor does this genealogy allow that 'any interpretation goes'. Further, the notions of the *dispositif* - an apparatus or 'grid of intelligibility' - strategically defined by the analyst out of the current arrangements of "Discourse, institutions, architectural arrangements, regulations, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical propositions, morality, philanthropy, etc." (Foucault 1980: 194) and *déchiffrement* - the decipherment or interpretation of the organisation, coherence and intelligibility of the practices in each specific domain, together provide a framework for the genealogist (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982: 122). Foucault

⁸Though its truth would not be measured by traditional empiricist notions of evidence 'proving' the interpretation to be objectively true, nor by its arrangement of documents alone.

⁹This should not be problematic, since 'serious' academic discourses have always been partial, limited, and partisan, and it was only ever the alibi of an appeal to the objectivity of a theoretical/ideological framework (Empiricism, Marxism, Functionalism) that ever camouflaged their partiality. For example Shanks and Tilley's 'reconstructed archaeology' supposedly escapes relativism because it is Neo-Marxist or at least 'theoretical' and 'value committed' (Shanks and Tilley 1987a: 186-208).

¹⁰If Poster's (1985: 146-170) improved Foucauldian could stand back from their genealogy and contextualise their own work and position, then the question of self-reflection immediately shifts its attention to the position that the description of the context of genealogy came from, etc., etc., instituting a fruitless and endless spiral. Surely Foucault is right to attempt to describe, in genealogical form, the emergence of the self and ethics (1979; 1986; 1987) - the location and mode in which self-reflection can occur - and leave it to others to account for his position (1970: 17), which, of course, is possible for others.

¹¹See e.g. Habermas (1987) or Taylor (1986:93-8) for elaborations of this view, and e.g. Barrett 1991: 152-5), Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982: 104-125) Hoy (1986: 20-1), Rorty (1986: 44-5) for various refutations.

discusses the example of the *dispositif* of 'sexuality' which is treated as an historical given, and read through its discourses, etc. (e.g. Charcot and Freud's practices and texts), seriously and literally, to establish connections between them and other texts, practices etc. This enables Foucault to isolate the organisation, coherence and intelligibility of Freud and Charcot's truths, which enables the analysis of exactly what was being done (ibid.: 121-2).

Thus the *dispositif* is a tool, or apparatus, constructed by the genealogists which takes on the form of the inter-relations between the various discourses, institutions and practices themselves, which also exist as *dispositifs*. This strategy can therefore not be understood through the directional metaphors of traditional history¹², progressing forwards through time (continuist history), or downwards through appearance towards truth (critical theory), but rather in terms of condensations, intensifications and extensions. Thus, contemporary archaeological theories of materiality and identity can be resolved into a series of particular forms of organisation, coherence and intelligibility - a reading which ('leads to other things') establishes particular relations with the historical texts of antiquarians, early archaeologists, and other institutions and practices etc. Reading these discourses and practices through this grid of intelligibility will extend and concentrate a *dispositif* of archaeology's concept of cultural identity. Whilst this process clearly implies a kind of recursion, it escapes the criticism of circularity because it does not claim totalization or finality.

If the pragmatic, strategic nature of this approach is opposed to the concept of the search for truths as it is understood within the human sciences, then Foucault appears willing to work within the space defined by Canguillem's distinction between 'being in the true' - part of the established forms of truth making - and telling the truth¹³

I am fully aware that I have never written anything other than fictions. For all that I would not want to say that they were outside the truth. It seems plausible to me to make fictions work within truth, to induce truth-effects within a fictional discourse, and in some way to make discourse arouse, "fabricate," something which does not yet exist, thus to fiction something. One "fictions" a history starting from a political reality that renders it true, one "fictions" a politics that does not yet exist starting from an historical truth.

(Foucault 1979: 75 cited in Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982: 204)

The production of a set of tools, an apparatus - a *dispositif* - for interpreting contemporary

¹²See Hoy (1986a: 142) for a discussion of the rejection of one directional metaphor.

¹³Foucault, discussing the failure of 19th century biologists to recognise Mendel's truth, follows Canguillem's argument that conventionally before a proposition can be declared true or false it must first be 'in the true', and asserts "It is always possible that one might speak the truth in the space of wild exteriority, but one is 'in the true' only by obeying the rules of a discursive 'policing' which one has to reactivate in each of one's discourses" (Foucault 1981a: 61).

archaeology's conception of the relationship between material culture and cultural identity, if it maintains the status of a strategic, political fiction, will offer an answer to the question "What is history, given there is continually being produced within it a separation of true and false?" (Foucault 1981a: 11). It will enable a new truth of this relationship to be produced.

Gordon Childe: Archaeology in Modernity

Histories of Archaeology usually represent V.G. Childe (1893-1957) as an heroic pioneer in the progressive development of Modern Archaeology, constructing him as the first 'proper' archaeological theorist (e.g. Daniel 1950; 1963; 1975; 1981; Malina and Vasícek 1990; Trigger 1978; 1980; 1989). Whilst such an account cannot be accepted as adequate in its own terms for reasons discussed in chapter 1 and above, this evaluation together with the characterisations of Childe's work made within such histories, alongside the works themselves and those of Childe's contemporaries, outline the kinds of 'organisation, coherence and intelligibility' which constitute a point of departure for a genealogical account of recent Modern Archaeology.

Notwithstanding Foucault's (1977a) critique of the notion of the author¹⁴, Childe's work is particularly useful in that it constitutes an exceptionally concentrated nodal point in the domain of archaeological discourse and practice in the first half of the 20th century. Within it there is a series of transitions and interactions between all the dominant empirical frames of the human sciences. Thus Culture-History, which dominated the interpretations of works like *The Dawn of European Civilisation* (1925), *The Aryans* (1926) and *The Danube in Prehistory* (1929), emphasised the role of language in cultural definition. Functionalism in Childe's prehistory, e.g. *The Most Ancient East* (1929), and *The Bronze Age* (1930), was articulated upon the notion of material conditions and economic analyses of modes of production (Labour), and was closely linked with his incorporation of Marxist themes. Childe's use of Marxism also structured a series of arguments, in e.g. *Man Makes Himself* (1936), *What Happened in History* (1942) and *Progress in Archaeology* (1944), about cultural development, and in these his cultural evolutionism transposed biological concepts and metaphors (Life) into cultural analysis. Childe's work shifts from one to another of these dominant discursive formations, often more than one is deployed simultaneously, in the effort to resolve the question of the truth of the archaeological account of the past - to define the *arche*.

¹⁴In "What is an Author?" Foucault re-casts the notion of authorship as a categorising function applied to organise a series of texts within serious, academic discursive practices. Thus the author names less the sovereign creative subject who produces the text, than the figure (the 'author-function') around which certain text are arranged, and others (more ephemeral or 'dubious') are excluded. Thus analysing the works of Gordon Childe should not be confused with discussing the man whose name that was, the individual was obviously far more than 'his' texts, and was shaped by a different if related set of determinations. The determination - the 'organisation, coherence and intelligibility' of the texts also extend way beyond the man's biography.

Dominant Discourses

Culture-History

In the works of the 1920s and 30s (e.g. 1922; 1925; 1926; 1929), Childe's characterisation of archaeological cultures was constructed within the themes of 19th century Culture-History. Childe's concept of an archaeological culture was based on Kossinna's *Kulturen* or *Kultur-Gruppe*, (culture) the co-extensive artefactual distribution and ethnic unit, and the *Kulterprovizen* (culture area or province) devised in his 'settlement archaeology' (1911). Indeed, *The Dawn of European Civilisation* (1925) contains numerous references to both cultures and provinces (e.g. Childe 1925: xiv; 3; 22), and he cites Kossinna approvingly (ibid. : 15-6). Childe acknowledged his debt to Kossinna, if somewhat cautiously (Childe 1958a), and his utilisation of the core of the settlement method is widely understood as a methodological borrowing avoiding the racist/ nationalist enterprise with which Kossinna had sustained his own work (McNairn 1980; Trigger 1980; 1989: 170).

In *The Dawn of European Civilisation* (1925) and *The Danube in Prehistory* (1929). Childe suggested that archaeological cultures were essentially a feature of the artefactual record, identifiable through certain diagnostic artefact types, although the culture was defined by the whole assemblage of artefacts. He defined an archaeological culture, an analytic abstraction such that " we find certain types of remains - pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites, house forms - constantly recurring together. Such a complex of regularly associated traits we shall term a 'cultural group', or just a 'culture'." (Childe 1929: v-vi). Change was described in terms of an historical sequence of interactions and diffusions between these cultures, which could be mapped throughout Europe, an idea Childe adopted from Montelius (Childe 1929: 418-9). Childe argued that cultures had to be individually identified and linked on the basis of empirical evidence taken from excavation reports and museum collections, through stratigraphic and seriation correspondences (Trigger 1989: 170). In *The Dawn of European Civilisation* (1925), Childe presented as a complete a summary as possible of the distributions and diffusions of each of Europe's distinctive cultures - Danubian Maritime, Atlantic, Italian Bronze Age, etc., etc. In *The Danube in Prehistory* (1929), Childe presented a more detailed diagram correlating all the later prehistoric cultures of central Europe, not as a general chronological scheme, but as a mosaic of distinct archaeological cultures and their interrelationships (Trigger 1989: 172), (see figs. 16; 17)

These early texts, in which the concept of an archaeological culture was first formulated (e.g. Childe 1925; 1926; 1929), incorporate little direct acknowledgement of anthropological literature. His concept of archaeological cultures was largely derived from Kossinna and Montelius (Trigger 1980: 28; 1989: 173), and their definition of the ethnic

MAP III. EUROPE ABOUT 2000 B.C. PERIOD III

- I Minoan civilization, M.M. I-II, with extensions to the islands.
 III Anatolian civilization, Troy II iii.
 IVa Middle Helladic civilization.
 IVb Centres of Minyan culture.
 IVc Thessalian culture, period IV.
 Va Siculan I.
 Vb Chalcolithic culture of South Italy.
 VI Almerian culture, full chalcolithic.
 VIa Orientalizing civilization of Los Millares-Palmella.
 VII Bell beaker civilization.
 VIIa, b, and c Atlantic megalith culture—passage graves and early covered galleries.
 IX West European flint province.
 X Possible western extension of Danubian I culture.
 XIa Last phases of Cucuteni B.
 XIb Thracian culture with graphited ware.
 XII Ochre graves.
 XIIa Battle-axe culture of mixed types.
 XIIb Thuringian barrows with corded ware.
 XIIc Separate graves of Jutland.
 XIId Fatyanovo battle-axe culture.
 XIIe Copper battle-axe culture.
 XIII Nordic megalith culture with thick-butted celts.
 XIVa Swiss lake dwellings.
 XIVb Altheim-Mondsee culture.
 XIVc Michelsburg culture.
 XV Arctic and allied cultures of hunters and fishers.
 XVI North Italian copper culture.
 Megalithic areas stippled.

Distributions:

The several battle-axe cultures are appropriately hatched in as much as they extend into the areas occupied by other peoples.

Horizontal shading denotes the Jutland-Thuringian and allied groups; vertical the Fatyanovo and Silesian groups; oblique the Hungarian copper age group; and cross-hatched the ochre graves.

N.B.—Some phallic beads do not belong to this period.



(fig. 16) "Map of Europe about 2000 B.C." from Childe, V.G. 1925 *The Dawn of European Civilization*, London: Kegan Paul

PERIOD	WESTERN DANUBE SOUTH	WESTERN DANUBE NORTH	MORAVIA	SILEZIA	BOHEMIA	SAVO-THURINGIA	RHINE BASIN	BAVARIA	SWITZERLAND EAST WEST
I	VINÇA I	VINÇA I	DANUBIAN Ia	DANUBIAN Ia	DANUBIAN Ia	DANUBIAN Ia	DANUBIAN Ia	DANUBIAN Ia	Lower Neolithic
II	VINÇA II	VINÇA II	POLGAR	POLGAR	POLGAR	POLGAR	POLGAR	POLGAR	MIDDLE NEOLITHIC
III	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	UPPER NEOLITHIC
IV	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	CHALCOLITHIC
V	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	CHALCOLITHIC
VI	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	CHALCOLITHIC
VII	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	FLAVONIAN	CHALCOLITHIC

BB = BELL-BEAKER. ZB = ZONED BEAKER. W etc. = WALTERSBERG. B etc. = BERENBURG. J = JORDANSMÜHL.
 TABLE GIVING CORRELATIONS OF THE SEVERAL CULTURES IN TIME AND SPACE

(fig. 17) "Table Giving Correlations of the Several Cultures in Time and Space" Childe, V.G. 1929 *The Danube in Prehistory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

equivalent of an archaeological culture was largely linguistic. Thus in *The Aryans* (1926), the Indo Europeans were defined by their superior language¹⁵, consonant with the philological orientation of 19th century culture-history.

Childe's series of visits to America in 1936, 1937 and 1939, and the correspondence he conducted in 1945 with American Archaeologist Robert Braidwood (Trigger 1980: 126-7) mark out a point of genealogical correlation with American Culture-historical Archaeology and Anthropology. Childe was not 'deeply influenced' by the seriation and trait listing approaches of the Mid-Western Taxonomic System for example¹⁶. Rather, his concept of an archaeological culture and the American development of regional chronologies (e.g. Kroeber (1916) and Spier (1917); Kidder (1924) and McKern (1939)), operate within the same kinds of intelligibility. Both construct their unit of analysis in terms of the recognition of specific traits of material culture and the geographical distribution of those features. In that, they manifest a common assimilation of the definition of culture evident in 19th century German culture-history, and especially the work of Franz Boas (Stocking 1968: 195-233; Trigger 1989: 187).

The concept of culture in Childe's works of the 1940s and 1950s becomes more complicated, partly as a result of the piecemeal assimilation of references to American cultural anthropology (Trigger 1980: 126-7). However, the most evident change in this later work is the emphasis on Functionalist and Marxist modes of explanation. Even though Childe had begun to question the search for ethnicity in archaeology, and the nature of the social entities that corresponded to archaeological cultures (e.g. Childe 1942: 14-15; 26-7), nevertheless the description of archaeological cultures as chorographic entities, and their correlation to socio-cultural groups of the past remain in these later works (Childe 1958: 10). For example, the spread of agriculture was resolved into the influence of the Balkan Starcevo culture, the Mediterranean Cardial culture and the Danubian culture of Central and Northern Europe (Childe 1956: 43-55). The Dimini culture from north of the Balkans, invaded the area of Eastern Thessaly and Corinthia¹⁷,

Here the intruders expelled or subjugated the Sesklo villagers, betraying their North Balkan origin by the spirals and meanders painted on their technically inferior pots, by their employment of antler mattocks or axes, and perhaps their domestic architecture, though preserving the same sort of ideological equipment.

¹⁵It is worth noting that, in *The Aryans* Childe did adopt a racial interpretation of the Nordic races as bearers of the cultural advantages inherent in the superior Indo-European languages **and** their physical stature; this was a view he later directly rejected (Trigger 1989: 173-4).

¹⁶Indeed H.S. Gladwin's trait based approach sought to identify sequential "phases" rather than cultures, and the Midwestern Taxonomic Method explicitly rejected the description of cultures in favour of Foci (McKern 1939: 310-11), see Trigger (1989: 186-95).

¹⁷Although he was critical of culture-history's replacement of liberal history's 'great men' of history with archaeological cultures (Childe 1958: 70).

The 'mosaic' model of interactions and diffusions between distinct cultural groups was in many ways the orthodoxy for interpreting prehistory in much of Western European Archaeology until the 1960s¹⁸, and indeed remains so in many instances (Ucko 1995: 11). Therefore, although the role of ancient language in defining cultural identity may have been directly addressed relatively rarely archaeologically (e.g. Mallory 1989; Renfrew 1987; 1994; 1996; Swadesh 1952; 1959), the mode of addressing prehistory through 'cultures' understood in culture-historical terms - i.e. through a model based on the centrality of language to cultural definition - continued to have widespread currency.

Functionalism

Whilst culture-history continued to offer a discursive framework through which the ethnic groups of antiquity could be conceptualised, Functionalism, with which Childe had long-standing familiarity in the form of British Social Anthropology (McNairn 1980: 53-4), represented a means by which the relationship between material (archaeological) cultures and the activities and organisation of social groups could be described.

In *The Danube in Prehistory* Childe (1929: viii) argued that domestic objects such as pots and ornaments, and also burial rites, would reflect local tradition and therefore be resistant to change and be useful for identifying ethnic groups. These objects would correspond to his diagnostic artefacts (Trigger 1989: 171). Thus, Childe could assert that " we assume that such a complex [the archaeological culture] is the material expression of what would today be called a 'people'" (Childe 1929: vi), because of this 'normative' view of domestic artefacts and cultural groups. In *The Bronze Age* (Childe 1930: 8-9) this 'normative' image was extended in establishing the distinction between ethnic groups in the Neolithic and those of the Bronze Age, on the ground of their techno-economic differences - the former operating domestic modes of production, the latter characterised by a specialist, migrant, craft industry.

¹⁸ Whilst it was established before Childe's works, [e.g. Abercrombie (1902; 1912) defined the supposed migrating 'Beaker folk' on the basis of Beaker pottery and associated artefacts, in 1909 Abbé Breuil and Henri Obermaier discovered contemporaneous artefacts of Azilian and Tardenoisian 'epochs' in The Grotte de Valle in Spain, re-interpreting them as co-extant traditions (Daniel 1981: 107)], the use of culture-historical frameworks for understanding archaeological material continued, with some modifications, well into the 20th century. It was important in the interpretations of Stuart Piggott (1938; 1954), and Humphrey Case (1969) in British Prehistory; and within Françoise Bordes' differentiation of several Mousterian cultures on the basis of their lithic technologies (Bordes and de Sonneville-Bordes 1970). Culture-history has also been particularly important in the establishment of 'national archaeologies' in China, Mexico, India, Israel and Africa (Trigger 1984: 358-60; 1989: 174-86), and, its mode of interpretation, in whole or part, is still important in many recent archaeological studies (e.g. Renfrew 1987; Schrire, et.al. 1986; Shennan 1978; Wells 1980). Clearly the emergence of 'post-processual', and 'contextual archaeology' (e.g. Hodder 1982; 1986; 1987; 1990; 1995) marks one of the most significant re-affirmations of the concerns which characterised culture-historical archaeology.

By asserting that "The study of living human societies as functioning organisms has revealed to archaeologists this approach to their materials. It has led to the correct definition and interpretation of the concept of culture" (1935: 3), Childe linked his conception of culture of those of the functionalist social anthropologists. Childe's Functionalism emphasised the role played in a particular culture by "material culture as an adaptation to an environment, to use a biological term" (1935: 10). This functional approach to the interpretation of artefacts¹⁹, also incorporated characteristic functionalist themes: theorising social groups as wholes equivalent to biological organisms, analysing the function of social/cultural institutions in maintaining group cohesion, and the construction of cultural practices as socially coherent response to environment. 'Thus for Childe,' The function of an animal's bodily equipment is to enable it to live and propagate its species. Material culture, as defined here, is just the assemblage of devices that a community has invented or learnt to enable it to survive and expand " (1935: 11), and further " functional anthropology will show how ritual and art by promoting social solidarity or dispelling anxieties contributed to a groups survival²⁰" (ibid.: 14).

What Happened in History emphasised the social and economic definition of cultures and cultural changes, rather than maintaining the techno-economic focus of previous works (e.g. 1942: 23-4; 123), and the more direct use of parallels from surviving hunting and gathering societies as general models for the functional nature of the social organisation, beliefs and economies of antiquity (Trigger 1980: 100). Functionalism constituted the central explanatory framework for correlating the changes in material culture with the stages of cultural development of the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages (McNairn 1980: 74-103), and thereby supported Childe's neo-Marxist theory of cultural evolution, or history. For example in *The Urban Revolution*, Neolithic societies are characterised by the collectivity of their food gathering activities, which enforces their social and economic coherence, and which is itself, "echoed and magnified by identity of language, customs of belief"(1950: 7). Childe makes clear that this model of social coherence organised around a central sacred site, comes from functionalist comparative sociology, since it is described as a biological parallel to " that of the pack of wolves or a herd of sheep; Durkheim has called it 'mechanical'" (ibid.). Further, in contrast for Childe, Bronze age cultures manifested hierarchical economic 'classes', craft specialists and differentiated functions typical of societies united by 'organic solidarity' (1950: 16; Durkheim 1947).

The functionalist thematics in explanations of Prehistoric cultures and their stages of development, link Childe's work, both to the functionalist social anthropology of the 1930s, 40s and 50s, and also to other archaeological interpretations (see e.g. Trigger 1989: 274). For example, although Grahame Clark's *Archaeology and Society* (1939) employed

¹⁹ Which shows no particular attachment to either the holism of Malinowski (1922), or Radcliffe-Brown's (1935) concentration on social organisation.

²⁰ Although Childe did not presume that all cultural practices were positively adaptive (1935).

a functionalism in which culture was framed in ecological terms, it nonetheless interpreted prehistory through many formulations similar to Childe's. Clark (1939; 1954; 1974) assimilated the functionalist economic models of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, and the idea that discrete communities could be presumed to represent larger cultural wholes²¹. This economic framework was used to interpret the subsistence base for prehistoric cultures such that their social (pre)history could be reconstructed, in ways very similar to Childe (Trigger 1989: 266).

Both functionalist anthropology, and the use of functionalism in archaeology, were organised around the equation of Life and Labour. The functionalist conception of culture collapsed the distinction between the domain of cultural production (economy), and biological re-production, either through metaphor and analogy (see Childe 1950: 7 cited above), or directly in the assertion that material culture, and culture in general constitutes a set of mechanisms directed at achieving adaptive advantage within the environment.

Marxism/Evolutionism

Following his first visit to the Soviet Union, Childe's work began to incorporate Marxist theoretical formulations on history and cultural change. Childe's work did not change wholesale, indeed he retained the concept of cultural diffusion, which Soviet archaeologists following Marr had roundly rejected (Trigger 1980: 102-4; 1989: 226), incorporating it into the processes through which cultural evolution took place (e.g. 1936: 143; 172; 179[1981 ed.]; 1937: 4; see McNairn 1980: 105-6). As with the introduction of functionalism, the address "Changing Methods and Aims in Prehistory" (1935) outlined the Marxists thematics which Childe was to utilise in the interpretation of pre-history.

Childe's works of the mid-1930s, 40s and 50s can be represented as typically neo-Marxist (Western/liberal Marxist) in that they constitute an intellectualised theoretical usage, rather than an engaged class politics. Firstly, Childe argued that Marx's realist historical perspective, emphasising the economy and social forces of production, constituted a model for the study of prehistory, because prehistoric artefacts "are the tools and instruments of production, characteristic of economic systems that no written document describes" (Childe 1936: 31[1981 ed.]). Thus Marxist economic analyses and prehistoric archaeology had a similar materialist base, although in Childe's work this basis was initially understood through functionalism²². Later texts adopted language closer to Marx's, emphasising the

²¹As part of the cultural technology of power of colonialism in the early 20th century, social anthropology in general, and functionalism in particular, presumed the existence of discrete tribes which could be studied in isolation, see e.g. Malinowski (1922 10-11); and see e.g. Leach (1954); Helm (1968); Barth (1969); Asad (1973); Clifford (1988), for critiques of this presumption.

²²Notwithstanding the fact that Childe himself incorporates elements of both apparently contradictory theoretical frameworks into his work, there is an uneasy conflation of the two in some of the commentaries on Childe's use of Functionalism and Marxism. For instance, Trigger (1989: 259-263) discusses Childe's

interaction between material culture, and the social organisation of the means of production "for reproducing itself - and for producing new needs" and asserting that "the economy effects and is effected by its ideology"(Childe 1942: 23n).

"Changing Methods and Aims in Prehistory" (1935) also introduced the image of 'revolutions' in prehistory, which although clearly influenced by Marxist terminology, was then conceived around a functionalist account of Stone, Bronze and Iron techno-economic stages. Childe's accounts of cultural evolution were also organised around concepts shared with Marx, in that both of their notions of a sequence of cultural stages 'Savagery, Barbarism, Civilisation' were derived from Lewis Henry Morgan (Childe 1951 9-11). Childe's work again departed from Marxist orthodoxy in that it denied the predictive value of such principles, and further, explored the limitations of Morgan's scheme (1951: 6-8; 22-3; 162-3).

At the most general level Marx's writing inhabits Childe's in terms of the theory of history that organises it. Though Childe eschewed any reference to the primal causes of Marxist historiography: the dialectic, and its specific social form, class conflict, nevertheless a 'neo-Marxist materialism' underpins Childe's version history. Initially, shorn of the dialectic, Childe's materialism emphasised the technological, rather than socio-economic determinations of history, even as it used Marx as support (e.g. 1947: 71-2). This position also implied that the knowledge acquired of the past could not be written as a series of universal laws or predictive (teleological) scientific statements. But, having avoided what he described as the transcendentalism of Hegel's dialectic, and that of Collingwood's idealism (McNairn 1980: 111-2; 137-9; 144), Childe argued that History is the attempt to describe the logical patterns of historical events, and also the explanation of their causes (1947: 33-4). Thus, while Childe saw the accounts of archaeologists as abstractions shaped by their class background (McNairn 1980: 115; 142-3), *History* (1947) articulated the positivity of (pre)historic knowledge on the grounds of the universality of Labour. He asserted that Marxism constituted the best historiographical framework because it acknowledged that history (past events) was a creative process, and citing Marx's *Critique of the Political Economy*, presented this history as defined by the stages of development of the relations of production²³ (Childe 1947: 71-2). Further, the truth of such historical interpretations was itself guaranteed by the same transcendent property of history (its creativity - productivity). Childe, again following Marx, argued that deciding the truth of each ideal representation of history was not a theoretical issue, but rather that the relative merits of different accounts would be decided practically, since the " success of action guided by the rules thus deduced is the decisive test of the proposition from which they are

use of Marxism in the chapter on Functionalism without comment on the relation between the two (see also Trigger 1980: 96-7).

²³ Although, as argued above, this text reduced social relations of production to the material forces of production (technology), it did acknowledge there was a role for of relations of production and ideology in historical processes (Childe 1947: 76).

derived" (Childe 1956: 67).

Childe's Discourses

Despite the importance attached to Childe's work, its foundation was less than secure, the concept of an archaeological culture was defined by Childe in *The Danube in Prehistory* (1929) "unfortunately with misleading brevity " according to Trigger (1989: 170). Throughout later works, the definition of the relationship between an archaeological culture and a culture as a social or ethnic group was never resolved (Gathercole 1971), and increasingly Childe questioned whether archaeological evidence could reveal ethnicity. Although he saw the value of relating ethnographic and archaeological 'cultures', advocating a classification which was "perceptible to archaeologists, but also meaningful to ethnographers and historians" (Trigger 1980: 148), such a scheme was never finalised. In "Retrospect" (1958a) Childe questioned the whole culture-historical approach, arguing (surely correctly) that it was a substitute for political history, in which un-named cultures replaced famous statesmen on the stage of (pre-)history (Childe 1958a and e.g. Childe 1956: 58).

In this respect the relationship between the works of Kossinna and those of Childe is instructive in that it highlights the unresolved nature of the relationship between material culture and cultural identity in each. In the first instance, Kossinna's ability to link artefacts with cultural identities is based on his political philosophy which was intrinsically constituted in the Nationalist politics of the 19th Century, rather than being a truth derived from the traces of the past. Whilst Childe rightly eschewed the racist, 'ideological' linkage between archaeological cultures and Volk asserted by Kossinna, in its absence he could never resolve the partly formulated notions of the correlation between socio-ethnic and archaeological cultures.

The assimilation of Functionalism as a mode of linking artefacts to socio-cultural wholes and their interaction with the environment, and of Marxism as a theory of cultural evolution and materialist history, can be seen as responses to the insecurity of the foundations of Childe's initial concept of culture. Moreover, Childe's writing of prehistory constitutes an exemplary exploration of the empirical domains proper to the Human Sciences (Foucault 1970: 344-87). Indeed it is archetypal in that it explores all three: the domain of language in the guise of culture-history; the domains of life and labour in the functionalist conflation of biological (environmental) advantage, and social re-production; and the domain of labour through a (neo)-Marxist theory of the artefact, cultural evolution and history.

Further, Childe's discourse displays the problematic doubles identified by Foucault as inherent to the Human Sciences (Foucault 1970: 303-343). For example, Childe's texts sit uneasily across 'the empirical-transcendental double' in which either "the truth of the object

determines the truth of the discourse which describes its formation; or the true discourse anticipates the truth whose nature and history it defines" (ibid.: 320). The positivism of the former position is evident in the empirically based descriptions of archaeological cultures, and the functional nature of the artefacts, and the eschatology of the latter is incorporated through Marxist theories of cultural evolution and history. The 'cogito and the unthought' double is reflected in the conflict between the revelation of the unthought processes and phenomena which shaped the lives of ancient peoples - environmental constraints, the forms of history, techno-economic determination, etc., and the unthought grounds which make that modern account of the past possible²⁴. Finally, the 'retreat and return of the origin' - is evident in Childe's (pre)history because for it like any other history "It is no longer origin that gives rise to historicity; it is historicity that, in its very fabric, makes possible the necessity of an origin which must be both internal and foreign to it:" (ibid.: 329). The origin of Childe's historical labours (his search for the origin) is only possible on the presumption of the labours of those in the past, which much be pursued further and further back in time, and yet his account of that past can only exist in the historical discourse which already exists.

Institutional Archaeology.

Archaeological knowledge, exemplified by Childe constituted one domain in which, "modern thought [was] advancing towards that region where man's Other must be the Same as himself" (Foucault 1970: 328). In other words prehistoric archaeology operated within a totalising history which sought to explain the whole of human cultural evolution and history. Although Childe focused primarily on Europe, the scheme of history he utilised was intended to offer explanations on a much broader scale (e.g. 1934; 1936; 1951) and moreover, one of their themes was the cause of contemporary European pre-eminence in the world. Thus the radical difference of other cultures, from other epochs, was assimilated to the concerns of European archaeologists searching for the origins of their own culture (Childe 1934²⁵) .

In this way archaeological knowledge, like many other discourses in the early 20th century, was still enmeshed within the political technologies, institutions and practices of colonialism. Clearly, the overt nationalism and racism of some 19th century evolutionists, physical anthropologists and archaeologists²⁶, was not present in the work of Childe,

²⁴This contemporary background must either remain unthought to allow that analysis to continue - Childe cannot describe the class, techno-economic, adaptive and historical forces that produce his archaeology, or if that is attempted the archaeology is suspended in favour of an endless series of groundings - what makes archaeology true? what makes the analysis of archaeology's truth true? etc., etc.

²⁵The sub-title of *New Light on the Most Ancient East - The Oriental Prelude to European Prehistory* reveals this fairly bluntly and constructs the relation between Europe and its 'other' using a term that has been subjected to thorough critique by Said (1978)

²⁶E.g. Huxley, Kossinna, Knox, Lubbock, Morton, etc. - see Chapter 2

Clark, Wheeler or Woolley or their contemporaries in America and Europe²⁷. However, the very act of extending European science, rationality and order to cover and explain those of other cultures and their pasts constitutes what can be described as an intellectual colonialism²⁸, and that cultural project can only be fully understood in terms of the continuation in the early 20th century of colonial administration. Further, in this relation Archaeology was only one component of a broad assemblage of often heterogeneous discourses which included Anthropology, History, Comparative Sociology, Literature, Museum display, etc., etc..

For example, in the 19th and 20th century, French and British (and other) colonial possessions in Asia, Africa and elsewhere, enabled access to subjects, afforded practical means, and lent authority to anthropological expeditions, although this occurred differently in each context. Few ethnographers were as forthright in their accounts of the place of colonial power in the dialogue between ethnographer and informant as Marcel Griaule, who organised the 1933 Mission Dakar-Djibouti, an expedition primarily established to gather artefacts for the Trocadero Museum in Paris (Clifford 1988: 55-91). Griaule's writing made clear that he viewed field-work as an extension of exploration and conquest, as a battle of wits - almost as a military operation²⁹ - in which the ethnographer would inevitably utilise the advantages of his position to acquire the information or objects required; but also as a nuanced and profound dialogue (Griaule 1943: 66; 74; 1948: 7-8; Clifford 1988: 55-91).

Clifford is surely right to argue that ethnographers were "seldom 'colonialists' in any direct, instrumental sense," (1988: 78), but that they inevitably accepted (to varying degrees, and with varying degrees of criticism) the exigencies of the colonial/imperial situations they inhabited. Colonial governments did not readily support anthropology, or acknowledged its potential as a tool of administration. Malinowski's overture (1929) to the colonial establishment to support research into cultural change, on the grounds of mutual interest in the topic, raised little more than scepticism from P.E. Mitchell (1930), provincial commissioner of Tanganyika, later Governor of Kenya (James 1973: 51-60). This represented just one in a series of attempts³⁰ begun in the 1890s to generate such support (Feuchtwang 1973: 81). There were probably few instances in which 'applied' anthropologists were directly useful to administrators on the ground, not least because of their divergent agendas, and because the 'liberal' stances of many individual anthropologists allied them to indigenous, rather than colonial, interests (Kuper 1983: 113-

²⁷With the obvious exception of Germany (see e.g. Veit 1989; Härke 1995).

²⁸Said (1978) offers the seminal critique of one discursive figure which organised such intellectual/cultural colonialisms: 'Orientalism'. Spivak (1988, 1988a) offers a series of trenchant critiques of such colonialisms suggesting that they are ongoing, if under novel guises.

²⁹See for example his comments about the value of aerial reconnaissance (Clifford 1989: 68-9) - which can be seen as an instance of Foucault's (1977) notion of the power of the surveilling eye.

³⁰E.g. the calls for the establishment of an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology in 1896 and 1900 (Feuchtwang 1973: 81)

115). Kuper (1983: 100-16) points out that British government funding and support for anthropology really only became established as Britain began to disengage from empire, with for instance, the establishment of the Colonial Social Science Research Council ³¹.

However, the relationships between Anthropology and colonialism can be seen as both more generalised, and more idiosyncratically specific than those addressed by Kuper's analysis of the discipline's political 'utility', or governments' systematic support. The whole anthropological project was underpinned by the existence of colonialism; as Asad argues³² Anthropology may be theoretically derived from the ideals of the enlightenment but it,

... is also rooted in an unequal power encounter between the West and the Third World which goes back to the emergence of bourgeois Europe, an encounter in which colonialism is merely one historical moment . It is this encounter that gives the West access to cultural and historical information about the societies it has progressively dominated, and thus not only generates a certain kind of universal understanding, but also re-enforces the inequalities in capacity between the European and non-European worlds. ... The colonial power structure made the object of anthropological study accessible and safe - because of it, sustained physical proximity between the observing European and the living non-European became a practicable possibility.

(Asad 1973: 16-17)

This pervasive, asymmetrical relation of power/knowledge between Europe and the subjects of anthropological enquiry under-wrote the apparently haphazard and tenuous association between anthropologists and administrators, and belies the heterogeneity of their relationships³³.

The disinterested/laissez-faire stance of officialdom towards Anthropology (Kuper 1983: 100-110) was characteristic of the general attitude towards the developing human science disciplines, few of which received much direct financial support before W.W.II. The shifting constellations of interest which sustained the institutionalisation of Anthropology, are illustrative of the heteroclitic nature of the 'Cultural' dimensions of colonial power. For

³¹Also the time of the foundation of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the British Commonwealth in 1946, and the establishment of new chairs at the LSE, SOAS, Edinburgh, and Manchester (Kuper 1983: 122)

³²Asad's volume clearly has its own specific post-colonial context: that of the Critiques of the *New Left Review* (1969), the political-intellectual response to the Vietnam War, the involvement of CIA in anthropological projects in Southeast Asia, and the legacy of British (and other European) de-colonisation, etc. (Forster 1973: 23-38)

³³e.g. A. C. Haddon in British Colombia, R. S. Rattray in the Gold Coast, G. Brown and A. B. Hutt in Tanganyika, Audrey Richards and Meyer Fortes in East Africa, Raymond Firth in West Africa and Malaya, Edmund Leach in Sarawak, etc. (Feuchtwang 1973: 94; Kuper 1983: 100-116)

example, in 1920 Radcliffe-Brown was invited by General Smuts³⁴ to set up an anthropology department at the University of Cape Town. Also by the 1920s, British West African colonial administrations did have officials trained in anthropology e.g. Meek, Rattray and Talbot (Feuchtwang 1973:82; Kuper 1983: 104). In 1926 a coalition of academics, linguists, teachers, missionaries and colonial officials from various European countries and institutions established the International Institute for African Languages and Cultures (IAI). The IAI was funded by a charitable trust, grants from several metropolitan and colonial governments³⁵, and a grant from the Carnegie Corporation in 1929, to be followed in the 1930s by the Rockefeller Foundation's financing of research fellowships. The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute was set up in Rhodesia in 1938 to direct social research in 'British Central Africa' (Kuper 1983: 108), under the aegis of names which were highly symbolic of colonialism.

Asad (1973: 108-9) notes that colonial power had been a pervasive presence in most of Africa for example since the late 19th century, and that anthropologists relied upon the security this offered. However, even when addressing local political systems, anthropologists could be blind to the centrality of the role of a colonial administrator (e.g. the district commissioner), in defining the nature of that system. Although Fortes had earlier argued that "The political and legal behaviour of the Tallensi, both commoner and chief, is as strongly conditioned by the ever-felt presence of the District Commissioner as by their own traditions" (Fortes 1938: 63), he included only brief introductory comments on British rule in his *The Dynamics of Clanship Among the Tallensi* (1945), (Asad 1973: 108).

Further, functionalist anthropology's notion of a tribe or people (a discrete, self-sustaining whole based on kinship and shared cultural institutions (Fried 1967; 1975; Lewis 1968 Leach 1989: 37-8)), which archaeologists assimilated, can be seen as a fictional structure, reconstructing a kind of pre-colonial 'ethnographic present' (Asad 1973: 109). This notion of social groups was shaped by colonialism both practically, in that it was derived from ethnographies conducted within the structures of power/knowledge colonialism afforded, and conceptually in that contemporary colonial relationships were effaced from those ethnographies, even though as, Fried (1967; 1975) and others (e.g. Leach 1954; Mafeje 1971; Sturtevant 1983; Wolf 1982) have argued, tribes were corporate identities generated by the inter-relationships between European administrations and non-European cultures.

Archaeology not only assimilated Anthropology's concept of culture (albeit in an informal way), but also occupied a very similar institutional location to that of Anthropology, not least in that the two disciplines often emerged together - e.g. at Cambridge University.

³⁴Kuper suggests that this may have also been influenced by the fact that Haddon and Smuts were both Fellows of Christ's Church College Cambridge (1983: 46)

³⁵Other than the British.

Thus the holder of the Disney Chair in Archaeology had been a member of Board of Anthropology since it was established in 1904, and William Ridgeway was central to the establishment of both Anthropology and Archaeology (Clark 1989: 20). The university amalgamated its Anthropological Board and Antiquarian Committee into the Board of Archaeological and Anthropological Studies in 1920, and replaced the board in 1926 by the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology (housed in the University Museum of Ethnography and Archaeology which had been opened in 1910). The faculty tripos of 1927 included: 1. Principles, including physical anthropology, 2. Social Anthropology, 3. Archaeology (of European and Mediterranean stone and metal ages) and technology (material culture) (Clark: *ibid.*).

The pattern of the institutionalisation of Archaeology was at least as piecemeal and ad hoc as that of Anthropology. The consolidation³⁶ of Archaeology had begun in the latter 19th century with the establishment of a series of Professorships: e.g. in 1851 John Disney an amateur classical archaeologist, and Peterhouse fellow endowed a chair in archaeology; in 1887 Percy Gardiner became the first Professor of Classical Archaeology and Art at Oxford (Clark 1989: 10: 29). From the outset, connections of power/knowledge characteristic of the colonial context were evident, in the networks of official authority, academic expertise, limited institutional support and private patronage that sustained university archaeology³⁷. These networks never constituted a policy, but were, established amongst key figures of the colonial elites, intelligentsia and administrative cadres. Thus the curator of Cambridge University's Museum of Classical Archaeology (built in 1883), was Baron Anatole von Hügel, a distinguished army officer, and imperial diplomat (Clark 1989: 23). In 1904 Liverpool University opened its Institute of Archaeology which focused on European, Mediterranean, and Near Eastern Archaeology, under the patronage of H.R.H. Princess Henry of Battenberg, the presidency of Lord and Lady Derby, and with the benefactors Sir John Brummer M.P. and John Rankin. Archaeology was first taught in Oxford as part of the Anthropology diploma in 1905, and the acceptance of Anthropology at both Cambridge and Oxford was partly justified on the grounds of its practical value to prospective colonial administrators. In 1927 the will of John, Fifth Baron of Aboukir and Tullibody established the Abercrombie Chair of Prehistoric Archaeology at Edinburgh University (*ibid.*: 11-13).

Beyond the establishment of university archaeology, field-work continued to be facilitated through the relations and networks of power established by colonialism. It was most often through ad hoc arrangements (similar to those supporting anthropology), that archaeological work was undertaken. For example Howard Carter's³⁸ excavations in Egypt

³⁶Of course archaeology had been expanding before this, exemplified in the establishment of archaeological societies - see in chapter 2 and Hudson (1981: 15- 41), Piggott 1968, Walsh (1992: 20-1; 25).

³⁷In the first decades of the 20th century there were few professional archaeologists, either academics or field-workers (see e.g. Hudson 1981:10).

³⁸Carter had been appointed in 1899 Inspector of Monuments in Upper Egypt by Gatson Mapero head of

(1902-12) were initially sponsored by New York Businessman Theodore Davis, but then with Maspero's agreement Lord Carnarvon took over Davis's concession until the final season of 1922 discovered Tutankhamun's tomb (Daniel 1981: 154). A series of excavations began in Mesopotamia at the end of W.W.I, firstly undertaken by British army officers, Turkish prisoners and some British Museum staff³⁹ at Ur. In 1918 the former British Intelligence officer Reginald Campbell Thompson undertook trial excavations there, the significance of which was confirmed by a British Museum party. In 1922 Leonard Woolley (then director of the Egypt Exploration Society) lead a joint expedition of the British Museum and University of Pennsylvania to Ur which lasted seven years and culminated in the discovery of the great cemetery (Woolley 1929). Woolley⁴⁰ had used British Government assistance (Hudson 1981: 92) as well as independent fund-raising (e.g. public lectures in Baghdad)⁴¹ to support the field-work. In the 1920s the British School in Iraq was patronised and led by Gertrude Bell 'Orientalist and agent of empire' (Said 1978: 224 who also organised subscriptions and appeals to fund projects⁴²).

Elsewhere, Louis Leakey, son of a Missionary to the Kikuyu of Kenya, read Anthropology, then Archaeology at Cambridge, and returned to Kenya to lead the East African Archaeological Expedition (1926-9) (Clark 1989: 101-2). Leakey was one of a number of British archaeologists who undertook field-work in current and former colonies (Clark 1989: 99-127). Perhaps one of the most celebrated colonial connections within Archaeology was the appointment in 1943 of Mortimer Wheeler to the post of Director of Antiquities of India. Wheeler was there responsible both for a series of major excavations (e.g. Harrapa and Mhenjo-Daro), but also founded a school at Taxilla which trained a whole generation of Indian archaeologists, and thereby, "brought to the Indian subcontinent the scientific methods of archaeological survey and excavation" (Daniel 1981: 169).

This is not to argue that all archaeologists were colonialists *manqué*, nor that all archaeological projects and institutions were devised to 'legitimate' colonial rule. Neither is it necessary to accept Hudson's rather dubious assertion that British archaeologists working in the Near East were "the last flowering of the old imperialist tradition *at its best*" (!). Under different circumstances, the Wolleys and the Mallowans might well have been excellent District Officers in India or the Sudan" (1981: 97). It is rather, firstly, that colonialism existed as the array of cultural technologies through which Europeans encountered the rest of the world, and that without the structures and interrelationships of colonialism archaeologists' overseas projects would have been impossible. Secondly, these

the Egyptian Service of Antiquities.

³⁹Julian Reade director of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities (Pers. Comm.).

⁴⁰Woolley had himself been involved with military intelligence (Hudson 1981: 92)

⁴¹(Reade *Ibid.*).

⁴²A memorial fund was established in her name to support the school (Reade *ibid.*), following her death in 1926.

archaeologists were 'colonial' at a conceptual and intellectual level; their conceptualisation of culture was determined by colonial circumstances in that their attempts to explain the archaic cultures of the Near East, Egypt, India, etc. were predicated upon then existing relations between Europeans and non-European 'others'. Thus archaeological conceptions of past cultures were constructed in and through colonialism, as part of the more recent processes of Orientalism (Said 1978: 201-328).

THE HIATUS: ORTHODOXIES RECONSIDERED

A broad orthodoxy existed within archaeological thinking until the late 1950s /early 1960s (e.g. Daniel 1975: 370-4; Trigger 1989: 244; 289-312) in which the notion of culture utilised by Western archaeologists and anthropologists was that derived from the confluence of Culture-History, and Functionalism. However, from this time a series of discourses emerged which challenged that consensus, although a deep schism appeared between the two forms such discourses took.

The Theorisation of Archaeology

The move away from 'culture-historical' approaches was evident in the development of Neo-evolutionism in American ethnology, chiefly associated with Leslie White's (1949) definition of cultural evolution through the formulation 'Culture = Energy X Technology'. Sahlins and Service (1960) expanded on this concern by developing generalised evolutionary sequences through which cultures were assumed to progress. Further, Marvin Harris (1979) produced a rigidly (vulgar) materialist theory of culture: "Cultural Materialism", in which technology, demography, economic relations and the environment interacted to generate all cultural forms, practices and evolution (Trigger 1989: 292). Such objectivising models constructed cultures through those traits which Hawkes had held to be most archaeologically accessible: firstly technology, second economic organisation, thirdly social institutions (1954: 161-2). Lewis Binford, chief theorist of the 'New Archaeology' (Caldwell 1959; Trigger 1981; 1989: 289-328), synthesised these themes through his use of Leslie White's (1959: 8) definition of culture as "the extra-somatic means of adaptation for the human organism" (Binford 1962: 218) and his utilisation of systems theory: "archaeological systematics" (Binford 1965: 203-10). This "processual archaeology" with its concentration on the analysis of past cultures through settlement patterns, economic systems, evolutionary schemes and environmental / technological determinisms, constituted a new Anglo-American theoretical orthodoxy in archaeology until at least the late 1970s (e.g. Renfrew 1973)⁴³.

There was little theoretical consideration of ethnic or cultural identity in 'processual'

⁴³see Friedman & Rowlands 1982; Renfrew, Rowlands & Seagrave 1982 for discussions and critiques of these approaches towards the end of their dominance.

archaeology because it theorised culture in terms of adaptation, rather than history, and also because of the identification of these issues with the culture-historical approach - the idealist, "normative school" (Binford 1965: 203) - which New Archaeology (Binford 1962, 1965, 1972, 1975) sought to replace. The processualist treatments which came close to dealing with identity as an issue were often couched in the language of behaviourism and ethological comparison (e.g. Dyson-Hudson & Smith 1978). Binford did suggest that the style or formal properties of an assemblage of artefacts acted as a symbolic means of "promoting group solidarity and ... identity", and therefore, that "stylistic attributes are most fruitfully studied when questions of ethnic origin, migration and interaction between groups is the subject of explication" (Binford 1962: 220), but scarcely pursued this avenue. Yet the stylistic variation of artefacts, incorporated into the systematic approaches of processual archaeology, constituted a vehicle through which identity could be re-appraised (e.g. Wobst 1977). The objectivist stance of New Archaeology was not isolated. Certain forms of Structuralist and Psychological discourse which sought to analyse⁴⁴ cultural forms through, a 'semiotic algebra' in the former case⁴⁵ (following Levi- Strauss 1963; 1966 e.g. Munn 1966; Muller 1979; Vastokas 1978), or according to a 'behaviourist mechanics' (e.g. Barry 1971; Berlyne 1971; Jopling 1971) in the latter⁴⁶, became influential in Anthropology in the 1960s and early 1970s. This kind of approach, particularly in its structuralist guise, became important in the development of Post-processual Archaeology discussed below.

From Race to Ethnicity

Beyond Archaeology however, the investigation of collective identities, began to emphasise their social and cultural construction - approaches which might be described as subjectivist since they rely on notions of self-identification, ethnic consciousness and awareness (e.g. Banton 1988). This shift was implicated in the critiques of the concept of tribe and cultural

⁴⁴Many have subsequently argued, to reduce culture rather than analyse it (e.g. Bourdieu 1977: 1-30; 1990: 30-41; Layton 1991: 102; 238).

⁴⁵Structuralist analyses of artefacts etc., raise the question of the status of the structuring principles which order the production of artefacts such as masks (e.g. Levi-Strauss 1983). Some assert that they are the actual mental structures of the producers (e.g. Levi-Strauss 1962), others, that they are an abstraction only identified by the anthropologist (e.g. Bourdieu 1977). Further, there is the issue of whether the rules are strict and mechanical or known and followed strategically (ibid.). This tension (not resolved by Levi-Strauss) is most apparent in the monographs which deal with one specific 'tribal' culture and its use of artefacts, particularly the more detailed and theoretically sophisticated examples (see for example Faris 1972; Fraser & Cole 1972; Glaze 1981; Munn 1973; Turner 1967). In general, it can be argued that anthropological analyses of artefacts have sought to treat them as evidence with which to illuminate the search for the fundamentals of human cultural existence, i.e. in search of an anthropological version of the origin primitive - 'Primal Man'.

⁴⁶Following the work of psychologists like D.E. Berlyne (1971), attempts were made to generalise, cross-culturally, about the psychological affects of certain specific forms and design elements, and thereby to examine the creative process at its most fundamental level (Jopling 1971). However, the kinds of 'objective' criteria upon which these studies were based were of dubious general value, examples included: the linkage of the attention time given to certain design elements and their 'success'; categorisations such as 'representativeness of design', or 'complexity of design'; and the definition of behavioural systems as 'oral, anal, and sexual' (Barry 1971). These studies often merely served to emphasise the parochial nature of European thinking about material culture.

totality (e.g. Fried 1967; 1975; Leach 1954), and exemplified by the Fredrik Barth's account of the nature of ethnicity in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969). This shift can also be correlated with changes occurring outside the frame of reference of academic debates (especially those of anthropology). Thus Banton points out that the rise of ethnic consciousness was predicated upon the development of the ascription to the political definition of ethnicity or 'race' that sustained the civil rights and black liberation struggles of the 1950s, 60s and early 70s (Banton 1977: 136-55). Within attempts to address collective identity, the distinction between objective and subjective perspectives (which has framed most theoretical and methodological debates in the Human Sciences) was transposed, in the course of the broad shift to considerations of ethnicity, to two distinctive perspectives: the primordialist and situational or instrumentalist (Eriksen 1993: 54-58; 86; Jenkins 1994: 44-8; 75-8; Smith 1986; Rex 1991). Both of these positions eschew the objectifications inherent in racial classifications, or in the trait-listing approaches of traditional cultural anthropology (criticised by Barth 1969: 11-12), but they are nonetheless distinct.

Barth's *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969) is often treated as the clearest early articulation of the 'situational' or 'instrumental' perspective in anthropology (Jenkins 1997: 12). Barth argued on the basis of his study of the Pathans of Pakistan and Afghanistan (1969: 115-34) that, ethnic identification was articulated around certain distinctive social relations and cultural traits (ibid.: 119), and specific shared values such as honour, hospitality and seclusion (ibid.: 120-23). However, such ethnic identifications can cut across the boundaries of other cultural traits, such as dress or language (ibid.: 131-2). More generally Barth's argument was that cultural trait-based definitions of ethnicity (e.g. Narroll 1964) were flawed (ibid.: 11-12), and that; i) that ethnic groups should be understood as "categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves, and thus have the characteristic of organising interaction between people"; ii) that the "processes that seem to be involved in generating and maintaining ethnic groups." should be the focus of enquiry; and iii) that emphasis should be placed not on the "internal constitution and history of separate groups..[but on] ..boundaries and boundary maintenance" (ibid.: 10).

The 'primordialist' position has been articulated anthropologically by Clifford Geertz (1963) who, following Shils's argument that ethnic identification extends beyond social interaction to the meaning of bonds "attributed to ties of blood" (1957: 122; 1980), argued that on the basis of such bonds of blood, shared belief, shared language "one is bound to one's kinsman, one's neighbour, one's fellow believer *ipso facto* , as the result not merely of personal attraction, tactical necessity, common interest or incurred moral obligation, but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself" (Geertz 1963: 109).

Whilst both of these perspectives are open to criticism⁴⁷: Instrumentalism on the grounds that it reduces ethnic identity to a mere mechanism delivering social ends which can be rationally identified, or that it neglects both the cultural specificity of ethnicity and fails to distinguish between ethnic and other affiliations (e.g. Cohen 1974; Patterson 1975); and Primordialism in that it mystifies the basis of ethnic ties into apparently immutable pseudo-natural traits, this basis makes the transience or the political transformation of some ethnic identities difficult to account for (e.g. Kellas 1991). It is also the case that the distinction between the two positions is less than clear cut. For example, Smith (1981; 1986; 1991) argues that ethnic identity which he understands in essentially primordialist terms (Jones 1997: 81), is based upon a series of shared cultural properties and ties, which become activated as an identity in certain socio-political contexts (a la situational arguments). To argue that these situational factors are treated as secondary by Smith (Jones: *ibid.*) ignores the fact that these (political) factors are, for Smith, what invoke the shared culture as an identity. Thus ethnic mobilisation (Banton 1977: 136-55 Rex 1991) transforms shared practices through their incorporation into an overt ethnic identity. Further, Erikson (1993: 56) raises the question of whether Barth's position inevitably implies some primordialist core (see also Cohen 1974: xii) and suggests the primordialist - instrumentalist distinction is more valuable in revealing the duality inherent to ethnicity. Jenkins also notes that Geertz's 'Primordialism' has been reduced by its critics to a caricature of mythic ties and emotions, whereas Geertz was fully aware of the cultural construction of primordial ties and their invocation in the service of interest (Jenkins 1997: 45).

More recent analyses of ethnicity collapse, qualify and refine such distinctions. Thus Bentley (1987) argues, following Bourdieu (1977), that ethnicity must be understood as a series of practices through which people understand and act in the world according to their shared dispositions - their shared *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977: 72-95). This model offers an account of the interrelation between the social and political, and the cultural, aspects of ethnic identification based on the commonality of experience within the community - experience of the same *habitus* acquired through the experience of similar lifeways. However, theorisations and accounts of ethnicity derived from historical and sociological and ethnographic contexts have most recently come to emphasise the socio-historical specificity of ethnic identity, and the shared experience of 'difference' rather than commonality, as the basis of ethnic identification. Thus for example, Clifford (1988: 277-346), Gilroy 1993: 1-40, Smith (1981: 108-133; 184; 1984; 1991) in divergent contexts, each argue that ethnic identity is constructed out of specific, contingent historical circumstances; and moreover in opposition to other identities. This of course implies that ethnic identities cannot be understood in and of themselves either on the grounds of interest or primordial ties.

⁴⁷See Erikson (1993: 54-8) and Jenkins (1997: 44-8; 75-7), for brief critical accounts and Jones (1997: 65-79) for a fuller discussion.

The theorisation of identity in terms of difference (e.g. Bhabha 1988; 1990; 1994; Donald & Rattansi 1992; Hall 1992; Mercer 1994 Said 1978;1993; Sarup 1996), in which ethnicities are founded in the asymmetrical opposition between a dominant (usually white) cultural position and those of the excluded ethnic 'others', can be related to many contemporary ethnic situations, such as those of: Anglo-American Black cultures (Gilroy 1993; and Mercer 1994), the Caribbean (Miller 1994), Muslims and other Asians in Britain (Modood 1992; Brah 1996). Further, the theorisation of identity in terms of difference links the description of ethnicity to the historicist critiques of colonialism and Western rationality, and its representational strategies - particularly writing - characteristic of Post-colonial theory (e.g. Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 1994; Bhabha 1990; 1994; Singh 1996; Spivak 1988; 1988a, 1990; Young 1991). The various critical positions identified with the term 'post-colonial', have in common the project of challenging European (white) cultural dominance at the level of the 'politics of representation' (Hall 1992: 253). Hall adopts Spivak's (1988) notion of the "epistemic violence of the discourses of the Other .. of imperialism, the colonised, Orientalism, the exotic, the primitive, the anthropological and the folkloric" through which contemporary notions of ethnic identity have been constructed (Hall 1992: 255). To Hall then, the very conception of ethnic identities as coherent wholes is a product of those violent discourses, and in order to counter this violence theories of ethnicity must take seriously the notion of difference (Derrida 1978) that lies at the heart of identity (ibid.: 257)⁴⁸.

Having described something of the emergence of the notions of the artefact and identity in modern archaeology, Contextual/Post-processual archaeology's theorisations of material culture and its relation to collective identity can now be addressed in their contemporary (Postmodern?) formulation.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORIES IN THE POSTMODERN CONTEXT.

Post-Processual/Contextual Archaeology

From the late 1970s onwards the identity of past cultures was re-appraised through the issue of the cultural and ethnic significance of stylistic variation in artefacts. These studies constituted a development of processual archaeology's concern for quantitative methodologies and rigorous analytical instruments, but also marked a re-engagement with the interpretive aims of the culture-historical paradigm: the identification of cultural units on

⁴⁸It should be noted that this conception of identity as difference is only now beginning to be addressed within archaeology (e.g. Webster and Cooper 1996; Graves-Brown, Jones & Gamble 1996), although it has been raised within the critiques of the cultural politics of National identity and heritage, and indigenous archaeologies (Diaz-Andreu & Champion 1996; Gathercole & Lowenthal 1990; Kohl & Fawcett 1995; Layton 1989).

the basis of their distinctive material traits (e.g. Sackett 1982; 1985; Washburn 1983; 1983a; 1986; Weissner 1983; 1984; 1985; 1989).

It was also in the 1970s and early 1980s that 'ethnoarchaeology' (Kramer 1979) began to exert a significant influence on archaeological theory and research directions.

Ethnoarchaeology was less an explicitly theorised and methodologically distinct, aspect of archaeology, than an assemblage of interdisciplinary techniques and approaches. These included: the observation of living 'simple' cultures to record the material correlates of activity (Binford 1978; Gould 1978; 1980; Yellen 1977); the borrowing of anthropological ideas, and ethnographic case-studies, as parallels for the interpretation of archaeological material (Pearson 1982; Ucko 1969); and studies of discard, waste disposal and deposition processes in contemporary contexts (Bonnichen 1973; Gould & Schiffer 1981; Rathje 1974). Discontinuous though these projects were they marked an extension of the use of contemporary studies to explore archaeological problems, and were an important feature of the development of theory in Post-processual (Hodder 1985)/Contextual (Hodder 1987a) archaeology⁴⁹.

The central contradiction of Post-processual/Contextual [P/C] archaeology's conception of the nature of material culture, and indeed of its approach to cultural identity: the circularity of the definition of context, and its attachment to the *arche*, was raised in Chapter One. However, the features of this approach can now be usefully re-appraised in terms of the fore-going *archaeological/genealogical* account of the emergence of its features. P/C archaeological theory exists in a complex and somewhat contradictory relation to previous discourses on the past and the identity of archaic peoples. It is possible to read its theoretical eclecticism as an attempt to forestall the difficulties which arise within each of the theoretical/methodological positions it utilised, by reference to the 'advantages' of another position. However, the converse is also possible: that each theoretical borrowing multiplies, rather than reduces the density of the contradictions destabilising its interpretation of the past. This relation to previous archaeologies will be explored through the structure of Hodder's theoretical and methodological statements, as exemplified in the texts *Symbols in Action* (1982) and *Reading the Past* (1986)⁵⁰.

⁴⁹By Contextual/Processual archaeology (hereafter Pp/C) I mean those archaeological approaches which emphasise, the theoretical construction of interpretations of material culture based on structuralist/ semiotic readings of artefacts; the assertion that all material culture is meaningful rather than just functional; the use of the idea of the context dependence of the meaning of artefacts; the eclectic adoption of theoretical elements to aid the interpretation of artefacts; the critique or rejection of the aspiration to scientific (scientistic) status for archaeology; the criticism of solely quantitative or empirical studies, and the critique of processualism. In other terms, it refers to the works of authors and publications centred, particularly though not exclusively, around Cambridge University Archaeology Department, which would include Ian Hodder, Michael Shanks, Chris Tilley, etc. and especially the theoretical books in the *New Directions in Archaeology* series (e.g. Hodder 1983; 1987; 1987 1987b; Miller and Tilley 1984; Spriggs 1984; Pinsky and Wylie 1994 Conkey & Hastorf 1992).

⁵⁰Although *Symbols in Action* is now quite an old text, it does constitute something of a blueprint for the later concerns of contextual archaeology. *Reading the Past* exists in a revised edition (1991).

Hodder's reintroduction of the theorisation of material culture and the concept of cultures within archaeology was an integral part of his critique of New Archaeology's simplistic conceptions of culture and cultural interaction (Hodder 1982: 1-12). Whilst he rehearsed the deficiencies of the concept of culture in the Culture-historical tradition of Childe, Hodder argued that the processual theory of the relationship between artefacts and social action - a kind of ecological/behaviourist cultural physics (White 1949) - and the idea that the stylistic similarity reflected degrees of cultural interaction (e.g. Plog 1976; Wobst 1977), were both inadequate (Hodder *ibid.*). However, Hodder did not reject the scientific (scientistic) rigour of New Archaeology, and his ethnoarchaeological field-work was recorded and analysed through distributional and statistical instruments which were familiar from processual studies. He utilised spatial analysis (a quantitative mapping) which distinguished significant associations between artefact distributions, to match the geographical distribution of artefacts with the location of the ethnic groups (Hodder 1977; 1982). This retention of quantitative methods indicates an uncertainty, more general within archaeology, about the status of the discipline with respect to the physical, and life sciences⁵¹. Although archaeology makes use of materials science (e.g. C14 dating), the epistemological security of this scientific methods does (should) not be seen to change the epistemological status of subsequent interpretations.

Hodder's field-work (1977; 1981; 1982) correlated the use of material culture with the construction of the ethnic identities of the Tugen, Pokot and Njemps of the Baringo region of Kenya. He suggested that artefacts were used actively to represent social life symbolically, rather than reflecting it passively (Hodder 1982; 187-8; 228-9). He argued there was no simple correlation between the group and artefactual distribution, but a complex symbolic representation of it. Although "Regional material culture tribal boundaries in the Baringo district are maintained and re-enacted from day to day in the trivia of pots, trinkets, stools, eating bowls and cooking hearths." (Hodder 1982:84), nevertheless other categories of artefact disrupted these boundaries, or were irrelevant to them. This position seems close to the 'polythetic' (multi-dimensional) definition of culture elaborated by Clarke (1968; 1972)⁵². However, rather than beginning with an account of how the Baringo ethnic groups were constituted, or how they could be theorised, Hodder accepted them as self-evident, linguistically defined groups. Given the increasing emphasis placed on the active construction of ethnicity in specific socio-cultural and historical contexts by recent studies of ethnicity, the absence of a discussion of the nature of ethnic or cultural identity in relation to this field-work, and P/C archaeology more generally (Jones 1997: 13), is more striking than it otherwise might appear⁵³.

⁵¹ Foucault's (1970) distinction between the true (physical, etc.) and dubious (Human) sciences on the grounds of their different levels of epistemological security, is surely applicable here.

⁵² A position also advanced to some degree by Childe (1951) see McNairn (1980: 63-4)

⁵³ This absence is even more notable given the coincidence of interest, in both recent theories of identity as difference and Post-processual archaeology, in the idea of textuality - as a metaphor for cultural objects or as the primary cultural object of enquiry itself (e.g. Bhabha 1994; Singh 1996, and Hodder 1986; 1989; 1995;

The presumption, rather than theorisation, of ethnicity, and of some (even complex) coincidence between artefactual groupings and social groups, rests on the same un-stated basis that problematised Childe's culture-historical interpretations. Contextual (ethno)archaeology presumes that artefacts are (meaningful) markers of belonging to particular social groups, but this conception is little more than an elaborated version of that operative in 19th century culture-history and ethnography (see Chapter Two). The attempt to link objects to groups of people has also already (in Chapter Two) been described in the Renaissance discourses on the past⁵⁴, although that relationship is related through a series of both continuities and discontinuities to its present formulation. For example, the doctrine of signatures (Foucault 1970: 25-30) is no longer the means by which materiality and identity are connected.

Although there is a concern for the revelation of the meanings of symbolic systems in both renaissance encyclopaedic projects (e.g. cabinets, itineraries, cosmographies) and contextual archaeology's assertion that "[material] culture [is] meaningfully constituted in the sense that each material trait is produced in relation to a set of symbolic schemes ... as part of social strategies" (Hodder 1982: 186), nonetheless artefacts and identities are understood in radically different ways in each case. However, Hodder's notion that artefacts can be read as a material text can be subjected to the same critique that Foucault makes of the 19th century human sciences:

".. on the projected surface of language, man's behaviour appears as an attempt to say something; his slightest gestures, even their involuntary mechanisms and their failures, have a *meaning* ; and everything he arranges around him by way of objects, rites, customs, discourse, all the traces he leaves behind him, constitute a coherent whole and a system of signs"

(Foucault 1970: 357)

Thereby contextual archaeology's strategy for reading meaningful material culture - semiotics - is enmeshed in the same problems of the metaphysics of presence as its 19th and 20th century predecessors, which supposedly revealed the transcendental subjectivity in the traces of its voice. Bourdieu⁵⁵ is more specifically critical of structuralism⁵⁶,

Tilley 1990; 1991).

⁵⁴This idea is also reflected in notions of, and laws against 'Sumptuary' (König 1973: 111; Wilson 1985)

⁵⁵Foucault and Bourdieu could no doubt have confronted each other with these charges. To Foucault, Bourdieu would have been guilty of transcendentalising economics - in attempting a neo-Marxist general theory of cultural productions; and to Bourdieu, Foucault's *archaeological* project is exactly the kind of objectivising one he criticises (Bourdieu 1993: 179-80). Nonetheless, both critiques of linguistic approaches are significant.

⁵⁶And other 'highly' objectifying methodological positions like Functionalism and scientific Marxism.

Objectivism constitutes the social world as a spectacle offered to an observer who takes up a 'point of view' on the action and who, putting into the object the principle of his relation to the object, proceeds as if it were intended solely for knowledge and as if all the interactions within it were purely symbolic exchanges. This viewpoint is the one taken from high positions in the social structure, from which the social world is seen as a representation (as the word is used in idealist philosophy ..)

(Bourdieu 1990: 52: or 1977: 96)

Hodder's semiotics of material culture also places the analyst as the detached, and elevated observer, constituting the social world as a spectacle in which abstract rules are played out for his[sic] self-education (Hodder 1986: 101)⁵⁷. Moreover, as noted in Chapter One, 'successful' structuralist/semiotic readings in anthropology (e.g. Levi-Strauss 1962; 1963; 1966) were never solely formal analyses, they required the observation of an entire cultural matrix, and the interpretation of its operation to deduced the rules of the system. Binford (1988: 376) makes a similar criticism of Hodder's 'reading' of past artefacts⁵⁸. Further, the analysis of the stylistic elements of artefacts which constitute a coherent 'linguistic' structure, require that a classificatory scheme is employed to define them. As with the issue of structuring principles, the question of the status of those classifications must be raised. The identification of the stylistic elements which are distinctive to a group might be presented as a form of semiotic 'natural history'- a naming and enumerating of stylistic parts (Hodder 1982: 175-80; Washburn 1983a: 139; 144-7; 150-2), however, there is only a limited continuity with the emergence of classification in the 17th century when classification was a self-sufficient form of analysis⁵⁹. The nature of such schemes was of course radically transformed within the typological studies of the 19th century (see Chapter Two).

The incorporation of Collingwood's (1946) idealist conception of History's recovery of the past, and the adoption of neo-Marxist theories of ideology were intended to ensure that the semiotic readings of the artefacts of the past revealed more than just Hodder's subjective interpretation. They were also important in establishing the proper (discrete) relationship between the past and present contexts - those of the artefact and its social correlate; and the archaeologist and archaeology (Hodder 1982; 1986; 1987; 1987a). However, the incorporation of Collingwood's idealist notion of history to re-animate the role of the

⁵⁷This is the kind of socio-cultural/political position which Marcel Griaule (1943; 1948; see Clifford 1988: 55-91) may have accepted, and indeed exploited, but it seems less in keeping with that of the 'liberal' academic of the 1990s.

⁵⁸The example of the attributes of the 'black car' being far from sufficient to discriminate between the meanings 'hearse' and 'family estate car' is a good illustration of the argument about both the status of structuring principles, and the synecdochic status of archaeological evidence raised in Chapter One. Although Binford's arguments are more rigorously constructed, whilst he has at least as good a grasp of anthropological thought, and ethnographic material, his work is nonetheless susceptible to Hodder's (and Shanks and Tilley's 1987; 1987a) critiques of its scientism.

⁵⁹Refer to note 9 and Chapter One.

individual in the past (Hodder 1982: 11), and as a means 'reaching the past' by being "able to imagine and criticise other subjectivities, the 'inside' of other historical events" (Collingwood 1946: 297), and actively "asking questions" (Hodder 1986: 94) is clearly entrenched within the contradictions of 19th century idealism - the search for the transcendental subjectivity⁶⁰. By raising neo-Marxist conceptions of cultural practice and ideological critiques (e.g. Bourdieu 1977), Hodder and others (e.g. Shanks & Tilley 1982) sought to re-construct both some general principle of social hierarchy in antiquity, and a theory of linking cultural and material domains. The basis of this was Bourdieu's concept of the *habitus* (1977: 72-95; 1990: 52-65)

Systems of durable transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as *principles* which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes *without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends* or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them.[my emphasis]⁶¹.

(Bourdieu 1990: 53)

Notwithstanding the problematically anthropological (over-generalising) stance of Marxism proper (Bourdieu 1991: 112-13), this view of materiality and cultural practice is completely at odds with Collingwood's liberal, individualistic idealism, despite that fact that in these texts they sit alongside each other (see Yengoyan 1985: 333)⁶².

Thus the theory, methodology and practice of P/C archaeology, whilst attempting to transcend previous archaeologies, re-inscribes their founding assumptions - collection, material significance, collective identity, cataloguing, historical interpretation - which have emerged and undergone transformations, disruptions and discontinuities over the last five hundred years or so. This re-inscription happens through distinctive forms, and in the context of a new set of arrangements of power/knowledge: those of Postmodernity.

⁶⁰For example Collingwood's distinction between the event and action, where action is the consequence of the intention of the actor (Collingwood 1939: 127-8), is described as 'a well defined theory of social action' (Hodder 1986: 92).

⁶¹ Thus Hodder seems to confuse the *habitus* - principles which are materialised in practice, for the patterns of the material environment itself, which he would read to re-animate ancient *habitus* (e.g. Hodder 1986 73-4). Nor does Hodder assimilate the epistemological, and methodological shifts that Bourdieu makes, e.g. it is clear that the sociologist/anthropologist's understanding and representation of the *habitus* is as a generative schema (Bourdieu 1977: 96-158) irrevocably imbued with the analyst's relation to that object of enquiry. It is not the *habitus* unveiled. Therefore it is unclear what value the concept of *habitus* holds for the past, since the archaeologist's knowledge of it is limited to the remnants of its material correlates, and his/her relation to it through archaeology - again see Bourdieu (1977: 96). Hodder's model of historical reconstruction is through an idealist historical imagination, yet Bourdieu radically separates the natives awareness of the *habitus* from the enquirers knowledge of the schema.

⁶²Despite his nostalgia for the false security of positivism, Yengoyan's complaints: that contextual archaeology's model of cultural relativity is untenable in a discipline which rests on a number anthropological assumptions, and that its claims to complexity and cultural totalization outstrip those of even Talcott Parsons, are both surely justifiable in the face of these contradictions, confluences and elisions (ibid.: 330-1).

Postmodernity and Postmodernism

P/C archaeology would appear to constitute an instance of Postmodern knowledge (Lyotard 1985), since it makes a number of claims about the cultural-ideological construction (relativism) of knowledge of the past (e.g. Hodder 1986: 90-102; 155; 169-70; Shanks and Hodder 1995: 18-20 Shanks & Tilley 1987: 93-4; 245-6; 1987a: 186-208). Further, P/C archaeology apparently eschews the universalising narratives of legitimation that supported traditional scientific projects (Lyotard 1985: 31-6) in favour of more performative criteria (ibid.: 41-6). This characterisation seems to be substantiated by the references made within these theoretical works to typically 'Postmodern' texts e.g. Barthes (Shanks & Tilley 1987; 1987a; Tilley 1990), Derrida (Bapty & Yates 1991; Tilley 1991; Hodder et al 1995), Foucault (Hodder 1986; Shanks and Tilley 1987; 1987a; Thomas 1993; 1996; Tilley 1990; 1991), Delueze & Guattari (Shanks 1992; Thomas 1996)⁶³. However, the foregoing discussion illustrates that the conceptions of materiality and identity within P/C archaeology retain a more than residual attachment to the tropes and concepts of earlier archaeological theories. Indeed their attachment to the *arche* (discussed in Chapter One) as the guarantee of their (admittedly qualified) truth claims, supports much of the interpretational super-structure of semiotics, neo-Marxism, idealism, etc. It also places this work in a highly ambiguous position epistemologically.

Nevertheless, P/C archaeology is quintessentially of the Postmodern Condition (Lyotard 1985). Although Postmodernity cannot be properly addressed here⁶⁴, there are certain features of Postmodernism which seem evidently present in these archaeological projects - most obviously the related notions of eclecticism and depthlessness⁶⁵. Lyotard's assertion that,

Eclecticism is the degree zero of contemporary general culture: one listens to reggae, watches a western, eats McDonalds food for lunch and local cuisine for dinner, wears Paris perfume in Tokyo and "retro" clothes in Hong Kong; knowledge is a matter for TV games.

⁶³See Yoffee & Sherratt (1993: 5) for an instance of the identification of P/C archaeology with Postmodernism on the grounds of the citation of 'stellar' Postmodern authors.

⁶⁴Not least because the applicability of the terms Postmodernism (the recent trends in theoretical, critical, artistic practice (Foster 1985; Jameson 1991)) and Postmodernity (the cultural, economic, political, social and technological changes characteristic of late or post-industrial capitalist cultures (Connor 1991 Harvey 1989; Lash & Urry 1994)), is subject to continuing disputation.

⁶⁵Other features do identify P/C archaeology as typically of the Postmodern: the resurrection of interest in the individual can be correlated to the rise in the late 1970s and 1980s of neo-liberalism - under Thatcher and Reagan - (see e.g. Hall 1979: 1988; 1988a; Lash & Urry 1987; 1994; Marxism Today Specials October 1988; and Nov./Dec. 1998), and its individualisation of politics, ethics and economy; the interest in contemporary commodities as a scene of ethnoarchaeological interest (e.g. Shanks & Tilley 1987: 172-240), and indeed the assertion that all "material culture is meaningfully constituted" can be seen as an position with affinity to the mantras of Postmodern consumer cultures in which identity is constructed through commodities (e.g. Jameson 1985; Lury 1996 Tomlinson 1990; Wernick 1991).

can be almost directly transposed to the theoretical attitude of recent archaeological theorists. Hodder invokes structuralist semiotics via Washburn, Weissner and Sackett; Marxism through the neo-Marxism of Bourdieu, the historical idealism of R.G. Collingwood, ethnohistory, Feminism, Nativism/Cultural relativism⁶⁶, and Critical Theory. These conflicting positions are assembled with little comment on the contradictions between them, resulting in an eclectic bricolage that approaches pastiche (Jameson 1985: 114). This tendency is only heightened as the theoretical density increases. Shanks and Tilley together (1987; 1987a) and Shanks (1992) and Tilley (1991; 1993) separately⁶⁷, include the Poststructuralism of Derrida, Foucault and Deleuze and Guattari, Gadamer's hermeneutics and others⁶⁸. The other side of this eclecticism is the notion of referential depthlessness which 'haunts' many aspects of contemporary cultural production. Thus Jameson's definition of pastiche as "the imitation of a peculiar or unique style, the wearing of a stylistic mask, speech in a dead language" (1985: 114) seems almost appropriate to these theoretical collages.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter, and indeed the previous one as well, has been to show that the concepts and practices which characterise contemporary archaeology - especially as it relates to the interpretation of identity in the past - are themselves artefacts of the cultures they emerged within. That is to say, that they are determined within the relations of power/knowledge specific to the historical moment of their currency. This implies that there are some continuities between the studies of antiquity in the Renaissance and the present day, but that there are also radical discontinuities, such that the object of enquiry (past cultures) is in each case specific to its cultural-historical juncture. Thus contemporary archaeology both as a theoretical and empirical discipline utilises the collection, classification, and interpretation of objects, and employs historical narratives and particular notions of subjectivity and identity to construct these narratives. The last two chapters have begun to show the specific relations of power/knowledge - the inter, intra and extra-discursive relations - in which these practices and concepts emerged, and in which the specific forms of discourse on past identities arose, were modified, or discontinued. The implication of this account is clear: that description of past cultures are always entirely 'of the present'. The very means by which archaeologists have attempted to claim the ability to transcend presentism (the mere projection of the present onto the past) have been the

⁶⁶For positive accounts of 'indigenist' archaeologies, see for example Layton (1989; 1990), Gathercole & Lowenthal (1990) Clifford 1988, and Kuper (1994) for a critique of 'Nativist' anthropology.

⁶⁷Others could of course be added to this list e.g. John Barrett (1988), Julian Thomas (1991; 1991a: 1993)

⁶⁸Raising the citation stake further, but offering no trace of critical (or better ironic) comment, to justify citing Sartre and Foucault on the same page, in support of the same arguments - see Macey (1994: 193-4: 229-30) for a brief insight into the extent of Sartre and Foucault's theoretical 'alignment'.

concepts and practices which identify those interpretation with the moment they were made within. Thus, the development of Renaissance concerns with genealogy and the doctrine of signatures, Classical scholarship's representation of natural order through classificatory schemes, and the 19th century human sciences' search for the origins and history of Man, place their respective interpretations of antiquity ever more securely in the time of their construction. The consequences of the cultural-historical specificity of interpretation of past identity will be pursued in the following chapters in terms of a 'critical' ethnography of a contemporary ethnic context, and will be addressed again in the last chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

Theoretical, Methodological, Empirical Relation

INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses the relationship between the theoretical position outlined in the first three chapters - the *archaeological/genealogical* review of contemporary archaeological theory and practice - and the methodological position to be adopted in the field-work. It will, also consider the ways in which the results of that field-work are to be interpreted. In particular, it is concerned with the apparent contradictions between the 'effective' account (Foucault 1977b) of the historical and cultural specificity of relations between objects and identity in archaeology, and attempts (including this one) to produce some form of anthropological (that is cross-culturally generalising) statements about those relations. The chapter is premised on three assumptions: i) that contemporary relationships between material culture and identity are the product of the specific histories elaborated above ii) that different cultural traditions have their own historical determinations which shape their specific modes of articulating materiality and identity¹; iii) some level of anthropological generalisation (i.e. cross-temporal, cross-cultural theorisation) is necessary for the interpretation of any specific aspect of a material culture tradition. For Archaeology this necessity is more evident than in other disciplines (although the problem is not qualitatively different in other disciplines), if only because of the particular nature of its objects of enquiry: because of the lack of 'people' to study directly.

The foregoing chapters have outlined a genealogy of the relationship between materiality and identity which offers, I would argue, considerable advantages over traditional approaches to intellectual history. However, taking seriously the inextricability of power/knowledge and the discursive production of 'cultural identities' within academic discourses implies a reformulation of the role of 'field-work', since the conventional distinction and relation between empirical and theoretical domains is no longer tenable.

Since the Antiquarianism of the Renaissance, analogies have been drawn between 'primitive' cultures and the peoples of antiquity² (Kendrick 1950; Piggott 1976). But since archaeology's theoretical coming of age in the late 1960s through the debates engendered by New Archaeology, the issue of the use of analogies has been addressed directly. These

¹Thus the Indian communities of Leicester are presumed to live within distinctive (if related) cultural traditions with distinctive, though inter-related, conceptions of materiality and identity.

²For example John White's 1580s illustrations of Virginian Indians and Ancient Britons and John Aubrey's comparison of Native Americans and Ancient Britons (Powell 1949).

debates have been predominantly oriented around the question of which analogies are appropriate, or how analogies should be formally managed and theorised. Both of these questions imply that archaeologists have other means at their disposal for establishing representations of past cultures which don't involve analogies with contemporary cultures. A more accurate characterisation of archaeological interpretation, and that implicit in the earlier chapters of this thesis, is that analogies are always employed (often under the guise of 'common sense' or self-evidence), but simply not theorised as such. An initial distinction between the kinds of borrowing that archaeological theory has made from ethnography (e.g. Gould 1981: 29-45; Orme 1981: 21-28; Trigger 1989: 334-5) identifies two forms of ethnographic analogy: those directed at the production of generalised laws-characteristic of 'New Archaeology'; and piece-meal, ad-hoc parallels between particular objects, practices and circumstances, characteristic of culture-historical approaches. This chapter will provide a rationale for an alternative role for ethnographic field-work. It will argue that an ethnographic account of a particular set of cultural traditions offers the possibility of constituting a position from which current theory and practice may be criticised. In other words, its goal is not to produce particularist homologues of past behaviour (Trigger 1989: 408), or generalised anthropological schemes of the past (Binford 1977); rather it attempts to juxtapose contemporary conceptions of materiality and identity within the practice of archaeology, against those of an extant community, in order to highlight the cultural specificity of those conceptions.

METHODOLOGICAL ARGUMENTS

'Conventional' Relationships Between Archaeology, and Ethnography

Within the ethnoarchaeology of New Archaeology an attempt was made to delimit strict sets of parameters within which inferences could be drawn about the behaviour of past peoples on the basis of contemporary observation. These parameters restricted the inferences drawn between the past and present to processual issues such as how artefactual traces were deposited in the archaeological matrix, and how they might be subsequently disturbed by natural processes. Thus for example, Binford's *Nunamiut Ethnoarchaeology* (1979) explored the processes of site formation through patterns of waste discard; Bonnichen's "Millies Camp ..." (1973) examined the reliability of archaeological inference based on artefact patterns measured against the known use of a site prior to its abandonment. These and other examples³ constituted a version of ethnoarchaeology (Kramer 1979) which was central to devising so-called 'Middle-Range-Theory' (Binford 1972: 1977). These experiments were later criticised on their own terms for producing only trivial or limited

³E.g. studies of artefact deposition and site formation processes (Yellen 1977); studies of discard, waste disposal and deposition processes in contemporary contexts (Bonnichen 1973; Gould & Schiffer 1981; Rathje 1974).

'middle range statements' (e.g. Hodder 1982a: 5), and more broadly for their reductive theorisation of culture and their 'scientism' (e.g. Shanks and Tilley 1987; 1987a).

Although New Archaeology's ethnoarchaeological experiments initiated a debate about the nature of the role of the ethnographic analogy or parallel, the scope of this debate was limited and the manner in which parallels were established was little changed. It has usually been expected, for example, that archaeology undergraduates will be introduced to a level of anthropological knowledge, which establishes for them a background knowledge of social, political, economic, and cultural types which could serve as models in the interpretation of past societies. This approach is also exemplified by Ucko's survey of the ethnography of burial traditions with reference archaeological concerns (1969) and by Orme's (1981) introductory *Anthropology for Archaeologists*. This use of ethnography as a tool for building generalised models was closely associated with the impact of the neo-evolutionism, ecologism and social-interactionism of 'Anglo-American New Archaeology' (Trigger 1981)⁴. Although the long-standing practice of searching the ethnographic literature for examples to solve specific interpretative problems - the use of piecemeal parallels (Orme 1981: 21) - was more characteristic of culture-historical approaches, it continued despite criticism from New Archaeologists.

In his attack on the assumption of the applicability of the natural science principle of uniformitarianism (the assumption of continuous - uniform - conditions applying at all times and places) to archaeological and anthropological questions, Gould (1980: 29-47) rightly identified in one form, the location of archaeology's epistemological lacuna - the presumption of the *arche*; he then went on to reproduce it in another form. Noting attempts (e.g. Ascher 1961; Binford 1967) to control the use of analogy, Gould argued that whether within his own categorisations of continuous (ethnohistorical), or discontinuous (environmental correspondence) analogies; or circumscribed by the general principles of the 'law and order archaeologists', all analogies were compromised by their presumption of some form of uniformitarianism (1981: 32-39). Thus for example, using analogies based on contemporary ethnographic material limited archaeological interpretations to the parameters of current conditions in pre-industrial cultures (Gould 1982: 32; see also Wobst 1978). For Gould the recognition of this limitation led to the assertion the archaeologists should seek to explain the difference of past through the anomalies it presented in its traces. This formulation appears to address the difference of the past as discussed earlier, but actually depends upon the same notions of the norm, or in other words the analogy, against which the anomaly can appear anomalous. Gould's position raises the issue of the expectations of the archaeologist to the level of theoretical consideration, and further, by framing his argument partly in linguistic terms, e.g. archaeologists searching for "an archaeological signature" (1982: 137-41) Gould seems to attempt to progress beyond

⁴Partly this was because American New Archaeologists like Binford, Flannery and Rathje saw archaeology in the disciplinary context of anthropology (Trigger 1989: 279-337).

mechanistic processual models. However, in the search for a universal (objective) truth of the past, he returns to the laws, economisms and ecologisms of New Archaeology. Thus for example, the 'signature' of Tikatika material culture reveals a particular "risk-minimising mode of hunter-gatherer adaptation" (Gould *ibid.*: 138)

Whilst Post-processual critiques of New Archaeology, and its theorisations of archaeology as a situated cultural practice (dependent on its context of operation), constructed an image of archaeology as a reflexive and discursive practice, nevertheless its conception of the nature and role of archaeological and ethnographic field-work appeared to be little changed. Although archaeology was linked to its metaphorical use by Poststructuralist theorists⁵, and although field archaeology could be described as a discursive practice⁶, for the most part the relationship between excavation or ethnography and ethnoarchaeology and theorisation remained traditionally defined. For example although Hodder argues that material culture should be approached as meaningfully constituted, and that this interpretative strategy will be framed by the archaeologist's contemporary context (Hodder 1986:154-64), no considerations of his own cultural location disturb the accounts of his ethnoarchaeological field-work (Hodder 1977; 1982; 1987)⁷. Similarly, Shanks and Tilley's examination of contemporary beer can design (1987: 172-240) appears, to be to them at least, protected from the effects of the authors' cultural and historical specificity by their ideological (Late-Marxist) position.

In both of these cases the ethnoarchaeological investigation of contemporary cultures offers up a context which, because it is living, allows the observation of the full range of socio-cultural life. The implicit assumption is that the archaeological reading of these complete cultural context can inform and improve archaeologists' interpretative strategies and thus improve the reading and reconstruction of the partial contexts of the past. The presumption of uniformitarianism in each of these instances is different from, but just as clear, as those criticised by Gould (1981). Hodder's (1983; 1986) is supported by semiotics and an idealist theory of universal intelligibility, and Shanks and Tilley's by reading all contexts through similar semiotic means and interpreting each as an ideological reflection of inter-group conflict.

The Problem Of "Ungrounded" Theory

Accepting the discursive production of the cultures of the past as an artefact of particular academic locations within European culture, which is the clear implication of the foregoing genealogy of materiality and identity (Chapter 3), suggests that the notion of the objective

⁵E.g. Foucault (1970;1972) and Derrida (1987) (see Shanks and Tilley 1987a; Tilley 1990), see also the discussion of the incorporation of 'Post-' theoretical positions in the previous Chapter.

⁶(*ibid.*).

⁷For instance, no mention is made of the way in which the particular concerns of this ethnoarchaeological project shaped the representation of ethnicity in Baringo.

representation or account of an ontologically distinct cultural existence, recovered by an objective, or even neutral, observational strategy, is untenable. Archaeology, like other human science disciplines, cannot claim to occupy a privileged and scientifically detached position from which to observe the world, secured by rationality and method. That rationality and those methods are now seen as thoroughly enmeshed in the wider culture which supports the academic locations operating with them. Thus, not just the interpretations but also the methods and logics of cultural investigation are subject to historical transformation. Although some sense of the accumulation of knowledge in the fields of the Human Sciences can be retained, this can no longer be construed as a continuing, gradual, objective improvement of understanding (c.f. Trigger 1989: 404).

In turn, this implies that the traditional construction of role of empirical investigation in general, and specifically field survey, cannot be sustained. Ethnographic field-work has usually adopted either a positivist or naturalist stance (Hammersley & Atkinson 1989: 6-9; 174-6; Layder 1993: 16; 19-50; 54; Spradley 1979), and in its exemplary form, the extended field encounter published in an ethnographic monograph, it institutionalised the belief in the ability of an impartial observer to record and represent the socio-cultural life of a distinct *ethne* or people. This construction of the notion of ethnography has a correlate in the archaeological use of discrete parallels and analogies between contemporary material culture and societies of the past. This relation takes on several forms; such as the idea that cultures in the past were distinctive coherent entities equivalent to those discovered by contemporary ethnography (found for example in Childe's borrowings from ethnography 1953; 1942; 1946; 1950; 1952); it is also evident in the view that archaeology is ethnography by other means⁸, recovering past peoples equivalent to those 'found' by anthropologists (e.g. Hodder 1986: 171-178; Trigger 1989: 371). However, this construction of field-work presumes an appropriate separation - either the lapse of time or cultural and spatial distance - between the 'other' and the observer. However, this distance must be recognised as a figure produced by the discursive and practical strategies defined within archaeology or anthropology, which are themselves understood as contemporary European cultural domains. Fabian (1983) explores this point in the use of the tropes and narrative devices which represent (conjure up) through notions of time expressed as tense, the relationship between the ethnographer and the subject. Archaeology also produces the 'effect' of the past through discourse.

This does not deny the difference of those other cultures, but it requires the anthropologist, ethnographer and archaeologist to conceptualise their practice as the discursive re-production of an interpretation or model of one culture from the point of view of another, a construction which is inherently problematised by the asymmetry of that relation. The representation or model of that 'other' culture will inevitably be an artefact of the academic

⁸See Binford (1988: 396-7) for one critique of this view.

cultural domain, but one shaped around the encounter with the traces of that 'other' culture. Thus the cultural context of the investigator and the context being reconstructed, as the putative object of anthropological or archaeological research, will both be 'present' (sic) in the text. Indeed they are the same. This conception of field-work and its representation in discourse is one which has been addressed within certain anthropological debates, and whilst it is important to recognise the differences between the ethnographic-anthropological relationship, and the excavation-archaeological one, these anthropological debates are instructive.

CRITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY/REFLEXIVE ETHNOGRAPHY

Post-Ethnographic Field-Work

Unlike modern archaeology, which has almost exclusively adopted objectivist perspectives in its socio-cultural theorising (e.g. functionalism, systems theory, structuralism), anthropology has developed phenomenological and subjectivist strands out of its direct ethnographic encounters with people of other cultures (Marcus & Fischer 1986: 30). Partly as a consequence of this, reflexivity in interpretation and critical reflection on the practices and discourses of the discipline are more developed in anthropology; which can therefore offer a useful model for the issues facing archaeology. Anthropology has from at least the 1960s, been engaged in critical reflection on the cultural status of its own methods, concepts and practices. Although such reflection can be traced to earlier modes of anthropological theorising (See Marcus and Fischer 1986: 12; 14), 'critical' anthropology and ethnography emerged to its current status out of the political, cultural and intellectual crises of the late 1960s.

In an effort to overcome the limitations of Parsonian systems theory Clifford Geertz approached the cultures of others as meaningful symbolic wholes - texts to be interpreted (1973; 1973a). Geertz's interpretative strategy construed the ethnographic encounter as a dialogue in which the participants negotiated and translated meanings between concepts which to each were respectively "experience near" and "experience far". As Marcus and Fischer suggest (1986: 180 n.6) Geertz's epistemological critique of the supposedly objective classifications of *emic* (local, culturally specific) and *etic* (universal, scientific) concepts introduced by cognitive anthropology, is implicit in the use of the terms "experience near" and "experience far". Whilst myths like the Tsimshian "Story of Asdiwal" display *emic* conceptions such as heroic ancestors, the anthropological, '*etic*', abstraction of the myth, as a series of structural oppositions (Levi-Strauss 1966; 1983), is in fact a deployment of the *emic*, or better "experience near", concepts of the anthropologist, which are actually no less culturally specific than those of the ethnographic informant.

The challenge facing critical anthropology and ethnography thus comes to be two-fold (at least): it attempts to be sensitive to the different lifeways under investigation, and also to acknowledge its own operation as an embedded cultural practice. Indeed the process of ethnography and anthropological theorisation comes to be about the mutual interaction between cultural contexts (Clifford 1988: 1-17). This position is closely parallel to that facing both archaeological interpreters of past cultures from their material traces, and the ethnoarchaeological interpretation of material culture. In anthropology these challenges have been faced in a diversity of ways: 'political' critiques of anthropology's complicity with colonialism (e.g. Asad 1973; Diamond 1974; Thomas 1994; Wolf 1982); overt methodological critiques and challenges (e.g. Bourdieu 1977; Rosaldo 1974; 1980; Stocking 1983; and examinations of the discursive strategies which characterise anthropological texts (Boon 1982; Clifford 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Fabian 1983; Marcus and Fischer 1986). In their different ways these critical texts each offer insight into how empirical ethnography is (re-)produced through writing, addressing how interpretations are constructed and represented and how field-work can be re-conceptualised as an inherently theorised, reflexive and critical process. These discussions of critical ethnography indicate the directions in which ethnoarchaeological field-work can be constructed in order to address the impasse outlined in the earlier parts of this thesis.

As indicated above, some archaeologists have begun to attend to the manner in which their interpretations of the past are produced through specific forms and strategies of writing (e.g. Hodder 1995; Tilley 1990; 1993). Yet these critiques have not been extended to manner in which field-work is conducted, or into a 'critical Ethnoarchaeology' which could re-articulate archaeology's epistemology and cultural location. Marcus and Fischer have suggested (1986: 137-41) that anthropology as cultural critique can be advanced through the parallel strategies of "Defamiliarisation by epistemological critique", and "Defamiliarization by cross-cultural juxtaposition".

In the case of defamiliarisation by epistemological critique (ibid. 141-57) the ethnographic encounter forms the basis of a re-appraisal of the grounds upon which anthropological knowledge is constructed. For example Sahlins' anthropological critique of the 'Pensée Bourgeoise: Western Society as Culture' (1976), utilised his awareness of the cultural relativity⁹ of the supposed universal bases of western capitalism to establish a critique of the epistemological position of current analyses of consumption¹⁰. Sahlins' epistemological critique demonstrates "how our ordinary views of what is natural are in fact structured by an "arbitrary" cultural logic" (Marcus & Fischer 1986: 144). Yet this position is inadequate because its political/historical determinations are unexamined (ibid.). Defamiliarization by cross-cultural juxtaposition entails establishing detailed ethnographic accounts of more than

⁹A relativity he could establish in comparison to the 'economies' of other cultures (e.g. Sahlins 1974)

¹⁰See also Douglas & Isherwood (1978) for a similar if less radical approach.

one cultural context against each other. Marcus and Fischer cite the example of Mauss' essay *The Gift* (1967), which describes and contrasts a number of exchange systems although it does not describe the European context - a flaw from their perspective. More successful was the collection *Celebrations of Death* (Huntingdon & Metcalf 1979) which offers ethnographies of several traditions of mortuary practice including American ones. This latter is criticised though for its reliance on secondary sources¹¹, but also because the American material is only "appended as a provocation ... [its] critical function an afterthought" (Marcus & Fischer 1986: 157-8).

Constituting an ethnography of a group's use of material culture in the reproduction of identity in these terms of the defamiliarisation by epistemological critique and cross-cultural juxtaposition would have the advantage of defamiliarizing the assumptions about materiality and identity which archaeologists normally (unwittingly) take to their interpretations of artefacts. Further, this stance with respect to ethnographic field-work, constitutes a close parallel to the 'historical' description in the previous chapters, in that its goal was also to challenge the epistemological security of current archaeological assumptions about materiality and identity, and to acknowledge the difference of other (historical) accounts of that relationship. Finally, a critical ethnography will destabilize the assumption that the first goal of ethnoarchaeological findings is the interpretation of specific artefacts of the past, or the elaboration of past cultural contexts, through analogy. However, Marcus and Fischer's position is couched in theory and supported by reference to the anthropological literature, and other 'critical ethnographies' exist which offer more detailed accounts of their empirical grounding and therefore constitute useful precedents.

Objectified Objectivity, Qualified Anthropological Theorisation

Although constructed through a different set of terminologies, one of the most concerted and developed anthropological projects, which attempts to address the relation between field-work and theorisation critically and reflexively, is that of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu's works, especially his ethnographic studies of the Kabyle of Algeria, and the development of the concept of *habitus* (1977), have already had some impact on archaeological theory (Hodder 1986; Shanks and Tilley 1982; Thomas 1993). Hodder (1986) sees the concept of *habitus* "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations" (Bourdieu 1990: 53), as useful for archaeology in that it provides a potential link between the past action which is invisible to the archaeologist, and the structures or objective conditions, including material culture, out of which a distinctive *habitus* arises.

¹¹ Perhaps a surprising valorisation of experience in text over 'secondary' (re-textualised text), given the 'literary' stance of the writers.

However, this utilisation of the concept of *habitus* is problematic in that the specificities of the archaeological and anthropological scenarios have been over-looked. In asserting that, "the archaeologist can 'read' the surviving 'book'[material traces of the structures of the past], without necessary reference to abstract or spoken meanings" (1986: 73) Hodder reduces the concept of *habitus* to a kind of cultural route-map, and is guilty of exactly the kind of objectivising that Bourdieu has criticised structuralist anthropologists for¹² (Bourdieu 1977: 96). By construing *habitus* as a means of preserving a pseudo-Structuralist interpretative method, and marxian social theory, Hodder (1986: 74) fails to acknowledge the reflexivity of the 'theory of practice' and eschews the radical implications of Bourdieu's epistemological critique. One of Bourdieu's key moves in attempting to overcome the subject-object dualism which has under-pinned most European intellectual projects, and the kind of objectivising positions, characteristic of Structuralism and Marxism, is to observe anthropology as a cultural practice. Thus he argues that,

Social science must not only, as objectivism would have it, break with native experience and the native representation of that experience, but also, by a second break, call into question the presuppositions inherent in the position of the observer..

(Bourdieu 1990: 27)

This goes to the heart of Bourdieu's epistemology, to his project of objectivising objectivism, wherein he attempts to address both the practical logics which shape and generate the practices of 'exotic' cultures, but simultaneously uses that observational material to illuminate the logics which shape the observer's ethnographic project. This is necessary in order that the true nature of the anthropological account can be understood: in its distance from lived experience, native accounts, or 'pure truth'; and as a particular academic construction of a social world. From this position neither the objectifying strategies of e.g. structuralism nor the subjectivism of participant observational field-work are adequately theoretically grounded.

For Bourdieu, ethnographic field-work is a necessarily problematised arena in which practical, theoretical and epistemological domains are all immanent. Commenting, for example, on the cardinal place of the body in the practices of other belief systems he argues,

One cannot really live the belief associated with profoundly different conditions of existence, that is, with other games and other stakes, still less give others the means of reliving it by the sheer power of discourse.... Those who want to believe with the beliefs of others grasp neither the objective truth nor the subjective experience of

¹²See Chapter Three.

belief. They cannot exploit their exclusion in order to construct the field in which belief is constituted and which membership makes it impossible to objectify; nor can they use their membership of other fields, such as the field of science, to objectify the games in which their own beliefs and investments are generated, ..

(Bourdieu 1990: 68)

The observer's beliefs and investments, as the accompanying note (ibid.: 292; n2) makes clear, are those associated with academic anthropology: 'prefaces, references, footnotes, influences, etc.'. Thus the field encounter, conceived of as "participant objectivation" (Bourdieu 1988; Jenkins 1992: 47-52; Bourdieu/Wacquant 1989), requires the anthropologist to overturn their 'natural' relation to the object of study, and by "making the mundane exotic and the exotic mundane" (Bourdieu 1989: 33) enable the full objectification of the object of study and that of the observers relation to the object. Clearly, this bears close comparison with Marcus and Fischer's project of (1986: 137-41) 'Defamiliarisation by epistemological critique' and 'Defamiliarization by cross-cultural juxtaposition'.

The argument then is that the value of this ethnoarchaeological research to archaeological theorising lies in its ability to open up a domain of critical reflection similar to one that Bourdieu implies should lie at the heart of anthropology.

Anthropologists would be able to escape from all their metaphysical questioning about the ontological status or even the 'site' of culture if only they were to objectify their relation to the object, that of the outsider who has to procure a substitute for practical mastery in the form of an objectified model.

(Bourdieu 1990: 34)

Indeed archaeology can be seen as the most 'anthropological' of disciplines in that the 'lives' of the peoples who are its objects only exist as objectifications and even the radical and profound separation between the people of the past and the archaeologist both as cultural and temporal displacement, have to be objectified in theoretical/discursive form. The relation of the observer to the object of study is not that of an enquirer to an alternative subjectivity, culture, or distinctive habitus, but to the material traces of the cultures in which a *habitus* must have existed. The necessity for archaeological theory to establish the objective limits of its objectivisms (Bourdieu 1977: 1-71), is therefore most pressing. Although the differences between the archaeological and anthropological constructions of these issues must be acknowledged, an ethnoarchaeological examination of the practices of ethnic identification through material culture can usefully illuminate archaeological theories of identity and material culture if it is conducted within a critical stance similar to that outlined above.

THE ROLE OF FIELD-WORK: THE INTER-RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE 'THEORETICAL' AND 'EMPIRICAL' INVESTIGATION OF MATERIALITY AND IDENTITY.

The Choice Of Case-Study

A number of assumptions about the kinds of socio-cultural contexts which might be useful in ethnoarchaeological field-studies have commonly been adopted. Often, the choice of environments and cultures has been made on the basis of their supposed broad similarity to those extant in the eras of the past to which the research is ultimately directed (Orme 1982). Thus, a broad parallel is often drawn between the cultural and environmental contexts of Palaeolithic Europe and recent and contemporary North America and Canada (see e.g. Bailey 1983; Gamble 1986; Pfeiffer 1986). At a more general level the assumption is commonly made that the most useful ethnographic field-work will obviously be carried out in "simple", "small scale" or "pre-industrial" cultures¹³. Clearly, this approach is a function of the primary constitution of ethnoarchaeology's role around a search for parallels to past artefacts and behaviours/actions, and the presumption of uniformitarianism that (Gould 1982: 32-4) rightly criticised.

Contrary to such assumptions, the field-work in this thesis is not directed at the use of analogy in the interpretation of any specific body of archaeological evidence. Instead it is intended as a construct that will enable the critique of the theorisation of the relation between ethnic and cultural identity and material culture. Primarily then this field survey was intended to enable the kinds of epistemological critique and cross-cultural juxtaposition outlined by Marcus and Fischer (1993). In the light of this theoretical position, the investigation of the roles of material culture in the processes of ethnic/cultural identification in the Indian communities of a contemporary British city (Leicester) offers the 'advantage' that it is not easily assimilated to the role of sustaining analogies with ancient cultures or their artefacts. No claim will be made here that there is any particular individual, or series of, parallels available between the past and the contemporary ethnic circumstances in Leicester. What the field-work will be attempting to highlight is the difference between European (specifically British) and 'other' (Indian/Anglo-Asian) conceptions of materiality and identity.

A contemporary ethnic context like that of the Indian communities of Leicester is particularly useful in this regard because it is resistive to the 'primitivising' tendency of

¹³ This could be adduced to the survival of a 19th century attitude which equated geographical and cultural distance from European standards with cultural antiquity; so-called 'primitive races' were seen (as discussed above) as remnants of earlier evolutionary stages, and therefore equivalent to ancient Europeans.

much ethnography and ethnoarchaeology¹⁴. That is, it is difficult to construe such cultural contexts as timeless, stable, archaic and superstitious, etc. It is almost impossible to conceive of searching for a mythical 'ethnographic present' in which the 'other' cultural tradition was 'intact'; even if for no other reason than that such primitivising is politically resisted from within the Indian communities themselves. This resilience to 'primitivisation' is further substantiated by the shared history and political inter-relationships of the 'host' and 'ethnic' communities¹⁵. Rather, because those within the context are themselves negotiating their identification with respect to competing sets of cultural values (simply 'Indian' and 'European'), a whole panoply of cross-cultural juxtapositions are thrown into heightened relief in the daily lives of those within the communities, and beyond them.

A Methodological Position for the Field-work

The 'New Ethnography', defined around the work of writers like Clifford (1988), Clifford & Marcus (1986), Marcus & Fischer (1986), and Rabinow (1977), emphasised the interpretive and reflexive qualities of field-work, and the critique of the writerly construction of ethnographic texts. Its emergence coincided with the high-point of influence of the 'Postmodern' writing that was a key aspect of its theoretical composition (Barthes, Derrida, Foucault, Jameson, Said¹⁶). However, the 'Postmodernist turn in anthropology' (Mascia-Lees, *et.al.* 1989) was controversial in similar ways to comparable shifts in other arenas¹⁷. Although not all critiques reduced 'New Ethnography' to quite such a crude caricature as Reyna (1994), who described interpretive ['literary'] anthropologists as Panglosses who specialise "in intellectually pretentious nonsense, ethnographers who are merely gossips (Geertz), and nihilists¹⁸ whose rejection of science leaves them unable to know anything".

However, others offering more balanced critical appraisals, recognised some of the methodological difficulties raised by this kind of anthropological position. Thus Mascia-Lees, Sharpe & Cohen (1989: 29-33), question the New Ethnography from a feminist stand-point, and argue that the largely intradiscursive critiques of Clifford *et.al.* offer little direction for either future engagements in field-work, or in terms of the empowerment of

¹⁴See comments on Spivak Chapter Three n.27

¹⁵As Mercer's work (1994: 69-96; 171-220) for example, highlights there is no immunity from primitivism in its various forms.

¹⁶See for example the bibliographies of Clifford 1988 and Clifford and Marcus 1986

¹⁷For discussions of Postmodernism's 'impact' see Connor (1991), Earnshaw (1994), and for examples of hostile responses Callinicos (1989), and Norris (1990). For assessments of the New Ethnography see e.g. Roth (1989), Sangren (1988), Spencer (1989), Strathern (1987), Ulin (1991).

¹⁸Since, Nihilism is 'the doctrine that nothing, or nothing of a specific and very general class exists, or is knowable' (Runes 1942: 210). Literary anthropologists' demands for the repudiation of science, and for its replacement with a thick description innocent of validation, means that they hold a doctrine that allows them to know next to nothing. As a result, theirs is a *de facto* nihilism.

the subjects of ethnography - an issue Clifford for example clearly seeks to raise (1988: 277-346)¹⁹. This in turn raises the broader issue of 'New Ethnography'/ Critical Anthropology's pronounced agnosticism with respect to field method. Although there is a general emphasis within all the 'key' texts (Clifford 1988 etc.,...), for interpretive, dialogic, reflexive approaches little more specificity than this is offered²⁰. This can be read partly as the consequence of avoiding the privileging of one or other methodological stance as offering the possibility of a 'truer' method. But nonetheless, some position, even if pragmatically, rather than objectively, authorised is necessary.

The problems of either the naive naturalism of early ethnographic accounts which claimed to neutrally describe 'others' (e.g. Mead 1973) and paid little attention to the place and role of the ethnographer in the ethnographic dialogue are by now well understood (Hammersley & Atkinson 1989: 9-23). Equally the inherent problems in the claim that ethnographic validity emerges out of 'total cultural immersion' (Jules-Rosette 1978), a claim which under-wrote many ethnographic projects until the late 1970s²¹, have been forcefully addressed (Bourdieu 1990: 38; 68; Hammersley & Atkinson 1983: 93-7). Hammersley & Atkinson rightly point out that participation and observation are usually neither optional nor total. Rather, every ethnographer participates in the 'event' to some degree and also observes it differentially. The issue is over the circumstances in which different levels of engagement occur (ibid. 93).

Hammersley and Atkinson's answer to the problems of positivism²², and naturalism is termed reflexivity (ibid. 14) a process in which the ethnographer constantly 'reflects' on both the nature of the social behaviour being observed, and their own theorisations measuring and testing them pragmatically. This position is linked (ibid.: 18-19), to 'grounded theorising' Glazer & Strauss (1967), 'analytic induction' Denzin (1978) and 'the strategy model' (Schatzman & Strauss 1973). Layder (1993: 38-70) develops Glazer & Strauss's notion of grounded theory (1967) in which the ethnographer utilises qualitative methods (interviews, conversation, close observation, diaries etc.) in order to generate both a descriptive account of the ethnographic context, but also to develop a series of theorisations of the context. Layder argues, following Hammersley (1990)²³, that these descriptions themselves are not merely empirical but are intrinsically theoretical themselves. This construction of field-work accounts as inherently reflexive, theorised descriptions amounts to a form of realism, a position which attempts to recover some of the theoretical and methodological advantages of positivism's search for actions with causes²⁴, whilst

¹⁹A similar point is raised by Strathern (1987; 1987a).

²⁰There is little methodological continuity between the works cited by Marcus and Fischer (1986: 137-64).

²¹See Chanson (1983: 9-41) and Turnbull (1984: 13-28), who give highly illuminating accounts of the challenges and limits of this mode of field-work.

²²The quantitatively based measurement of social phenomena using specially created test conditions (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983: 3-9).

²³Though with criticism of his residual attachment to positivism (Layder 1993: 30-2).

²⁴The claim to some formal truth status, and the ability to generalise.

acknowledging the constructedness of social research through meaning in the ethnographic mode (Layder 1990; 1993: 54).

A fuller description of realism is made by Hughes (1990: 83-5)²⁵, who follows Quine's critique of the 'two dogmas of empiricism'²⁶, and the empiricist -positivist sciences that are founded on them, which seek a universal ontological ground to confirm all truth. Quine (1969) argued that ontology is neither to be located in nature, nor transcendently secured by philosophy, a postulate developed in Hacking's (1983) notion that science produces a series of local ontologies which it explores experimentally in the world and Putnam's (1978) assertion that realism is internal to theories, this reality is then measured experimentally against how the world is really organised. This leads Hughes (1990: 89-110) to reconceive social research in an interpretivist mode wherein the goal is to describe social actions, their correspondence to rules and their meaningfulness within specific backgrounds. The researcher's description of events corresponds to the informants through the descriptive property of 'indexicality' (Garfinkle 1967). This interpretivist approach is further specified (ibid. 115-44) as a dialogic form by characterising it through an adaptation of five formulations from Austin's (1961) theory of language as performance in the world: i) reality is only approachable through language, ii) social reality is constructed through language, iii) language and meaning are inter-subjective, iv) meanings are derived with reference to a shared background, v) disputations over meaning are normal to language. This intersubjectivist ontology leads Hughes through the phenomenological (Hughes 1990: 136-42) and ethnomethodological (ibid.: 143-4) constructions of the field-work encounter to the view that the correspondence between social action and its description as a "fidelity to the phenomenon" (Hughes 1990: 144).

However, this is not the only construction of linguistic, or discursive, interaction which is possible from the starting point of the same critiques of positivism²⁷, for example language has been approached through Structuralist analyses as an object of study which constructs meaning and identity through formal principles or rules. More recently Post-structuralism (e.g. Derrida 1974; 1978, Foucault 1970; 1972; 1979) has extended the critique of the construction of meaning in language to the basic conceptual terms and identities which support it. Most significantly both demonstrate the construction of subjectivity through language (writing or discourse) - the very ontological basis which is presumed by interpretivist approaches. Bourdieu too criticises the subjectivism of phenomenological and ethnomethodological approaches (1977: 3-5), in that they attempt to recover through dialogue that which is hidden from the informant's account, which is also what makes the account possible: the background which confers intelligibility to it. The treatment of "officialised versions" is one key instance of this problem (1977: 38-43; 1990: 108-10)²⁸.

²⁵ A similar account is offered by Layder (1990).

²⁶ The belief in absolute transcendental - *a priori* - truths; and the empirically confirmed, experiential - *a posteriori* - truths,

²⁷ Bourdieu's epistemological critiques also cite Quine.

²⁸ Wherein the anthropologist must interrogate both the official version of events as it is presented, and

Thus it seems that the interpretivist approach over-extends a descriptive account of the moment of ethnographic dialogue, which depends on the acceptance of that moment's background to enable dialogue to continue. This acceptance is asserted as an ontological ground for the validity of the whole ethnographic project, not just the dialogue. What seems preferable (and the stance that will be adopted in this field-work) is the pragmatic/strategic acceptance as an initial moment, of the context which makes the informant's account, and the dialogue with the researcher possible. A different set of stances to that background of intelligibility will be adopted in other modes of enquiry, and with respect to the objectification into theory of the accounts obtained.

The Interpretation Of Ethnoarchaeological Field-Work

As has been argued above, the subject of ethnography is not available in a simple form through ethnographic discourse. The nature of the representation of past cultures through archaeological texts is similar in many respects, but exists in a more complicated form of objectification. Bourdieu's accounts²⁹ have been criticised, with some limited justification, on the grounds that his position retains elements of the determinism of both structuralism and functionalism (e.g. Jenkins 1992: 57; Calhoun, LiPuma & Postone 1993). Whilst Bourdieu's more methodologically dense statements (e.g. 1977: 159-97; 1984: 169-225; 464-84) may appear to be inadequately sensitive to the specificity and strategy of the individuals encountered ethnographically - they may be overly objectifying; Bourdieu does quite clearly distinguish his project from structuralism on precisely these grounds: that people act strategically with 'the rules' in mind, not slavishly 'acting out' predefined moves (Bourdieu 1977: 22-38).

The problem in an archaeological framework is of a different kind, since the social context of the past only exists as a 'fiction' (Foucault 1979b), or an objectification, similar in some respects to Bourdieu's 'synoptic diagram'. Thus the archaeologist cannot measure the abstract model of society produced within their account against the material/social conditions of a living culture, but only against other similar abstractions. The Celts for example (see Megaw & Megaw 1989), are not potential subjects of ethnography who have unfortunately slipped beyond the horizon of the 'ethnographic present', the Celts only 'exist' as a theoretical object. The question of ethnographic parallels is thus something of a moot point. Ethnoarchaeological inferences may be useful in the constitution of theoretical objectifications - synoptic models - of past cultures, but the concept of analogy implies a commensurability between the past and present 'contexts' which does not exist³⁰.

those versions as a grounding for all 'local' accounts and dialogues, and simultaneously investigate the limits of such accounts as partial, strategic representations.

²⁹These accounts are, it is worth acknowledging, simultaneously ethnographic and anthropological, empirical and critical.

³⁰There are no Iron-age cultures to make an analogy with, there are only images of them.

Archaeology is necessarily 'anthropological'³¹ in that it must inevitably build theoretical objectifications of past cultures, through its interpretation of their material traces. But archaeological excavation is not the equivalent of ethnography, a closer analogy would be to the recovery of lost historical documents from the archive. In this respect archaeology is like history: it is essentially interpretative. However, it has only very limited kinds of 'texts' available to it. Often these texts are very partial - incomplete and skewed - a problem common enough for historians. However, the traces of these artefactual texts are always in a 'foreign language'- and require translation³².

Post-Ethnoarchaeology - Beyond Analogy

Contrary then to the common-place assumption of contemporary archaeological interpretations ('theorists' e.g. Hodder 1986; 1987; 1987a , and empiricists, e.g. Gaffney & Gaffney 1987; Pryor 1987), both in excavation reports and in works of synthesis, the primary context for the archaeological artefact is that of academic/professional archaeology- excavation, curation, theoretical synthesis, etc.. This assertion accepts the idea that archaeological interpretations are abstractions based upon the reading of material culture, and which are informed by abstractions of other contemporary cultural contexts - the archaeologists own culture, and 'other' cultures. It should be noted here that the existing archaeological literature must also be treated as a contemporary artefact which constitutes part of the architecture of the archaeologist's professional "rites and beliefs" (Bourdieu 1990: 292), rather than being seen in any simple sense a description of the past. The archaeologist's position with relation to these different discourses must be objectified to as great a degree as possible³³.

Therefore the results of this ethnoarchaeological field-work can have broadly two areas of application; first in the cross-cultural juxtaposition of one set of models of cultural identity and materiality (those derived ethnoarchaeologically from the Indian Communities) with another (the models current within P/C archaeological interpretation): through the relativising of the archaeologists' 'professional' cultural concepts and practices³⁴. Secondly, the account of these 'other' cultural identities will be valuable in the on-going

³¹Not in the restricted positivistic sense that Binford (1962) suggests: that it should search for the prehistoric predecessors of contemporary laws governing human relationships with their environment and their adaptive strategies.

³²It is tempting to add, following (Bourdieu 1977: 114-23; 1990: 66-79), that the artefacts of the past were often not intended for 'intelligibility' - that they never 'made sense' symbolically or otherwise, but rather, would have been lived through practically. This may well have been so, but to presume this systematically of past cultures would be to claim to be able to anthropologise the *habitus* itself, as criticised above.

³³This of course is an endless project - not least because the archaeologist's relation to the object is constantly changing.

³⁴There is no substantively definable boundary between the professional and the everyday contexts, but this distinction can be pragmatically established as Foucault (1972: 114-20) does on the grounds of the 'seriousness' of the discourses and practices that characterise the professional context. Thus 'professional' is taken to be shorthand for the domain of serious statements and practices.

epistemological critique of archaeological practice. Both therefore are in fact directed at the modification of the archaeologist's *habitus* ; that is they reshape his/her disposition towards the material traces before them, within the professional academic/context.

Critical Case-Study And Multiple Narratives

In this empirical context some of Bourdieu's scepticism with respect to participant observation (1990: 34; 68), and particularly towards native accounts - so-called 'official versions' (1977: 16-22), should undoubtedly be retained. However, Jenkins (1992: 55) is surely right to point out that the models of 'ethnographer-native' interaction which Bourdieu presumes (a strong version of participant observation) are by now out-dated. This field-survey, like many other ethnographic (if not ethnoarchaeological) projects (see Clifford and Marcus 1986) will be undertaken through a variety of strategies including the use of questionnaires, direct observation, interviews and documentary research. The multiplicity of voices represented from within each of these modes of data collection, and the triangulation (Hammersley 1989: 198-200) between different kinds of source will help constitute a more effectively sensitive ethnoarchaeology.

Furthermore, the relation between the ethnographer and 'native'- defined as being of different cultures - is clearly an inadequate conceptualisation of the situation of this field-work. It could be argued (as it has been e.g. Clifford 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986) that this is radically - systematically - the case in any ethnographic encounter, but is certainly so in the case of the Indian communities of Leicester, which comprise people of both a diversity of professional and socio-economic statuses, and people actively negotiating their cultural and ethnic identities and locations between those defined by the 'host' (ethnographer's) and 'in-coming' (natives) culture. Certainly the issue of this ethnographer's distance from the cultural context being studied does not disappear; yet the nature of that marginality will be complex.

In such a context, characterised by a multiplicity of accounts and representations of identity, the judgement of the relative value and status of each must inevitably be addressed in its interpretation. In this case it is clear that these judgements will be shaped by the specific focus and concerns of the project, by the archaeological context towards which it is directed, and the multiple determinations which act on the ethnoarchaeologist and subject (individually and in their relationship). These factors are necessarily addressed pragmatically in the pursuit of the field-work, and theorised/objectified to some extent in the production of the field report³⁵. Ultimately this relation is objectified in the fact that the field-work account is treated strictly as a representation, a model , an abstraction, devised

³⁵In fact this form of objectification must inevitably be provisional because it exists in a parallel form to the question of contextualising the position of the critique raised in Chapter Three.

within the frameworks of the discipline. Therefore, the use of multiple forms and sources of information is still a requirement of an adequate ethnoarchaeological account³⁶. During the process of "triangulation" (Hammersley & Atkinson 1989: 198-200) - however comprehensively sources are triangulated - and in the subsequent processes of interpretation, the initial object of study becomes further objectified, it becomes an ethnographic representation³⁷ - an ethnoarchaeological-discursive truth.

Conclusion

Thus the field-work described below, specifically aims to provide an account of distinctive cultural traditions which operate with particular modes of ethnic and cultural identification, and which each utilise material culture within these identifications. This account will of necessity, address the complexity of the processes of identification through materiality, in that it will be sensitive to the notions of plurality or multi-valency with respect to identity. Further it will acknowledge 'other' (Non-European) modes of articulating material culture within cultural wholes. It will thereby constitute a critique through cross-cultural 'defamiliarization' of the prevailing constructions of identity which are operative in archaeology, and enable a further process of epistemological critique.

The examination of the situation of the Indian communities of Leicester will provide a useful instance through which the processes of identification in circumstances of cultural interaction can be theorised. Too often archaeology has utilised essentialist conceptions of identity, which presume notions of autonomy, stability and wholeness; from this perspective cultural interaction and change are construed as a deviation from normal cultural existence³⁸. This tendency can be criticised as one of the forms of primitivizing discussed above. The inferences drawn from the field study will be therefore be directed towards theorising identification through materiality in situations of cultural interaction.

Lastly, the interpretation and theorisation of the relation between materiality and identity in

³⁶This exists at the level of Foucault's *archaeological* project of making a description orthogonal to the discursive regularities of serious discourse (1972), and Bourdieu's provisional, initial acceptance of the local objectivity of the ethnographic context.

³⁷Again, Foucault and Bourdieu make similar if differently constructed accounts of this. To Foucault this is the *genealogical* process, the constitution, out of the *archaeologically* described field, of a *dispositif* - a grid of intelligibility (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982: 121) - which articulates discourses, practices and institutions in relations of power/knowledge (e.g. Foucault 1977). To Bourdieu, this is the process whereby the anthropologists translates the local objectivity of practical/bodily schemes (which are unknowable to the ethnographer directly, but are evident in their effects and representations) recorded in accounts and observations into the intelligible representations of the model and the ethnographic account (objectifying objectivism).

³⁸Yet both current and traditional interpretations of the archaeological record indicate that cultural interaction, and thereby complex identifications, were as often (or more often) the norm.

the Indian communities of Leicester will constitute a point of departure for the further epistemological critique of archaeology's construction of ethnic and cultural identity. It will therefore act as counter-point to the genealogical critique of archaeology's theorisation of this relationship in Chapters Two and Three.

CHAPTER FIVE

Field-work Methods

INTRODUCTION: FIELD-WORK AIMS

As discussed in Chapter Four, the role of the ethnoarchaeological field-work in this thesis is somewhat at odds with the usual utilisation of evidence of material culture in contemporary cultures. In broad terms, rather than attempting to define a justifiable parallel for a particular object, assemblage, or past socio-cultural circumstance, this field-work is to be utilised in the development of a critique of the intellectual-cultural artefacts of archaeological practitioners and theorists. That is to say, it is intended to further an effective critique of contemporary 'archaeological' conceptions of the relationship between material culture and identity, by highlighting their cultural specificity in juxtaposition with those emerging from another tradition or culture: those of the Indian communities of Leicester. This position influenced the research strategy for the field-work, and serves as a justification for the choice of cultural locale for the whole field-work project. Further, it implied that particular parameters and orientations should be established within the aims and questions posed within the field-work.

The first main aim of the field-work was to develop a descriptive account of the use, or role, of elements of material culture in the processes of ethnic and cultural identification within a series of identifiable cultural milieus. It was presumed on the basis of the foregoing theoretical and methodological arguments, that material culture operates as a form of material discourse through which socio-cultural meanings and values are continually generated, reproduced and contested. Therefore, the field-work was constructed within a case study-type approach to provide a descriptive account of the disposition and articulation of specific artefacts in the processes of identification within a particular set of communities.

The production of an account of the role of material culture in ethnic identification necessitated the production of a more general description of the use, and nature of traditional material culture within these communities, and a broader assessment of the ramifications of ethnic identification in these contexts. Thus whilst it was not the aim of the field-work to provide an exhaustive account of general processes of ethnic identification within the communities considered, these phenomena necessarily formed a context within which material culture was employed in the processes of ethnic identification. However, this survey sought only to produce an account of the significance of such cultural 'traits' as first languages, religious observance, diet and value systems, in-so-far-as they constituted the cultural matrix in which material culture was embedded. Evidently the account of these

cultural contexts is skewed by this orientation.

The field-work rests on the assumption that different cultural traditions engender different cultural, conceptual and material artefacts, and that the links between materiality and identity within the Indian communities would be framed through some concepts and principals distinct from those of European contexts. Clearly, the significance of these concepts have been described in the sociological and anthropological literature on the ethnicity and religious and cultural traditions of 'other' cultures. However, their specific relevance to the connections between materiality and identity have been little addressed in ethnoarchaeological and archaeological thought. Therefore, a particular aim, addressed by the interviews and the questionnaire sections on wider cultural practices, was to produce information upon which an account of the principles of the relationship or articulation of materiality and identity might be established - to describe the rules through which the material discourse on identity was ordered, and through which it engendered order.

The value of interpretive approaches and reflexivity in ethnographic and other social research strategies, broadly justified on the grounds that it produces more sophisticated ethnographic accounts, is by now commonly argued for, if still somewhat controversial, Clifford (1988), Clifford & Marcus (1986), Denzin (1997), Hammersley & Atkinson (1983); Mascia-Lees, Sharpe & Cohen (1989); Marcus & Fischer (1986), and Rabinow (1977); Reyna (1994). In the case of this field work the relationship between the (ethno)archaeologist's culture (which is presumed to be predominantly 'European'/Western, intellectual, middle class and male), and the cultures of the subjects of the ethnographic enquiry are clearly of relevance. The communities under consideration cannot be seen to be radically separate from others within this City, or the country as a whole. Thus it is the case that the interaction between the ethnoarchaeologist and the subjects is methodologically important in that it is part of what must be objectified in the critical theorisation. Beyond questions of access, perspective on evidence and relative cultural position, which are all important, the methodological issue of the theorisation - objectification in Bourdieu's terms - of the ethnoarchaeologist's relation to the culture under investigation must also be considered.

The final aim for the field-work is to provide an account of a context against which the conceptual limitations of existing theoretical positions can be explored and through which the theorisation of materiality and identity might be extended. The critical thesis developed in earlier chapters - on the metaphysical contradictions, founded on presence, identity and meaning, within existing anthropological (cross-cultural / cross-temporal) theories of the relation between materiality and identity - will be examined in relation to the adequacy of such positions for the task of representing the links between materiality and identity within the contemporary situation of ethnic and cultural identification in the communities of Leicester. The juxtaposition of existing theoretical positions with this material will aid in the

development of a better theorisation of the relation between materiality and identity .

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING

Choice of setting

Although chance and circumstance inevitably intervene and determine the choice field-work location, ethnographic field-work has changed significantly within anthropology since the days of 'salvage ethnography', when fieldworkers could choose between potential subjects across different continents for their next project of 'discovery', 'recovery', or preservation, and still be surprised by the identity of the subjects of their field-work. (e.g. Turnball 1972: 13-28). There has also been a re-appraisal of the 'naturalistic' assumption that discrete tribes, or peoples are the inevitable, necessary, or real subject of ethnographic encounters (e.g. Clifford 1988; Fischer 1986; Fried 1975; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:42-3; Wobst 1978). Within Sociology it has been the norm that ethnographic field-work is framed by a set of particular theoretical or policy questions, and even if this only suggests a range of types of 'settings' to be explored (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983: 40), it is rare that a purely descriptive account of a specific group will be undertaken 'opportunistically'.

The theoretical and methodological positions elaborated in the preceding chapters did not necessarily pre-determine a specific ethnographic setting. However, the field-work aims outlined above could be more fully and, more readily examined in particular types of socio-cultural context. Ethnic and cultural identifications do not follow a uniform pattern. Moreover, most recent commentators have emphasised the difficulty of providing a generalised conception of ethnicity which applies in different contexts, and some like Erikson (1993: 13-14) have classified different kinds of ethnic identification (e.g. urban ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples, proto-nations and plural societies). Therefore, the choice of an appropriate setting could not be an arbitrary matter.

The cultural contexts of the 'Indian' communities of Leicester , whose 'parent' cultures are to be found in the Indian subcontinent, were chosen as the setting for this research because of these groups' clear self-identification as ethnic communities - ethnic self-identification is evident in the numerous local institutions identify themselves ethnically (e.g. Geeta Bhavan Hindu Religious and Cultural Society, Gujarati Hindu Association, Sikh Community Centre, Asian Sports and Cultural Centre) - and because of their established history, socio-cultural maturity and diversity. These communities constituted a related, but self-differentiating, set of ethnic groups which manifested a range of features which made them both theoretically and practically suitable for the research project. The 'centres of mass' (numerically at least) of the communities, together with the location of their cultural and economic institutional centres are relatively clearly defined geographically, and some

limited research on their history, and institutional and cultural features has already been undertaken by academic researchers, and on behalf of public bodies (e.g. Leicester C.C. and Leicestershire C.C. 1988; 1984; Marrett 1989; Michaelson 1983).

The possibility of choosing an apparently radically different culture to that of the archaeological theorist (an 'exotic' and distant one) to effect a cross cultural juxtaposition has been rejected. Firstly, ethnographies of 'exotic' cultures are often read within archaeology for their empirical descriptions, with a poor regard for the methodological, theoretical and epistemological arguments within which the ethnographies have been constructed - the appropriation of the term *habitus* from Bourdieu's Kabyle ethnography (1977), would be prime a case in point. Secondly, the question of defining the cultural difference between European and 'pre-industrial', or 'indigenous' peoples is now inextricably linked to a whole series of complex debates about the effects of colonial history, inter-cultural contact, economic interaction, etc., such that any notion of essential or pure cultural difference from a Western cultural base-line is untenable.

The situation of cultural/ethnic identifications of the Indian Communities of Leicester offers considerable advantages. Firstly, it embodies a series of on-going cross-cultural juxtapositions in *situ*. The Indian Communities of Leicester are integrated and enmeshed into the 'mainstream' or 'host' culture in varying but extensive ways, and although distinctive identities are manifest in these communities, it is also the case that both the members of these communities and this researcher are integrated into aspects of the same cultural, social, economic and political contexts, albeit differentially. Thus the negotiation between, and confrontation with, competing cultural values and traditions within a differentially shared set of cultural contexts is part of the phenomena of ethnic and cultural identification under examination. Secondly, it offers a context in which colonial history, cultural interaction and economic influence have often been integrally theorised from the outset. Finally, it is an empirical case which is hard to displace from the purpose of contemporary cultural critique towards the more familiar archaeological terrain of finding ethnographic parallels for the past.

In order that the critique of archaeological theory could be extended into the development of new theorisations, it was important to choose a setting against which current theories of materiality and identity could be measured, and which would be likely to generate new avenues of theorisation. Previous chapters have argued that archaeological utilisations of ethnographic field-work and literature have often been reductive of the cultural difference of indigenous societies, representing them as archaic and anachronistic. This has tended to engender reconstructions of past cultures as discrete entities with stable identities, where cultural interaction is a secondary or problematic issue. The projection of a presumption of change and complexity into the evidence must be resisted, but both recent investigations of contemporary identity (e.g. Back 1996), and recent re-appraisals of the archaeological

evidence for cultural groups in the past (Champion Graves-Brown and Jones 1996; Webster and Cooper 1996), have emphasised that group identity is articulated through complex and shifting phenomena. The Indian communities of Leicester offered a suitable setting in which the theorisation of the relationship between materiality and identity could be extended whilst appropriately fore-grounding notions of complexity and transformation.

Beyond the theoretical and epistemological justifications for this choice of setting, the Indian communities of Leicester clearly offered a number of practical advantages for this research project. The communities were easily accessible, both literally, by being local, and located within a relatively small city, and technically in that the communities are served by a diversity of public institutions such as schools and colleges, and have established their own economic, social and cultural institutions such as temples, caste associations, sporting clubs, shops and cultural and community centres, through which entry to the communities might be sought. These institutions constituted both an important aspect of the communities under investigation, and a valuable resource in the establishment of the project.

Description Of Setting: The Indian Communities Immigration And Migration

The foregoing discussion of the epistemological issues raised by 'critical ethnography' (chapter four), precluded the production of a traditional 'history' of the development of the 'Asian', or 'Indian' communities, which could act through an appeal to a simple empirical or objective reality, as the foundation for ethnographic field-work. In the event, a comparison of the available accounts of the establishment of these communities more than adequately illustrates the diffractions that can occur within and between different sources on the 'same' object of enquiry.

The Census County Reports from 1951 to 1991 probably constitute the source upon which the most statistically coherent account of the growth of Leicester's non-white population could be based. Censuses have consistently enumerated people in terms of 'Country of Birth', which has been interpreted fairly directly as an index of ethnic identity (e.g. Marrett 1989: 2; Moss 1973). Census data show that between 1951 and 1961 Leicester's immigrant communities grew slowly, there being three-fold increase in the City's 'Indian' population, amounting only to 1800 people of Indian origin. Between 1961 and 1971 however, the Indian and Pakistani populations underwent six or seven-fold increases which resulted in populations of approximately 11,000 and 800. Additionally, over 6,800 people arrived in this period from East-Africa. By the time of the 1981 Census there were over 18,000 people of South Asian origin and a similar number from East Africa, including those who had fled Uganda since 1972. By 1991 the census suggests the city was home to over 22,000 people from the Indian Sub-continent, and just over 17,000 from East Africa , although this census also

included a question on ethnic identity, which showed that over 60,000 people identified themselves as Indian, 2,600 as Pakistani, and 1,000 as Bangladeshi (see tables a; b; c; d).

These figures correspond to Marrett's (1989: 1) account of the arrival of some 700 Punjabi Sikhs in the city in the late 1940s, the subsequent arrival of Pakistanis, and Indians from Gujarat in the early 1960s, and the rapid expansion of the 'Indian' population with the arrival of East African Asians in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Michaelson (1983), in her discussion of the role caste amongst British Gujarati communities, describes five phases of their settlement. She suggests that the first East African Asians arrived in the UK during the 1950s and 60s, often individually as students, as wealthy businessmen or couples, or as 'westernised families for idiosyncratic reasons - few of these came to Leicester. Secondly, in 1967 Tanzania's 'Arusha' declaration of nationalisation, and the 1967-68 threat of the removal of Kenyan residence rights, lead to the arrival of 26,400 Asians in the UK., many of whom came to Leicester's private rented accommodation, and poor quality, cheap housing in the Highfields and Melton Road areas of the city (see Marrett 1989: 3-4). During Phase 3, 1968-71, restricted numbers (3-5000 households per year) entered the UK from East Africa. In 1972 (Phase 4), 29,000 Asians expelled from Uganda by Idi Amin, came to Britain, many of them to Leicester, additionally further Asians left East Africa under the voucher system. Marrett (1989: 28-9) describes a typical pattern for this settlement in Leicester where many families already intending to leave Uganda before the expulsion order, had sent an elder son to Britain to establish accommodation, etc., to be followed by younger brothers and sisters. When the direction of events in Uganda became clear, many sent an individual ahead to prepare for the family's arrival. Thus, most people arriving in the UK. had connections (if not actual accommodation) in the area in which they intended to settle, and were undeterred by the advice of the authorities not to come to Leicester (Marrett 1989: 39). Michaelson's fifth phase (from 1974 onwards) is characterised by some dispersal of families to new towns and cities, to the suburbs and into better housing, but also the greater concentration of communities within particular localities such as Leicester (Michaelson 1983 21-9). Throughout this period families continued to come directly from the Indian Sub-continent, but at a much steadier rate.

Census data, acquired for the guidance of national government policy is also procured with reference to legal concerns such as nationality/residence rights, and within the same rhetorics through which the various British Nationality, and Commonwealth Immigrants Acts were established. It thus addresses the issue of ethnicity only in as much as it is connected to the questions of nationality and migration. The data from these censuses is most closely oriented towards a consideration of the broad migration processes through which the Leicester's 'Indian' communities developed, and how this

Table a: Figures from Census Reports for Leicestershire

Place of Birth	1951 Census		1961 Census		1971 Census		1981 Census			1991 Census					
	City	County	City	County	City	County	Place of Birth	City	County	Place of Birth	City	County	Ethnic Group	City	County
India	569	1070	1827	2560	11,510	13,305	India	18,235	21,300	India	20,814	25,384	Indian	60,297	72,545
Pakistan	44	111	109	171	775	1,090	Bangladesh	394	666	Pakistan	1,155	1,437	Pakistani	2,644	3,020
Kenya	14	27	117	79	4,805	5,330	Kenya	8,052	9,357	Kenya	7,014	9,071	Bangladeshi	1,053	1,972
Tanzania	4	7	Tot.	54	1,015	1,125	Tanzania	2,224	2,516	Tanzania	2,353	2,816	Black*	6,613	8,528
Uganda	0	7	Africa	54	1,015	1,130	Uganda	5,604	6,347	Uganda	4,377	5,392	Asian	2,570	3,553
							Malawi	2,323	2,412	Malawi	2,826	3,005	Other	3,044	4,777
							Aggregate	36,832	45,598	Zambia	598	784	Aggregate	76,221	94,395
										Bangladesh	685	1,250			
										Aggregate	39,822	49,139			

Table b: Estimates of Ethnic/Immigrant Population of the City

Place of Birth	'67 Moss ¹	'70 CRO ²	'71 Moss ¹	'78 LCCR Estimate ³		1983 Survey of Leicester Estimates ⁴					
	Immigrant Pop. City	Immigrant Pop. City	Immigrant Pop. City	Ethnic origin	City	Place of Birth	City	Place of birth of Asian Pop. City	Language/ Religion groups Asian Pop.	City	
India	12,000	<11,000*	13,680	Indian (Gujarati)	11,500	India	20,706	India	20,166	Gujarati - Hindus	36,100
Pakistan	1,750	2,000	1,080	Pakistani +	3,000	Pakistan	1,086	Pakistan	1,023	Punjabi - Sikhs	9,600
Kenyan	-	<11,000*	10,440	Kenyan Asians	7,000	Kenya	9,810	Kenya	9,509	Gujarati - Muslims	5,200
Other	11,250	13,000	10,800	Tanzanian Asians	2,000	Tanzania	2,730	Tanzania	2,705	Kutchi - Muslims	2,900
Total	25,000	26,000	36,000	Ugandan Asians	10,500	Uganda	6,678	Uganda	6,622	Urdu - Muslims	1,200
				Punjabi Sikhs	8,000	Malawi	2,649	Malawi	2,567		
				Other	8,000	Zambia	610	Zambia	559		
				Total	50,000	Bangladesh	616	Bangladesh	603		
								Other	1,017		
								UK	18,039		
								Tot. Pop.	63,186		

* Cities Tot.
Indian and
East African
Pop. as
11,000

+Includes
Bangladeshi

¹ These figures are estimates made by the City's Chief Medical officer Dr. B.J.L. Moss (1972: 54). They are based on the proportion of children from 'immigrant' families registered in the City's schools, and rest on the presumption that this proportion is equivalent to that within the adult population, given the particular age structure of these communities. ² Estimates made by the City's Community Relations Officer. ³ Estimates made by Leicester Council for Community Relations based on 1971 Census returns and electoral registers. ⁴ Estimates made by Leicester City, and Leicestershire County, Councils in 1983 in *The Survey of Leicester* based on interviews/questionnaires conducted at 16,700 households.

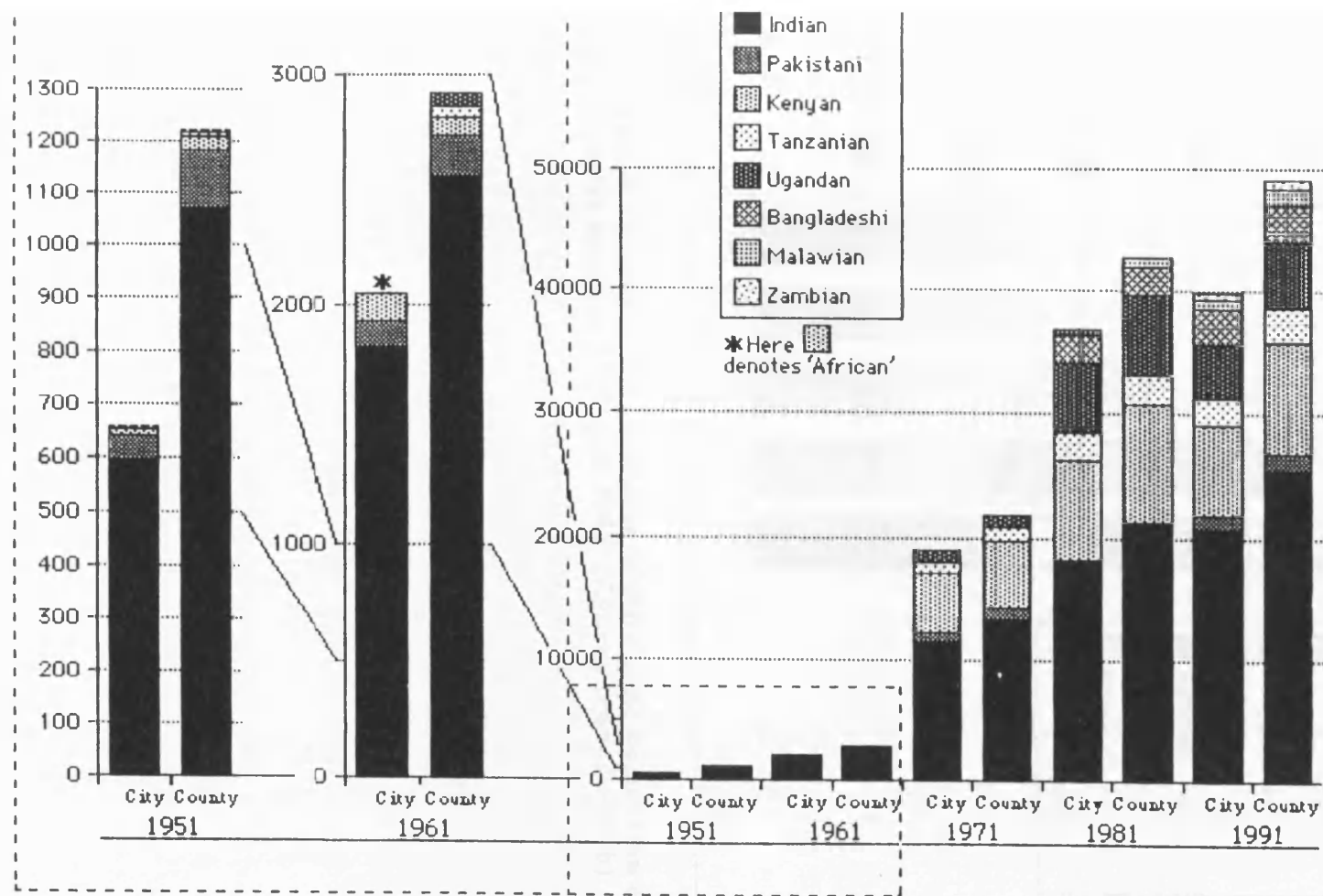


Table c: Graphs of the Census Returns from 1951 - 1991, showing the relative proportions of the places of birth and rise in numbers of the main 'ethnic' communities (figures from Table a).

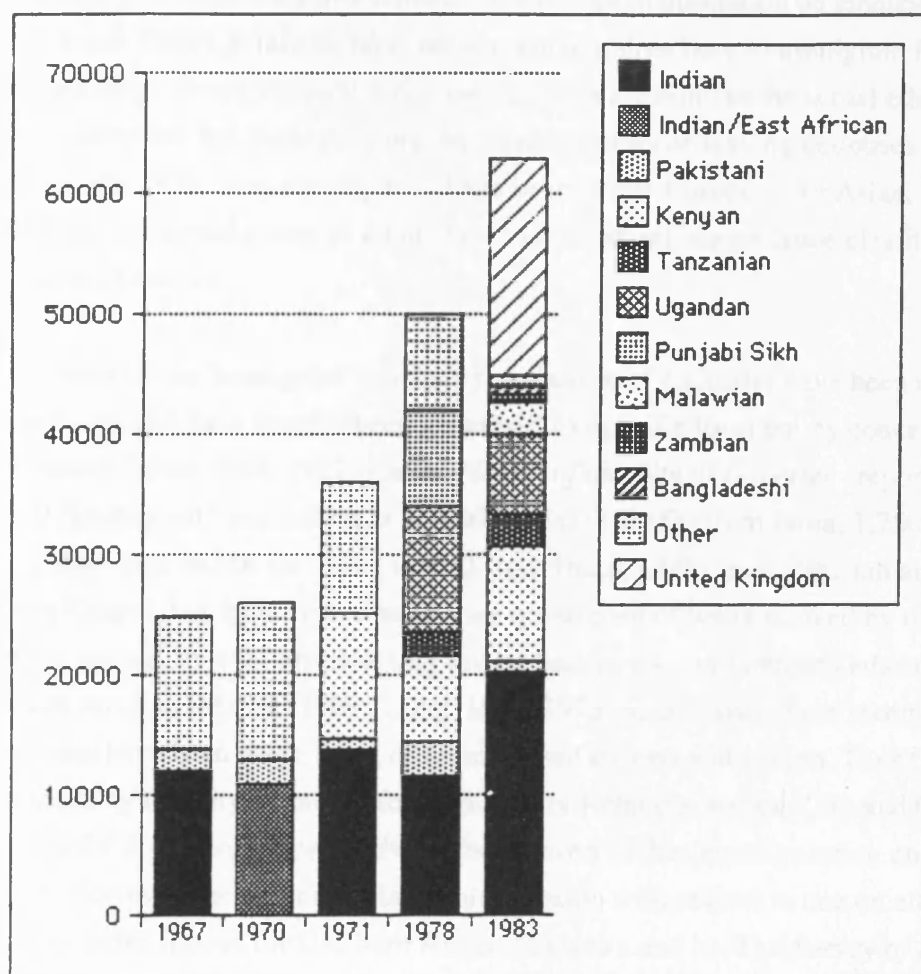


Table d: Graphs of the estimates of the ethnic population of Leicester between 1967 and 1983. (figures from Table b)

might compare to migration trends nationally. Ethnic groups are indirectly, and partially, manifested in the census data on 'country of birth'. Census data on nationality, is manifestly problematic for the present discussion on ethnicity in at least two ways. Firstly, it fails to take into account children born to immigrant families in this country. Secondly, until 1991, the statistics are blind to the actual ethnicity of those recorded, not distinguishing the ethnicity of those leaving countries like Kenya, who in the 1950s may equally well have been White Europeans or Asian. Even the 1991 census investigation of ethnicity was limited, utilising a crude classificatory schema (Table a).

Estimates of the 'immigrant' or ethnic populations of Leicester have been made for some time and have usually been generated by specific local policy concerns. Moss's estimates (Moss 1968; 1972) for the *Health of the City of Leicester* reports put the total "immigrant" population at 25,000 in 1967 (12,000 from India, 1,750 from Pakistan) and 36,000 in 1971 (13,680 from India, 1,080 from Pakistan and 10,440 from Kenya), but these figures have been questioned as being skewed by official concerns; e.g. by over-emphasising public health risks, or threats to education and health services (Marrett 1989: 1; e.g. Moss 1973: 52-3). Also, more recent and detailed estimates have been made using different classifications and criteria. Thus the 1978 estimate by the City's Council for Community Relations and the City and County Councils' *Survey of Leicester 1983*, both revert to the census question on place of birth. However, the latter correlates this question with respect to one on ethnic origin and includes figures for UK-born Asians (Tables a and b). The *Survey of Leicester 1983* (Leicester C.C. and Leicestershire C.C. 1988; 1984) was intended to enhance the limited information on the social and cultural diversity of the city offered by the 1981 Census returns, and to provide detailed demographic and socio-economic information upon which anti-racist and multi-cultural policy initiatives might be based.

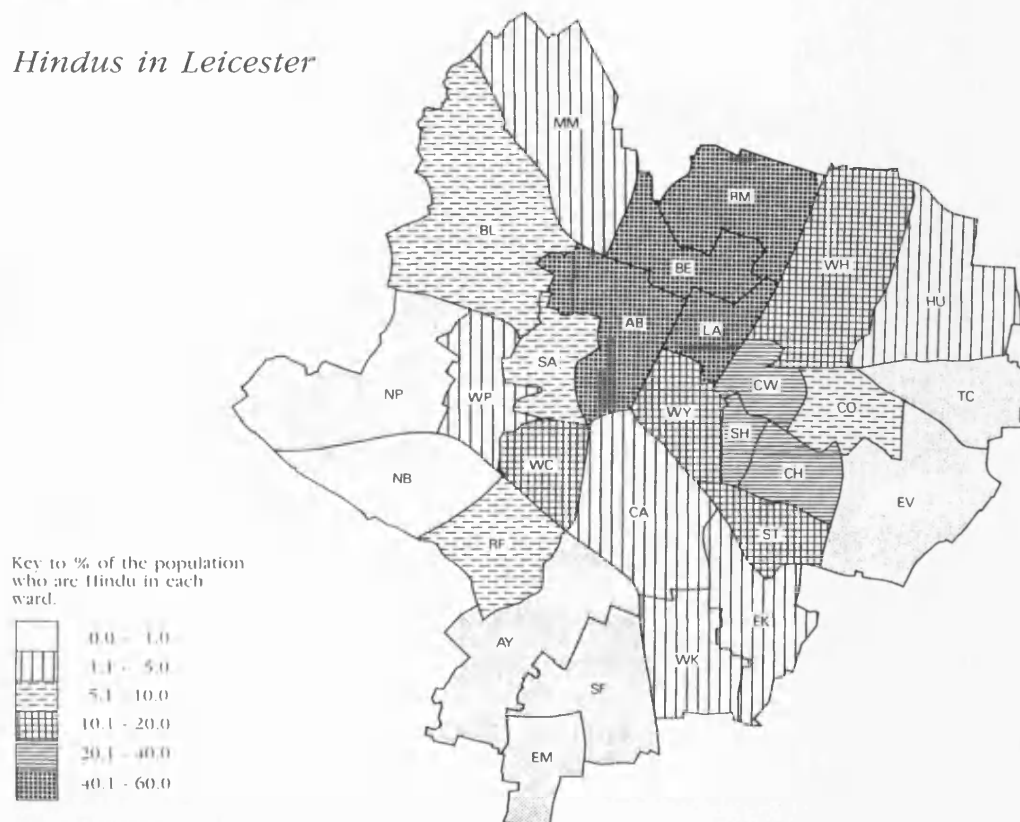
This local policy orientation, directed at health, education and social service provision, meant that the survey focused on 'cultural' issues such as religion, language, and diet to a much greater degree than had the censuses, which makes it far more sensitive to the features around which ethnicity is constructed. The survey also identified the location of the communities geographically with reference to the city ward tables (Figs 18-21). Indicating the concentration of the Indian communities in parts of the Highfields, Melton Road (Belgrave) and Narborough Road areas (see Figs 22; 23). These distributions by ward table correspond well with Marrett's (1989) and Michaelson's (1983) accounts of the development of the communities, showing distinct foci of settlement in very localised areas, with Indians making up over 50% and in some cases over 75% of the population. Not surprisingly, many of the cultural institutions - Gurdwaras, Mosques, Temples, Community and Neighbourhood centres, etc., are also sited in these areas.

Leicester's Landmarks



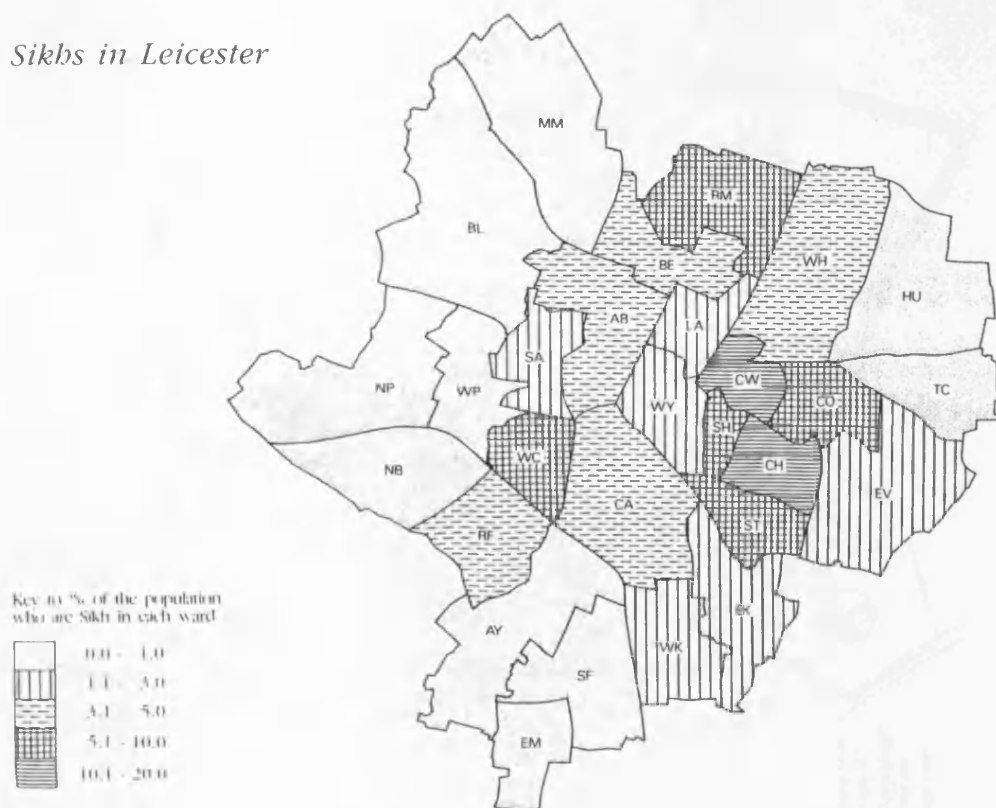
(fig. 18) 'The Landmarks of Leicester', from L.C.C. 1983
The Survey of Leicester

Hindus in Leicester



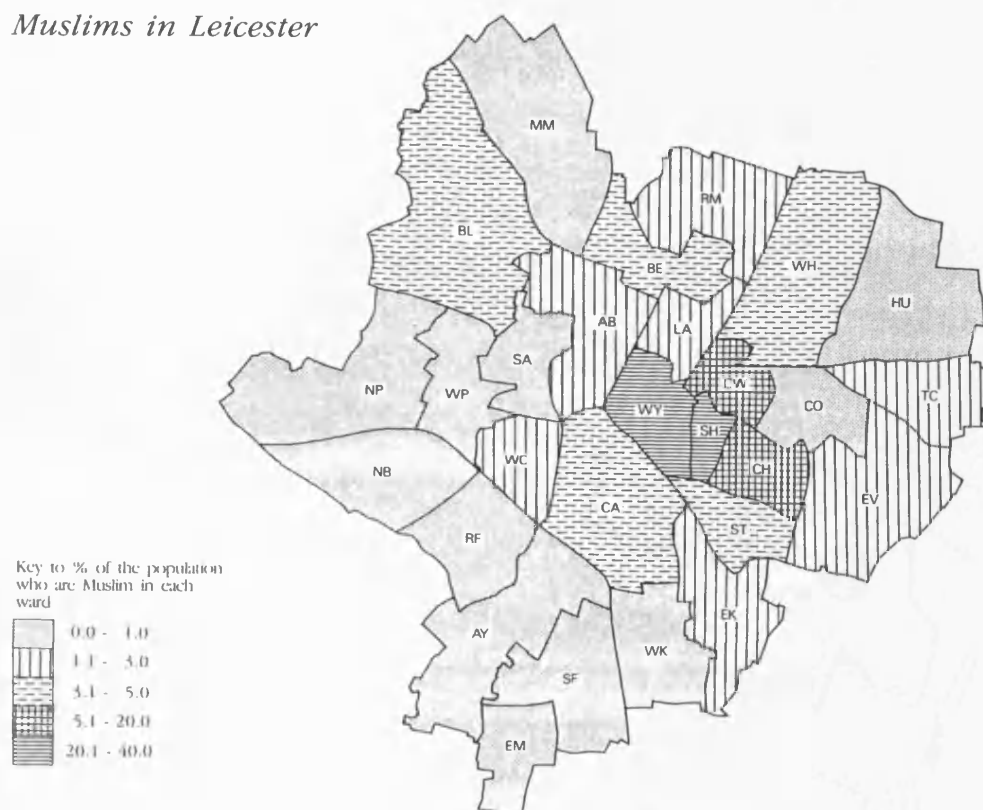
(fig. 19) 'The Hindus in Leicester', from L.C.C. 1983 *The Survey of Leicester*

Sikhs in Leicester



(fig. 20) 'The Sikhs in Leicester', from L.C.C. 1983 *The Survey of Leicester*

Muslims in Leicester



(fig. 21) 'The Muslims in Leicester', from L.C.C. 1983 *The Survey of Leicester*

Language/Religion Groups: Belgrave

POPULATION COMPOSITION:

The analysis areas for which details are given are all those where White people represent less than 50% of the total population

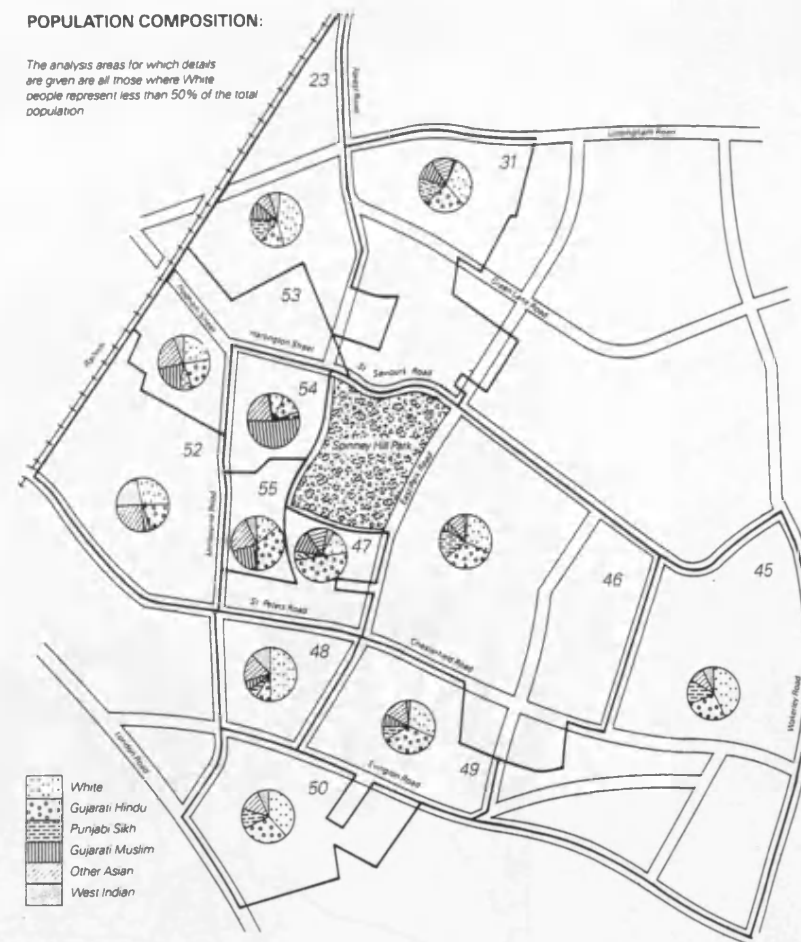


(fig. 22) 'The Language/Religion Groups Belgrave', from L.C.C. 1983 *The Survey of Leicester*

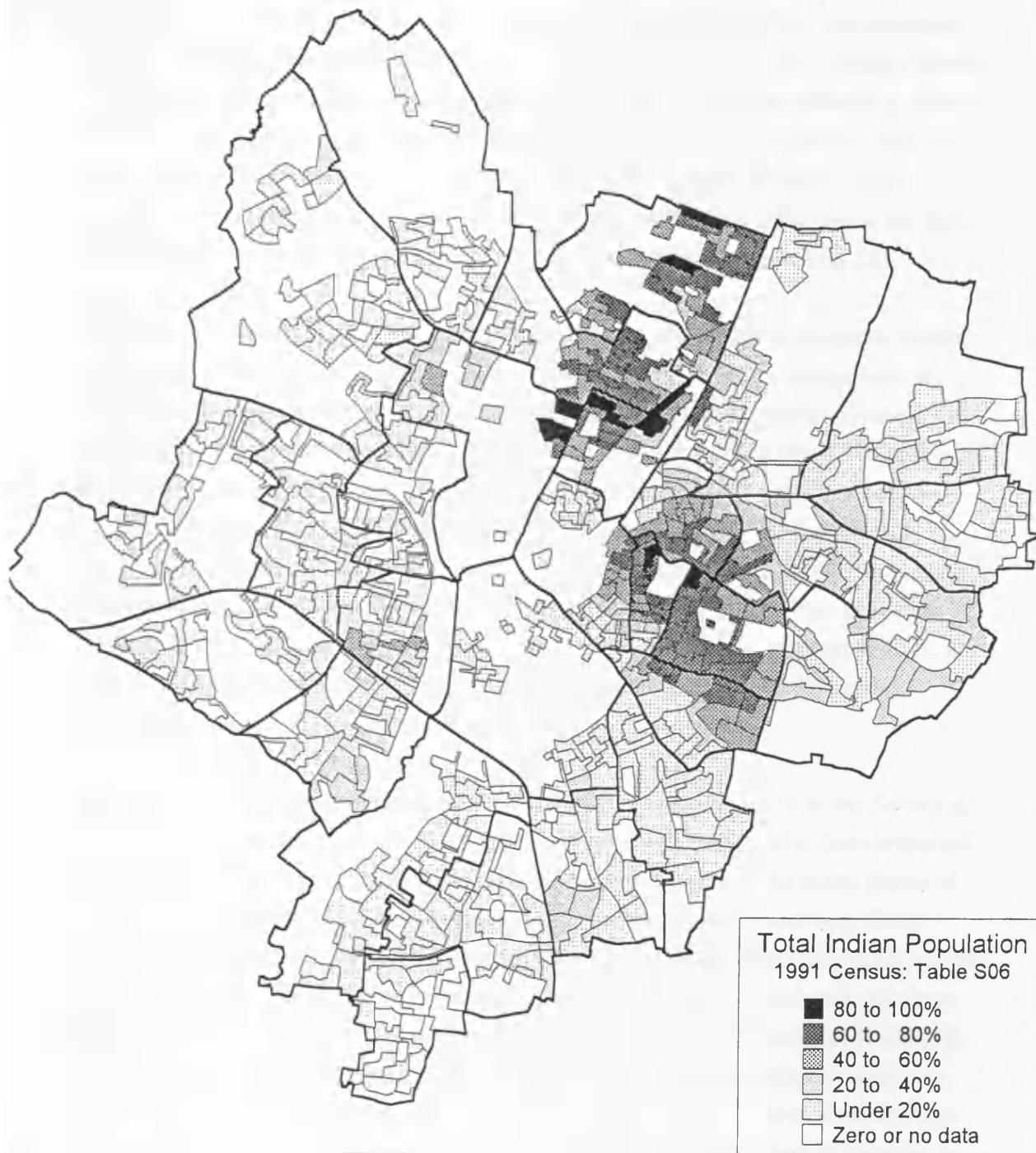
Language/Religion Groups: Highfields

POPULATION COMPOSITION:

The analysis areas for which details are given are all those where White people represent less than 50% of the total population



(fig. 23) 'The Language/Religion Groups Highfields', from L.C.C. 1983 *The Survey of Leicester*



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(fig. 24) 'The Distribution of the Indian Population in Leicester', Produced by Leicester City Council from the Results of the 1991 Census

Whilst the *Survey of Leicester 1983* offers some of the most detailed demographic estimates on the ethnic communities of any contemporary British City, it nevertheless provides estimates (from a 16% sample of households (L.C.C., L.C.C. 1984: 77)) of the size and location of these communities. Furthermore, it could by definition, offer no sense of the cultural dynamics of these communities, and is now somewhat dated. A recent digest of 1991 census data (Leicester City Council 1996: 14) does suggest (though the two aren't strictly comparable) that the geographic distribution of the Indian communities retains the broad features found in the 1983 survey (see Fig. 24).

Moreover, there remains the problem of the utilisation of differing taxonomies within and between various official sources, none of which seem to utilise conceptions of ethnicity which correspond very well to those in the theoretical literature on ethnic and cultural identity. Thus the collectivities which most closely parallel the ethnic groups, in e.g. Barth's (1969), Rex's (1991) or Smith's (1986) terms, which can be found in these local estimates are the Language/Religion Groups of the 1983 Survey (L.C.C., L.C.C. 1984: 34; 45-6): Gujarati Hindu (c. 36,000), Punjabi Sikh (9,600) and Gujarati Muslim (5,200). Terms such as 'Asian' or 'Indian', make some, but not adequate, connection with the socio-cultural groupings within which people organise their own institutions or their daily activities, apart from in their relationships with public institutions, or in dealings with white people.

The conceptual correlation between the Language/Religion Groups from the *Survey of Leicester 1983* and the theoretical definitions of ethnic groupings, also finds empirical corroboration. This is evident in the establishment and location of the many places of worship and language and cultural centres of the various communities (e.g. Shree Sanatan Mandir, Weymouth St; Guru Tegh Bhadur Gurdwara, East Park Road; and the Baital Mukarram Mosque, St Stephen's Rd, (see plates 4 and 5) which indicate these ethnic/cultural groupings. Thus the Melton Rd area, together with much of Highfields and some parts of the Narborough Rd., can be seen to constitute cultural contexts in which well established communities based on language, religion and cultural heritage have derived a distinctive set of identities and ways of life. This is further apparent in the establishment and expansion of shopping and other facilities dedicated to the needs of the communities in their neighbourhoods (e.g. the kitchenware/furniture shops, grocers, Halal Butchers, jewellery shops, Sari/clothing shops - especially on the Melton Rd - sweet shops, together with specialist health, education and financial services, Indian banks, Religious Education centres etc. See photographs in Chapter 6). These distinctive cultures, and their official recognition, are reflected in the public celebration of annual religious/community festivals such as Diwali, Navaratri, Vaisaiki, and Eid. These celebrations are lead by the communities themselves but are supported and publicised by the City Council, and are integrated into education policies for example.

In some respects a similar account could be produced for the development of any of the other Indian/South Asian communities in Britain, e.g. London, or Bradford, and comparisons will be made with other such communities later. However, in each case the particularities of which ethnic communities migrated to the area, how they came to Britain, what other communities surrounded them, etc. all influenced the development of particular contextual responses. Thus, as Michaelson (1983: 8-9) and Marrett (1989:2) both point out, Leicester is distinctive in that a substantial proportion of its 'Indian' population came from East Africa rather than the Indian Sub-continent. Michaelson goes on to suggest that the East African Asians were further distinctive in that they migrated from India voluntarily and from a few areas - mostly Gujarat and the Punjab also but less Goa and Maharashtra - making them a far more homogenous group than other expatriated colonial communities (Michaelson 1983: 8-9), and moreover, that their particularly strong caste communalism was transferred *in toto* upon their migration to the UK. This cohesiveness articulated through caste, she suggests, lead to the self-identification and differentiation of Gujarati Hindus as 'Indians' and 'Africans', and the maintenance of largely endogamous caste groups (with the exception of the patidars) (Michaelson 1983: 30-51). As a consequence it may be that even the idea of a cohesive Leicester Gujarati Hindu community should be questioned, and perhaps replaced by that of an 'Indian' - diverse, modern, working-class, and an 'African' - cohesive and traditional and entrepreneurial/professional, community (Michaelson 1983: 31).

RESEARCH STRATEGY

Research questions

The principle research questions which framed the field-work were:-

- i) How do members of the Indian communities of Leicester articulate collective identity through material culture?
- ii) What is the particular role within the articulation of collective identity through material culture played by artefacts with an overt or heightened cultural significance: traditional style artefacts?
- iii) What are the relationships between the articulation of collective identity through material culture and its articulation through other facets of the cultures concerned, such as language and religious observance?
- iv) What are the culturally specific principles and regularities through which ethnic identification in general and identification through material culture in particular are articulated?
- v) What are the dimensions or axes against which ethnic and cultural identification in general and identification through material culture in particular, might be differentially articulated - e.g. social status, gender, age, etc. ?
- vi) What is the relationship between ethnic and cultural identification and other forms of identification - e.g. gender, or personal identities?
- vii) What is the nature of the relationship between the different cultural traditions examined?

The context of the methodological, theoretical and critical arguments within which the field-work was set indicated that a qualitative approach to this study was most appropriate. Further, the general field-work aims, together with the nature of the research questions outlined above, and the likely nature of available access to the groups concerned, meant that it was appropriate to conceive of the field-work as an ethnographic case-study. An ethnographic - ethnoarchaeological - field-survey, implied that qualitative data on the complex and inter-related research questions could best be acquired through the established techniques such as in-depth interviewing, observation and photography, etc.

A strictly quantitative approach was considered but rejected both on theoretical and practical grounds. Given the foregoing discussion of the accounts of the development of the Indian communities of Leicester and the associated comments about the data through which those accounts were generated, it is clear that the identification of the communities concerned is not straightforward. It is evident that the acquisition of a rigorously, quantitatively representative sample of these communities, would prove both problematic and be likely to result in an unmanageable requirement for data collection and processing. The specification of a sampling frame for all or each of the Language/Religion groups in Leicester was problematised for example by the issue of definition of 'African' and 'Indian' Asian populations, and by the ways in which existing data had been classified. Thus were the populations to be sampled African and Indian Asians, or were they the Language /Religion groups, or indeed a matrix of both. A sampling frame could be specified numerically on the basis of the 1983 survey (notwithstanding questions about the continued validity of its estimates) but the use of electoral registers to locate subjects for postal questionnaires or direct distribution was practically unfeasible for this researcher. Theoretically, the possibility of defining a statistically viable sample seemed to constitute a prejudgement of some of the issues the field-work sought to resolve; i.e. how people identify themselves.

Cases

Given the complexity of the identifications and definition of the communities concerned, it was necessary to adopt a specific set of foci within the case study. Firstly, the ethnic/cultural groups or communities which would be studied would be those defined within the *Survey of Leicester 1983* language and religious groups, as Gujarati Hindu, Punjabi Sikh and Gujarati Muslim, on the grounds that these definitions offered the best compromise between theoretical definition and empirical identification (culturally and geographically) in the published sources, and through initial observation. This choice was made notwithstanding the qualifications over the date of the *Survey of Leicester* and coherence of the 'communities' thus identified. The choice of these three communities was made because they were the largest ethno-religious communities of Leicester, and this enabled the acquisition of data through which differences between ethnic communities might be explored.

The question of cultural/ethnic identification was approached primarily with reference to its articulation in material culture, rather than through other cultural forms such as language, although these other cultural forms were examined in relation to this primary focus. Particular items of material culture were treated as being of special significance in the representation of ethnic/cultural identity, given that they are understood as being of Indian 'style': that they followed the form or decorative style of archetypes found within the 'parent' culture, and were almost exclusively used within the communities concerned. However, this did not preclude consideration of other items which were innovations of

traditional styles, wholly novel but specific to the communities, or whose cultural origins were compound, ambiguous, modified or unstable. A traditional object or practice in this context is taken to be a material trace of cultural heritage, acting as a marker of putative origins socially, culturally and in time and space. In the context of this project, Barth's notion of 'tradition' as a distinctive corpus of knowledge and assumptions which has internal coherence, and organisational capability (1993: 173), is useful. This idea approaches the notion of *Habitus* (Bourdieu 1977) but carries with it the implication of its historical derivation. However, all such items within a material culture tradition, as with other aspects of a tradition are 'of the present'. For example, a 'traditional' garment may be an heirloom, passed down within a family group; it may be genuinely old, but acquired through recent gift or purchase; it may be a new item of clothing, interpreting an earlier pattern; or it may simply possess their qualities. Traditions are constantly invented, re-invented, borrowed, modified and forgotten (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), and exist at many different scales, from the family to national identities.

The use of a 'traditional' item of clothing, or other object, is usually taken in the academic literature to represent an ascription to the cultural values and heritage of a community as part of a process of identification. One of the key concerns of the fieldwork is to examine whether this is a justified assumption, and if it is, how this connection is manifested. Several anthropological, sociological and psychological analyses have argued that clothing is particularly important in producing expressions of cultural identification (e.g. Roach and Eicher 1979; Eicher 1995; Hebdige 1979; Kaiser 1990). The particular focus of this study within the broad category of material culture was on clothing because of the assumption of clothing's overt, if complex, role in the construction of individual and collective identity. The articulation of identity through other categories of material culture was also considered to offer points of comparison and articulation with the wider cultural domain. Some categories of objects such as traditional style furniture do not seem to be important within the Indian communities - not being available in local shops - even though Indian furniture could be imported, probably cheaply; other objects appear to be more culturally significant, e.g. jewellery, religious objects and also kitchenware.

It would have been possible to explore the patterns of acquisition and use of 'European' artefacts (jeans, tumble dryers, cars, etc.) within the Indian communities, but this would have raised unhelpfully complex issues about the status of the identification of the artefacts. Thus, do Gujarati businessmen often buy German prestige cars as opposed to Italian ones because they are Gujarati speakers, because they are conservative, because they are businessmen, because of some other factor(s), or a combination of all of these? Conversely, wearing a *sari* or *salwar kamise* as opposed to a dress, appears to have more clearly articulated cultural connotations about gender and ethnic/cultural identity, which would be recognised both within and without the ethnic/cultural groups concerned.

Field Strategies

The field-work began with the acquisition of more localised and specific knowledge than was available from the published literature on the range of issues raised by the research questions outlined above. For the most part this was achieved through information gathered from 'key informants' - those with expertise or specific bodies of local knowledge which were pertinent. At this stage those consulted included: the head of, and two workers from, a multi-cultural resource centre, a care worker with a project for elderly Asian people, the head and one volunteer from a Highfields community centre, a volunteer working in the field of Asian housing associations, a deputy head teacher and a community education worker at a Belgrave primary school, the secretary of a Belgrave Hindu Temple, a youth worker from a Gurdwara, an educationalist at the city's Muslim Institute, and two local academics who had written on the communities concerned. With the exception of the head of the multicultural resource centre and the two academics, all of these people were from the three communities being studied. With all of those consulted the object was to explore the viability and validity of the overall aims of the project and to address the ways in which the research questions might best be pursued. Thus the aims of the field-work, and some initial suggestions for methods of data collection were described and discussed and the informants asked to comment on their applicability and viability and practicality.

At this point something of a divide between some of the professionals in the field and 'local experts' arose, although this distinction could not be said to be rigorous. Those working at the multicultural resources centre were highly sceptical of adopting an ethnographic approach and having familiarity with research methods through their policy oriented work were much more sympathetic to a quantitative stance. This in itself raised a serious objection to the whole project on the grounds that 'ill-defined' target groups could not be sampled and could not be compared with a control group. This attitude could perhaps be dismissed as an attachment to a dated conception of social research, but the view expressed by one of the workers that it was culturally and politically unacceptable that a white middle class male should be undertaking such research at all, and moreover that little co-operation would be forthcoming from several sections of the communities (especially women) because of this status, was more disquieting. Similar doubts about the effect of status on gaining access to certain groups, and more general scepticism about the relationship between academic researchers and the subjects of their enquiry were raised by the deputy head teacher. However, whilst others questioned the motivations for doing the research, and some commented that introductions into particular contexts would be necessary, the majority of informants were interested and supportive. Clearly these negative reactions could be read in terms of professional territoriality, but the reservations expressed needed consideration. These informal discussions helped considerably in the formulation of the strategies for gathering material, and continued throughout the process, they also informed the definition of the research questions.

Information Gathering Methods

Three main strategies for acquiring material were decided upon: the use of interviews with key, selected informants; the dissemination of a questionnaire to as carefully targeted a sample of subjects as possible; and the use of direct observation and photography in a sample of contexts. The aim of this three-fold approach was to allow for the acquisition of a range of data types which would offer a degree of triangulation (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983: 199-200; Layder 1993: 121-2) of interpretations between the different data types. This was intended to enable the kind of triangulated interpretation/objectification discussed in Chapter Four. Thus triangulation cannot be taken to offer the promise of objective truth in interpretation, nor does it assure the validity of information acquisition, sampling or interpretative strategies. It can be seen rather, as establishing a degree of cross-referencing of interpretations of different accounts, and as a means of assessing the construction of different images of the object of enquiry as a result of the different constructions of the relation between the observer/enquirer and subject within each of the different methods.

Each of these methods were oriented slightly differently with respect to the over-all aims of the field-work and the research questions. The initial interviews with key informants were utilised to build up both specific and contextual knowledge to inform the research strategy. Subsequent interview with the same and other key informants were conducted around versions of the central research questions, in some cases they lead on from the questionnaires, and in others they began with regularised questioning frames and then moved into more exploratory questioning, directed towards the informants particular field of expertise. Interviews with selected informants - chosen because they reflected some of the characteristic group within the communities - were begun from the basis of the questionnaire responses and then pursued the broad research questions through a schedule of structured but open questions (see Appendix 4). A particular purpose for the interviews was to allow more discursive and 'local' accounts of cultural identity and materiality to emerge; and to explore the 'local' rationales and accounts of cultural practices offered up in explanation for the use of material culture.

The questionnaire was intended to produce quantifiable descriptive information particularly relating to research questions i-iv, vi and vii which, if not statistically valid in the strict sense, could at least offer an indication of the prevalence of some of the observations made on that basis and in other ways. An initial and quite generalising questionnaire (See Appendix 2) was tested with groups of volunteers in a community college and a community centre, this was deliberately open-ended in tone to invite broad-ranging comments, and was tailored towards the groups concerned, but it also made evident some

of the basic issues of question selection, construction and integration¹. A first draft of the questionnaire proper was then produced and sent out to several of the initial key informants, and colleagues with experience of social research; this questionnaire was much more closely focused and utilised mostly closed questions.

As a result of these initial responses most of the questionnaire was modified in format and presentation style, to aid clarity. The most significant changes came in the final section which initially asked respondents to list items of clothing they possessed - with hindsight an obviously unreasonable, and unproductive approach given the practicalities of making such a description, and given that the theorisation of the relation between materiality and identity was constructed through the concept of the discourse (and use) of rather, than mere possession of artefacts. In order to devise a more theoretically sound and more closed questionnaire approach, lists of clothing items which might be likely to be worn, and a characterisation of contexts of use were produced. Two of the key informants, one a clothing shop owner, the other a community education worker with expertise in Indian embroidery were consulted about the kinds of clothing items such a list should include (Appendix 1) . A discussion group met twice at the Avalon Community centre to discuss this issue; this group consisted of 8-10 volunteers who were a mixture of workers at, and users of the centre. On the first occasion there was a mixed group Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, men and women, on the second occasion the members were all women, although they did discuss both men's and women's clothing, and one male worker contributed briefly to the discussion. Another male worker at the centre was consulted separately, on the same day. For the most part the lengthy discussion, was focused on the subtleties and intricacies of women's dress in the various ethnic communities. Because of this, the list of male clothing items was checked with selected informants. The final versions of the questionnaire (Appendix 3), which is different for men and women, and for adults and minors, only included a small selection, of the most likely items of clothing that might be worn, in order to make responding to the questionnaire, and analysing the responses manageable. Once again the final version of the questionnaire was assessed with some of the key informants by them completing it and then discussing it afterwards.

Initial discussions with informants had made it evident that one of the key grounds upon which the use of traditional/Indian clothing would be differentiated would be in terms of contexts. It was therefore important to include questions sensitive to contextual differences in the questionnaire and to try to observe peoples' use of traditional/Indian style clothing in a range of contexts. Key informants were extremely useful and helpful in gaining access to

¹Two volunteer 'focus groups' of Sixth Form Students met at Beauchamp Community College in the early summer of 1992 to complete copies of the draft questionnaire. About 45 minutes of discussion followed on each occasion. Most of the discussion extended the themes and concerns raised by the questionnaire, students explored the issues of identity and clothing with respect to personal anecdotes. However, specific comments about the questionnaire were raised principally to do with the practicality of producing lists of items of clothing and the problematic open-endedness of some of the questions.

a series of important and significance contexts and events, both public and private. Where possible, photography was used to record these contexts and the associated events, and on the whole the use of photography was considered unproblematic by those present. In many cases these were public events (within the community) and the access/authorisation gained via a community sponsor implied that, with discretion, the same licence to photograph was available as would be granted to any participant. In some instances, e.g. at a high caste Hindu naming ceremony, more freedom to photograph was granted in response to the sponsor's perception of the value of the research project. In certain contexts the use of photography was more problematic or intrusive; this was especially so in domestic settings. People expressed great reservation about being photographed themselves in their homes, or in having their homes photographed. In some cases fears about security were expressed but in most cases it was a concern for the privacy of particular areas or aspects of the house. In such cases observation were recorded in note form where appropriate. Photography was used in this field-work within the assumption of a relatively simple construction of the status of photographic records (see Fetterman 1989: 82-4), notwithstanding the substantial critique of the 'objectivity' of the photograph *per se* (e.g. Barthes 1977; 1984) and specifically of the use of photography in ethnography (e.g. Hockings 1975; Gidley 1992; Taylor 1995).

Sample/Subjects

The sampling of subjects was organised by a number of basic ethnographic principles. Key informants such as community workers, religious figures, shop-keepers, teachers, etc., important in the initial and later phases of the field-work were chosen through a combination of enquiry at relevant locations such as places of worship, community centres and colleges - judgmental/strategic sampling (Fetterman 1989: 43; Johnson 1990: 28) - by networking from one contact to another and through 'serendipity'. These initial contacts lead on to a strategy of theoretical sampling (Strauss 1987: 16-21; 38-9) for the interviews in later stages of the field-work. These interviewees were chosen with reference to the emerging theorisation of the axes around which identification through material culture appeared to be articulated: gender, age, religion, socio-economic status, and with reference to their relation to the field of enquiry.

The subjects for the questionnaire were chosen through a combination of sampling procedures. In part the sample was selective in that the aim was to achieve proportionate samples of respondents - by gender, age, religion, language - corresponding broadly to the demographics of the communities estimated in the *Survey of Leicester 1983*. In part the sampling regime was also theoretical in that the use of the language/religion groups from the *Survey of Leicester 1983* as a basic categorisation, and the location of them on the ground via the locales and locations from which the questionnaire was administered, were

chosen to offer best access to the three communities under investigation ². These locations emerged through the field-work's development and theorisation. However, given the nature of questionnaire distribution, this sampling aim was inevitably qualified by the limitations and exigencies of the nature of access offered by these institutional, and individual sponsors and gatekeepers. Thus for example, because of the convenience of distributing questionnaires through colleges, young adult (student) respondents are somewhat disproportionately over-represented. However, students were asked to take questionnaires home to their families which they did in substantial numbers - adding to respondents in other categories. Students at these colleges were also from diverse backgrounds socio-economically and from all three communities.

The selection of contexts to be observed and photographed were largely the result of theoretical sampling, motivated by the search for comparisons and contrasts between the different contexts in which Indian style material culture might, or might not, be utilised. The importance of location, social setting and activity (context) to the use of clothing in particular became evident in the early stages of the field-work. The specific meanings for each of the communities of public and private space, and the different activities likely to be undertaken by different age groups and by men and women, emerged as central articulating principles of their use of traditional style artefacts. The choice of locations for observation was again modified pragmatically on the basis of the access gained via specific gatekeepers and sponsors (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:54-76), and the networking/snowballing that was possible from one informant to others - i.e. upon their socio-cultural location. Also, as noted above, the nature of these different 'public' and 'private' contexts itself intervened in shaping the degree of access, or openness to photography, that was available.

FIELD-WORK ISSUES

Sample Representativity

Although the field-work was conceived as a ethnographic case-study, and thereby not intended to produce statistically valid data upon which probabilistic assertions or explanations could be based, nonetheless it was the intention that the observations would enable some theoretical generalisations to be made. Given this aim, it was important that the sampling strategies resulted in respondents who conformed to a reasonable degree with the known (at least published characteristics) of the communities. Beyond the significant

²Alderman Newton's School, Glenfield; Beauchamp Community College, Oadby; Gateway Community College, City Centre; Moat Community college, Highfields Soar Valley School, Belgrave; Wyggeston Collegiate and Wyggeston Queen Elizabeth I Community Colleges, City Centre. Avalon Community Education Project, Highfields/Spinney Hill; Belgrave Neighbourhood Centre, Belgrave; Mellor Primary School Parents Day Group; Wesley Hall Community Centre, Spinney Hill; Three personal contacts; one linked with particular caste association, and one a specific Gurdwara, the third whose family had a forthcoming wedding.

practical difficulties associated with delivering this aim³, two problems are significant in this respect. Firstly, the populations under investigation exist primarily as theoretical abstractions, and any group of people investigated through these instruments (e.g. 'Religion/Language Group' or ethnic group) is necessarily normalised or 'reduced' with respect to this definition. Therefore as was raised above with reference to censuses and estimates, the researched population is inevitably a theoretical product of the research, in Bourdieu's terms, an 'objectified' one. Beyond this theoretical critique of representativity, and with respect to a study like this particular one, its representivity in the field is always an ideal which is being approached and measured in the data so far acquired with reference to the presumed population.

Position and Access

The gender and socio-cultural position of the researcher (white, middle-class, 'educated', male) clearly shaped the nature of both the access to the communities, and the interactions with informants. Whilst the issue of access was not manifested as crudely as had been suggested at the outset of the field-work - women generally from the communities were not reluctant to be interviewed or complete questionnaires - nevertheless, this position did have significant effects. People who did not routinely make use of certain kinds of local institutions (community centres etc.) were difficult to gain access to, widows, elderly married women, elderly men, married working men, each to different degrees and in different ways presented difficulties. Even those who offered to take questionnaires home for relatives were reluctant to take them for elderly relatives, despite translated versions being available. Older relatives may not be able to read in their first language and younger family members may not have the language skills necessary to read out or translate the questionnaire. Also the very nature of the exercise presumes the co-operation of the participants, and it could therefore be argued that the responses represent the lives of only the most 'forthcoming' and 'outgoing' sections of the community. Those who are hostile to academic researchers working in the community may be the most 'politicised' - those whose ethnicity is expressed most overtly. Those who shun such studies may be the most traditional and conservative, and therefore the most enmeshed in their culture's traditional values and beliefs. This problem appears to be both systemic and chronic but must be acknowledged.

'Reflexivity'

The socio-cultural position of the researcher and the specificities of the relationship to

³For example it was quite beyond the means of this project to construct a rigorously defined random sample on the basis of electoral roles and Census data even if the theorisation of the project had indicated it, and had the problems over identification raised above not existed. The cumulative sample sizes required for strict validity (Gujarati Hindus and Muslims, Punjabi Sikhs, (East African Asians, 'Indian' Asians?) would also have been too large to achieve, and to deal with in analysis

informants that this engendered should not be construed merely as problematic. Whilst the stereotyping of the South Asian communities as being committed to educational achievement oversimplifies the situation (Modood et. al. 1997: 347-9), it is nonetheless the case that the East African Asians and Indians represented in the three communities studied have higher than average levels of academic qualifications at higher levels (Modood et. al.. 1997: 65-6). The status conferred on the researcher by being attached to a University was clearly valued and respected by several interviewees, particularly adults in positions of responsibility. This status appeared to confer authority on the field-work in their eyes. Those younger professionals who evidently had a degree or higher qualification (e.g. the Primary School Deputy Head) were less 'impressed' with this status, but also had familiarity with the aims of the research process in general, and could therefore address the research and discussions at a different level.

On several occasions the field-work was introduced into the ongoing activities of colleges or community centres. Thus the distribution of the questionnaires in colleges was integrated into Personal and Social Education, Sociology or other classes. The aims of the project and the questionnaire itself were discussed, and in some cases broader talks on research methods were given, students also had the opportunity to ask questions or discuss the research or research topics more broadly. In some cases follow-up classes based on the themes of the research were organised within the colleges independent of this researcher. Clearly this strategy will have had the effect of placing the field-work very overtly within one everyday context of the lives of the participants. Constructing it as an activity associated with college and study will undoubtedly have affected the rate of return (probably positively), and shaped the cohort of those who volunteered to take part (those 'distanced' from the college being likely to feel less sympathetic to a college sponsored project). However, the advantages of access, of offering a positive contribution to the students' studies, and of enabling them to interrogate the researcher seem to far outweigh any putative disadvantages of 'bias' or skewing of samples and responses. Each point of access (public or private) would engender some framing of the sample and responses.

The very difference and cultural distance of the researcher from the communities was in some instances positively advantageous in terms of the openness and depth of discussions. For example, the discussion in the groups at the community centre in Highfields became quite personal and revealing of e.g. intra-family conflicts and disputes over values, morals and standards of acceptable behaviour and dress. Comments were made on a number of occasions that this kind of conversation would never have been conducted in front of an unknown member of one of the communities. It was evident that being removed from the social networks of the informants meant that the researcher could be 'trusted' not to discuss controversial opinions with those who might be offended or judgmental - if only in that they were unknown.

RECORDING

The information acquired in the field was recorded in several ways. Initial discussions with key informant were informal on the whole, and therefore not recorded or noted in any great detail at the time, key points of these conversations, key pieces of information, important points and contacts were noted later. Subsequent interviews were noted as closely to verbatim as possible, either at the time of the interview or as shortly afterwards as possible. Some interviews were taped and transcribed later - although it quickly became clear that the transcription added considerably to the task of keeping records. During periods of observation, notes about the location, participants and the events were taken; photographs were also taken whenever possible.

The questionnaires were collected and stored in batches according to their point of distribution. A coding system was generated for the responses and although the results were not intended to be strictly statistically valid, nor analysed in quantitative terms, the data was entered into SPSS for Windows. This package was chosen for its availability and ease of use, the fact that there was some local expertise with the package, and because its simple descriptive and correlative functions were suitable for the kinds of analysis which could be usefully applied to the data.

CONCLUSION

The intention of the field-work was to provide information whose interpretation could provide answers to the field research questions outlined above. The communities chosen as the setting for the research posed significant problems but also offered considerable opportunities to find answers to these questions. An essentially qualitative approach was adopted, treating the field-work as an ethnographic (ethnoarchaeological - given its focus) case study, and information was gathered through interviews, observation and photography. Although a questionnaire was also employed to generate a substantial body of data, this was still to be interpreted within the case study frame of reference, and could therefore be understood as an alternate means to gathering information through brief interviews. Sampling strategies were adopted which were both theoretically justifiable with reference to the foregoing arguments, and which were workable in the field. Problems of access, validity and socio-cultural positioning were acknowledged and addressed through the period of the field-work

CHAPTER SIX

Cultural Identity and Material Culture in the Indian Communities of Leicester

INTRODUCTION

The results of the examination of the use of certain 'traditional'¹ items of material culture and the processes of identification within the chosen Indian Communities of Leicester are represented here in three sections: i) results of the questionnaire, ii) the photographic records of events contexts and material culture, iii) the interview responses. The material presented in each of these sections will be discussed within the sections, utilising the structures of the questionnaire, the distinction between the contexts observed, and the organisation of the interview schedule. This is evidently a somewhat arbitrary organisation which is the product of way in which the information was recorded rather than any inherent or thematic logic. It is not intended to suggest that this material can be treated in a naturalistic, or objective empiricist manner. Following the presentation of this material, a series of specific themes and concerns, following the research questions identified in Chapter Five, will be addressed in a discursive section.

¹As discussed in the previous chapter the definition of the term 'traditional' is problematic, what it is intended to refer to is an item of clothing or other kind of artefact which is of a style that has identifiable elements which correspond to Indian 'prototypes'. Such items might be garments which wholly follow a long established pattern, or ones which modify such forms, or only incorporate aspects of those forms in new styles. This definition is clearly not a rigorous one and was discussed in the focus groups it was also raised as an issue by some informants. For the most part however, it was - sometimes with some elaboration - well understood.

PART ONE: QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

In two tranches, between the summers of 1993 and 1994, and between spring 1996 and summer 1998, questionnaires were distributed to volunteers at fourteen venues². The number of respondents at each location varied considerably the largest number being in the low forties and the smallest eight. Overall the return rates for the questionnaires was very high between 60% and 100%, this was partly predictable since respondents were volunteering to complete them. However, this figure includes those taking home copies of questionnaires to relatives, who had clearly not volunteered themselves (although not everyone offered to do this). In total 223 questionnaires were returned. the following section describes the basic characteristics of the respondents as a cohort.

THE RESPONDENTS

The first section of the questionnaire was intended to provide basic information describing the characteristics of the respondents. Thus, it sought to identify them according to: gender, age, socio-economic status, locale, national/ethnic origin and religious affiliation. These factors were a combination of the factors cited by interview subjects, and those deemed theoretically likely to be factors against which the articulation of collective identity through material culture would vary. The subsequent correlation of the responses to questions about cultural identification was correlated against these factors where appropriate.

1. Gender

	Frequency	Percentage
Male	88	39.5
Female	136	60.5
Total	223	

Table 1

This uneven gender balance is clearly problematic at one level - in terms of representing the expected gender balance of the communities at almost 50-50%, and represents something of a unexpected outcome since several interviewees suggested that the reluctance of women to speak to a male researcher, or respond to a questionnaire would be likely to result in under-representation. In the event, the disproportion in response was noted in the earlier tranche of questionnaire distributions when the project was being introduced as being

²Alderman Newton's School, Glenfield; Beauchamp Community College, Oadby; Gateway Community College, City Centre; Moat Community college, Highfields Soar Valley School, Belgrave; Wyggeston Collegiate and Wyggeston Queen Elizabeth I Community Colleges, City Centre. Avalon Community Education Project, Highfields/Spinney Hill; Belgrave Neighbourhood Centre, Belgrave; Mellor Primary School Parents Day Group; Wesley Hall Community Centre, Spinney Hill; Three personal contacts.

explicitly about Indian style clothing. Given the demonstrably lower rate of wearing 'Indian' clothes amongst boys and men, many clearly felt this project did not apply to them. Later introductions to the project described it as being about the maintenance of Indian traditions generally, dealing with issues such as language, religion, food and dress.

2. Age

Age group	Frequency	Percentage
0-17	87	39.0
18-35	85	38.1
36-53	41	18.4
54 & above	5	2.2
missing	5	2.2
total	223	

Table 2

These age groupings were chosen to reflect the distinction between 'juveniles' and adults in the 17 - 18 years ages which was operative in the different questionnaires distributed to those of 17 and younger. The remaining age categories were then made as equal divisions of the age range. Although the levels of response may seem to over-reflect the younger age-groups, they do in fact correspond reasonably well to projections from the estimates from the *Survey of Leicester* (L.C.C. & L.C.C. 1983: 25), and the 1991 Census results which show a higher proportion of the Asian communities in the 0-40 age-range than the 'norm'. (Leicester City Council C.E.O./ Corporate Equalities Team 1997).

3. Location

The response to the question on address was very poor from the outset, confirming reservations that those interviewed had expressed about reservations respondents would have arising out of personal safety/security and basic privacy³ The purpose of the question was to elucidate the argument about the high degree of localisation of some communities. The verbal introduction to the questionnaires was quickly modified to emphasise that only the respondent's post-code was required. Nevertheless the response rates remained so low < 40% for any address entry, that these results have not been included in the analysis⁴.

4. Occupation

The initial coding for occupation followed the standard OPCS Census classifications (HMSO). The codings were recorded either for the respondent or the first named parent's occupation (normally the father).

³One questionnaire which included the respondent's address had the remark "No Junk Mail !!" added to it.

⁴Re-coding of the information, to collate catchment areas of schools, partial addresses and extant postcode records may offer the possibility of some analysis in the future.

	The initial Categories were:		New Category
1/15	Professional	I	Professional A
2/16	Managerial /Administrative	II	Professional Service B
3/17	Technical	III	Intermediate C1
4/18	Small Business	III	Intermediate C1
5/19	Clerical	III	Intermediate C1
6/20	Commercial	IV	Lower Intermediate C2
7/21	Service	IV	Lower Intermediate C2
8/22	Craft/Skilled non-manual	IV	Lower Intermediate C2
9/23	Skilled Manual	IV	Lower Intermediate C2
10/24	Non-skilled Manual	V	Working Class D
11/25	Housewife	VII	Unclassified*
12/26	Student	VIII	Unclassified*
13/27	Unemployed	VI	Lowest E
14/28	Retired	VI	Lowest E

Table 4 *students and housewives cannot be properly placed within a scheme based on occupation given that they may best be described, in these terms, according to the occupation of others in the household.

These categories were condensed for the analyses according to a scheme intended to correlate to contemporary understandings of socio-economic status. Such classifications are notoriously controversial, in terms of rank ordering, in the correlation of specific occupations to their ranked status, and in terms of the assignment of specific occupations to particular categories⁵. The scheme adopted adopts aspects of the broad census categories, the Social Class category system used in the advertising industry (Bocock 1993), and those operative in sociological research (e.g. Goldthorpe 1980; Marshall et.al. 1988).

Class Categories

Category	Frequency	Percentage
I	30	13.5
II	26	11.7
III	39	17.5
IV	33	14.8
V	25	11.2
VI	8	3.6
VII	9	4.0
VIII	24	10.8
missing	29	13.0

Table 4.1

The usually accepted figure for the professional classes is approximately 3-4%⁶, therefore the 13.5 % of the respondents is clearly a high figure. Further the sample responses in the classes II, III, IV, V and VI appear under-represented. This under-representation is difficult even to estimate because of the high proportion of missing responses, and is further complicated by the lack of any clear basis for comparison⁷. However the closest

⁵Quantitative studies (e.g. Modood et.al. 1997), now tend to break down such categories, correlating the phenomena studied with educational qualifications, employment type, household income, and residence, to build a more complex statistical model of 'status'. New definitions of class are becoming influential - e.g. Pfiel's (1990) notion of the Professional Managerial Class, or the 'new consumers' and 'Grey Power' - e.g. Willis (1990). This suggests that professional status should only be considered a relatively crude 'index' of status, not an accurate measure of it.

⁶See e.g. Marshall et.al. (1988).

⁷The survey of Leicester and Report on the 1991 Census don't offer comparable information.

available comparison (Modood et.al. 1997: 139 tab. 4.37) suggests that the profile of occupations in the Indian Communities of Britain as a whole is not so skewed towards classes III, IV, V and VI as is the majority population. Given that the correlations that will be explored later are only seeking to identify the possible differences in cultural behaviour in relation to social status, rather than measure rates of prevalence for instance, these (dis)proportions are not seriously problematic.

5. Country of Birth⁸

The high proportion of those born in England *table 5* is clearly an artefact of the age profile of the sample, which was in turn an expected consequence of the means of distributing a large proportion of the questionnaires through schools and colleges. What is surprising is the proportionately low rate of return from those born in India. Both the 1983 *Survey of Leicester* and the 1991 Census put the number of those born in India at about 20,000, i.e. one third of the 'ethnically' Indian population. This suggests that a higher proportion, approximately equal to those from East Africa in total (c. 50) would have responded.

Respondent's Country of Birth

Country of birth	Frequency	Percentage
England	132	59.2
Uganda	26	11.7
Kenya	23	10.3
India	16	7.2
Malawi	8	3.6
Pakistan	3	1.3
Tanzania	6	2.7
Zimbabwe	2	0.9
Holland	1	0.4
Norway	1	0.4
Missing	5	2.2

Table 5

⁸The Questions on town/city of birth for the respondent, and for their parents was not analysed because the responses were so inconsistent, and often, especially for parents, clearly wrong - Countries being put down for towns and Africa being put down for the country. Furthermore, and more significantly, the whole strategy for discussing questions of origin would have been better addressed in more simple terms since one of the key distinction which is suggested in the Indian communities is between 'Indian' and 'African' Asians - the questions on place of birth should have been framed around a more direct question about whether the respondent or their family was from East Africa or India. The attempts to construct these categories from the place of birth responses was in most instances too complicated - resulting in low and therefore unreliable cell counts. In most cases therefore this potentially useful distinction was not analysed - frequency of clothing section 14 being an exception.

Father's/Mother's Country of Birth

Father's Country of birth	Frequency	Percentage	Mother's Country of birth	Frequency	Percentage
India	132	58.7	India	121	54.3
Kenya	27	12.1	Kenya	27	12.1
Uganda	20	9.0	Uganda	15	7.0
Malawi	5	2.2	Malawi	6	2.7
Pakistan	5	2.2	Zimbabwe	6	2.7
Tanzania	5	2.2	Tanzania	5	2.2
Bangladesh	1	0.5	Burma	2	0.9
England	1	0.5	Pakistan	2	0.9
Zimbabwe	1	0.5	South Africa	1	0.5
			England	1	0.5
Missing	26	11.7	Missing	38	17.0

Table 5.1

The question on parents' place of birth was intended to develop a further sense of the relative proportions of the respondents whose families had arrived in the UK through migration from India, and those who had come as a result of the expulsion from East Africa. This question sought to indicate the cultural backgrounds/heritage of those questioned (*table 5.1*)

		Fathers place of birth				
Place of Birth	Total	England	East Africa	India	Indian Subcont.	Missing
England	132	1	44	67	3	17
East Africa	65	1	13	47		4
India	16			14		2
Indian Subcont.	3			1	2	0

Table 5.2

Despite the small number of respondents who were born in India, those with an Indian (rather than East African Asian) cultural back-ground are represented by those born in England but whose parents (fathers) were born in India (*table 5.2.*). Clearly it is possible that some of those fathers born in India migrated to East Africa, and then to the UK. However, it seems likely that this would have been a small number. Given the age profile of the respondents born in East Africa (predominantly 25-40) - and therefore the age ranges of their parents (50+) of whom about two thirds were born in India - when compared to the age profile of those born in the UK (predominantly 15-25) and therefore the predominant ages of their parents (estimated at c. 40-50). This implies that parents born in India would have had to have been migrating to East Africa at the precise time when the East African Nations Uganda Kenya, Tanzania etc. were gaining independence, and the Nationalisation (Africanisation) programmes were beginning: the late 1950s and early 1960s. Further as both Michaelson (1983: 21-51 and Campbell (forth. 1999) show, the pattern of migration was from India to East Africa in the late 19th and first half of the 20th century, and from East Africa to the UK in the 1960s.

6. Religion

The religions cited by the respondents were as follows

Religions

Religion	Frequency	Percentage
Hindu	130	58.3
Sikh	56	25.1
Muslim	28	12.5
Atheist	2	0.9
Christian	1	0.5
Jain	4	1.8
Missing	2	0.9

Table 6

These proportions are difficult to compare with more recent statistics such as the 1991 Census, because of the different ethnic and religious classifications utilised. However, the *Survey of Leicester* (albeit dated) estimated that the overall proportions were approximately:

Gujarati Hindus	57.0%
Punjabi Sikhs	15.2%
Gujarati Muslims	8.25% ⁹

Thus the responses for the three main religious groups fall quite close to those proportions. Nevertheless, the small numbers, of Muslim respondents in particular, will mean that inferences drawn on the basis of religious identification will need to be made with caution. The numbers/percentages of men and women of each religious group were very close to the overall proportions of men and women in the cohort (40% : 60%), they were as follows: Hindus - Men 52 (39.%), Women 79 (21%); Sikhs - Men 24 (43%), Women 32 (57%); Muslim - Men 10 (36 %), Women 18 (64%).

CULTURAL PRACTICES AND IDENTITY

The next section of the questionnaire addressed a series of cultural practices through which cultural and ethnic identification might be articulated. These practices are ones which have traditionally been associated with the Culture-trait type definitions of ethnic and cultural identity that have been criticised above, and by theorists of cultural/ethnic identity (e.g. Barth 1969: 10-12). These include: language, religious custom and practice, cultural events, artefacts, clothing. The issue of how the identities expressed within the Indian communities will be addressed more fully below. However, even Barth (1969: 14) accepted that cultural traits and practices were incorporated, as 'diacritical features' (markers), and 'basic orientations' (morals, attitudes etc.) into the identity of the self ascribing groups (ibid.: 119-21). More recently, the idea that cultural identity based on shared attitudes, values, practices, beliefs and material culture, etc. is related to, but distinct

⁹Whilst his study was concerned with Gujarati speaking Muslims, it is possible to estimate, by subtracting those born in Pakistan and Bangladesh from the total number of Muslims estimated by the *Survey of Leicester* that the number of Indian Muslims was approximately 15 % of the total Indian population - c. 9,500-10,000.

from ethnic identity, has been articulated more clearly (see e.g. Erikson 1993: 33-5; Jenkins 1997: 76-7; Rex 1991: 12-13). However, it is equally the case that although cultural identity is not congruent with ethnicity, ethnic identification invariably involves the utilisation of distinctive cultural phenomena in its articulation (Jenkins 1997: 20-1). Indeed the valorisation of distinctive cultural traits is one of the central ploys of ethnic identification and mobilisation processes (Smith 1981: 46-52), although the specific cultural markers elevated to the status of ethnic identifiers are distinctive to the historical peculiarities of each situation (ibid.).

7. Language

The first question on language asked people to list the languages they spoke in the order that they felt they spoke them most fluently¹⁰.

First and Second Languages

<i>First Language</i>	Frequency	Percentage	<i>Second Language</i>	Frequency	Percentage
English	144	64.6	Gujarati	93	41.7
Gujarati	50	22.4	English	74	33.2
Punjabi	23	10.3	Punjabi	40	17.9
Hindi	2	0.9	Hindi	3	1.3
Urdu	1	0.4	Urdu	3	1.3
Kutchi	2	0.9	Bengali	3	1.3
Arabic		-	Arabic	1	0.4
Bengali	1	0.4	Kutchi	1	0.4
			Missing	5	2.2

Table 7

These responses show the predominance of English as a first language which seems to be a correlate of the (young) age profile of the sample. The other interesting features are the proportions of the Punjabi first and second language speakers - which suggests that about two-thirds of Punjabi Sikhs¹¹ speak English as a first language. This in turn implies that approximately 100 (two-thirds) of the Gujarati Hindus and Muslims speak English as a first language, and Gujarati as a second.

Languages and Religion

<i>1st Language</i>	Religion			2nd Language			
	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim		Hindu	Sikh	Muslim
English	83	35	20	English	43	20	9
Punjabi		21	1	Punjabi	2	34	2
Gujarati	44	4	4 (3 other)	Gujarati	78	-	11 (3 other)

Table 7.1 *note this table does not include missing entries, and religions and languages with very few entries.

This table shows that within this cohort there are: 122 (c.55 %) Gujarati speaking Hindus (Hindu first or second language); 56 (c.25 %) Punjabi speaking Sikhs (Punjabi as a first or

¹⁰Only the first and second most fluently spoke languages were recorded and coded for analysis, for reasons of time constraint.

¹¹Note that not all Punjabi speakers are Sikhs.

second language); and 15 (7 %) Gujarati Muslims (Gujarati first or second language), which compared to the Survey of Leicester estimates shows that Gujarati Hindus and Muslims are slightly under-represented and Punjabi Sikhs over-represented.

Gujarati Hindus	57.0%
Punjabi Sikhs	15.2%
Gujarati Muslims	8.25%

Table 7.1 also shows the inverse relation between the first and second languages between English and the 'traditional' Indian language. In other words those whose first language is English are usually at least Bi-lingual, whereas table 7 shows a slightly lower¹² number of people whose second language is English 74 vs. 79 than those whose first language is an Indian one. This might indicate that those whose first language is an Indian language more often have either another Indian language as a second language or no second language - a suggestion given confirmation in the interviews, and in other studies (e.g. Modood et.al 1997).

Languages and Age

First Language	Age Range			
	0-17	18-35	36-53	54->
English	66 46% 115 %	67 47% 121 %	10 7% 37 %	
Punjabi	6 28% 70 %	7 33% 85 %	7 33% 174 %	1 5% 250 %
Gujarati	15 31% 76 %	10 21% 54 %	19 40% 211 %	4 8% 400 %
Age as % of pop.	40%	39	19	2

Table 7.2

In this table the first percentage is the percentage of the speakers of that language in the age group. The second, highlighted percentage is that first percentage divided by the percentage of respondents in the age group. In other words it is a measure of the level of first language use compared to the age profile of the cohort. Numbers below 100% indicate an under representation of that language in that age group, and numbers over 100% an over representation. Therefore, there is an obvious 'over'-representation of English in the youth and young adult groups, though not perhaps as large as might have been expected. That 70%, 76% and 85% of those one might expect to speak an Indian language as a first language in these groups shows how these languages are spoken to a lesser extent, but these percentages are quite high. The fact that 18-35 year -olds are less likely to be Gujarati speakers than up to 17 year olds, may not be surprising, since youths may have more contact with the home and family environments than young adults who work and socialise beyond the home/family context. This though makes the high figure 85% of young adult Punjabi speakers more surprising. This may reflect a significantly different attitude towards the place of language in social and cultural contexts, but given the small counts these percentages are based on the results do not bear 'deep' interpretation. More significant is

¹²This disparity is possibly less evident because the age profile of the respondents is shifted towards the younger age groups.

the overall, and marked shift (notwithstanding small cell counts) towards Indian languages as the first choice language, in older age groups. This almost certainly reflects the generational differences between the countries and contexts which the different generations have experienced, and their divergent educational experience.

Language, Age and Religion

A further correlation with the age groups shows that for each of the religious groups the prevalence of first languages changes considerably from English to an Indian language across the age ranges. English is the predominant first language in the adolescent age-group, English and the corresponding Indian languages become more equally represented in the young adult age range, and the Indian Languages are more common in the older adult groups. This of course reflects generational differences, not so much in the length of presence of the individuals in England, but rather in terms of the educational and formative experiences of the younger generations which involve them in contexts in which English is the only or main language spoken.

Hindus	Age Ranges			
1st Language	0-17	18-35	36-53	54->
English	66	12	3	-
Gujarati	15	12	13	2

Table 7.3

Sikhs	Age Ranges		
1st Language	0-17	18-35	36-53
English	27	5	3
Punjabi	8	5	6

Table 7.4

Muslims	Age Ranges		
1st Language	0-17	18-35	36-53
English	12	5	
Gujarati	2	2	
Punjabi		1	
Kutchi		1	1
Urdu			1

Table 7.5

Even in the case of the table for Muslims, where the numbers are small the shift towards 'Mother tongues' with increasing age group is clear.

Language and Socio-Economic Background

The three main languages were also correlated with the socio-economic groups represented in the cohort. The social classifications were compared in their percentage representation in each class for their choice of first language, and this was compared to the overall percentage representation of that language (this excludes entries with missing data for both language and socio-economic group).

	Socio- Econ. Group								Lang%
language	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
English	18 60.0	19 73.1	28 71.8	21 63.6	14 56.0	4 50.0	3 33.3	22 91.7	66.5
Punjabi	4 13.3	2 7.7	4 10.3	2 6.1	5 20.0	1 12.5	2 22.2	1 4.2	10.3
Gujarati	7 23.3	5 19.2	7 17.9	8 24.2	6 24.0	3 37.5	3 33.3	1 4.2	22.42

Table 7.6 Note the percentages in the columns do not necessarily add up to 100% because other first languages have not been included, and Lang% refers to the overall percentage of the cohort speaking these three languages

Whilst the counts for some of the cells in this table are very low and therefore any inference drawn from them must be tentative at best, the results seem to indicate some possible positive correlations. There is the slight indication of a possibly lower rate of English speaking amongst the unemployed/retired at 50% vs. 66.5% which would probably be an effect of the age of the retired group. More obvious though is the low rate of English as a first language 33.3% amongst 'housewives' and its over representation with students 91.7%. The first of these two results needs to be treated with caution, given the actual number of responses, but could reflect a group whose contact with Public contexts in which English is the spoken language is limited. The second result is a clear indication of the influence of the educational context on the level of English as first language, with students showing a definite slant towards English. Those in classification ,V -basically manual labouring jobs - show a higher tendency towards speaking Indian languages particularly in the case of Punjabi with double the rate of the group as a whole. Conversely, students are under-represented in the response to Punjabi and Gujarati as a first language. These two results might indicate a positive and negative effect with respect to levels of educational achievement, but also probably reflect the ages of manual workers and students.

Language and Gender

Remembering that the overall number of English as first language speakers was 144, of Punjabi speakers 23 and of Gujarati speakers 50; and that the overall percentage of Women in the cohort was c.60% and that of Men c. 40%. The relative proportions (expressed as percentages) of each gender speaking each language), were compared to the overall proportions of the genders.

	English	Punjabi	Gujarati
Men	55 (38.2%)	8 (34.8%)	22(44.2%)
Women	89 (61.8%)	15 (65.2%)	28 (56.0%)

Table 7.7

However, the results showed very minor variations from the overall 60:40 proportions. the low cell numbers in some cases, there may be a slight over- representation of women Punjabi speakers, and an under-representation of men, and *visa versa* with respect to Gujarati speakers, where there were proportionately more men.

Language and Context

Location	Language Spoken			
	English	Punjabi	Gujarati	Both*
Work/School	191	2	1	21
% vs. 1st language	132.6%	8.7%	2%	
With friends	128	7	15	10
% vs. 1st language	88.9%	30.4%	30%	
Home with family	16	25	66	109
% vs. 1st language	11%	108.7%	132%	
Religious event	14	37	87	71
% vs. 1st language	9.7%	160.9%	174%	
Special event/festival	18	21	55	95
% vs. 1st language	12.5%	91.3%	110%	

Table 7.8 The term 'both' here means both English and an Indian language

The next question asked respondents to say which language or languages they would be most likely to speak in different social/cultural settings.

There is an obvious and marked preference for speaking English in the 'public' situations of work or school, and even with friends, whereas in the more private contexts (which are also more defined, circumscribed and mediated through tradition) the home/family, religious attendance and special events like festivals and weddings, Indian languages are favoured. Comparing the responses for languages used in different locations, to percentages of first language should notionally (if location had no effect) produce 100% figures in the lower columns. Therefore the 'positive' effect of location on language use is shown by the percentages greater than 100% - which indicate the 'over-representation' of language use in this circumstance¹³. It is also reflected negatively - as tendencies away from the level of first language in certain circumstances (shown in percentages lower than 100). The results suggest that the effects of location/context on language are marked.

Language and Age in Different Contexts

Age > Language	Work				With friends				With family				Religious event				Special event			
	0-17	18-35	36-53	54->	0-17	18-35	36-53	54->	0-17	18-35	36-53	54->	0-17	18-35	36-53	54->	0-17	18-35	36-53	54->
English	83	76	27	1*	70	51	5	-	8	5	3	-	7	7	-	-	13	4	-	-
%vs.age%	111	104	78	22	140	131	21	-	125	80	100	0	125	128			192	60		
Punjabi	-	-	2*	-	-	1	4	1	7	8	8	1	14	11	10	1	5	7	7	1
%vs.age%			530			42	355	700	71	85	177	182	97	78	149	122	63	90	186	217
Gujarati	-	1*	-	-	-	1	11	2	20	24	17	3	36	28	17	4	23	14	13	4
%vs.age%		250				125	418	620	78	96	142	204	106	84	106	204	107	66	128	322
Both	3	6	9	2	17	31	19	2	50	45	11	1	23	37	9	-	33	46	14	-
%vs.age%	37	77	245	435	62	115	146	126	125	108	55	39	83	95	69		83	127	80.	

Table 7.9 *e.g.s of cell numbers being too low to be treated as representative, other similarly low counts were not highlighted as significant even if they appeared to show high values.

Table 7.9 of course reproduces the general pattern of Table 7.8 such that there is a general tendency for the balance of the counts to shift from a predominance of English in the work environment, to Gujarati or Punjabi in the home, religious and festival contexts. However,

¹³This over-representation must include people speaking e.g. English in public contexts for whom English is not their first language; and people whose first language is English, speaking an Indian language in other contexts, e.g. religious events.

correlating these result against the age of the respondent indicates that age effects language use in different contexts. So that at work/college the tendency towards speaking English affects the young most. Conversely it is most commonly the older age groups that will speak both languages. There are also differences in the relative prevalence of English and the Indian languages spoken between the 'With friends' and 'At home with family'. Youths speak predominantly English with friends and both languages with their families, even though they are less likely to speak only their 'mother tongue' than both languages they are more far more likely to do so at home. This pattern of speaking English with friends and the 'mother tongues' with family is widely attested (e.g. Anwar 76: 31-5; Modood et.al. 1997: 308-13). When speaking with friends, older adults and the oldest age group are increasingly likely to speak either their Indian language or both English and that language. Those groups however, speak predominantly Indian languages with their families. These responses suggest that the home is a context in which both English and Indian languages are spoken but differentially - English between younger family members, Indian languages between older family members, and a mixture between the generations but predominantly the Indian languages.

The pattern for religious and special events varies from language to language. Thus there is a clear tendency towards English amongst the young - but within much lower actual rates than at work and with friends. The tendency to speak Punjabi and Gujarati at religious events is greater amongst the young and the older groups, young adults speaking either English or both languages. At special events, the rate of Punjabi speakers increases with age but is the same pattern as for religious events with Gujarati speakers. These last variations might indicate a different cultural and social significance for language in these contexts between Sikhs and others but the numbers are small.

Language and Gender in Different Contexts

In the context of work the responses divided by gender for English and 'Both' languages (see table 7.6 above), almost exactly matched the proportions of men and women at 39.8% men and 60.2% women; and 38.1 % men and 61.9% women, respectively. However, distinctly gendered patterns of language use did emerge. Again in speaking with friends, English and 'Both languages' fell into the 40%: 60%, men to women ratio. However, Punjabi and Gujarati speaking women (at 71.4% and 73.3%) seem more likely to speak their Indian language with their friends than men at 28.6% and 26.7%. In speaking with family members men seemed slightly more likely to speak Punjabi and Gujarati (respectively 48% and 48.5% vs. 40%) and women slightly more likely to speak both languages (68.8% vs. 60%). At religious events men seem more likely then expected to use Punjabi (54.1% vs. 40%), and women more likely to use both languages (71.8% vs. 60%). At special events such as festivals, men appear more likely than women to speak English, Punjabi and Gujarati, but these results must be qualified by the large number of missing answers 22 cases for women and 7 cases for men in this answer. More secure

seems the greater likelihood of women speaking both languages at such events (70.%) even given the higher non-completion of this answer by women.

Language and Religion in Different Contexts

	Work			With friends			With family			Religious event			Special event		
Language	H	S	M	H	S	M	H	S	M	H	S	M	H	S	M
English	111	48	25	79	29	15	9	2	4	8	4	1	9	7	2
% vs. 1st	134	137	125	95	82	75	11	6	20	10	11	5	11	20	10
Punjabi		2			6		1	22	1		35	1		21	
% vs. 1st		10			29			105							
Gujarati			1	15			56		9	77		10	48		6
% vs. 1st			25	34			67		225	93		250	58		150
Both	13	6	2	35	21	11	62	32	10	38	16	10	58	21	12

Table 7.10

The results from this table are somewhat problematic because of the small cell numbers in some of the responses. The sizeable numbers of answers indicating that both languages are spoken is problematic in that it is difficult to decide how to either apportion these scores or what to measure them against. Nevertheless some observations may be tentatively suggested. Firstly, English seems slightly less represented in Muslims than general as the language spoken in public 125% vs. 132%¹⁴, it also may be less used by Muslims with friends 75% vs. 88.9% surprisingly it seems more evident in family contexts 20% vs. 11%, though less evident in religious situations 5% vs. 9%. Sikhs seem less likely to use English with their families than might be expected 6% vs. 11%, and more likely to use English at special events 20% vs. 12%. There also appears to be a significantly higher percentage of Muslims who use Gujarati in family (225% vs. 132%) religious (250% vs. 174%) and Special event (150% vs. 110%) contexts than do Hindus¹⁵.

Language Summary

The languages spoken by the three Indian communities studied are both a means of defining the groups concerned, but also constitute one of the cultural practices through which that cultural identity is articulated. It is therefore important to establish the factors which influence the use of the Indian languages and the use of English. It seems clear from the results above that there are very obvious (if not strictly quantifiable) differentials in the use of Gujarati, Punjabi and English. The most obvious factors linked to differences in the levels of language use are the age of the respondent, with younger groups speaking English in preference to their 'Mother tongue', and location where certain public contexts (work/school) predispose people towards speaking English, and private/'cultural' contexts - family, religious ceremonies, etc. - in which people speak Indian languages more often. These differences are perhaps not surprising, and similar differences are reported in the existing literature (e.g. Anwar 1976; Michaelson 1983; Modood et.al. 1997). In certain

¹⁴These comparisons are made against the overall pattern for language-use at different locations from table 7.9 above.

¹⁵Although these cell counts are low the proportionate difference seems sufficient to justify the claim that some differential exists.

circumstance there appear to be differences in the levels of language use on the basis of Gender, women being more likely to use both languages in family, religious and 'cultural event' contexts for example. There also appear to be slight differences on the basis of Socio-economic status with housewives, the unemployed and retired being slightly more likely to speak 'mother tongues', and students much more likely to speak English. However, significant results in the correlation of language, etc., with socio-economic group were very slight, and from this point will only be referred to in specific instances¹⁶.

8. Religious Attendance

The question on the frequency of religious attendance presumes that, to some degree, the level of religious observance is an index of the individual's sense of identification with their religion and wider cultural tradition of which it is part. Therefore the question addressed frequency of participation.

Religious observance

Attendance	Frequency	Percentage
More than once a day	17	7.6
Daily	37	17.0
weekly	55	24.7
A few times a year	103	46.2
Never	7	3.1
Missing	4	1.8

Table 8

However it should be noted that each of the faiths has a different attitude to religious observance - Islam expecting the devotee to pray five times daily. Thus these results need to be correlated with the representation of the main religions.

Religion and Religious Attendance

Attendance	Religion		
	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim
More than once a day	5 3.8% ¹⁷	3 5.4%	9 32.1%
Daily	28 21.5%	4 7.1%	6 21.4%
Weekly	27 20.8%	20 35.7%	7 25%
A few Times a year	66 50.8%	27 48.2%	5 17.9%
Never	3 2.3%	1 1.8%	1 3.6%
Missing	1	1	-

Table 8.1

This table offers evidence of clearly distinct attitudes towards religious observance. Thus for Hindus religion may be important, but prayers may be offered by only about 20% of people, daily and a similar percentage once or a few times a week; and the majority of

¹⁶It seems likely that this is a consequence of the form of analysis, rather than an actual lack of differentiation by status. It is clear from the interviews (see interviews A and F) that whilst both 'middle' and 'working class' households may have examples of Indian style decorations, pictures and a shrine, the actual style, form and value of those objects is likely to be the kind of factor that differentiates between them.

¹⁷Percentages here are of the faith group.

Hindus only take part in religious events a few time a year. For Sikhs, the bias towards occasional religious observance seems even more marked. In contrast, for Muslims observance of the daily cycle of prayers, or at least part of that daily cycle, is the majority experience¹⁸. This is not to argue that religion is necessarily more important for Muslims, but rather, that daily observance is a more important aspect of adherence to faith. The roughly equal and very low percentages of non-attenders, and the low number of atheists (Table 6) reinforce the importance of religion as an aspect of cultural identity.

Religious Observance and Gender

Attendance	Gender	
	Male	Female
More than once daily	8 47%	9 53%
Daily	9 24%	29 76%
Weekly	24 44%	31 56%
A few time a year	43 42%	60 58%
Never	3 43%	4 57%
Missing		3

Table 8.2

With the exception of those for 'daily prayers', where men are considerably under-represented, and women over- represented (26.7% more than expected - probably reflecting regular attendance/observance of daily prayers by Hindu women (plate 47)), these figures are within one response of the overall percentages for men (40%)and women (60%). This indicates little overall gender basis for differential levels of religious attendance.

Religious Observance and Age

Attendance	Ages			
	0-17	18-35	36-53	54 ->
More than once a day	4 59% ¹⁹	10 151%	3 94%	
Daily	10 66%	16 108%	9 126%	3 344%
Weekly	24 116%	18 89%	9 92%	1 83%
A few times a year	44 109%	36 91%	20 105%	1 43%
Never	3 108%	4 146%		
Missing	2	1		
Age as % of cohort	33.9	39	18.8	2.3

Table 8.3

¹⁸This, as many of the other interpretations of the responses, presumes that the answers are taken at face value - as statements of truth - whereas of course they may be combinations of 'accurate' reports, idealised versions of the 'truth', or measured answers taking the expected stance of the questionnaire and research project into account. An account of the potential levels of interpreting these ethnographic discourses is consciously eschewed. The answers are taken not as self evidently 'true' but are read 'archaeologically', as representations which shape the socio-cultural world of those making them.

¹⁹Again the percentages in this table show a percentage measure of the actual counts compared the percentage of the age group's representation in the whole cohort, that is to say the percentages would all be 100% if age had no bearing on religious attendance. Percentages over 100 represent a higher religious attendance for that age group and those below 100 a lower attendance.

The result here show a marked differential of religious attendance on the basis of age. The youth group being obviously less likely to attend/participate in an act of worship on even a daily basis and slightly more likely to attend infrequently, rarely or never. The young adult group seems to include the highest proportion of those who would attend more than once a day (likely to be Muslims), although additional responses from the oldest age group might well have altered that pattern. Daily worship becomes very obviously more prevalent as the age group rises²⁰. The middle adult group appears to be biased towards two categories of attendance: daily worship and infrequent (few times a year) worship. The results divided by religion showed that the bulk of the daily worshippers were Hindu, the weekly worshippers Sikh, and those who attended a few times a year also Hindu. The highest figure for those 'never' attending, comes from the young adult group. Those with most contact through work and college, etc. to non-Indian contexts and cultural influence, and those least likely to be enmeshed in cultural practices through life cycle events such as marriage.

Religious Observance and Socio-economic Status

The correlations of religious attendance with socio-economic group are mostly either based on numbers of responses which are too small to make them reliable, or they show no significance. There are slight possible positive correlation for religious attendance 'more than once a day for Classes IV (26.7% vs. 15%²¹), V (26.7% vs. 11%) and VIII (20% vs. 11%) - Lower Intermediate and Working Class and Students; for daily attendance by Professionals (19.3% vs. 13%); weekly attendance by those of group V (25% vs. 15%), and monthly attendance by Housewives (8.0% vs. 4.0%). However, the rest of the results show little sign of a pattern and are based on uniformly small numbers of responses.

9. Caste

The question on caste was intended to enable the exploration of the extent of the system as a primary axis of social organisation and therefore in cultural/ethnic identification. It was also intended to shed light in the depth and strength of traditional social organisation/identification. The question produced positive responses in 145 cases and the identification of 35 caste groups, only two of which: the *Lohanas* (with 32), and the *Jats* (a Sikh caste with 24), produced over ten responses. Given that the axes along which caste identification is made are often such things as distinctions of dress style - the way a garment is worn, or the proportions of colours in it, etc. - the diversity of caste groups, and the small numbers of representatives of many castes in these responses, would offer little insight into these distinctions²².

However, the relative percentages of positive and negative responses to caste identification

²⁰The low number of responses at the upper end of the age range make interpretations quite difficult.

²¹The second percentage in each case represents the percentage of each class group in the sample.

²²This issue was pursued within interviews though.

when correlated with the main religions show that Hindus still commonly identify themselves through caste affiliation 92% (118) said they belonged to a caste. Fewer Sikhs identified as members of a caste 74.1% although the *Jat* caste was one of the best represented, and only 39.3 % of Muslims said they belonged to a caste. Caste was of course historically associated with Hindu social order, the *jajmani* system (Dumont 1970; Gould 1988; Singer 1959) binding all levels of society into a series of structurally inter-related ranks and statuses, but also into particular kinds of social interaction, especially centred on occupation (see also Miller 1985 and Tarlow 1996). But as e.g. Singer (1959: 201), and Ahmad (1977), among others have noted despite the Islamic interdictions against caste, many Muslims, from the early 20th century were practising caste group endogamy and operating within a hierarchy of occupations. Thus some, albeit lower level of caste group identification on the part of Muslims would be expected.

As interviewees (see interviews A, C and E) and the literature (e.g. Clarke, Peach & Vertovec 1990: 21) recognise there is no functioning caste system in England, amongst any of the faith groups, not even the Hindus, since in each community only certain caste groups migrated to the City. Caste does survive though as an ascriptive identity, and as a mechanism for conducting marriage negotiations (Michaelson 1979; 1983) - strict endogamy is not maintained though.

10. Marriage

The section dealing with marriage was included as a means of examining some of the issues around one of the important life-cycle ceremonies that most people in these communities experience. Life-cycle ceremonies are taken to be one of the key events at which a sense of cultural identity might be articulated. It is one of the key occasions at which Barth's (1993) notion of tradition, and Bourdieu's *habitus* will be manifested, since ceremonies of this kind utilise, articulate and reinforce social ties and organisation, etiquettes, attitudes, values and practices. They are also occasions when families and the wider community gather together²³.

The first questions on marriage explored the degree to which people thought that their marriage had conformed to tradition. This question inevitably requires them to judge their own experience against their understanding of a cultural norm. Although this presumes a less than 'objective' basis, it does offer the possibility of the respondent estimating their own adherence to tradition. The supplementary question which asks respondents to list some of the ways in which their marriage was traditional - offers a means by which a sense of what is important in constituting tradition in marriage can be judged.

²³Community occasions such as festivals and life-cycle ceremonies were explored in the photographic observations presented later in this chapter.

<i>If married - was your marriage</i>	Frequency	Percentage
Completely traditional	54	24.2
Mostly traditional	75	33.6
Somewhat traditional	51	22.9
Not traditional	7	3.1
Not married	25	11.2
Missing	11	4.9

Table 10

Clearly there is high degree of perception that people's marriages conform to tradition at least to some degree, given that the most common answer was 'Mostly traditional'. This indicates that peoples perception of their conduct of this key life-cycle ceremony is that it is still strongly articulated with traditional practices, values, etc.

<i>What ways traditional ?</i>	Yes	No	Missing
An arranged marriage	74	119	30
Traditional ceremony	137	56	30
Traditional costume	109	84	30
Traditional gifts/dowry	62	131	30
Residence with family	54	131	30
other	5	187	30

Table 10.1

Given that the strongest responses to the question about the ways in which such ceremonies were traditional, were for the nature of the ceremony and the clothing worn at the ceremony, there is a strong indication of the importance of the conduct of ceremonies and the visible/material expression of cultural identity at such events. That 'arranged marriage' was less often cited, but still significantly so, and might be explained partly in that the traditional notion of a wholly arranged marriage in which the bride and groom play little role until their partnership is agreed by the parents, is now less common. Many people, as in the interviews (F and H) talk of 'assisted marriage' where the individuals have a considerable say in the process (see also Modood et.al. 1997: 317-9), even if the negotiations between families occur through traditional means such as through caste associations (Michaelson 1983: 36)

Marriage and Religion

There was no discernibly significant difference in the rates of response, either to the question of how traditional their marriage was, or the ways in which it was, traditional for the different religious groups. The percentages of respondents answering each question matched the overall levels of answer to the question to within 1 or 2 percent in each case.

Marriage and Socio-economic Status

In several instances the responses in the correlations between the extent of tradition in the marriage and socio-economic status were too small for their proportions to be treated as being significant. However, almost twice as many professionals (Group I) as might be expected had had a marriage that was not traditional, and slightly more than expected had had a marriage that was only traditional in some ways. Less than half the expected number

of the professional-service group (II) had a wholly traditional marriage and more had a marriage traditional in only some ways. Socio economic group III - the intermediate group also showed a slightly higher percentage of people whose marriage was only partly traditional. Slightly more of those in the Lower Intermediate class (group IV) and the Working Class (group V) had had 'Mostly traditional' marriages. These responses might indicate a socio-economically identifiable basis to differentiated attitudes towards traditional marriage - a rejection or questioning of tradition on the part of professional / middle classes, and a retention of tradition on the part of the working class. The highest over-representation of those whose marriage was wholly traditional was in the responses of house-wives (four times over represented), which perhaps indicates a combination of the positive valuation of marriage in a more broadly traditional home (where wives do not work), and personal/'ideological' investment in marriage as a traditional form.

Marriage and Age

Although it was possible to collect information of the changing attitudes and practices of marriage according to age, a series of difficulties over the fact that large numbers of the younger respondents were not yet married arose. In particular, the fact that predictions of what a future marriage might be like are not fairly comparable with what an actual marriage was like, meant that this set of correlations was not included.

11. Food

Food is one of the most emblematic features of the Indian communities in Leicester, to those outside the communities at least. However, there is something of a disparity between the white community's perception of 'Indian' food - curries cooked 'Tandoori Style' in the successful restaurants around the city centre - and the Indian food which is available in the largely vegetarian restaurants and sweet meat shops of the Melton Road, and in homes in the Belgrave area and Highfields. The questionnaire asked respondents how often they ate Indian style food.

<i>How often Indian food?</i>	Frequency	Percentage
At every meal	48	21.5
Daily	153	68.6
Weekly	22	9.9
A few times a year	-	-
Never	-	-

Table 11

The fact that no one failed to respond to this question, that everyone answered that they ate Indian food at least on a weekly basis, and that 90% of respondents said they ate Indian food at least daily indicates the centrality of food to the traditional lifestyle of these communities. The importance of traditional food is reflected in the large number of small supermarkets and grocers within the Belgrave, Highfields and Narborough Road areas, which provide people with the traditional ingredients such as vegetables, pulses and flours, together with other necessities such as *ghee* and cooking oil. Within Highfields a number

of *Halal* butchers operate to supply meat to the Muslim community.

Food and Age

	Ages			
How Often	0-17	18-35	36-53	54->
Every Meal	13	16	17	2
	27.1% ²⁴	33.3%	35.4%	4.2%
	68 %	85 %	188 %	183 %
Daily	68	57	21	3
	45.6%	38.3%	14.1%	2%
	114 %	98 %	75 %	87 %
Weekly	6	12	3	-
	28.6%	57.1%	14.3%	
	72 %	146 %	76 %	
Age % of cohort	39.9%	39%	18.8%	2.3%

Table 11.1

These responses indicate that fewer of the younger age groups eat Indian food daily, than might be expected, and that considerably more - almost twice as many (180+%) - of the older groups do. The most common response in the youngest age group was to eating Indian food daily. For the young adult group it was weekly (146%). Again, this drop probably reflects a higher proportion of people with an 'independent' lifestyle, beyond the parents family home. The results also suggest that it is predominantly older members of the Indian Communities who always eat Indian food and that most of them are likely to do so. In the older adult age-group about 40% (17 out of 41) of people eat Indian food daily whereas one might have expected about 9, if age had no effect .

Food and Socio-economic Group

The responses over all show little sign of a differential in the regularity with which people eat Indian food on the basis of socio-economic status. There is possibly a slightly higher percentage of Professional (30% vs. 15%²⁵) and Professional service (20% vs. 13%) group respondents who only eat food on a weekly basis, which might suggest less of an attachment to tradition in this respect. However, there are also fewer respondents of group IV (lower Intermediate) who eat food at every meal. There are markedly more 'Housewives' (group VII) who eat food at every meal (9.1% vs. 4.6%), which may well be a reflection of both their traditional role, and the fact that they provide their own meals. Students (group VIII) appear more likely than any other groups, apart from the professionals (group I) to eat Indian food once a week or so, although most of them still eat Indian food more frequently than that.

²⁴The first percentage in each entry is the percentage of the age-group response compared to the over all response for that answer. The second, highlighted percentage is that figure as a percentage of the overall age percentage of the cohort. Again this indicates the over or under-representation of the answers as a result of age.

²⁵Again the first percentage is the percentage of over all response that occurs in that age range, and the second is the percentage of that age range in the whole cohort.

Food and Gender

There was no discernible difference in the regularity of eating Indian food on the basis of Gender, each answer was within one respondent of the Male: Female (40%: 60%) ratio of the overall cohort . Men and women share the same high levels of regularity of eating Indian food.

Food and Religion

There was a slightly higher percentage than expected of Hindus who ate food as every meal (68% vs. 60%) and a significantly lower one (42% vs. 60%) who ate Indian food at least once a week. There are relatively fewer Sikhs (14.6% vs. 25%) who eat only Indian food and, more (38% vs. 35%) who eat Indian food weekly. Muslims eat Indian food in the same proportions as those of the cohort as a whole see (*Table 11*)

12. Indian Style Objects

The question asked whether respondents had any of the following kinds of artefacts of Indian Style in the home in which they lived.

Indian Style Artefacts

Artefact	Yes	No
Furniture	23	200
Cooking utensils	169	52
Pictures/decorations	159	64
Religious Shrines	134	89
Religious inscriptions	134	89
Other Indian style objects	13	210
No Indian style artefacts	2	221

Table 12

A clear distinction is demonstrated here between objects which are utilised within the home and those which are not. In connection with the centrality of food, cooking utensils of Indian style (see Plates 6; 7; 8; 9; 26) are the most commonly found objects. These are closely followed by pictures and decorations (see Plates 20; 24; 29; 30), and then religious shrines and religious inscriptions. Small religious shrines incorporating images and figures of family deities, are a feature of many Hindu homes, as are pictures objects and inscriptions of religious significance (see Plates 10; 14; 22; 23; 25). Sikhs homes also have decorations with religious themes, particularly in stricter and more politicised households: images of Gurus, illustrations of Sikh history and expressions of Khalistani nationalism (see Tøye 1985: 16). Muslim homes in particular, have few or no representational images, in line with the tenets of Islam . Inscriptions from the Qu'ran or inscribed plaques are quite common (see Plates 19-19). Equally significant though, is the kinds of item that do not appear e.g. furniture. Indian furniture is available in one shop in Belgrave, which imports low stools, tables carpets and hangings, as well as religious figures, etc.. There is only one other independent craftsman (see plate 64), one shop in Highfields, together with a few shops selling small, 'occasional' items, which sell furniture. This lack of availability seems

to reflect a genuinely small market for Indian Style furniture²⁶. Traditional furniture then, seems to have become much less important either as an aspect of everyday life which maintains tradition, or as a marker of identity.

Indian Style Artefacts and Religion

For the first two categories of artefact - furniture and cooking utensils - there were no differences between the percentages reported by respondents according to their religion and those recorded overall. In other words religious affiliation had no effect on the frequency with which people reported having certain kinds of objects in their homes.

Objects	Religion			% of cohort
	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	
Pictures/decorations	90 69.2%	48 85.7 %	14 50.0 %	71.6%
Religious Shrines	106 81.5 %	17 30.4 %	6 21.4 %	60.4%
Religious Inscriptions	75 57.7%	31 55.4%	23 82.1 %	59.9%

Table 12.1

A number of significant variations did emerge in the percentages of other artefacts reported in the homes of the different religious groups. The 85.7% of Sikhs who reported having Indian style pictures and decorations in the home is clearly more than other groups. Only half of Muslims reported having Indian style pictures and decorations in the home (half of course did not) as compared with 71% of the cohort as a whole This indicates that Muslims are affected by their religion's stance on images. This difference can be understood in the light of the well attested Muslim prohibition on representations of people and animals, and the notion of *hijab*, the lower rates of Indian style decorations is part of the 'plainer' overall decorative style adopted by many Muslims (Plates 16-19). In contrast, 81.5% of Hindu homes have religious shrines of traditional style (Plates 22; 23; 25) this can be related to the importance of worship in the home, and the use of images, forms and iconography in the practice of daily *puja* at home. Lastly, the prevalence of religious inscriptions in Muslim homes (82.1%) well above the rate for the cohort (c.60%) indicates the importance of such inscriptions to the daily cycle of Muslim devotions.

²⁶The proprietor of the shop on Melton Road imports pieces from India, which he said were relatively easily available. Given the low labour costs in India it seems unlikely that this business would be unprofitable if a demand existed. The contrastive parallel with the numerous jewellers on Melton Road, who also import finished pieces from India, is clear.

Indian Style Artefacts and Socio-economic Group

Indian Artefacts	Class Group								Cohort %
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
Furniture	5 16% ²⁷	5 19%	3 8%	2 6%	2 8%	- 0%	1 11%	2 8%	10.3%
Cooking utensils	25 83%	21 80%	35 90%	25 76%	14 56%	5 63%	9 100%	17 71%	77.8%
Pictures/decorations	23 77%	20 77%	36 92%	22 67%	15 60%	4 50%	6 67%	14 58%	72.2%
Religious shrines	18 60%	17 65%	27 69%	18 55%	17 68%	4 50%	3 33%	14 58%	60.8%
Religious inscriptions	14 47%	14 54%	28 72%	22 67%	13 52%	6 75%	5 56%	16 67%	60.8%

Table 12.2

The responses in *Table 12.2* show a number of significant patterns in the percentages recorded for the various artefact types when compared with the overall percentage response for that artefact (last column). Respondents of the highest socio-economic grouping are the ones most likely to own Indian style furniture, but even then they are a small proportion of their class group. Indian style furniture is at present priced at the level of cheap 'antiques' and given the costs of manufacture and import could probably be imported economically. The lack of a market for Indian style furniture can probably be explained in terms of 'fashion'. In the late 1980s and early 1990s there was a fashion in India, and subsequently in Britain (see interview G and Tarlow 1996: 284-317), for 'ethnic' style clothing e.g. the prevalence of traditional Gujarati style mirror-work and embroidery. However, at present the fashion, such as it is, for 'ethnic' furniture is located amongst the white middle-classes, and is serviced by specialist textile and furniture importers (see e.g. *Elle Decoration* Aug.-Sept. 1990, and Slesin & Cliff 1990). The Professionals (group I) are also the least likely to have religious inscriptions in their homes, which can be associated with their relative rejection of traditional marriages see section 11 above.

Group III has consistently higher percentages of cooking utensils, pictures/decorations, shrines and utensils. This seems to indicate a greater need to demonstrate or articulate identity through traditional cultural practices and objects. This might relate to comments made in interview I about the importance of the opinions of the immediate family, especially a wife's in-laws, and that of neighbours/friends, as influences on the household, which might be more significant to these respondents. In contrast Socio-economic groups V and VI seem to show lower rates of the possession of Indian style cooking utensils, and pictures and decorations, but more often have shrines in the first case and inscriptions in the second case in their homes ²⁸. Most striking was the 100% response to the possession

²⁷ Again the caution about the small number of responses in some of these 'cells' must be born in mind. The percentages have therefore been checked to see the effect of small differences in response numbers and only the responses which were beyond the level of a single case change, were highlighted.

²⁸ These differences are difficult to interpret - especially at such low frequencies of response - and may well just reflect a chance coincidence between class group and religion. There is some suggestion in the literature on Britain's ethnic minorities that Muslims are disproportionately economically disadvantaged, having higher rates of unemployment than other faiths (e.g. Modood et.al. (eds.) 1997: 140-1; Singh 1994: 11;

of Indian Style cooking utensils by the Housewives group.

13. Cultural Activities

The next question addressed the extent to which respondents participated in, or went as spectators to a range of cultural activities. The responses tabulated below show that four 'cultural' activities: dance, music, film and cooking, were far more commonly attended, practised or engaged with.

Cultural Activities

Activity	Yes	%	No	
Dance	107	48.0	116	
Music	102	45.7	121	
Art	31	13.9	192	
Film	119	52.0	104	
Crafts	28	12.6	195	
Embroidery	18	8.1	205	
Making clothes	37	16.6	186	
Cooking	103	46.2	120	
other	12	5.4	211	
No cultural activities	40	17.9	183	82.1%

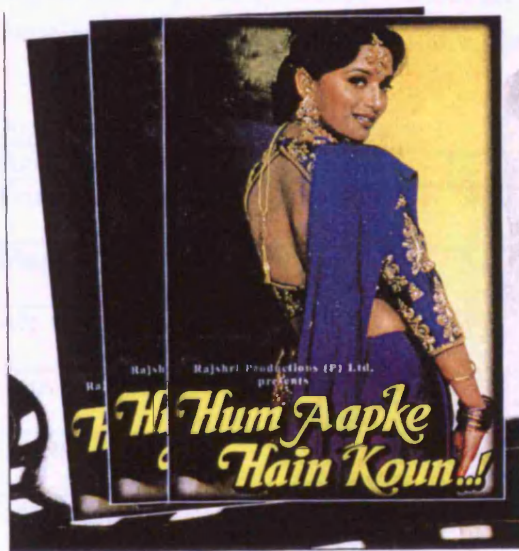
Table 13.

The importance of food in the Indian communities has already been raised above (*tables 11*), therefore, the fact that 46% take part in cooking is unsurprising, in fact given the over-representation of women in the sample a higher figure might have been expected. There are regular music and dance events in Leicester, both representing the 'classical' traditions such as *Kathak*, and folk styles such as *Bhangra*. These events occur both within the communities, formally at public events and as part of the celebrations at weddings etc. where *Bhangra* is popular. Major *Bhangra* clubs operate in the Midlands, and there are dedicated local 'Asian music' radio stations and shows such as the BBC Asian Network. Film though is the activity which most participate in, and the primary form this participation takes, is watching 'Bollywood' movies on rented videos. Bollywood films are socio-culturally significant in that they often represent and thereby reinforce a conservative moral stance through idealised hero/heroine relationships. The lives of the stars are a major focus of a great deal of media attention, and are important focal figures in the articulation of fashion and taste (figs. 25, 26) The last question measuring negative responses to cultural activities, indicates that only about 20% of the respondents never take part in any such activities - and therefore that about 80% do.

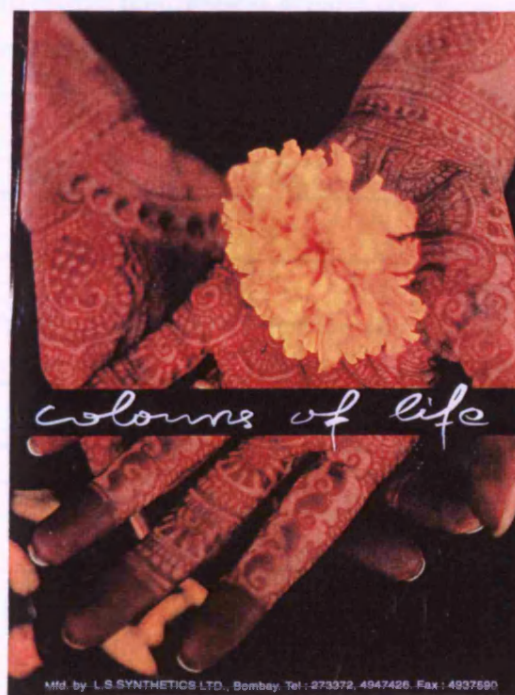
The responses in *Table 13.1* show a clear and consistent difference in the levels of participation in cultural activities on the basis of gender. Women consistently participate in or watch traditional Indian cultural activities more frequently than men. It must be acknowledged that this is in some cases (such as embroidery, making clothes and



(fig. 25) Asian periodical magazines' [e.g. *Society*] concern for film stars Hindi/Bollywood films and the fashions and products the derive from them.



eastern eye magazine



(fig. 26) Similar attention paid to film and music celebrities and to fashion in the weeklies and their supplements [e.g. *Eastern Eye*]

cooking), the result of the traditional gender assignment of the activity.

Cultural Activities and Gender

Activity	Men	Women	Overall %
Dance	32 37	75 55	48
Music	35 40	67 49	45
Art	8 9	23 17	14
Film	35 40	84 62	53
Crafts	6 7	22 16	13
Embroidery	0	18 100	8
Making clothes	1 3	36 97	17
Cooking	19 18	84 81	46
No cultural activity	23 26	17 13	18

However in terms of other activities such as listening to music and watching or participating in dance, there is still a higher percentage of women who take part. Men are involved in sporting activities, but one of the main focuses of such interest is cricket²⁹ and it is problematic to characterise that as a traditionally Indian activity, alongside activities such as Bhangra, Kathak, or Hindi films, even though it has more or less become one. The higher rate of participation of women seems to reflect their greater general significance in 'bearing', representing and articulating Indian cultural tradition.

Age and Cultural Activities

Activities	0-17	18-35	36-53	54->	Overall%
Dance	42 48	40 47	21 51	3 60	49
Music	40 46	31 37	26 63	2 40	54
Art	4 5	13 15	10 24	3 60	14
Film	39 45	40 47	31 76	4 80	52
Crafts	4 5	10 12	11 27	2 40	12
Embroidery	1 1	8 9	7 17	1 20	8
Making clothes	5 6	19 23	9 22	2 40	16
Cooking	33 38	43 51	23 56	1 20	46
No cultural activities	19 22	19 22	2 5	- 0	18

Table 13.2

Table 13.2 shows that whilst there is an overall trend towards the older age groups being

²⁹South Asian sports such as Kabadi (wrestling) have little if any presence in Leicester so far.

more likely to participate in cultural activities, each activity demonstrates a different pattern. Thus Dance and Film are definitely but moderately more prevalent in the older age groups; Music shows the highest participation in the older adult groups and then the youth group -perhaps indicating different musical styles and activities; Art, Crafts, Embroidery and making clothes are highly skewed towards the older groups; and cooking increases in prevalence up to the older adult age group, but is less common in the oldest group - who are often no longer the house-holders/ makers. Conversely, non-participation in Indian cultural activities is definitely more prevalent in the young.

Religion and Cultural Activities

Activity	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Overall %
Dance	66 51	31 55	4 14	48
Music	69 53	28 50	3 11	46
Art	19 15	7 13	4 14	14
Films	77 59	28 50	9 32	54
Crafts	14 11	10 17	4 14	13
Embroidery	7 5	6 11	5 18	8
Making clothes	11 9	16 27	9 32	17
Cooking	62 48	27 48	8 29	46
No cultural activity	18 14	8 14	12 43	18

Table 13.3

Following from the overall pattern of the levels of participation in cultural activities (*Table 13*), there are some noticeable differences in levels of attendance/participation in the different religious groups. Thus, Muslims are significantly less likely to take part in or watch dance, music or films, a feature of the current interpretation of Islam's attitude towards such activities (see e.g. interview J), mediated through the concepts of *purdah*, *hijab* and 'honour'. Sikhs were slightly more likely to take part in craft activities, and Muslims more likely to be involved in embroidery, a traditional Gujarati craft (Blackett 1989; Nicholson 1988), though one traditionally associated with Hindu communities - and historically with certain castes (e.g. *mochis*), - but also with all rural communities including Muslims (Jain 1980; 143-54; figs 23-40). Therefore the particular continuation of this tradition by Muslims might indicate a stronger attachment to tradition itself, or conversely a greater resistance to 'western/modern' culture. This feature is reinforced by the greater proportion of both Sikhs and Muslims who continue to make their own Indian style clothes. The low figure for Muslims who cook Indian style food is difficult to explain in this context especially since in section 11 on food the figures showed that Muslims eat Indian style food as frequently as others. The high figure for Muslims who take part in no 'Indian' cultural activities may indicate the Islamic circumscription of such activities within

the notion of *Muttaqui* - what is acceptable/pleasing to Allah.

14. Clothing

The questions in this section sought to discover how frequently and in what circumstances respondents as a cohort wore Indian style clothes. The results (*Table 14*) showed a range of responses, but the most commonly chosen were that Indian clothes were worn only at special events or never. However, observation and the other responses indicated a considerably more complex picture. In order to examine this detail more precisely, the results from this question were correlated with the gender, age, and religion of the respondents.

Clothing

Wear Indian style clothes	Frequency	Percentage
Always	26	11.7
Daily	23	10.3
Weekly	29	13.0
Monthly	11	4.9
Special events	81	36.3
Never	47	21.1
Missing	6	2.7

Table 14

In crude terms table 14 shows that 170 (c.76%) of the respondents wear Indian clothes on at least some occasions, whereas 47 (c.21%) never do. There may be something of a distinction - suggested in anecdotal comments made in interviews, and whilst observations of events were being carried out - that exists between those who wear Indian style clothes frequently (weekly or more often), 78 respondents (c.35%), those who wear them on occasions 92 (41%) and those who never do, 47 (c.21%).

Gender and Clothing

Frequency	Men	Women	Overall %
Never	46	1	21
%	53	0.7	
Special events	29	52	36
%	33	38	
Monthly	2	9	5
%	2	7	
Weekly	3	26	13
%	3	19	
Daily	2	21	10
%	2	15	
All the time	2	24	12
%	2	18	
Missing	3	3	-
Ever	43%	97%	

Table 14.1

Table 14.1 shows the clear difference in the patterns of wearing Indian style clothes between men and women. The differential between men and women increases as the

frequency of wearing Indian clothes rises, from women being 1.15 times more likely to wear Indian clothes at events to women being 9 times more likely to wear Indian clothes all the time. Further the difference between 53% of men and 0.7% of women 'never' wearing Indian clothes; and 43% of men and 97% of women 'ever' wearing them summarises the extent of this difference.

Age and Clothing

Frequency	0-17	18-35	36-53	54->	Overall %
Never	22	18	6	1	
%	25	21	15	20	22
Special events	39	30	8	1	
%	45	35	20	20	36
Monthly	8	3	-	-	
%	9	4	0	0	5
Weekly	10	14	4	-	
%	12	17	10	0	13
Daily	3	10	10	-	
%	3	12	24	0	11
All the time	4	7	11	3	
%	5	8	27	60	12
Missing	1	3	2	-	

Table 14.2

Table 14.2 shows that it is predominantly the young who wear Indian Style clothes infrequently - either monthly or at special events (both in absolute numbers and proportionately), and the older respondents who (proportionately) are more likely to wear Indian clothes frequently or all the time.

Religion and Clothing

Frequency	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Overall %
Never	27	15	3	
%	21	27	11	21
Special events	57	13	6	
%	44	23	21	37
Monthly	8	1	2	
%	6	2	7	5
Weekly	13	11	5	
%	10	20	18	13
Daily	12	5	5	
%	9	9	18	10
All the time	10	9	6	
%	8	16	21	12
Missing	3	2	1	
Ever	77%	71%	86%	

Table 14.3

Table 14.3 indicates that Sikh respondents were those who were most likely never to wear Indian style clothes and Muslims least. Conversely proportionately more Muslims than others wore Indian style clothes either daily, or all the time.

Locations and Indian / Western clothes

Western/Indian Clothes	Western	Indian	Both	Missing
At work	173	22	15	13
At home	138	54	23	8
In Public	159	33	20	11
At Prayer	122	72	14	15
At Special Events	129	60	21	13

Table 14.4

This table shows that location is a very important factor in determining whether traditional Indian style clothes are worn. Although there is a preponderance of negative responses - again a result of the lower age ranges of the respondents, it is nevertheless still clear that members of the Indian communities are much less likely to wear Indian style clothes at work or in public (shopping in town for example) than elsewhere. Wearing Indian style clothes is clearly positively correlated, for the cohort as a whole with securely 'Indian' contexts: at prayers, at special events and in the home. In the first two locations there is a heightened sense of cultural significance to appearance, behaviour, etiquettes, etc., and in the latter, a degree of both privacy and identificational security.

The response to the question of whether Western, Indian or both styles of clothes would be worn in each of the contexts were correlated against Age, gender, religion and socio-economic group. The last of these showed no discernible differentiation on the basis of the different groups, again it is likely that the differences in status would be manifested in the quality and value of the items themselves, rather than rates of wearing such clothes.

Age and Western / Indian Clothes

Frequency at work	0-17	18-35	36-53	54->	Overall %
Indian	2	7	11	1	
%	2	8	27	20	10
Western	75	70	22	3	
%	86	82	54	60	78
Both	2	6	7	-	
%	2	7	17	0	7

Table 14.51

Frequency at home	0-17	18-35	36-53	54->	Overall %
Indian	11	17	23	2	
%	13	20	56	40	24
Western	67	55	10	3	
%	77	65	24	60	62
Both	5	11	7	-	
%	6	13	17		11

Table 14.52

Frequency in public	0-17	18-35	36-53	54->	Overall %
Indian	6	7	17	2	
%	7	8	42	40	15
Western	72	67	14	3	
%	83	79	34	60	72
Both	3	9	8	-	
%	3	11	20	0	9

Table 14.53

Frequency at prayer	0-17	18-35	36-53	54->	Overall %
Indian	47	46	26	2	56
%	54	54	63	40	
Western	28	29	9	3	32
%	32	34	22	60	
Both	6	5	3	-	6
%	7	6	7	0	

Table 14.54

Frequency at events	0-17	18-35	36-53	54->	Overall %
Indian	46	49	28	4	59
%	53	58	68	80	
Western	27	22	8	1	27
%	31	26	20	20	
Both	7	10	4	-	10
%	8	12	10	0	

Table 14.55

Each of the tables 14.51-5 emphasise the increasing tendency of respondents to wear Indian style clothes in these locations the older they are. However, the tendency is more marked in some locations than others. Thus at work, with the family and in public, the degree to which older groups are more frequent wearers of Indian clothes is greater. At prayers and at special events the rates of response are much closer for young and older groups as well as higher overall. In other words these contexts level out the differences of age somewhat, or induce a greater obligation on the young to wear traditional clothes.

Gender and Indian / Western Clothes

Frequency at work	Men	Women	Overall %
Indian	1	21	10
%	1	15	
Western	81	92	78
%	93	68	
Both	2	13	7
%	3	10	

Table 14.61

Frequency at home	Men	Women	Overall %
Indian	9	45	24
%	10	33	
Western	72	66	62
%	83	49	
Both	4	19	10
%	5	14	

Table 14.62

Frequency in public	Men	Women	Overall %
Indian	-	33	15
%	0	24	
Western	82	77	71
%	94	57	
Both	2	18	9
%	2	13	

Table 14.63

Frequency at prayer	Men	Women	Overall %
Indian	20	102	
%	23	75	55
Western	57	15	
%	66	11	32
Both	5	9	
%	6	7	6

Table 14.64

Frequency at events	Men	Women	Overall %
Indian	25	104	
%	29	77	58
Western	51	9	
%	59	7	27
Both	6	15	
%	7	11	10

Table 14.65

Tables 14.61-5 show that the differential in wearing Indian clothes between men and women is most pronounced in the public context of work and in other general public contexts, men being very unlikely to wear Indian clothes and women being 15 or more times more likely to wear Indian styles, (although relatively few of them do so). In the private or culturally circumscribed contexts of the family, religious and special events, the overall rates of wearing Indian clothing go up, and the differential between men and women reduces to 1 to 3, women being three times more likely than men to wear Indian clothes.

Religion and Indian / Western Clothes

Frequency at work	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Overall %
Indian	9	8	4	
%	7	14	14	10
Western	104	43	19	
%	80	77	68	76
Both	8	2	4	
%	6	4	14	7

Table 14.71

Frequency at home	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Overall %
Indian	26	13	14	
%	20	23	50	24
Western	88	35	9	
%	68	63	32	62
Both	11	6	4	
%	9	11	14	10

Table 14.72

Frequency in public	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Overall %
Indian	16	8	8	
%	12	14	29	15
Western	95	41	17	
%	73	73	61	71
Both	12	4	2	
%	9	7	7	9

Table 14.73

Frequency at prayer	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Overall %
Indian	65	32	21	
%	50	57	75	55
Western	44	22	4	
%	34	39	14	32
Both	11	-	2	
%	9	0	7	6

Table 14.74

Frequency at events	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Overall %
Indian	77	27	18	
%	59	49	64	58
Western	35	19	6	
%	27	35	21	27
Both	11	6	3	
%	5	3	1	10

Table 14.75

Tables 14.71-5 show that Muslim respondents were consistently the most likely to wear Indian style clothes in all contexts, and that Hindus were the least likely in all contexts except that of special events when fewest Sikhs wore Indian style clothes. The differential between Hindus wearing Indian clothes least, through Sikhs, to Muslims most often wearing Indian clothes (c. 1: 2) was most pronounced in work and other public contexts, and least pronounced in the context of daily prayers (c. 5: 7)

Clothing and Origins

Frequency	Country of Birth			Overall %
	UK	East Africa	India	
Never	37	8	1	
%	28	12	6	21
Special events	60	15	3	
%	46	23	19	37
Monthly	7	2	1	
%	5	3	6	5
Weekly	15	11	-	
%	11	17		13
Daily	8	10	5	
%	6	15	31	11
All the time	3	15	6	
%	2	23	38	12
Missing	2	4		
Ever	93	53	15	
%	71	82	94	

Table 14.8

Table 14.8 shows that those born in the UK are those most commonly found to wear only Western clothing (who never wear Indian style clothes³⁰). This is of course a pattern which has already been identified and which can be largely correlated with age, but even relatively young respondents could be born outside the UK, and it also clearly cuts across age groups

³⁰Always presuming that they do wear some clothing.

therefore the pattern does not exclusively represent age-based preferences. East African Asians more frequently only wear Indian clothes occasionally and particularly at special events than do Indian Asians, Indian Asians being most likely of all to wear Indian Style clothes frequently or all the time.

These patterns can be further elaborated by looking at the relative frequency of wearing Indian style clothes amongst those born in the UK but whose parents wear from East Africa or India. The results of this correlation are presented in Table 14.81

Clothing and Parents' Origins For those Born in UK

Frequency	Parents' Country of Birth		Overall %
	East Africa	India	
Never	14	21	31
%	32	31	
Special events	19	24	40
%	43	35	
Monthly	6	1	6
%	14	2	
Weekly	2	13	13
%	5	19	
Daily	2	5	7
%	5	8	
All the time	1	2	3
%	2	3	
Missing	-	1	
Ever	30	45	
%	68	67	

Table 14.81

Although this table is inevitably skewed towards the infrequent use of Indian clothing - since it is based on UK-born respondents who in table 14.8 can be seen to be predominantly represented at those frequencies - nevertheless there is a greater tendency towards wearing Indian style clothing infrequently and at special events amongst those born in 'East African families' in the UK than in 'Indian families'. Conversely those born in 'Indian families' are more likely to wear Indian style clothes frequently³¹ .

Additionally:

- i) 35 respondents (15.7 %) said they adopted a traditional hairstyle. 29 women and 6 men, these were dis-proportionately in the older adult and oldest age groups. And were mostly Sikhs.
- ii) 99 respondents (44.4 %) said they wore/had traditional jewellery, 78 of those were women 21 men. There was a noticeable but slight tendency towards higher percentages as the age of respondents increased, and an over-representation in socio-economic group III similar to the pattern for traditional style objects (table

³¹ Modood et.al. (1997: 328), makes a related point about the lower frequency of wearing Indian clothes amongst East African Asians, but that the clothes they do wear tend more often to be of religious significance, e.g. women wearing *bindi* marks.

12.2)

99 respondents (44.4 %) said they did not follow tradition in any way with respect to their appearance. The frequency of responses to not following tradition in any way with respect to appearance occurred evenly across the age range, but with a slightly higher level amongst the youth group (43% vs. 40% of cohort) (39% vs. 39%) (16% vs. 9%) (2% vs. 2.3%). This response was found most frequently amongst Hindus, and least amongst Muslims, and was much more prevalent amongst men (65% of men) than women 43 (32%).

Use of Specific Clothing Items

The final section dealing with clothing asked respondents to say in what circumstances and how frequently they would wear certain specific items of clothing. This section was intended to complement the information represented in Tables 14-14.65. The means by which the items were chosen was described in Chapter Five.

Table 15 on the following page records all the instances when respondents answered that they would wear one of the listed garments. The results are broken down into five location/contexts: at '**Work**', at '**Home**', in '**Public**', at '**Prayer**', at a '**Festivals**'. The possible answers to be chosen were **Always**, **Often**, **Sometimes** and **Never**, the table also includes a calculated figure the sum of A, O, and S for each garment/location **Ever**. The table only records those who said they did wear an Indian garment on some occasion, it does not therefore, record any of the respondents who never wear Indian clothes. Further the **Never** answers are measures of response to the location, i.e. the respondent does wear the garment, but never in this particular location.

The table shows that certain garments are much more often worn than others. The salwaar kameez and chooni/ dhupatta, worn mainly by Sikh women - the salwaar and kameez is worn by Hindus and Muslims too - the churidar, head scarf, sari, petticoat and blouse combination is also commonly worn. Of the men's items of clothing only the kurtha and pyjama, the dhoti the topi (Hindu and Muslim) and the pagg/patka seem to be worn in anything like significant numbers. The numbers of records for male respondents wearing Indian style clothes is considerably lower than that for women.

The table also demonstrates that the overall levels of response to wearing specific items increases from the work to the festival context, and further, that for those items that are worn, there tends on the whole to be a dichotomy of responses between two kinds of response: higher rates of 'always' wearing items and only 'sometimes' wearing them³². Another feature of the wearing certain of these garments is that they are not everyday clothing. Items like the Sharara and Gharara are infrequently cited in the work and home

³²In other words 'Often' is less represented as a choice.

contexts but markedly more so in the context of prayer or especially festivals - salwaar and kameez is worn by four times as many people at festival as at work, but ghararas are worn 7 or 8 times more often at festivals than at work.

The graph on the following page (table 15.1) summarises the results of table 15 by showing the cumulative totals (E) for each of the garments in each of the locations. Although it displays a great deal of information in a dense format, it does allow the general trends to be seen at a glance. The high 'spikes' reveal the items which are very commonly worn; the trough of low results towards the right of each location are the responses for men's clothing items; the increase in the level of responses from the work to the events - 'festival' context. Also the 'context sensitivity' of specific items can be estimated from this graph. For example the salwaar kameez is clearly relatively unfavoured at work but then appears to be of more general suitability - its level of use rises only slight across the contexts, dipping slightly in 'public' situations. The rates of response to wearing the kara - the Sikhs' steel bracelet is quite consistent in the different contexts. In contrast the rate at which the sari is worn rises steeply from the work to the festival context - a similar pattern but at a lower rate can be seen for the Gharara . The patterns for the sari and salwaar kameez might indicate the use of the salwaar kameez by Muslim and Hindu women as well as Sikhs in the home and in public contexts.

	At Work					At Home					In Public					At Prayer					At Festivals				
	A	O	S	E*	N	A	O	S	E	N	A	O	S	E	N	A	O	S	E	N	A	O	S	E	N
Clothing																									
Salwaar Kameez	8	7	12	27	64	39	14	16	69	23	30	17	16	63	29	30	14	32	76	16	28	15	44	87	5
Churidar	6	2	2	10	40	20	7	2	29	21	18	7	5	30	20	27	6	7	40	9	26	8	10	44	5
Chooni/dhupatta	9	6	5	20	46	17	9	9	35	31	17	6	12	35	31	30	3	23	56	10	23	20	18	61	4
Head Scarfe	3	2	3	8	23	5	2	5	12	19	7	3	4	14	17	8	2	17	27	4	9	3	11	23	8
Bhurkha	0	0	0	0	7	1	0	0	1	6	0	0	1	1	6	3	1	2	6	1	2	0	3	5	2
Chania-Cholli	2	0	0	9	44	5	0	0	5	45	17	1	2	20	30	17	3	2	22	28	34	9	3	46	3
Sari	9	0	10	19	65	15	5	12	32	52	26	6	14	46	38	24	7	19	50	34	39	16	24	79	5
Sadalo	1	1	0	2	4	2	1	0	3	3	3	1	0	4	2	3	2	0	5	1	3	3	0	6	0
Longhi	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	2	0
Ecthan	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
Patticoat/blouse	12	5	9	26	32	15	5	9	29	29	20	5	10	35	23	21	4	9	34	24	28	9	9	46	11
Kurthie	4	2	1	7	7	7	2	2	11	3	5	2	2	9	5	8	2	3	13	1	8	2	2	12	2
Pathuie	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	2	0
Sharara	1	0	1	2	13	3	0	1	4	11	4	0	2	6	9	6	0	1	7	8	8	2	4	13	2
Gharara	2	2	0	4	30	6	2	0	8	26	10	3	2	15	19	12	3	1	16	18	17	8	5	30	4
Karah	8	4	18	30	10	11	3	19	33	7	15	4	18	37	3	14	4	21	39	1	12	4	21	37	3
All the 5'K's	11	0	1	12	0	8	1	1	10	2	9	1	1	11	1	6	2	1	9	3	8	1	1	10	2
Kurta Paijama	1	0	1	2	25	12	3	2	17	10	5	1	0	6	14	7	5	2	14	13	9	9	1	18	8
Dhoti	0	0	0	0	6	2	1	1	4	2	1	1	1	3	3	4	1	1	6	0	2	2	1	5	1
Sherwani	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	2	0
Nehru Jacket	0	0	1	1	4	2	0	0	2	3	1	0	1	2	3	2	0	2	4	1	3	1	1	5	0
Chola	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	2	0
Keski/Turban	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	2	0
Topi	6	0	2	8	9	7	2	1	10	7	8	2	3	13	4	6	0	6	12	5	6	1	6	13	4
Pagg/Patka	3	0	2	5	4	2	0	3	5	4	3	0	3	6	3	3	2	3	8	1	4	1	4	9	0

Table 15 The Use of Named Clothing Items in Different Contexts

*Note that the E (ever) column contains the cumulative total for the A, O and S columns

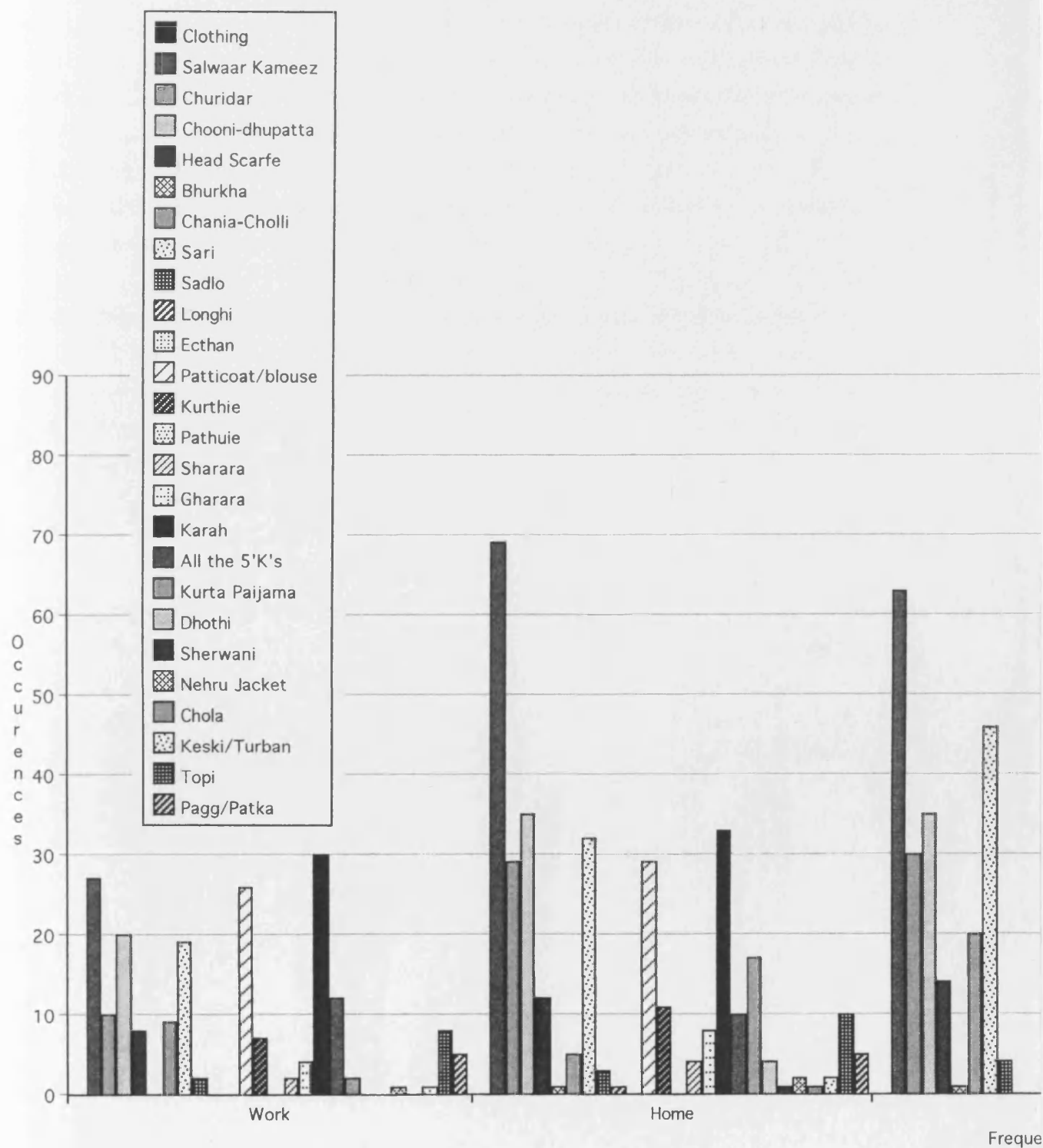
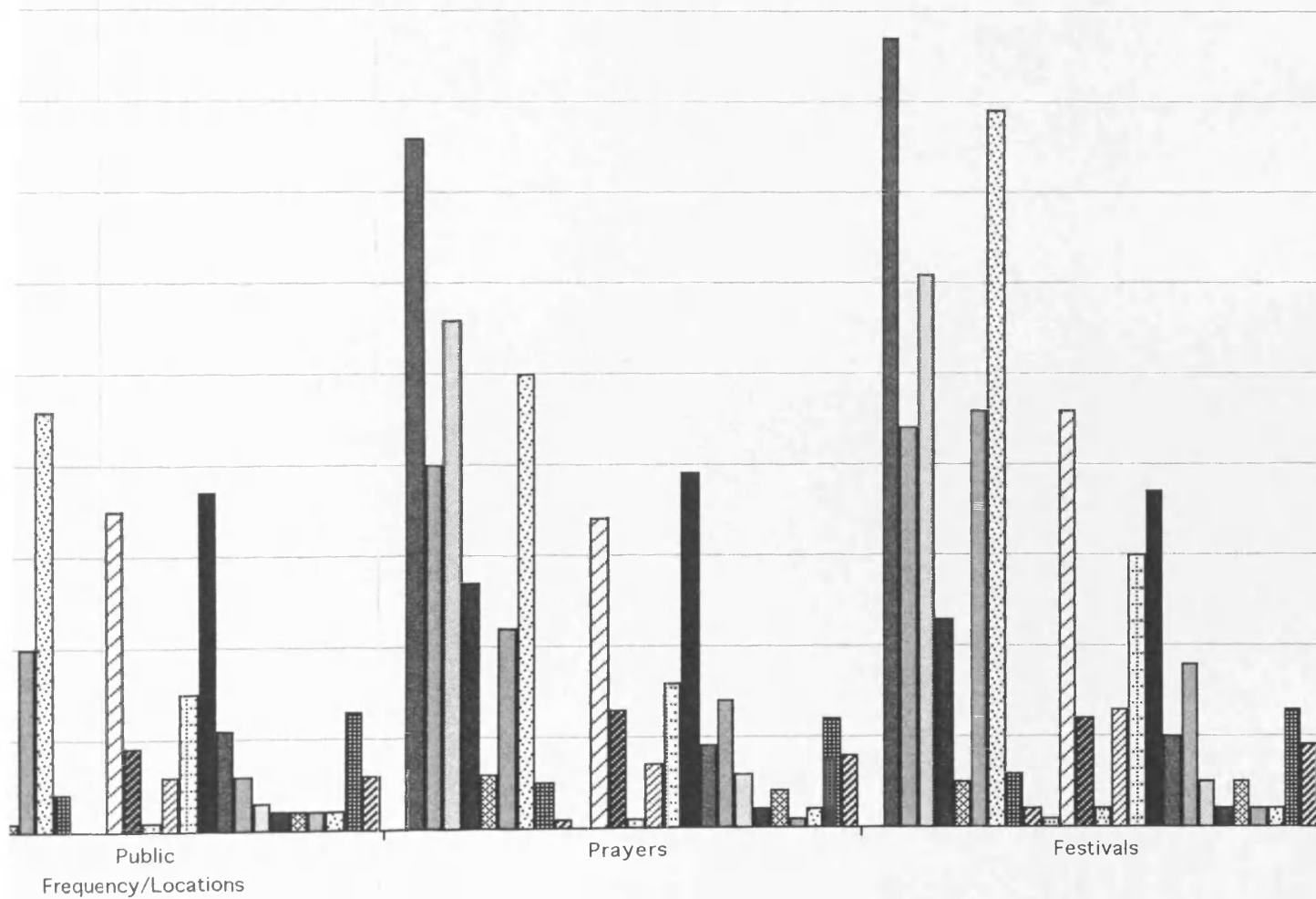


Table 15.1 Summary of the Use ('Ever') of Named Clothing Items in Named Contexts



Clothing Summary

The pattern of the uses of Traditional Indian Style clothing is clearly shaped around a series of important factors. There was little evidence in the responses that socio-economic status had a significant effect on the extent to which people wore Indian clothes - although a more detailed analysis which specified the nature, style and quality of the items might well have detected such distinctions³¹. It is clear though that the different faith groups maintain their distinctiveness through the styles and forms of clothing they wear, these differences will be evidenced in the photographic section of this chapter. However, two qualifications about cultural or ethnic distinctiveness in clothing need to be made. Firstly, this distinctiveness is also present to some degree in the different levels of frequency at which the faith communities wear Indian clothes, especially in different contexts (see tables 14.61-5). Secondly there are items of clothing such as the salwaar kameez (and others to a lesser extent e.g. saris) which are now worn by all three faith groups.

However, the most obvious and significant factors influencing the use of Indian style clothing are: Gender, where there is a great disparity between the rates at which men and women wear Indian style clothes; Age, where the older age groups are more likely to wear Indian style clothes, and where age differentially effect the likelihood that someone will wear Indian clothes in a given context; a third factor effecting levels of Indian dress is context. It is difficult to precisely quantify the relative importance of these factors, but gender seem to have the most profound effect on the likelihood that someone will wear Indian style clothes. The disparity between the genders for those who will ever and will never wear Indian clothes is the most marked (tables 14.1 and 14.41-5). Age seems to have the next most significant effect tables 14.2 and 14.21-5 showed some very large differences in the rates of wearing Indian clothing. Thus, whilst context does have profound effects on the clothes people wear - and therefore how they identify themselves visually, its effects are mediated through the differences engendered by age and gender.

³¹Sadly such a detailed enquiry was beyond the scope of this part of the project. Some comments on this issue were recorded in the interviews, see below.

Clothing Summary

The pattern of the uses of Traditional Indian Style clothing is clearly shaped around a series of important factors. There was little evidence in the responses that socio-economic status had a significant effect on the extent to which people wore Indian clothes - although a more detailed analysis which specified the nature, style and quality of the items might well have detected such distinctions³³. It is clear though that the different faith groups maintain their distinctiveness through the styles and forms of clothing they wear, these differences will be evidenced in the photographic section of this chapter. However, two qualifications about cultural or ethnic distinctiveness in clothing need to be made. Firstly, this distinctiveness is also present to some degree in the different levels of frequency at which the faith communities wear Indian clothes, especially in different contexts (see tables 14.61-5). Secondly there are items of clothing such as the salwaar kameez (and others to a lesser extent e.g. saris) which are now worn by all three faith groups.

However, the most obvious and significant factors influencing the use of Indian style clothing are: Gender, where there is a great disparity between the rates at which men and women wear Indian style clothes; Age, where the older age groups are more likely to wear Indian style clothes, and where age differentially effect the likelihood that someone will wear Indian clothes in a given context; a third factor effecting levels of Indian dress is context. It is difficult to precisely quantify the relative importance of these factors, but gender seems to have the most profound effect on the likelihood that someone will wear Indian style clothes. The disparity between the genders for those who will ever and will never wear Indian clothes is the most marked (tables 14.1 and 14.41-5). Age seems to have the next most significant effect tables 14.2 and 14.21-5 showed some very large differences in the rates of wearing Indian clothing. Thus, whilst context does have profound effects on the clothes people wear - and therefore how they identify themselves visually, its effects are mediated through the differences engendered by age and gender.

³³Sadly such a detailed enquiry was beyond the scope of this part of the project. Some comments on this issue were recorded in the interviews, see below.

15 Identity³⁴

The questions on identity sought to discover something of the forms of ethnic/ cultural identification that exist within these communities, but also to enable a degree of examination of the use of standard terms such as 'ethnic group'. this was done in a necessarily limited way by offering respondents a choice of which term or terms they thought best described the kind of identity that they ascribed to, and it offered choice over the naming of that identity³⁵.

Classification of Collective Identity

Term	Yes ³⁶	No	Missing
Ethnic group	82	136	5
%	37	61	2
Cultural group	48	170	5
%	22	76	2
Community	90	127	5
%	40	57	2
Other	3	215	5
%	1	96	2
Unsure	47	171	5
%	21	77	2
No group	20	197	5
%	9	88	2

Table 15

Perhaps the most significant figure in table 15 is that only 9% of respondents felt that they did not belong to some kind of collective identity or group. The prevalence of community may be a coincidence with the 'local' use of the term to indicate a member of faith group or caste³⁷. The spread between 82 respondents (37%) for 'Ethnic group', 48 (22%) for 'Cultural group', and 90 (40%) for community, indicates some of the complexities of dealing with ascriptive categories like ethnicity. The choice of these terms may reflect respondents' different levels of knowledge of the terms, and the 'local' usage of terms e.g. 'Community', as well as being the best description of the identity in question in the analyst's own understanding of the terms.

³⁴Although the identity section of the questionnaire appeared before the questions on clothing the results are presented here because they lead more directly into the following discussion sections.

³⁵This was obviously a very limited exercise in exploring these definitions and terms. It is also fraught with problems to do with the use of 'specialist/technical' terminology; and with the difficulties of circumscribing choice and self-identification by the possibilities offered by the questionnaire. However, these communities are, like many ethnic communities, somewhat versed in the terms of ethnic relations. Moreover this format gives respondents a greater level of choice/flexibility than offered by official questionnaires such as the Census.

³⁶Given that people could choose as many of these terms as they wanted, the figures add up to more than the cohort, 290 responses vs. 223 respondents. This indicates that at most 67 respondents (30% of cohort) gave multiple responses.

³⁷This usage was mentioned by two shopkeepers (one of whom is the chair of his faith group and temple) and others, e.g. in interviews F, G and I.

Definitions of Collective Identity

Term	Yes	No	Missing
Asian	52	169	2
%	23	76	1
British Asian	72	149	2
%	32	67	1
Indian	41	180	2
%	18	81	1
Hindu	76	144	2
%	34	65	1
Muslim	25	196	2
%	11	88	1
Sikh	52	169	2
%	23	76	1
Gujarati	45	176	2
%	20	79	1
Punjabi	30	191	2
%	14	86	1
Other*	11	210	2
%	5	94	1

Table 15.1 * The responses for 'Other' were coded up separately. 5 respondents described themselves as Memons, 2 as Kenyan Asians³⁸, 3 as Bengalis, and 2 as British Sikhs.

Table 15.1 shows the responses to the question asking respondents to define the group that they identified with, respondents could choose as many of the terms as they wanted.

Note that only 76 Of 130 Hindus (58.5%) chose that term to define their identity. Whereas 52 of 56 Sikhs (93%), and 25 of 28 Muslims (89%) chose their religious affiliation to define their identity - at least in part. Clearly this suggest that Hinduism is not less important to Hindus, but is less central to the definition of their notion of collective identity.

The second most common repines British Asian indicates the importance of the increasing distinctiveness of the Cultural/Ethnic communities in the South Asian Diaspora, from the parent communities in the Indian Sub-continent. Even though the parent culture is maintained, and the 'mother' country visited by many (see e.g. Bhatt 1990; Modood et.al. 1997: 313-14; and interviews e.g. **A, D, F and H**) nevertheless a sense of distinctively British ethnic identity is arising.

The overall level of responses 404 compared with 223 shows that many people chose multiple responses to this question. In fact the 99 of the respondents (c.44%) choose multiple term definitions of their identity. These multiple definitions are summarised in table 15.2 which attempts to organise these responses in such as way as to map the frequencies and patterns which occur in the choices made by the respondents. Of the 130 Hindus, 41 (32%) offered more than one term, 131 terms in all - an average of 3.2 per respondent. Of 56 Sikhs, 28 (50%) offered more than one term, 77 terms in all - an average of 2.75 terms each. Of 28 Muslims, 14 (50%) gave more than one term, 31 in all - an average of 2.2 each.

³⁸Although this is a low figure it highlights what might have been a serious mistake. The choices offered by the questionnaire drew the vast majority of respondents answers which could indicate that they were the right choices. However, the importance highlighted above and in existing literature (especially Modood et.al. 1997; and Michaelson 1983) of the Indian / African Asian distinction indicates that an 'African Asian' category should have been included in this question.

Table 15.2 Multiple Term Definitions of Collective Identity

1	Hindu	Asian	British Asian	Indian	Gujarati		
2	Hindu	Asian	British Asian	Indian	Gujarati		
3	Hindu	Asian	British Asian	Indian	Gujarati		
4	Hindu	Asian	British Asian	Indian	Gujarati		
5	Hindu	Asian	British Asian	Indian	Gujarati		
6	Hindu	Asian	British Asian	Indian	Gujarati		
7	Hindu	Asian	British Asian	Gujarati			
8	Hindu	Asian	British Asian	Gujarati			
9	Hindu	Asian	British Asian	Gujarati			
10	Hindu	Asian		Indian	Gujarati		
11	Hindu	Asian		Indian	Gujarati		
12	Hindu	Asian		Indian	Gujarati		
13	Hindu	Asian		Indian	Gujarati		
14	Hindu	Asian		Indian	Gujarati		
15	Hindu	Asian		Indian	Gujarati		
16	Hindu	Asian		Indian	Gujarati		
17	Hindu	Asian		Indian	Gujarati		
18	Hindu	Asian		Indian	Gujarati		
19	Hindu	Asian			Gujarati		
20	Hindu		British Asian			Bengali	
21	Hindu		British Asian	Indian			
22	Hindu		British Asian	Indian			
23	Hindu	Asian		Indian			
24	Hindu	Asian		Indian			
25	Hindu			Indian		Punjabi	
26	Hindu				Gujarati		
27	Hindu				Gujarati		
28	Hindu				Gujarati		
29	Hindu				Gujarati		
30	Hindu				Gujarati		
31	Hindu				Gujarati		
32	Hindu		British Asian				
33	Hindu		British Asian				
34	Hindu		British Asian				
35	Hindu		British Asian				
36	Hindu		British Asian				
37	Hindu		British Asian				
38	Hindu			Indian			
39	Hindu			Indian			
40	Hindu	Asian					
41	Hindu	Asian					
42		Asian	British Asian	Indian	Gujarati		
43		Asian	British Asian	Indian	Gujarati		
44		Asian		Indian	Gujarati		
45		Asian		Indian	Gujarati		
46		Asian			Gujarati		
47		Asian			Gujarati		
48			British Asian		Gujarati		
49			British Asian		Gujarati		
50		Asian				Kenyan	
51		Asian				Kenyan	
52			British Asian			Kenyan	
53			British Asian	Indian			
54			British Asian	Indian			
55			British Asian	Indian			
56				Indian	Gujarati		
57				Indian	Gujarati		
58		Asian		Indian			Muslim
59			British Asian			Punjabi	Muslim
60			British Asian			Punjabi	Muslim
61		Asian					Muslim
62		Asian					Muslim
63		Asian					Muslim
64			British Asian				Muslim
65			British Asian				Muslim
66			British Asian				Muslim
67			British Asian				Muslim
68			British Asian				Muslim
69			British Asian				Muslim
70			British Asian				Muslim
71				Indian			Muslim
72		Asian					Sikh
73			British Asian				Sikh
74			British Asian				Sikh
75			British Asian				Sikh
76			British Asian				Sikh
77						Punjabi	Sikh
78						Punjabi	Sikh
79						Punjabi	Sikh
80						Punjabi	Sikh
81						Punjabi	Sikh
82						Punjabi	Sikh
83						Punjabi	Sikh
84						Punjabi	Sikh
85			British Asian			Punjabi	Sikh
86			British Asian			Punjabi	Sikh
87			British Asian			Punjabi	Sikh
88			British Asian			Punjabi	Sikh
89			British Asian			Punjabi	Sikh
90			British Asian			Punjabi	Sikh
91		Asian	British Asian			Punjabi	Sikh
92		Asian	British Asian			Punjabi	Sikh
93		Asian				Punjabi	Sikh
94		Asian				Punjabi	Sikh
95		Asian				Punjabi	Sikh
96		Asian		Indian		Punjabi	Sikh
97			British Asian	Indian		Punjabi	Sikh
98			British Asian	Indian		Punjabi	Sikh
99			British Asian	Indian		Punjabi	Sikh

The responses seem to indicate that although fewer Hindus chose multiple term definitions of their identity, when they do so, that identity is described with more terms (is conceived of as more plural) than Sikhs and, Sikhs described their identity using more terms than Muslims. Although Sikhs and Muslims are equally, and more, likely to offer such multiple definitions. There are also differences in the kinds of combination used to specify identity. Gujarati Hindus and Sikh more commonly refer to the combination of the region of India that their families originated in and the language they speak (Gujarati Punjabi) than are Muslims. Only Hindus used the term Indian in significant numbers. The terms Asian and British Asian were used fairly commonly by all three faiths identified here, but in inverse proportions. Thus 56% of the Hindus, 35% of Muslims and 21% of Sikhs used the term Asian, and 84% of Sikhs, 64% of Muslims and 44% of Hindus used the term British Asian.

Summary

Even this brief description of the kinds of classification, and terms that respondents used to describe their own sense of identity, offers some indication of the complexity and multiplicity of the nature of cultural and ethnic identity in settings like that of the Indian communities of Leicester. The ways in which these notions of identity correlate with the cultural practices described above will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

PART TWO: CULTURAL CONTEXTS - A PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD

INTRODUCTION

This section of the chapter presents a record, in the form of photographs, of some of the different kinds of context in which cultural identity can be articulated through material culture. Each section contains a brief introduction to the context, and then an account of the forms and uses of material culture in that context

The Urban Context of Leicester's Indian Communities

The Indian communities of Leicester mainly occupy two distinct areas of Leicester - Highfields and Belgrave - these were identified in Chapter Five (figs. 18, 22, 23, 24), but those areas themselves are diverse and include a wide range of facilities of which this is a fragmentary selection.

Plate 1: The front Window of a typical Indian Jeweller's shop on the Melton Road in Belgrave.

Plate 2: One of a series a small shops in the predominantly Muslim area near Spinney Hill park in Highfields.

Plate 3: The Guru Nanek Gurdwara on Holy Bones near St Nicholas's Circle in the Centre of Leicester.

Plates 4, & 5: The recently built Berners Street Mosque in Highfields



(plate, 1)



(plate, 3)

(plate, 2)



(plate, 4)

(plate, 5)



Cooking Utensils and Other Domestic Artefacts

Plates 6 -15 show a selection of the kinds of household objects that are widely available to the Indian Communities of Leicester. These items were photographed in two shops one in Highfields and one in Belgrave. The Highfields shop catered to Hindu, Sikh and Muslim communities, that in Belgrave mainly to Hindus and Sikhs.

Plate 6: A stack of steel *karais* - round bottom pans for frying and general cooking used by all three communities.

Plate 7: Copper and stainless steel kalashes or *lothas* used to hold liquid offerings or water during prayers *puja* together with stainless steel *dhokras* (4th shelf down) for storing *ghee* (purified butter).

Plate 8: Stainless steel *massala* dishes for eating.

Plate 9: Steel *chapatti* pans, and stainless steel steamers -*idlee*.

Plate 10: An assortment of moulded plastic figurines of Hindu Gods, Goddesses and Gurus.

Plate 11: decorative garlands used to adorn statues in the Hindu temple during special celebrations. Also used to adorn the bride and groom at Sikh weddings (see plates 81, 82)

Plate 12: small ceramic *diwas* fat lamps used in Hindu ceremonies such as *arti* where five such lamps are offered to the God, or in wedding ceremonies when the bride stamps on a pair of the terracotta *diwas* bound together like shells with red thread symbolising the break with the past.

Plate 13: decorated miniature coconuts used both as offerings in Hindu ceremonies such as weddings where four coconuts mark out the space of the ceremony, and see the Dattatreya Yagna celebrants - Plates 74, 75, 76; and in Sikh weddings where similar decorated miniature coconuts *kleera* are hung on the brides wrists from the wedding bangles on the day before the wedding ceremony.

Plate 14: shop window on the Melton Road displaying a range of 'cheap' statuettes of Hindu deities.

Plate 15: display in Highfields shop, with incense burners (l.) and 'Aum' symbol ornaments.

(plate, 6)



(plate, 7)



(plate, 8)



(plate, 9)



(plate, 10)



(plate, 13)



(plate, 11)



(plate, 14)

(plate, 12)



(plate, 15)



Home Interiors

Plates 16 to 30 show the interiors of the homes of Indian families in Leicester, these are Muslim and Hindu homes only, and necessarily only give an indication of the variety of objects and styles of objects that can be found in Leicester. Plates 16 to 19 are from Muslim homes, and plates 20 to 30 from Hindu homes.

Plate 16: metal wall-plaque with inscription "insha'Allah".

Plate 17: Eid greetings cards with images of world-famous mosques and the Kaaba in Mecca. (greetings cards were not a traditional form to the Indian communities but have been adopted and adapted, and are now available for a range of events such as Eid, and Hindu/Sikh festivals such as Diwali and Vaisakhi (Baisakhi).

Plates 18 and 19: elaborate wall-hanging with a passage from the Quran, the decorative forms are based on vegetation and are therefore acceptable.

Plate 20: religious pictures in a Hindu home depicting Ganesh (l.) and Rama and Sita surrounded by a garland.

Plate 21: statuette of Ganesh 'Lord of dharma wisdom, fortune and obstacles'.

Plate 22 small but elaborate shrine to house-hold Gods - the use of the mirror tiles is to emphasise the value of light, also to gather the *arti*. The picture (extreme right) is of a peacock a Hindu symbol of speed and beauty Lord Murugan's mount.

Plates 23 and 25: small domestic shrines with a variety of Hindu and personal imagery.

Plate 24: a ceramic wall-plaque depicting a scene from the epic, Mahabharata.

Plate 26: kitchen storage unit with a collection of typical Indian stainless steel cooking utensils.

Plate 27: Child's toy seat-swing made in India.

Plate 28: front room with small domestic shrine in the alcove and reminder of East Africa on the gas fire.

Plate 29: kitchen in a Hindu home with 'typical' western style fittings and religious pictures.

Plate 30. decorative cabinet with ornaments including Taj Mahal.



(plate, 16)



(plate, 18)



(plate, 17)



(plate, 19)



(plate, 20)



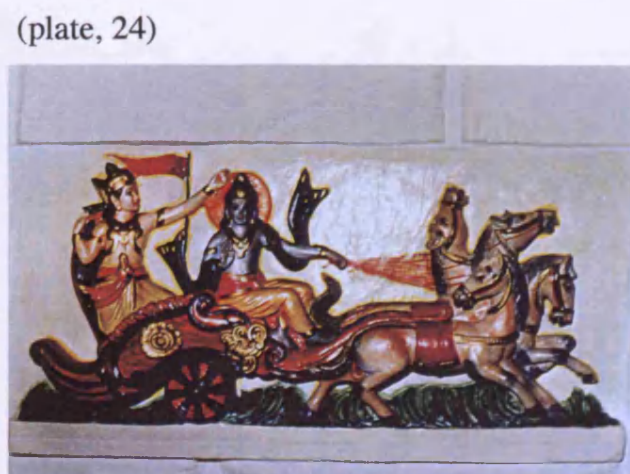
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(plate, 22)



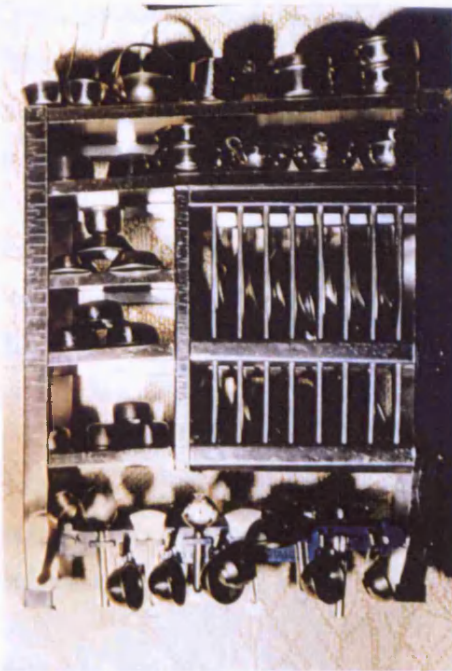
(plate, 23)



(plate, 24)



(plate, 25)



(plate, 26)



(plate, 27)



(plate, 29)

(plate, 28)



(plate, 30)



Contemporary Indian Style Clothes

Plates 31 to 45 show a variety of items of clothing and dress currently available and worn in Leicester. These items were photographed in and around the shops on the Melton Road in Belgrave.

Plate 31: salwaar kameez (shalwar kamiz) - a knee-length tunic type top with wide bottomed trousers, worn as an everyday garment, and for occasions by Sikh, Muslim and Hindu women, traditionally a Sikh and Muslim garment adopted in the later 20th century by Hindus.

Plate 32: chania-chollis - long embroidered skirt worn with an embroidered waist length blouse by both Gujaratis and Punjabis. Punjabi styles are heavier and more elaborately embroidered, Gujarati styles lighter with more delicate patterns.

Plate 33: churidar is very similar to a salwaar kameez but with narrower trousers more specifically an item for Sikhs.

Plate 34: a chooni (chunni) / dhupatta - a head-scarf / shawl which Sikh women wear to cover their heads especially in the presence of older male relatives and at religious ceremonies and events such as weddings. (see also plate 44)

Plate 35: a sadalo (sadlo) a slightly shorter version of a standard sari usually in muted or pale colours, sadlos tend to be worn by middle-aged or older women, and by widows.

Plate 36: petticoats worn under various styles of sari

Plate 37: chundris used as covering for, and 'given' to, deities especially at Navaratri.

Plate 38: Sharara a heavy embroidered version of the salwaar kameez worn by Sikh women at special events such as weddings.

Plate 39: Gharara a long embroidered skirt like a chania-cholli but with a shorter length top and very flared skirt.

Plate 40: decorated 'gold' shoes for weddings and other special occasions.

Plate 41: Muslim man wearing embroidered topi, and woman with bhurka over salwaar kameez; the bhurka is the traditional (and slightly more orthodox, some wear a scarf) head-covering for Muslim women, which covers the head and shoulders and hangs down to waist-level. The most orthodox women wear the bhurka with a veil or of a style with black mesh/gauze over their faces.

Plate 42: men looking kurta pyjamas, Nehru jackets are the visible items on the rail above.

Plate 43: a father helping his son to tie his first proper keski or pagg (turban); the father is wearing a kurta and pyjamas.

Plate 44: women looking at a chooni /dhupatta.

Plate 45: the 'five-'k's' of the Sikh faith: Kesh - uncut hair, kacha - undershorts, Kirpin - ceremonial sword worn under top-clothes, Kanga small steel comb set into hair, kara - steel bracelet symbolic of the unity of the faith.



(plate, 31)



(plate, 32)



(plate, 33)



(plate, 35)



(plate, 34)



(plate, 36)



(plate, 37)



(plate, 38)



(plate, 39)

(plate, 40)

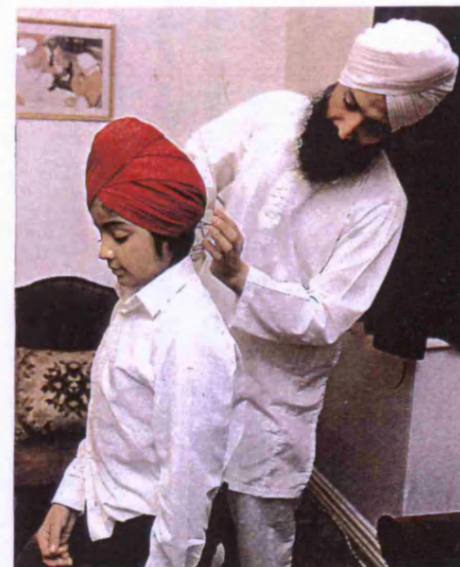




(plate, 41)



(plate, 42)



(plate, 43)



(plate, 44)



(plate, 45)

The Hindu Temple

Plates 46 to 53 show some of the features of one of the larger Hindu temples in Leicester. The temple is being used for the daily evening prayers at which people carry out their puja and sing bhajans (hymns). This temple was one of the first built in the UK and is situated inside an old Methodist church. The decorations, interior fittings and figures of deities were almost all brought from India. The central room is used for prayers and ceremonies, ancillary rooms are used for community functions, play groups etc., there is also a cloakroom where shoes are left, and a kitchen.

Plate 46: the Hindu 'temple' built inside the former church building with a central shrine to Shiva (god of fertility and destruction).

Plate 47: older women come to the temple more often than others for the daily evening prayers. note the sari of the woman in the foreground and the white (the colour reserved for widows) sari and blouse of the woman in front of her to her right.

Plates 48 and 49 musicians who accompany the singing of bhajans with tabla drums and piano accordion most of these musicians are of the barot caste of temple musicians/ bards and/genealogists. Note that they all wear western style shirts trousers and jackets.

Plates 50 and 53: a shrine devoted to Shakti the female deity equivalent in status and significance in Hindu mythology to Vishnu and Shiva. Note the garlands offered and the chundri draped around the figure.

Plate 51: a framed 'Aum' symbols with garland and Mango(?) leaves.

Plate 52: an arti offering of five diwas placed before the mandala at the foot of the Shakti shrine. Next to the diwas is a dhokra full of ghee.



(plate, 46)



(plate, 47)



(plate, 48)



(plate, 49)



(plate, 50)



(plate, 51)

(plate, 52)



(plate, 53)



Diwali (October 1993)

Diwali is regarded as the beginning of the new year by the Gujaratis in Leicester. It has become a major event in the calendar of the whole town with lights and decorations being put up along Melton Road for the period of the celebrations which now extend over about a week. On the first of the two nights of the Diwali ceremonies proper, a small group celebrates a special puja to Lakshmi the goddess of good-fortune (a considerable honour for those chosen). Also the local Hindu shop-keepers and businessmen bring their account books to have them blessed by the priest inscribing them with special mantras, in the hope of having good fortune in the coming year.

Plate 54 : shows the two priests officiating at the Diwali Lakshmi puja, both wearing kurta and pyjamas and one wearing a 'Ghandi' cap.

Plate 55: the celebrants of the Lakshmi puja seated around the front of the 'temple' area - the men wearing suits and the women wearing their finest quality saris together with red and gold embroidered veils (auspicious colours).

Plate 56: the celebrants stand together to offer an arti - the men wearing a mixture of topis and Ghandi style caps.

Plate 57 the celebrants seated making offerings of grains and water (not the lotha far right)

Plates 58 and 59: the local shop-keepers and businessmen with their annual accounts; all with a tray of food offerings, all the men smartly dressed in suits, the women in their best saris. Both the men and the women have the white and red urdhvapundra mark on their foreheads. Compared to many Hindu ceremonies this stage of Diwali is quite formal, although the rest of the event is far from it.

Plate 60: rangoli patterns made from coloured sand by children attending the celebrations; rangoli was traditionally a form of doorstep decoration but has recently been re-invigorated in a new form.

Plate 61: the Diwali celebrations continue outside later, the lighting of diwas in the front window of peoples' homes has gradually been extended to the Diwali lights display and the letting off of fire-works by the younger members of the Hindu and Sikh communities. The impromptu fireworks displays which often involves the game of attempting to fire rockets down the length of Melton Road is not always appreciated by the police. This aspect of Diwali has occasionally resulted in confrontations - though little else.



(plate, 54)



(plate, 55)



(plate, 56)



(plate, 57)



(plate, 58)



(plate, 59)



(plate, 60)



(plate, 61)

The Annual Mela - Indian Summer Fair (1993)

Each year the city council together with diverse community organisations hold a Mela or summer fair. This has usually involved a procession with floats, and a fair with fairground rides, music and dance events both at the fair-ground and around the city, numerous food-stalls, and some small traders. It is the kind of event that draws large crowds from all the sections of the Indian Communities, and where 'folk' cultural traditions - exemplified in music, dance and food are maintained

Plate 62 and 63: a Gujarati Hindu family at the Mela - the man wears western style casual clothes, the woman a salwaar kameez, their young-teenage daughter wears a red and gold sari and red blouse, the young boy with the yellow cardigan is wearing a kurta and pyjamas underneath. Younger children are more likely than older teenagers to wear Indian style clothes being more fully integrated into family values and having their clothing, in part at least, chosen by their parents.

Plate 64: a carved Hindu shrine intended for use in the home made by one of the few (if not only) local craftsman.

Plate 65 and 66: the Sikh association's float , and Hindu Shree Sanatan Mandir's Gaja (elephant).



(plate, 62)



(plate, 63)



(plate, 64)



(plate, 65)



(plate, 66)

Dattatreya Yagna (July 1998)

This was a ceremony organised by the recently founded Federation of Hindu Priests. The Dattatreya Yagna (sacrifice) for World Peace, was a national event, attended by Hindus from Leicester, from all over the country, and from India and elsewhere. The most honoured guest was the visiting priest, the Pramukh Swami Maharaj, who came from India to attend the ceremony. Events like this are important both in terms of their specific religious significance, but also more broadly as social events, and as occasions when the attitudes, values and practices of the culture are most explicitly articulated.

Plates 67 and 68: show the dais with the officiating priests backed with portraits of the main Hindu deities Ganesh, Vishnu, and symbolic forms such as the peacock. The priests are seated on low ornately carved gilded stools. The central figure in plate 67 (in orange) is the Pramukh Swami Maharaj, and in the foreground is the enclosure for offerings (foreground plate 68) produced by a local company which specialises in Mandaps - wedding pavilions.

Plate 69: volunteer stewards at the event all wore some item of orange - symbolic of the arti flame.

Plate 70: the predominantly male area of the audience, men wearing western style clothes

Plate 71: the predominantly female area, women all in Indian clothing.

Plate 72: the pavilion.

Plate 73: the ornate golden entrance gate, carved with peacock images and decorated with an image of Krishna 8th incarnation of Vishnu.

Plates 74, 75 and 76: celebrants in family groups making offerings of ghee, fruit, flowers, milk, yoghurt, etc. which are made around the hamkunda (the fire altar). They have kalashes - coconuts surrounded by five mango leaves in a copper kalash/lotha offerings usually identified with Ganesh. There is a range of male dress styles present, from the men in plate 74 who are wearing western style clothes, to those in plate 76 who are dressed entirely in Indian items: kurtha pyjamas and two men in kurthies - waistcoats. The women, however, are dressed exclusively in Indian clothes - mostly red and green saris.



(plate, 67)



(plate, 68)



(plate, 69)



(plate, 70)



(plate, 71)



(plate, 72)



(plate, 73)



(plate, 74)



(plate, 75)



(plate, 76)

The Sikh Wedding Summer 1994

Plates 77 to 82 show moments from two days of a traditional Sikh wedding. Both of the families involved were quite orthodox so the ceremony was followed closely. Sikh Weddings like those for Hindus and Muslims are a focal points in the social lives of these communities. Weddings are meeting places for the young, or for possible marriage partnerships, they re-articulate the general cultural custom in terms of the events before the ceremony, and the practices and values of the formal religious teaching. The social events before, during and after the ceremony also re-establish notions of hospitality and social obligation, for example in the giving of dowries by the bride's immediate family, and gifts by other relatives. In particular for Sikhs, gift-giving is an important aspect for negotiating family ties (see Bachu 1985).

Plate 77: shows some of the events of the day before the wedding when the bride's mother marks out a grid on the floor in flour and turmeric oil. Near this, the bride sits with her feet raised off the floor on a wooden plank also decorated with turmeric, flour and oil. A red scarf with good luck symbols: coins, rice and nails, is held above the bride's head whilst she has turmeric and oil rubbed on her arms. Her mother gives her four Indian sweets. Whilst singing traditional wedding songs, the bride's family and friends fold the scarf onto her head with coins underneath. The mother steps over the platform seven times, the remains of the turmeric thrown away in five goes - the mother puts her hand-print on the house wall. A similar but slightly different ceremony happens to the groom.

Plate 78: later in the early evening the bride's maternal uncles arrive with her dowry - gold jewellery, clothes, cooking utensils, furniture, money and many other gifts. These gifts especially the jewellery are decided by tradition, for example maternal uncles give the bride her gold head, nose and hand chains. They also bring her choora bangles - the colour of the wedding outfit. The men's heads should all be covered, the maternal uncles and aunts (ideally 24 each side) then wash the bride's hands and feet with milk and put a red and gold scarf on her this will be sown under the scarf used at the wedding.

Plate 79: the bride's aunts and those close to her then bring her trinkets in this case decorated miniature coconut shells which are hung on her bracelets. More gifts are received, and later her hands and feet are 'hennaed' with mendhi patterns.

Plate 80: the plate shows the bride and groom during the actual wedding ceremony - the Anand Karaj - which takes place either at the bride's house or in the village, he wearing garlands given him by the bride's family or sisters, is leading her around the Guru Granth four times by the pulla sash which contains gifts and money in a sack in the end - he has also been given a coconut by his mother. She is supposed to follow him 'in fear' and therefore in need of his guidance.

Plates 81 and 82: the bride and groom after the wedding laden with garlands and gifts.



(plate, 77)



(plate, 78)

(plate, 79)



(plate, 80)



(plate, 81)



(plate, 82)

An Upanayana - a Brahmin Naming Ceremony Summer 1993

The Upanayana or sacred thread is the naming ceremony exclusive to the highest castes in this case it was two boys of the Brahmin caste who were entering the status of the 'twice born'. It is supposed to happen between the ages of six and ten, but can happen up until they are sixteen, the ceremony has to be conducted in the most auspicious months (spring to early summer) of the year, and at the appropriate time of day, 6:00 am - midday. Many friends and family and as many Brahmins as possible attend.

Plates 83 and 84: the two boys with the priest and their father welcome their guests. They are both wearing kurta and pyjamas, but would traditionally have been bathed and had their heads shaved as a sign of their new birth.

Plate 85: the male members of the family make an offering of a coconut to their house-hold deity.

Plates 86 and 87: the priest lights a fire of sacred twigs which is kept burning throughout.

Plates 88 and 90; the father offers arti lights and blessings to his sons.

Plates 89 and 91; the celebrants receive the priests blessing and thread-giving ceremony can begin. First the boys remove their kurtas.

Plate 92: the boys are marked with ashes by the priest to signify their present lowly sudra (untouchable) status. The priest is wearing a short-sleeved kurta with a white (cricket) sweater over it, and a dhoti.

Plate 93: the initiates receive the three inter-twined cotton threads consecrate by the priest.

Plate 94: they are placed over the boys knees whilst they make an offering of rice or grains

Plate 95: before taking the thread and putting them over their left shoulder, under the right arm-pit. The sacred thread is then never removed and is worn in different positions for particular ceremonies - e.g. over the left shoulder when worshipping gods, over the right shoulder when worshipping his ancestors.

Plates 96 and 97: each boy has the sacred and secret verse of the gayatri recited to him by the priest three times. this must be done out of the hearing of others, especially the women and guests present, and so the priest does this under the shawl decorated with verses.

Plates 98 and 99: historically the young Brahmin's education would begin at the end of the Upanayana, he would be away from home for years and have to be for food. Nowadays,

the initiated are given a staff symbolic of their new status (of poverty and striving for education), and a knapsack of provisions to help them on their journey.

Plate 100: the boys' female relatives in particularly expensive saris - these occasions are an opportunity to express cultural identity, but also the status that is associated with that identity. This is often a difficult subject for Brahmins who are still central to Hindu culture, but often not the wealthiest members of it.

Plate 101: the audience was divided into two halves: male and female (the male half was too dark to photograph)

Plate 102: the ornately carved wooden stools which the boys sit on at the start of the ceremony.

Plate 103: an embroidered Gujarati style floor mat which covered and defined the area of the ceremony.



(plate, 83)



(plate, 84)



(plate, 87)



(plate, 85)



(plate, 86)



(plate, 88)



(plate, 90)



(plate, 89)



(plate, 91)



(plate, 92)

(plate, 94)



(plate, 93)

(plate, 95)





(plate, 96)



(plate, 97)



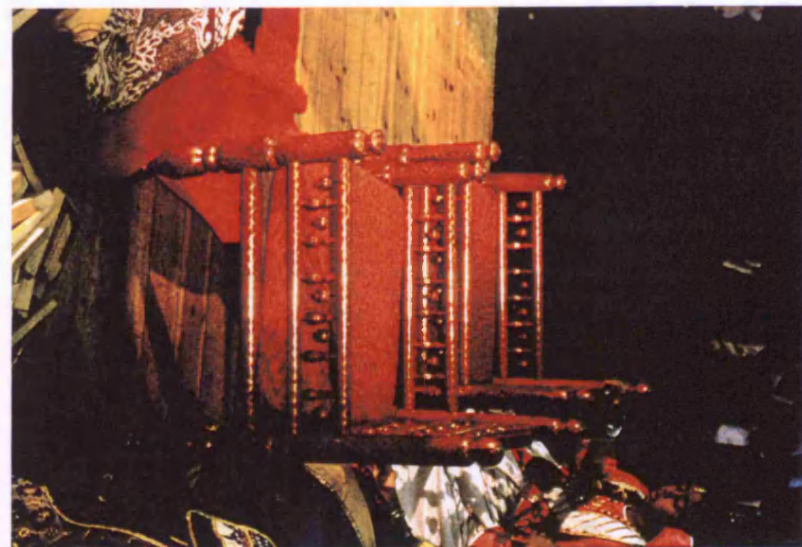
(plate, 98)



(plate, 99)



(plate, 100)



(plate, 102)



(plate, 101)



(plate, 103)

PART THREE: INTERVIEWS

Presentation

The results of the interviews are presented first as a series of profiles of the interview subjects, these include summaries of their responses to the questionnaires or the information gathered in the interview which corresponds to the questionnaire topics. The profiles then summarise the responses of each interviewee to the interview schedule questions, or at least to the areas covered by that schedule - in the case of interviews conducted before the schedule was introduced. Lastly, where appropriate, specific quotations will be cited either in this section or in the following discussion.

There are several reasons for presenting the material in this way. Firstly it conveys a sense of the inter-relationships and complexity of the processes of the maintenance of tradition, and cultural and ethnic identification. It exemplifies the ways in which the disparate elements of the processes of identification, mentioned in the questionnaires, articulate in the concrete circumstances of peoples' lives. In other words this approach offers a series of images of what the relationship between tradition, material culture and cultural/ethnic identity can be like. This approach also addresses two practical problems. Firstly, the interviews were undertaken and recorded in different ways at different times. Thus early interviews (Summer 1992 -summer 1993) were less formally structured (they did not follow the interview schedule) and were written-up afterwards in note form. The latest interviews conducted in summer 1997 and 1998 followed the interview schedule and were taped and subsequently transcribed. In the intervening period interviews were formalised, following a schedule of questions, but were written-up directly rather than taped. Therefore, presenting the material from these interviews in this way enables them to be compared more effectively³⁹. Secondly, the material produced from the interviews is very cumbersome, the transcripts of the longer interviews are over 5,000 words, so this material could only be presented in some edited form.

INTERVIEWS

Subject a

Subject A is 36 year old man - a local government employee working at a Community Education Centre in Highfields. A Hindu of the *mochi* (untouchable) caste, he was born in Kenya and moved to Britain in 1965. His first language is Gujarati but he speaks both English and Gujarati at work, at home as part of religious observance and at special events. He attends religious events a few times a year. He is married though his marriage was not

³⁹This is not to ignore the complexities, differences, and problems engendered by these different methods of interview recording. The different strategies will undoubtedly have had effects on the nature of the discussion and the level and nature of the evidence recorded (see e.g. Hammersley & Atkinson 1983: 144-73 for a discussion of these effects). However, there is little scope for addressing these issues properly in the present discussion.

traditional. He regularly eats Indian food but not every day, more often at the weekends. His home contains a number of artefacts of traditional Indian style: cooking utensils, pictures and decorations, a religious shrine and statues, and wall-hangings. He regularly attends and performs in a variety of cultural activities: dance, music, films, crafts and cooking. He does wear traditional Indian style clothes, though usually only for special events. He wears Western and Indian clothes at work and in public, Western clothes in public, and Indian style clothes at special events. He would wear a Kurta and Pajama trousers for certain 'cultural' events at work, quite often when relaxing at home, sometimes in public and often at festivals. He found it difficult to specify what kind of collective group he could identify with, but thought that the term British-Asian best described his position.

Origins

For A, the contact with East Africa was important because he still has family, friends and contacts there, and would want his children to know those relatives and to understand that life. Equally important in this respect was that he has visited India, and will do so again. In Leicester, and in the UK, his family, though not friends are also from East Africa

Language

To A, language was important because it was about more than just a way of communicating, it was a way of thinking, and it was a link to those around you - to your family and older generations - even if those links were not always what you wanted.

Traditions

For A, the participation in, and appreciation of, the creative aspects of Indian culture was very important. He regularly took part in music/dance events and also went to such events as a spectator. He felt that it was important to support and patronise the activities of contemporary musicians, artists and crafts people etc. who worked within or adapted traditional forms. As a consequence his home contained many art-works, wall-hangings and statues of Indian styles and commented, "that although the house is quite modern it is also quite Indian, these two things aren't opposites .. my house might not be Indian like say those of other members of my family, who have collected dozens of ornaments and things, and have them all over the place, but its still very 'Indian'.

Clothing

Partly the issue of Indian style clothing was one of comfort. The kinds of clothes that A might wear at home when relaxing, simply weren't appropriate to the climate or the situations that he was often in at work - these required him to be more formally dressed where a Kurta would be too casual. However, where it was appropriate like at a cultural event at work then he would wear Indian style clothes, because it would be part of the event.

Life-cycle and Attitudes

As A, got older he became less involved in religion etc. but the most significant change came about as a result of his wedding which was to someone from outside the community,

and not the kind of wedding that his family would have wanted. This caused a lot of tension and changed his feelings towards religion and family traditions even more. Also through his life he became more aware and questioning of the consequences of caste, and could not accept the system or what it stood for, particularly in the present day.

Identity

This subject was troubling to **A**, because he found many of the aspects of the notion of ethnic or cultural identity, especially to do with religion and caste worrying. The focus on these things implied that Indian identities were about the past, superstition and out-dated attitudes, and for **A**, being part of a community was about now, India was a modern country and most Asians were forward looking people, they had been forced to be by their lives - migration and expulsions etc.

Subject B

Interviewee **B**, is a c.30 year old woman, a Deputy-Head teacher at a Primary school on the edge of the Belgrave area. She is a Sikh, born in England, she objected to the question on caste, on the grounds of the assumptions that underlay the questions, and those that might be made on the basis of the answer. Her parents' background was not disclosed. She speaks Punjabi and English equally often, and equally fluently, and speaks English at work, but both languages with friends, at home, at religious and special events. She attends religious events a few times a year. She is married, her marriage was traditional in that the ceremony followed the traditional Sikh form (although **B** found the word 'traditional', and its associations with the past very unhelpful). Her home contains Indian style furniture, cooking utensils, pictures and decorations, and religious objects, and she attends/takes part in dance, music, art, film, crafts events and does embroidery makes clothes and cooks. **B**, wears Indian style clothes frequently each week though not necessarily every day, and wears both Indian and Western style clothes at work, with the family, in public, and at religious or special events, although would be more likely to wear Indian style clothes at the latter two. She always wears a Karah, and would wear Salwar Kameez and a Choonni sometimes at work, at home and in public, always at prayers, and often at special events. She would wear a Churidar occasionally at festivals. **B**, identified herself as belonging to an ethnic group, a cultural group and a community, and defined this/these group/s as 'British-Sikh' (having chosen British-Asian and Sikh from the list).

Origins

Family origins not addressed in interview.

Language

For **B**, the question of the language she spoke, was largely one of who the conversation was with. Punjabi was spoken with family, particularly older relatives who had little English, and therefore people tended to speak Punjabi both with them, and around them as

a mark of respect. Beyond that, language and especially ensuring that children could learn their culture's languages was very important, both personally to the child growing up - so that they knew and understood where they came from, and in terms of the rights of those communities to an equal chance in education.

Traditions

The term tradition was very problematic as far as **B**, was concerned. The term implied a backwards looking definition of Asian people, tradition meant 'of the past', and these communities were not all like that, using the term reinforced that stereotype. She was deeply suspicious of the 'Festivals and Food', multi-culturalist approach to ethnic relations in the city (where the communities are defined and understood only in terms of their religious festivals which are attractive and easy to deal with). Things like the cultural activities she took part in, and the furniture and decorations of her home, were mostly a matter of 'personal taste' - things she had grown up with, or that her and her husband liked. She had grown up making clothes with her mother and continued to do this.

Clothing

Although **B**, said she only wore Indian Style clothing on certain occasions, this did include work, and the way in which she used both Western and Indian style clothes at work was sometimes clearly 'strategic' - part of an active process of identification. Thus at official school events such as Governors meetings or open evenings " I sometimes deliberately wear Salwaar kameez or whatever, to remind people that Asians can be in positions like this (Deputy Head), and still be just as Asian, to confront them". Conversely when she represented the school, through assemblies, etc. during festivals, she would (sometimes in spite of requests) avoid Indian style clothes to undermine the assumptions about her and others' 'Asian-ness'.

Life-cycle and Attitudes

Not addressed

Identity

B, expressed a very strongly defined sense of her identity as a modern British Sikh, someone who was both absolutely a Sikh but also very much part of modern Britain and Leicester. She saw no contradiction in being part of a faith/ethnic community and being part of contemporary society and that was why the term traditional was a problem - because it suggested/ implied that the two were different. This was also seen by **B**, as part of the problem of this kind of research, since it is being done by an outsider, it leads to stereotypes being reinforced even if that isn't the intention. Further she said that different people express their identity in different ways. So for example many young Sikh men - especially the more orthodox and baptised (initiated) Sikhs, are much more vociferous and visible in their expression of identity based on faith, being 'overt' in their dress and

attitudes, and in their support the Khalistani liberation struggle (through stickers on car windows and posters, etc.,).

Subject C

Interviewee C, is a woman, approximately 50 years old, who works as a Home-School Liaison Officer for the same Primary school as B, She is a Hindu, originally of a Rajput (high) caste family but now ascribes to the views of the Geeta Bhavan a non-caste Hindu group. She speaks Gujarati and English She did not complete a questionnaire because she had reservations about the questions asking for personal details, on the grounds of both privacy and security of the information now and in the future. She also found the question on caste problematic as it raised all the pain of the divisions that caste implied for many people back in India. It therefore, only focused on divisions in this country which were thankfully less important.

Origins

It was clear from her answers to other questions that C, had come to Britain from East Africa, but without the completed questionnaire, details were unknown⁴⁰,

Language

For C, she took being able to speak her 'mother tongue' for granted, but thought that it was vital that children from ethnic families could learn their own languages and that schools supported them in doing this, so that a gap did not develop between these children and their families, and the elders of the community. She said that with both the positive and negative part of their culture, things like caste and language, "that they should know and if they don't know its because they don't know who and what they are, and what they're going to be".

Traditions

Not addressed separately

Clothing

C, stressed that a primary concern with respect to clothing was that she must feel comfortable -not just physically [but emotionally/psychologically] in the clothes given the kind of place that she was in. Therefore, quite often at work saris and Punjabi suits were impractical, but if she wanted, she did wear Indian style clothes at work. When visiting friends she usually wore Indian styles, and always did so to attend prayer meetings and for religious events such as weddings and for festivals.

⁴⁰A limited attempt to pursue these details in conversation brought no further information.

Further C, felt that it was important that children could wear Indian style clothes at school if they wanted, for example that girls could wear head-scarves if they wanted. At a previous school Muslim girls had needed support to do this because of problems with other children and staff. However, C, felt that over the last 10 or so years attitudes towards the acceptance of Indian clothes had improved both in schools and more generally.

Finally she commented that the reasons for the difference between men's and women's attitudes towards Indian style clothes were largely historical, since both in India after the Raj, and in East Africa, men already often wore European style clothing. C, described the persistence of some of the traditional attitudes towards and meanings of items of women's Indian style clothing. Young Gujarati women are still often given a special sari, a *panetar* which is white with a red/green border given by her maternal uncle, and a *chunli* sari in red/green from her mother, together with a *gharchoru* silk sari worn only for the wedding, or the woman's own funeral - assuming she dies before her husband. Women also still tend to observe the 'rules' whereby married women wear the black/gold necklace the *mangulsutra*, the bangles given them by their husband's family on engagement, and the *bindi* or *tilak* mark on their forehead. More orthodox women still wear the *sindoor* vermillion in their parting. The gold jewellery given to a Hindu bride (rings for all fingers and toes, ear-rings, necklaces, hair ornaments, etc.) is still an important part of her material wealth and can be worth several thousand pounds. However, many of the specific caste and status identifications associated with these items have been lost and they are now subject to changes in taste/fashion. Widows avoid the brightly coloured clothes of young married women, tending to wear the plainer, pastel coloured *sadlos* of the older woman, older and more orthodox Hindu widows wear the traditional white which identifies them with considerable social disadvantages (loss of property and status) .

Life-cycle and Attitudes

C, commented that although she was born a Rajput and that she had married within her caste community, she no longer cared about such differences since joining her non-caste faith group in Leicester. Her own child, and her close nephew, had married outside the caste community and this did not concern her.

Identity

C's sense of collective identity was primarily defined by her faith as a Hindu , and more specifically as a member of the particular faith group - the Geeta Bhavan - a non-caste Hindu group.

Subject D

Subject D was interviewed in the early stages of the project (Sept. 1992) and was not asked to complete a questionnaire.

Origins

D, a 37 year old Muslim man, who worked as an officer for a Highfields-based housing association. His family come from East Africa (the countries were not specified in the interview), and this is important to him personally as he and his family travel to visit friends and family and holiday in East Africa and the Middle-East as often as they can. (He had just returned from one such trip).

Language

He speaks English most often at work, but also Gujarati and Urdu, with friends and at home he speaks both English and more often Gujarati, and at prayers he speaks Gujarati most often and at religious or special events he speaks Gujarati most often, but also English and sometimes Urdu.

Traditions

He attends prayer as often each day as he can, this is not always five times. He eats Indian food at most meals at home. His home has religious inscriptions on the walls (koranic verses) and some other decorative objects of Indian style such as depictions of important mosques.

Clothing

He wears Indian style clothes quite often, a kurta and often pyjamas too, especially in summer when he would wear these on most days. He always wears a *topi* to go to prayers. He stressed that this was both an issue of comfort and one of belonging. He said that it was his as anyone else's right to wear the clothes that were part of his culture. Further he raised the importance of decency in clothing, commenting that *hijab* (the concept of modesty) applied also to men, and that wearing a light *kurta* and *pyjamas* in the summer was part of this. He also bought Indian style Gold jewellery on his recent trip.

Life-cycle and Attitudes

D said that having children had made him see things differently. It was not that it had changed what he thought about religion etc., but that children brought you into the family you get involved with your own family more than before.

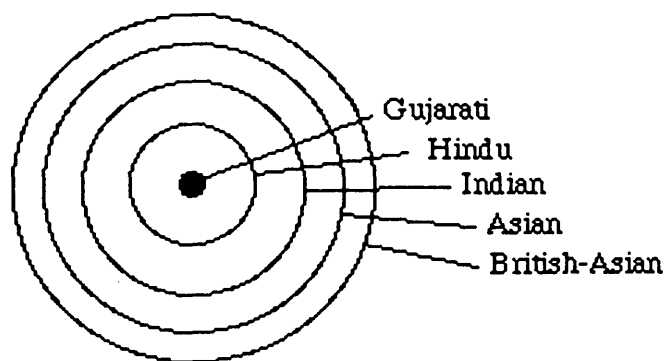
Identity

His view of collective identity is defined by being a Muslim, and therefore being part of a faith group that is important at the local level, within Leicester. He stressed that Islam for him and others is not just a religion but is at the centre of daily life, defined through religious teaching on *Halal*, *hijab*, *purdah*, and so on, but also said that he was part of a community through work and friends and so on. Being a Muslim also makes him part of something international [the Islamic concept of *Ummah* - the world body of Muslims], which can be seen as a problem, especially because many people see Muslims as dangerous

extremists or terrorists. **D** felt this was the case in Leicester after the Rushdie protests [for a pro-Islamic view on the '*Satanic Verses* affair' see Rutheven (1990)] where because local Muslims, particularly young lads demonstrated as had happened in Bradford, it was assumed that all Muslims in Leicester felt the same. "It was clear the way [white] people felt about Asians when the demonstrations happened".

Subject E

Subject **E** is a 56 year old Hindu woman (a patidar) who works as a social worker and teacher, and is based in a community centre in the Belgrave area of Leicester. She came to Leicester from Uganda in 1971 although she, and her family were born in Surat, India. She speaks English Gujarati and Hindi equally frequently at work, Gujarati and English with friends and family, and mainly Gujarati at religious ceremonies and special events. She offers *puja* prayers every morning. She is married, her wedding was completely traditional in that it was arranged, and in terms of the ceremony, the clothes she wore, and that she lived with her husband's family afterwards. She eats Indian food at least once a day, and her home contains; furniture, cooking utensils, pictures/decorations, and a shrine to her house-hold god. **E**, regularly attends/watches; dance and music events, watches Indian films, takes part in crafts, embroidery, making clothes cooking and grows Indian vegetables in her garden. She wears Indian Style clothes all the time and in all circumstances and contexts, she also follows Indian tradition with respect to her hairstyle and jewellery. She considers herself to be a member of an ethnic group, a cultural group and a community, and defined this collective identity as a series of concentric circles



Origins

Although her family lived in East Africa for some time, as she did until 1969, **E**, describes herself without making much reference to this East African context. Even in discussion beyond the choices for identity offered by the questionnaire the key features seem to be the Hindu religion and her family's Gujarati background.

Language

To **E**, languages were very important, it was the most important thing in the education of the next generation. That was why classes after ordinary school were a good thing, and it showed how important it was to the parents, because in the first place many of them had to

get these classes set up at the beginning. Personally she felt much less comfortable speaking English, and it was a close thing as to whether English or Hindi was her second language. She commented on the problems that many members of her community, and others, still faced as a result of not having any English, but how it was possible to live most of the time within the community without speaking any English if you chose. Although this often meant a gap growing up between teenagers and their older relatives.

Traditions

E, strongly emphasised the importance of maintaining her culture's traditions. She said she believed it was important not just to say that this was worth keeping up, but that you should do it too. She also commented that too few of the younger generations knew about or understood their own culture and what it meant. This meant that they had little to fall back on when they met difficulties, at school etc. (drugs, alcohol, sex, etc.). For herself religion was the most important aspect of tradition because it helped you to live, and how to understand the world. E made a number of references to the fact that caste communities were very different in this country than they were in India. Basically this was because the range of occupations that were defined by caste status didn't exist in this country - people had to get employment as they could, especially those that came to the UK in the 1970s after the expulsion. Also, not all the castes came to Britain, and certain temples here were open to all caste groups and were against caste differences [I think this referred to the Shree Sanatan Mandir on Weymouth St]. So castes were now communities like social groups which met to arrange celebrations for festivals like Navaratri and Diwali. Also some people still preferred their children to marry within the right caste but that was much less common now.

Clothing

E, said that her clothes and her jewellery were important to her as they were to any wife. She still had most of the saris that had been given to her at the time of her wedding and all of the jewellery. She always wore Indian style clothes and would feel very uncomfortable in anything else. She went on to say that children, including boys should be encouraged to wear traditional Indian clothes because it gave them an understanding of their place in their culture. She commented on the fact that the tradition which had grown up in India of using gold jewellery as a form of long term wealth accumulation was still important now in Leicester, since the value of gold was still gradually increasing and it wasn't subject to tax like Building society accounts. Gold jewellery was still a most important part of the dowry/bride wealth given on marriage and it has both an importance and value aesthetically, culturally and financially.

Life-cycle and Attitudes

As a worker who deals with Asian elderly E, was concerned about the breaking down of the traditional forms of family support, which lead to elderly Asian people needing care outside their communities and families. This she felt was made worse by divisions over

language raised above, and this had made her more active in helping within the community.

Identity

Refer to diagram above. **E**, felt that the terms used in the questionnaire weren't really good enough, because the answer to the question of what kind of community someone belonged to depended on who was asking - another Gujarati Hindu from Leicester would require one kind of answer [more specific and personal] whereas someone from another City or country would get a more general definition. The concentric circles of identity answered this problem quite well she thought, and gave quite a good sense of how she felt.

Subject F

Subject F, is a 40 year old Hindu man (A Brahman) who works as a social worker, and is also a priest. He moved to Britain from East Africa with his family in 1970. His first language is Gujarati, followed by English, Hindi and Swahili, he speaks a mixture of English and Gujarati at work, and mainly Gujarati and some English with friends, family, at religious ceremonies and at special events. He prays at least daily. He was married and his marriage was completely traditional, in terms of it being 'assisted', in the form of the ceremony, the clothes participants wore, traditional gifts and dowry, and in the couple living with his parents after the marriage. He eats Indian food at least once a day usually in the evening, and has Indian style cooking utensils, decorations, and a shrine in his home. He often takes part in dance and music events having choreographed classical Indian dance. he also watches Hindi films and cooks regularly. He wears Indian style clothes to special events. N.b. in his situation officiating at weddings etc., this can be every weekend, at weddings etc. he always wears traditional Indian style clothes - but those made by contemporary designers. He wears Western style clothes and occasionally Indian ones at work, with friends and family, , and when at prayers, but only Indian styles when at events. He would wear a kurta and pyjamas sometimes at work, often at home, often in public, at prayers and almost always at special events. He would wear: a dhoti sometimes at home, sometimes in public, often at prayer and sometimes at a special event; A sherwani sometimes in public, sometimes at prayers and sometimes at events; a Nehru jacket sometimes at work sometimes in public sometimes at prayer and often at events; lastly a topi sometimes in public and sometimes at events. **F** described himself as belonging to a community which was essentially Indian although he later commented that that view had changed over time.

Origins

F said that the issue of his family's roots in East Africa was difficult for him because he was young - 7 when they left Kenya and although he remembers the comfort of the lifestyle and has gone back several times, his adolescence was in this country which was much more influential in defining his life. If anything now he identifies with India -especially after his first visit in 1989. His family's origins in East Africa did have important effects on

his early life here, because it was in the mid-1960s there were few other East-African Asians and there were then limited social circles to mix in, and both then and later there were distinctions between the East African and Indian Asian communities - to do with attitudes, values and also class - [the African Asians were more often self employed, educated and middle-class and Indians more often working classes from rural villages]. Beyond this, F has observed that there were also greater differences between the faith groups here in Leicester than there had been in Kenya where religious events would be attended by all faith communities.

Language

For F the use of the 'native' language is making a statement about who and what you are at least to a degree. He commented further on the specific language that might come out of your origins. His and his family's Gujarati is mixed with Swahili words, but they all just think its Gujarati - so language can be very personal to you. He argued that more people now wanted their children to learn the native language, both to read and right, but that after school language classes put enormous pressure on the kids, so Indian Languages should be part of the secondary curriculum. Also F increasingly does wedding ceremonies in English so that the couples understand the vows - this is better than doing them in Sanskrit ("which nobody but the priest understands") or even Gujarati if they don't understand it. Its not just the language but understanding it that matters. Further he noted changes in attitudes towards language, " I think that culturally it has become a more accepted practice to use both languages, but I think equally that the mother tongue is very important to the local community, and they're trying their best for their children".

Traditions

Having a background as a choreographer of Asian folk dance F takes an active part in dance and music activities and thinks that it is very important to pass on an awareness of the cultural value and skill and knowledge in these forms - which are often equivalent to European forms like ballet and opera. Young people need to understand some of the artistic works of their culture to know who and what they are. But, in recent years 2nd and 3rd generation Indians are trying to find out about their culture and there aren't enough of the relevant professionals or experts around to inform them. This was partly because first generation migrants had to take unskilled and semiskilled jobs in order to build a home, earning money was suddenly the priority.

Clothing

F said that at work and around the home he tended to wear western style clothes for most of the time, but on some occasions at work he deliberately wore Indian clothes such as Kurta and Pyjamas. More frequently at home he would wear Indian clothes to pray or when he was relaxing - kurtha and pyjamas and sometimes a dhoti. However, when he was conducting a wedding or other ceremony (see plates 67 -76) he would always wear

specially designed contemporary versions of Indian style clothes particularly a kurta and pyjamas and a sherwani, because this was expected of him for the occasion, and it was appropriate.

Life-cycle , Attitudes, and Identity

F, said that he had noted changes in cultural attitudes particularly over the last ten years. One particular form this change has taken is that inter-communal/inter-ethnic marriages used to involve a negative attitude on the part of the Asian partner - Asian women who married a white partner for example would be very 'white' in their thinking ten to fifteen years ago. Now Asian partners in mixed marriages assume that the other partner is going to want to be part of their culture, that the other partner will see it [Indian culture] as something as good or possibly better than their own. This links to a complicated set of changes where young Indians are facing more and more problems like drugs and alcohol and perhaps their parents want them to live and marry within their culture, because they feel threatened. But there is an equally strong trend where the number of mixed marriages is growing, and where the Asian partner brings the other within their culture in a way that seems more assertive about that culture, rather than conservative.

In terms of the ethnic circumstances of contemporary Leicester, there is for F a set of serious problems, since politically identity has to be 'black or white', but is clearly not that simple. There is a problem "when the news media report events in the Indian communities like say *Holi* and say the Asian community is today celebrating Holi" which he could see would cause offence in the Muslim community because in Leicester, which is very mixed, the Asian community is not one thing, and such reports need to be more specific. Conversely though he said these differences are a problem because traditionally, in East Africa, and still in India today, all the communities would be involved in the festivals - something that is more difficult here.

Personally, his attitudes towards his sense of belonging have changed considerably. He feels an attachment still to East Africa but his connection to Africa is a mixed one, as it brings a lot of pain, as well as positive feelings. When he was younger he used to identify himself as African, whereas now he would not, and sees that it is tenuous to keep up the idea of a connection to Africa in that way. In more recent years and especially since visiting India for the first time in 1989 he has felt a greater sense of attachment with those roots. Now if asked to react instinctively he would say he was an Indian, and if asked to be more specific a Gujarati, but more an Indian than a Gujarati.

Subject H

Subject H is a 30 year old man who used to work as a craft jeweller but recently started work as a senior sales consultant in the jewellery trade (not specifically Indian jewellery). He is a Hindu of the Soni (Goldsmiths) caste who has always lived in Britain, his family

came to Britain in 1976. His first language is English but he also speaks fluent Gujarati. He speaks English at work and with friends, and Gujarati with his family and at religious and special events. He attends religious events a few times a year. He is recently married, the marriage was traditional in some ways being assisted rather than arranged, having a traditional ceremony, traditional dress and the couple living with his parents afterwards. He eats Indian food at least daily, and the home has traditional style cooking utensils and religious inscriptions. He does not attend any traditional Indian cultural activities, and never wears Indian style clothes, wearing Western style clothes in all circumstances. He was not sure how to describe the collective group he identified with but chose Hindu to identify it.

Origins

For **H** his family's origins are very important. although he has always lived in England he was actually born in Kenya, and has a sister with family who still lives there. The family either visit her, or return to India about once every two years, and the sister's family come to Leicester in alternate years. He has thought of moving back to East Africa or to India on several occasions. His friends are largely drawn from the caste group of his family and other families from East Africa, he suggested that other Gujaratis would know far fewer people from outside of a similar caste-based circles than from within.

Language

To **H** language was something he had not thought of as 'important', It was inevitable that he now spoke English at work, and it was just natural that he spoke mostly English with friends, although he/they would slip into Gujarati without thinking when discussing certain topics, or in the presence of older Gujarati speakers - not to do so would be a sign of disrespect. Gujarati was spoken at home because he lived with his parents and neither of them spoke much English, this would change when he and his wife moved to a new house (although his parents would probably live there too). He spoke Gujarati at religious and special events because they were often organised by the caste association and were attended by many of the older people in the community.

Traditions

Although he ate Indian food for his evening meal and often at breakfast, and his home contained Indian style cooking utensils, some decorations (some of which are of distinctively East African Asian style - see plate 28 for similar African artefacts), and some religious inscriptions, he did not take part in any of the Indian cultural activities listed.

Beyond Listening to music on the radio and taking part in the dances at Navaratri (which he "was getting a bit past" -[a joke given he's 30 - but probably a reference to the fact that these dances are often an important way for boys and girls / young men and women to meet, and he is recently married]). **H** did not even put down crafts on his questionnaire, which is a mark of his recent change of career - until four or five years ago **H** was an active

goldsmith producing traditional styles of jewellery for a number of Indian jewellery retailers in the Midlands. This level of craft gold-smithing was perhaps one of the few traditional caste trades in Britain. All of the 30-40 households involved were caste members, and each goldsmith produced a limited range of styles which they distributed to jewellery retailers in their area. **H** had been trained by relatives in London and returned to Leicester to supply gold Jewellery for the wedding in Leicester, Coventry and Birmingham. Previously jewellery items had been far more caste-specific, but now choices were largely dictated by fashion. The wealth of the families determined the amount of dowry given but the closeness of the relation between the bride and grooms families and the acceptability of the match influenced the kind of dowry - the more gold jewellery given the closer the tie. **H** had left the business because it had always been seasonal and therefore difficult to sustain through the year - although there was more demand than he could cope with in the summer - wedding season March -September, but increasingly it became difficult to compete with imported gold. Indian gold-work (see plate 1) had always dominated the prestige market - the complicated, fine and large pieces which were made by hand in India and imported - but increasingly the simpler pieces **H** and his father made were being made in India too (more cheaply), and as caste identity became less important and fashion took over everyone wanted the most complicated pieces of jewellery [part of the fashion for the ethnic look].

Clothing

H never wore Indian style clothes, but didn't feel that this was an issue for his identity, he commented that on his recent trip to India with his mother and father, that most men in Bombay were also wearing Western style clothes - shirts and trouser - although he did say that it was obvious from the clothes that he and his father were wearing that they were visiting from England. In other words there is a distinctively 'Indian style' of 'Western' dress.

Life-cycle and Attitudes

See above comments on job change.

Identity

To **H** his membership of a caste group was at the centre of his sense of group identity, but his family's East African background was also important. Religion itself was not that important he only attended religious festival a few times a year but it was there as a background to his caste. Caste associations are important for the organisation of social-cultural events, but are most significant for establishing friendships and negotiating marriages. Although marriages now tend to be 'assisted' - arranged with the co-operation of the potential bride and groom - the family's caste or an appropriate status caste is still the desired level for a match, and family and caste community contacts are still important in setting up meetings for couples.

Subject I

Subject **I** is a 21 year old woman who works as a laboratory technician. She is a Sikh of the Jat caste who has always lived in Britain, her parents came to Britain in 1958 and 1960 from the Punjab, India. Her first language is Punjabi but speaks fluent English. She would speak English at work and both Punjabi and English with friends, at home with family, at religious and special events. She attends religious events only a few times a year, though she is married and her marriage was completely traditional being arranged, with a traditional ceremony, traditional dress, gifts and dowry, and in that they lived with her parents-in-law afterwards. She eats Indian food daily, and her new family's home has traditional Indian cooking utensils, pictures and decorations, a religious shrine and inscriptions. She attends music and dance events and cooks Indian food frequently. She wears Indian style clothes quite often each week, wearing only Western clothes at work but both Western and Indian Style clothes at home, in public at prayers and at special events. She also follows tradition with respect to her hairstyle and in jewellery. She wears a kara all the time, and a salwar Kameez and a chooni/dupatta sometimes at home, and in public; and almost always at prayers, festivals or special events. She wears a sari, petticoat and blouse sometimes at home and in public, never at prayer and often at festivals, and a sharara sometimes at festivals. I said she belonged to an ethnic group which she identified as British-Asian, Indian, Sikh and Punjabi.

Origins

Subject **I** said that the origins of her family were important to her, especially having been married recently because both her family and her husbands were from India and both families were very traditional in their attitudes, in fact in many ways she felt that Sikh families in Britain were more 'strict' about values and behaviour than those in India.

Language

Having learnt Punjabi as a child she was equally fluent in English and Punjabi and believed that it was important to do it that way - learning in languages classes later was much more difficult - and many young people go to language classes as much to meet people as to learn. She would bring her children up to speak Punjabi - to carry on their culture. She would speak English at work even with other Punjabi speakers, English with friends and with her own family and with most younger relatives. However, she would always speak Punjabi with her in-laws, especially the older and senior relatives.

Traditions

To **I** religion was something that was simply accepted when growing up, but which she challenged as a teenager only to go back to it more recently. Going to the temple was something she, like many Sikhs only did occasionally and for weddings. "Weddings in the Sikh community are very much social events where there is competition over getting

dressed up its also a match-making place for a lot of people.... and a meeting place for young people since there is a lack of 'suitable' [to parents] venues." I said Caste was no longer important economically, but was still an issue over marriage. What castes were like and conflicts over caste and marriage were major topics for traditional Bhangra songs. Her marriage was completely traditional - she didn't see the groom before the day, the clothes, jewellery and hair were all very traditional, and they now live with his parents.

In their home they eat Indian food at evening meals and sometimes breakfast - heavy chapattis and syrup. The house contains lots of Sikh religious images e.g. of Gurus, but other-wise it is furnished in western style. Apart from the amount of furniture which I feels is a typical Sikh expression of status - much of the furniture was given at her wedding. An important part of many Sikh brides dowry and one I received is a set of steel chapatti pans and Karais etc. (see plates 6,7,8,9). She like most friends and family join in Bhangra dancing and live music at weddings when it is an expected and relaxed thing. Similarly she listens to Punjabi music, modern Bhangra and folk music, with friends, and sometimes to Hindi music on the radio. Although she cooks regularly and always cooks Indian food to her its no more than a chore. Since early 90s there have been day-time Bhangra discos in clubs around the Midlands especially in Birmingham, with famous Bhangra bands "Sheera Punjab", "Achanak", etc. In one way these events are quite safe - girls wear Indian clothes, the boys wear suits, it is organised - but there is also drinking before and afterwards, and kids are missing school for day-time gigs, and the evening gigs draw a different older male audience. These events have also been the source of inter-ethnic conflicts -especially between Sikh and Muslim gangs.

Clothing

I said that she would usually wear salwaar and kameez on a day to day basis at home, and that Sikh women would almost always wear Indian clothes to go to the temple or at festivals especially in summer when it was more practical. She would wear western clothes at work, but Indian clothes to go shopping, and for prayers and events. At home it would depend on who was with her, if her in-laws were around she would usually wear Indian clothes. On specific items she said that older women always wear a chooni / dhupatta (plates 34, 44), and that younger women had them around in case say the father-in-law comes in. Saris were worn for the morning wedding ceremony. Also brides were given certain numbers of outfits in their dowry - 11, 21, 31, etc. although 31 was excessive.

Identity

(See comments above about origins and ethnic conflicts). I was clearly very self-aware in her self-identification as a Punjabi Sikh and a British Asian, but was quite dismissive of the importance of being a member of the Jat caste -who she said were notoriously un-supportive of each other.

Subject G⁴¹

Subject **G** was a 57 year old man, a Community Development Worker in a Highfields/Spinney Hill Community Centre. He was a Hindu of the Koli Patel caste who moved to Britain from Kenya in 1964 -his parents were born in Surat, India. His first language is Gujarati but also speaks English, Hindi and Urdu. at work he would speak all of these languages, with friends all of them but least of all English, he speaks Gujarati with his family and Gujarati and Hindi at religious and special events. He attends religious events a few times a year. He is married, his marriage was mostly traditional being arranged, and having a traditional ceremony, and the couple lived with his family afterwards. He always eats Indian food, his home has a shrine but no other Indian style artefacts, though he does attend dance, music and traditional arts and crafts events, and watches Hindi films. He wears Western style clothes at work, at home with his family in public, and at prayer, and only wears Indian style clothes only at special events where he occasionally wears a Kurta and pyjamas, although he often wears champals sandals at home sometimes in public and often at festivals. He considers himself to be part of an ethnic group which he describes as Indian Hindu.

Subject J

Subject **J** is a 16 year old woman, a student at a local city centre VIth form college. She is a Muslim, born in Leicester, whose family came directly to the UK from India. Her first language is English though she also speaks Gujarati. She would speak English at college, with her friends and at a special event or festival, she would speak mostly English but also Gujarati with her family and at a religious event. She prays daily , though not always five times. She is not married. Her family home contains few objects of traditional Indian style, only religious inscriptions. She eats Indian food at least daily, but takes part in none of the 'Indian' cultural activities listed and suggested no others. She would almost always wear only Western style clothes at college, in public and at special events or festivals, and wear Indian style clothes only at home or at home during prayers. She often wears a Salwaar and Kameez and chooni / dhupatta, or a churidar at home, at prayers and at festivals, and sometimes in public. She would wear a head-scarf or Burkha at home and sometimes at festivals. She does not follow Indian tradition in other ways to do with her appearance. She believes she belongs to a Muslim community.

Subject K

Subject **K** is an 18 year old man, who is a student at a city centre VIth form college. He is a Muslim who does not belong to a caste, and worships five times a day. He was born in Leicester, his father was born in India and his mother in Malawi. His first language is English, but he also speaks Gujarati and Urdu. At college and with friends he would speak English, at home with family he would speak Gujarati, and at religious and special events

⁴¹The three interviews G, J and K were presented in abbreviated form due to limitations of both time and words.

Gujarati, English and Urdu. He is not married. He eats Indian food at least once a day, but does not take part in any Indian cultural activities. His family home contains only religious inscriptions that are of Indian style. He would wear Indian style clothing on a weekly basis, wearing Western clothes at college and in public, and both western and Indian clothes with the family at home at prayers and at special events. He would often wear a kurta and pyjamas at a festival or special event, and would always wear a topi at home, at prayers and at events, and would often wear one in public. He does not follow tradition in other ways to do with his appearance. He was unsure how to classify the kind of group that he belongs to but defined it as Muslim.

PART FOUR: DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

It should be noted again here as the discussion of the results of the field-work is begun, that this aspect of the thesis had a specific and circumscribed purpose. It was not intended that a full ethnographic account of the phenomena of cultural and ethnic identification, of any, or all of these communities be made. Each community⁴² in its own terms would merit a detailed ethnography to establish the complex nature of its cultural and ethnic identification and the role of material culture within the articulation of those identities would only be one aspect of such a project. Thus the symbolic significance of particular objects, images and representational forms have been pursued to some extent, but have not been explained within a complete and systematic account of the cultural practices, institutions, values, discourses and social organisation of the communities that use them. Rather since the aim of this field-study was to offer a point of juxtaposition to contemporary European archaeological conceptions of the relation between materiality and identity, the scope of the field-work was narrower.

The role of this fieldwork was to provide an account of the main ways in which material culture of 'traditional Indian style' was used, and the ways in which those objects were utilised in the articulation of identity - this part of the research aim was designed to achieve a descriptive account of such principle uses. In addition, the intention was to describe the effects of some of the major factors which might affect the nature and extent of the use of Indian style artefacts, indeed if possible, to determine which factors most shaped the use of such objects. Further, it was intended that some of the principles through which the use of traditional material culture in these communities was organised, might be described. Lastly, the field-work sought to describe some of the inter-relationships between cultural ethnic and other forms of identification as it exists specifically within these communities. It was presumed that even this limited set of accounts might result in a series of features and relationships which contrasted strongly with the conceptual schema that underpin recent archaeological theory.

The field-work made the presumption that certain categories and styles of artefact were marked out, both by the Indian communities, and by the City's other communities, as being specific to, identified with, identifying of, the Indian populations. Only members of the Indian communities would 'normally' have such Indian style objects - object of traditional form⁴³, or recognisably derived from traditional forms (See Barth 1993). It was not presumed that the simple possession of such an artefact constituted an assertion of

⁴²Notwithstanding the foregoing, and following, comments about the adequacy of the conception of these as discrete communities.

⁴³This is very much a pragmatic rather than a rigorous definition.

identification with the culture that it originated in, but rather that its use might. Therefore, the field-work sought to examine when, where and how members of the three Indian communities chosen, utilised such material culture.

Cultural Identity and Material Culture

There is clear evidence, both from the results of this field work project and others in the same and similar communities (e.g. Bachu 1985; Michaelson 1983; Modood et.al. 1997; Modood, Beishon and Virdee 1995; Werbner 1990), that the members of the various South Asian communities in Britain see the maintenance of their traditional culture - language, religion, custom, diet and clothing, etc. - as inextricable from their daily existence. Each of the three sections above has shown examples of levels of personal and 'corporate' investment placed in the continued existence of traditional forms of religious observance, language, material culture, and many other facets of the distinctive cultures of the Indian communities.

Although there are certain kinds of material culture that seem to have little place in the on-going life and identification of these communities - Indian style furniture being the most obvious example - other kinds of objects are widely used in the daily lives of members of these communities, and in those events which are of heightened cultural significance: religious events, annual festivals life-cycle ceremonies. Thus clothing, cooking utensils, and religious objects in particular, are utilised frequently and in ways and contexts that mutually reinforce the cultural significance of the object, its role as an expression of identity, and the meaning of the location and event. This is most evident in ritual or religious contexts such as the Sacred Thread Ceremony (the Upanayana) or at weddings, which highlight the importance of objects as 'cultural' artefacts through the symbolic significance attached to them specifically (e.g. the sacred thread), or in terms of their form or style (e.g. the colours and designs of saris appropriate for widows, or the colours of a brides salwaar kameez, or sari), or the use of artefacts appropriate to circumstances (e.g. the use of Choonis / Dhupattas by Sikh women in the presence of older men). Each of these examples reinforces the cultural identity of both the object and the person through the object's use. These examples constitute very well instances of what Williams (1983: 11) described as the anthropological notion of culture - the whole way of life⁺⁺.

However, Indian style artefacts are utilised in a whole series of apparently more mundane contexts but in which they have no less profound a cultural significance. Thus for example it is clear from the interviews above (especially interview I) and the questionnaire results, that the domestic space is marked out as important in many ways. For example Indian style clothes are more often worn there than in public. This could be interpreted as a matter of the

⁺⁺Although the emphasis here and above on the use of the object, the practices it is utilised within, aligns this definition of cultural identity more closely with Bourdieu's (1977) idea of practice.

individual's confidence - and indeed this is not to rule out the psychological significance of material culture in general (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton 1981; Dittmar 1992), and of clothing in particular (Kaiser 1990; Tseelon 1992) - but there is evidently the issue of the definition of the home as a cultural space, one in which it is both possible and expected that more overt expressions of cultural identity will be made. The 'home' is defined, albeit in different ways, in all three faiths, as a privileged, valorised space (see e.g. Khare 1976 on the role of the home in Hindu culture). The home is also the primary location in which cultural values are articulated and reproduced; it is where, in Bourdieu's terms (1990: 66-79), belief and the body meet, where the practical lessons that engender a person's dispositions - their *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977) is developed.

The Dimensions of Cultural Identification Through Material Culture

One of the most striking aspects of the use of traditional material culture in the Indian communities is the extent to which it occurs differentially. That is to say that the use of traditional Indian style artefacts is far from uniform, either amongst the members of the communities, or in the different contexts which they occupy. The field-work itself showed only a small amount of evidence that socio-economic status had significant effects on the extent to which people wore Indian clothes. The observation of specific events like the Upanayana suggested that socio-economic status was expressed through style and quality clothing, if not in the frequency of its use. It was also clear that the different language-faith groups maintain distinctiveness through the styles and forms of clothing they wear, and to some extent through the frequency with which they wear them. However, there are items of clothing such as the salwaar kameez (and others to a lesser extent e.g. saris) which are worn by all three faith groups, so the boundaries between cultural groups is not sharply defined in material culture, and it is mediated through transient 'fashion' trends.

There are several factors which influence the use of Indian style clothing very significantly. The first of these is Gender, women are far more likely to wear Indian style clothing than men - at least twice as likely (43% of men and 97% of women 'ever'). Nine times as many women as men 18% compared to 2% wear Indian clothes all the time. Conversely it is almost exclusively men that never wear Indian clothes (53% of men and only 0.7% of women 'never').

Age is the second major discriminant of the likelihood that someone will wear Indian style clothes. Thus youths (under 18) are twice as likely as the oldest group (45% compared to 20%) to only wear Indian clothes for special events; and the members of oldest age group are twelve times as likely to wear Indian clothes all the time (60% compared to 5%). Furthermore age differentially effects the likelihood that someone will wear Indian clothes in specific contexts such as work or the home the young wearing Indian clothes less often in work /college environments.

The third factor effecting levels of the wearing of Indian Style dress is context. Members of the Indian communities adopt demonstrably different uses of all forms of material culture, clothing included, in public and largely 'Western' contexts such as work, to those which apply in contexts more defined by traditional cultural values. Thus the home, and the axis between the home and the place of worship at times of life-cycle ceremonies is a particularly dense cultural matrix in which the use of traditional style material culture (clothing, domestic artefacts and ritual objects) plays a central role. Within these different contexts the effects of age and gender are also manifested in particular ways. Similar patterns of different levels of the use of Indian clothing have recently been found nationally amongst all the South Asian communities (Modood et.al. 1997: 326-7).

The Principles

The use of material culture of traditional Indian styles is evidently organised around a series of principles, which differ from those operative in the majority culture of the UK. Whilst there is clearly a cultural identity⁴⁵ articulated through the use of western clothing and other artefacts the use of traditional Indian style object manifests a different form of identification. To have access to Indian style artefacts required the establishment of an infrastructure of retailers, distributors, importers, etc. to support the sale of such goods, and moreover, the continued use of such objects clearly constitutes a strategy constructed against the possibility of assimilation into the 'mainstream' of Western culture, a strategy to assert cultural difference (Bhabha 1990; 1994; Donald & Rattansi 1992; Hall 1992), which cannot be understood as a subcultural response (Hebdige 1979) within the dominant culture. To highlight one aspect of this difference, the distinction between wearing Western and Indian style clothes is not one of 'choice' between cultures. Such a subjectivist understanding presumes the concepts, rhetorics and discursive forms of Western culture. Instead the issue of whether individuals ascribe to identities constructed through a tradition of 'choice' (individualism, freedom, self-expression) - those of the host culture; or whether they ascribe to identities constructed through obligation, duty, and theology - traditional Indian culture⁴⁶.

The patterns revealed in the use of Indian style clothes and other material culture demonstrate some of the principles that determine these usages. One set of such principles might be said to operate in the long-term and be founded on long-standing / deep-seated

⁴⁵Of course 'British' (as a sub-category of European) material culture articulates a whole raft of identifications, positions, cultures, counter-cultures and subcultures (e.g. Hebdige 1979; 1988; Miller 1984; 1988; Mort 1996; Polhemus 1984; Putnam & Newton 1990; Steele 1996; Tomlinson 1990).

⁴⁶This dichotomy is obviously presented in an over-simplified form here, Indian tradition does not exclude 'choice' entirely, nor is Western culture (even now) free of obligation. Further the distinction between these two 'cultural paradigms' is not rigid - the very notion of identity constructed in difference implies that the two are mutually defined in opposition to each other. Both traditions are invented (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983).

cultural values, attitudes, practices and beliefs, others can be attributed to historical circumstances, and a third to ephemeral, transient considerations. These principles can be explored, for example, in relation to the differential use of Indian clothing by men and women.

It is evident from the responses cited above, that men articulate their sense of cultural identity much less frequently through clothing than do women. In part these different uses can be articulated with the traditional understandings of the relationship between men and women, Islamic notions of *purdah* (seclusion), *hijab* (modesty) and *izzat* (family honour), and the signs of respect and deference shown by Sikh and Hindu women's use of the Chooni or Saris with a veil in the presence of senior men. It is understandable that these expectations have been represented as a patriarchal and repressive ideology (e.g. Parmar 1982), but this position under-estimates the complexity of men's investment in women's articulation of identity. That women more often wear Indian style clothes cannot be reduced to an index of the attempt to restrict them to the home and 'protect' them from the public domains of western culture - even if the threat to women (especially girls) of the promiscuity and immorality of western culture is constantly expressed within the Indian communities. Firstly women are the chief architects of the inculcation of these values in their daughters and daughters-in-law (Joshi 1992: 226). But they also make enormous investments - quite literally in terms of dowries - in the visible articulation of their, and their family's identity in the clothes and other material culture utilised by the women of the family. It is not only the case that the "burden of maintaining Hindu religion is on women's shoulders" (Joshi 1992: 228), the burden of visibly articulating the community's cultural identity rests their too. Men's sense of cultural identity - no less frequently expressed than women's - is articulated partly at least, through their investment in women's clothing⁴⁷.

A second aspect of the determination of the use of traditional material culture is only understandable in 'historical' terms. Again the disparity between men's and women's attitudes to clothing is a good instance through which to explore this kind of principle. When asked, some interviewees, and some of those returning questionnaires, said that men didn't wear Indian style clothes and women did, because it had been like that since the time of the British Raj. However, the historical depth of this tradition is not in itself an explanation - and indeed all traditions arise in specific historical circumstances, all are inventions (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983). The present differential use of Indian style clothing emerged out of the late 19th century conflicts over dress in India under British rule. In the period from the mid-19th century onwards, a range of solutions to the confrontation of the values of modern civilised European dress, and traditional Indian dress were attempted. These solutions included the articulation of Indian women's clothing with

⁴⁷Of course other important principles informing the use of clothing exist and could be cited here, such as the valuation by Hindus of unstitched clothing garments (such as the sari) over stitched ones (e.g. Salwaar Kameez) see Leslie (1992) and Tarlow (1996).

European concepts of fashion, the use of combinations of European and Indian clothes; wearing different clothes in different contexts, and attempts to redefine Indian clothes in a Modern idiom (Tarlow 1996: 46-58). More recently Ghandi's political adoption of simple *Khadi* dress politicised clothing as an expression of Indian nationalism, and questioned the entire range of clothing styles which supported caste and faith differences (ibid.: 62-128).

Finally, in the relatively short time that the majority of the Indian communities have been in the UK, attitudes towards and use of Indian clothing have also changed. These short-term historical changes can sometimes be described as fashion - tastes/preferences for specific styles generated with reference to the concern for the values of clothing itself, and often engendered within the clothing and related industries (see figs. 25 and 26 above). Other changes in the use of clothing relate to changes in the status, values and experience of the members of these communities. An example of the effects of fashion: the taste which arose in the early 1990s for so-called ethnic styles - e.g. heavily embroidered Gujarati fabrics, was described by interviewees, and also by Tarlow (1996: 285-317) in the context of India. In an example of short-term historical changes, the photographs of South Asian men and then later South Asian families taken at the Belle View Studios in Bradford show the changing prevalence of western formal suits and Indian style dress - together with symbols of prosperity to reassure relatives overseas such as cameras, radios and umbrellas - over a period of over twenty years (Smith 1994: 33-60).

In short, the use of traditional material culture is shaped by a series of principles which are specific to the cultural traditions, the long-term, and the recent historical circumstances of these communities.

Cultural Identification in Material Culture and Other Cultural Forms

The results presented above demonstrate that similar differentials to those found in the use of Indian clothing exist in the other expressions of cultural identity: through language, religious observance, etc. However, whilst the same axes of age, gender, religion and context apply, the pattern in each case is specific. In other words, whilst the patterns for each of these fields of cultural practice are similar, they are not congruent. Nor do they accumulate in such a way as to define a set of coherent, stable and discrete cultural identities. As Modood et.al (1996: 291-338) point out, the pattern of the South Asian cultural identification is intersected by different levels of the practice of religious observance, language use, and dress, etc. according to age, gender, religion and origin. Further, there was clear evidence in the cultural events observed, in the interviews and ephemeral evidence⁴⁸ in the questionnaire responses, that there were 'associations'

⁴⁸The evidence was ephemeral in that the associations weren't present consistently: there weren't respondents who were the most active participants in all aspects of Indian culture. Indeed most of the correlations between two kinds of cultural practice showed no distinct differentials at all - hence they were

between cultural practices, or that there were 'agglomerations' of practice that were often undertaken by certain respondents⁴⁹.

Cultural Identity, Ethnic Identity, Gender and Different Communities

The pattern of cultural practice that emerges here, and therefore the cultural identity that these practices appear to articulate, is a complex one. The level of 'traditional' cultural practices within these communities is complicated by the differential levels of such practices manifested in the different socio-economic, age, gender and religious-language groups. This also inevitably means that these cultural identities are implicated in the constitution of gender identity for example. Thus a woman's use of traditional styles of clothing simultaneously articulates her identity as a member of a cultural group and her gender identity.

The cultural identities manifested by each of the language-religion groups identified in Chapter Five, and investigated in the field-work, are established in the particular historical moment and cultural context that exists in Leicester. In other words the cultural practices and the cultural identities those practices articulate cannot be understood by the examination of those practices and identities alone. The practices and identities of these three communities must be examined as they exist in mutual identity and difference; and further, in their specific socio-historical context - the migrations from India; the expulsions from East Africa, the particular combination of religious and ethnic communities - all of these factors are important in defining contemporary cultural practices and identities. In other words the complex pattern of cultural identity understood through difference, which these communities seem to manifest so clearly, can only be understood with reference to at least some consideration of this complex of determinations. No account of contemporary cultural practices or artefacts alone could be adequate to describing these identities.

Furthermore, these communities seem to exemplify the distinctions drawn by Jenkins (1997), Rex (1991), Smith (1981; 1986) and others⁵⁰, between cultural and ethnic identification. Firstly, it is clear that the non-use of traditional material culture or even the non-participation in cultural events does not necessarily mean that the cultural identity they articulate is eschewed, the example of men's attitudes to their own and women's clothing demonstrates this. However, ethnic identification which arises out of, and is articulated upon cultural identification, appears in these communities to be often most clearly expressed by those who are least involved in the practice of traditional aspects of culture. In

not presented.

⁴⁹ E.g. that 58% [vs. 22% on average] of those who ate Indian food at every meal also always wore Indian style clothes; that 69% [vs. 24% on average] of those whose marriage was completely traditional also always wore Indian clothes, and that 50% [vs. 17% on average] of those who made Indian clothes always wore them.

⁵⁰ See the discussion of the shift to ethnicity and identity as difference in Chapter Three.

interviews it was those such as the Sikh deputy head, who had a professional role in the negotiation of identities who expressed her ethnic identity, not only most fluently but also most strongly. It is evident that the ethnic distinctions between the Gujarati Hindus, the Gujarati Muslims, and Punjabi Sikhs are being maintained through endogamous marriage and the maintenance of distinctive cultural practices such as dress codes. However, it is also the case that often those articulating and negotiating the ethnic identities of these communities⁵¹ - both between them, and between them and the 'host' community - are those who rarely wear Indian clothes, whose marriage was not traditional, and who rarely go to the Mosque Temple or Gurdwara. This is not said in criticism of their lack of authenticity but rather to highlight that the level of ethnic identification is not congruent with that of cultural practice. This, also reinforces the point that there are vital dimensions of such complex situations of ethnic and cultural identification which are inaccessible to the kinds of methodologies which archaeology currently applies - e.g. the recording of the material correlates of cultural practices, anthropological generalising, associating patterns of artefacts with patterns of behaviour.

⁵¹Teachers, social workers, community workers, media figures, youths in schools and colleges, young adults (especially men) involved in confrontations with the police and/or other ethnic gangs, local and national politicians, writers, artists, etc.

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

The conclusions of this thesis are all concerned with the status of the theorisation of cultural and ethnic identification of the cultures of the past. These conclusions fall into three categories: Questions of historical and cultural specificity, questions of epistemological status, and issues for the 'constructive'¹ theorisation of cultural identity in archaeology.

SPECIFICITY: CROSS-TEMPORAL AND CROSS-CULTURAL JUXTAPOSITION

At one level, the exploration of the historical shifts in the conceptions of the relationship between material culture and cultural identity in past discourses, and the description of the cultural identities evident in the Indian communities of Leicester, had the same purpose: to highlight the historical and cultural specificity of the current archaeological conceptions of that relationship. Thus the *genealogical* account of archaeological discourse showed how those familiar aspects of archaeological thought - the meaningfulness of artefacts, the importance of classification, the notion of a collection or representative assemblage, all have specific moments of emergence - and particular conceptions of identity associated with them. The contemporary field-study revealed a series of articulations of material culture and cultural identity which were radically different to those of contemporary archaeology. In particular the complex notions and patterns of the use of traditional styles of artefacts and the differentiated expressions of cultural identity between age, sex, gender, etc. were at odds with those of contemporary archaeology², as was the role of historical contingency in the formation of those identities.

Although recent contextualist theories (e.g. Hodder 1990; 1995a; Tilley 1991; Tilley and Thomas 1993) have stressed the ideas of multiplicity in identity and the possibility of complex relationships between artefacts and social groups, in their development of theoretical positions, their accounts of past cultures revert to identifying patterns of objects with patterns of people³ as if the artefacts could be read unproblematically.

The point of this juxtaposition though is not to remove or counter the effects of the particularity of current conceptions, such an attempt would be futile - an attempt to step outside the cultural context which determined the archaeological project itself (a literally

¹That is fictional in Foucault's sense (Foucault 1979: 75 cited in Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982: 204)

²Although Hodder and other P/C archaeological theorists make reference to feminist interpretations e.g. (Hodder 1986: 157-61), much less attention has been paid to the epistemological contribution from feminist perspectives - which probably constitutes one of the most significant areas of critique of archaeological theory in recent years - e.g. Gero and Conkey (1991); Wylie (1991; 1993) - and certainly can't be accused of ignoring the gender dimension of past cultural complexity.

³see Binford 1986; and contributions to Yoffee & Sherratt 1993 for similar criticisms of Contextualism's 'readings' of artefacts, although these are made in order to develop very different critiques of contextualism

'senseless' act ⁴). It is instead intended to reveal archaeological interpretations of past identities and the concepts they presume to be historically and culturally specific artefacts.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL STATUS

The continued difficulty over resolving the theorisation of the relation between material culture and identity lies at the core of the epistemological status of the discipline.

Archaeology has been, and continues to be, caught in the 'bind' of claiming to have constructed a means of interpreting the traces of the past - to 'recover' the lost subject(s) of that past, yet this transcendental project is always attempted with conceptual tools which are intrinsically of their own moment, they are finite not transcendent. The finitude of current archaeological conceptions of materiality and identity has been emphasised by the two 'critico-empirical' accounts made in this thesis. The 'transcendental' form of legitimation sought by archaeological theory (even as it claims to be rejecting it) has been thoroughly criticised from within 'Postmodern philosophy' (Lyotard 1985), and the philosophy of science (Kuhn 1970), and within all the human sciences (see Chapter One)

Contemporary archaeology cannot escape the emergence of its conceptions during the modern era and the particular forms of power/knowledge that these concepts arose within. That is to say that current modes of archaeological theorisation and the legitimation of those theories are determined by their context of production. Further the discipline cannot simply step beyond the cultural context of its particular moment and produce a 'pure' (even muddy) translation of another culture 'as it is (was)'. Contemporary anthropology has grasped the problems of cross-cultural translation and sought new modes of legitimating its interpretations (Clifford 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus and Fischer 1986)⁵. Instead a new model of 'theoretical' (better discursive) adequacy is required.

Equally important is the fact that the account of contemporary cultural and ethnic identity indicates that there are vital aspects of the processes of the constitution and re-constitution of cultural and ethnic identity which are simply ontologically inaccessible to archaeological investigation. Archaeology cannot recover the past subject, nor can it reconstitute the historical contingency out of which such identities arose "as they were". This is not to say that the archaeological theory should 'give up on' any project of describing past identities. Instead a different conception of the status of such accounts needs to be adopted. This would implicitly require different modes of legitimation, and new constructions of the process of archaeological reading, process I would argue which could be modelled on those strategies utilised by Foucault .

⁴Remembering Geertz's definition "culture is the medium though which lives acquire meaning, both locally and for outsiders" without it our lives would be a "mere chaos of pointless acts and exploding emotions ... experience virtually shapeless" (Geertz 1973:14 and 46).

⁵Even those sceptical of the Postmodern solution recognise the problem. see e.g. Ingold (1996 ed.).

THE DISCURSIVE THEORISATION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

The conclusion of this thesis confronts a worrying silence, there is as yet no discursive theory of cultural identity, nor should there ever be one, there should not be one, but many, each one produced to enable the constitution of a grid of intelligibility around one instance of cultural identity in the past. A discursive stance suggests that models of ethnicity or cultural identity should be constituted out of a *dispositif* - a grid of intelligibility that the archaeologist can trace and develop in the evidence that surrounds him/her in the present - the artefacts 'of the past', artefacts 'of the present', documents, theoretical and empirical accounts of other cultures. Each one should be strategically assembled to meet the evidence of the case at hand⁶. At once this is a major epistemological shift and a tiny step. Replacing the claim to be revealing the truth of the past, with an honest acceptance of archaeology as the production of truthful fictions, seems to open the door to endless speculation, crank hypotheses, relativist chaos. However, anyone who has read Foucault's accounts of the emergence of prisons, or clinics, will recognise that rigor and fidelity to the evidence are key traits of good discursive accounts.

It should also be said that some important moves in this direction have already been made. Thus the critical accounts of the use of archaeology as a source of ethnic or cultural or national identity in modern, colonial, and post-colonial situations (e.g. Diaz-Andreu & Champion 1996; Kohl & Fawcett 1995; Layton 1989; Gathercole & Lowenthal 1990) operate within a similar position. There are also works such as Patrick Geary's critique of the concept of ethnicity as used in Medieval archaeology (1983); the use of anthropological conceptions of ethnicity in the analysis of historical archaeological material by McGuire (1982); and the volume of case-studies and theoretical discussions edited by Steven Shennan (1989). The most significant contributions to this debate are the recent collections by Graves-Brown, Jones & Gamble (1996) and the book on *The Archaeology of Ethnicity* by Jones (1997). However, especially in the case of this last work - an excellent account of the kind of complex (multi-dimensional) notions of ethnic and cultural identity that can be found both in recent theoretical work on ethnicity, and in contemporary ethnic situations - the outcome is the extension of that conception of identity to the past. Not as an overtly discursive device through which to organise that artefacts of the past, but in the mode of a discovery, of a now plural truth about the nature of ethnicity in the past⁷. A discursive account of cultural identity in the past would only sever the tie that even such developed positions maintain to the logic of transcendental interpretation.

⁶It is easy to forecast the likelihood of many archaeologists accepting this stance.

⁷Jones's (1996) position which sees ethnicity in the past as a ground upon which multiple interpretations of artefactual traces can be founded, is the most developed form of current conceptions of the ethnic and cultural identity of the past.

Contemporary archaeology exists as a late 20th century cultural technology, almost as complex as say television. Just as television represents the identities of contemporary and past people to us, through the particular forms specific to it (documentary, news, drama, soap, etc.) and using its own technical means, so too archaeology constructs accounts of the past using its particular discursive forms and technical means. In both cases the identities and narratives represented can be more or less faithful to the known evidence, they can be more or less good in various ways. However, neither television nor archaeology can recover (replay) or re-animate the 'actual' past. The specific problem for archaeology in its attempts to (re)construct accounts of the identities of past cultures, is that in the absence of access to that voice, it has no evidence of many of the most important dimensions of what it seeks to recover.

That absence should be faced, and the accounts of contemporary ethnic contexts like that of the Indian communities of Leicester⁸ should be used as a part of the grid of intelligibility through which the traces of a past are represented, each such grid would require a specific formulation of notions of identity and materiality (though of course these would not necessarily be completely idiosyncratic) and its own justification / legitimation⁹. Some steps are being taken in this (or at least similar directions), such that in classical archaeology, presentisms - e.g. the projection of notions of acculturation (Millett 1990a: 38) or 'market economies' onto the cultures of the Roman empire (Branigan 1988; Millett 1990) are being replaced by a critically informed utilisation of notions of recent colonialism in comparison (juxtaposition) with Roman colonialism (e.g. Webster & Cooper 1996; Lawrence & Berry 1998). Therefore, contemporary identities would help in the constitution of a model or representation¹⁰ of the subject positions and thereby the cultural and ethnic identities of the past, that can help to organise the traces, documents and monuments of that past. However, this should not occur under the guise of the discovery that this or all past contexts were structured by the same principles or oppositions as the present one, it should not be claimed that one is an analogy of any kind, for the other. Instead accounts of contemporary ethnic and cultural identity should be seen as metaphorically related to the evidence of the past. In this way the forms and structures of contemporary identity can inform the re-appraisal of the remnants of the past, so that we can produce more truthful fictions of the cultural and ethnic identities of that past.

⁸There are numerous instances of recent ethnographic accounts of the relationship between material culture and identity which could be used strategically to inform descriptions of the past (e.g. Abu-Lughod 1990; Friedman 1990; Miller 1994; Munn 1986; Strathern 1988).

⁹Such pragmatic legitimations are well-established in the philosophy of science - see Lyotard (1985)

¹⁰But it must be recognised as a 'model' in a sense similar to that which Bourdieu uses (1977: 1990), and in the way that Foucault's uses the term *dispositif* (1980: 194).

APPENDICES

Appendix 1.

CLOTHING LIST

In conducting this research a list of 'traditional' items of clothing was drawn up in discussion with groups and individuals with knowledge of the culture of their community. The intention was to arrive at lists which comprised mostly common items, with small number of more unusual items of those which would usually be restricted to more highly specific situations. There was some difficulty in deciding on the names of each item since there were often both alternative names and clearly alternative spellings.

Respondents then were asked whether they wore specific items of clothing 'always' 'often' 'sometimes' or 'never' in certain kinds of location: at work or school, at home, in public, at prayer, at festivals. The list of clothing for men was :

<i>Kurta pyjama:(paijama)</i>	loose-fitting trousers and shirt
<i>dothi:</i>	cotton loin-cloth/shorts
<i>sherwani</i>	long, small-collared, fitted coat,
<i>Nehru Jacket</i>	as above but shorter - Nehru style
<i>Chola</i>	Trousers
<i>Keski</i>	Turban
<i>Topi</i>	Small hat/skull cap
<i>pagg/patka</i>	Sikh turban/top knot

The list of women's clothing was more extensive:

<i>Salwaar kameez:</i>	a blouse-coat knee length and trousers - 'Punjabi suit'.
<i>Churidar</i>	Narrow trousered version of above
<i>Chooni/ Dupatta</i>	scarf worn with salwaar kameez or churidar
<i>Head Scarf</i>	head-covering worn by sikhs and Muslims
<i>Burkha:</i>	A Muslim gown/head-covering
<i>Chania cholli</i>	a long embroidered skirt worn with waist length blouse
	-Punjabi style heavier more embroidered Gujarati-style lighter more delicate pattern
<i>Sari</i>	traditional single-piece long cloth garment worn with petticoat and blouse
<i>Sadalo (sadlo)</i>	a style of sari worn specifically by older and widowed women
<i>Longhi</i>	single-piece tied 'skirt' worn by women and men
<i>Ecthan</i>	women's version of 'Neru' style coat

<i>Petticoat/blouse</i>	undergarment and blouse worn with sari
<i>Kurthie</i>	waistcoat type garment
<i>Sharara</i>	heavy embroidered version of Salwaar kameez for special occasions
<i>Gharara</i>	similar to chania-cholli but with shorter top and very flared skirt

Both men and women were asked whether they wore the karah or all the five 'K's of Sikh religion (see plate 45):

<i>kesh:</i>	uncut hair
<i>karah:</i>	steel wrist-band
<i>kanga:</i>	small hair comb
<i>kacha:</i>	under-shorts
<i>kirpin:</i>	sword (worn on a strap suspended from the shoulder, under outer clothes).

Appendix 2

DRAFT QUESTIONNAIRE 1

FAMILY HISTORY

1. Do you know much about the history of your family? - Y / N / Not Sure
2. Does this matter to you - Y / N / Not Sure
If so, why?
3. Do you know where your parents were born? - Y / N / Not Sure
If yes, where?
4. Do you know where your grandparents were born? - Y / N / Not Sure
If yes, where?
5. What did they do for a living? - Parents
- Grandparents
6. Do you think that the people of previous generations of your family lead very different lives to you? - Y / N / Not Sure
7. Can you give examples of the main ways they were different?
8. Can you give examples of the ways their lives were similar to yours

COMMUNITIES / WHERE YOU FIT IN

9. Where are you from ?
10. Do you feel that you belong in/to that place? - Y / N / Not Sure
11. Do you feel that you belong to any kinds of groups? - Y / N / Not Sure
If yes, say what they are and list them according to how important they are most important first
12. Do you belong to a religious group? - Y / N / Not Sure
If yes, what is it?
13. Do you belong to a community - Y / N / Not Sure
If yes, what is it?

BELIEFS

14. Are you religious? - Y / N / Not Sure
If yes, which religion?
15. Do you attend religious worship? - Often / Sometimes / Never
If you do, can you say when? how often? or if it is only on certain occasions
16. Are the other members of your family religious?
17. Do they attend religious worship? - Often / Sometimes / Never
18. Are there differences between you and the older members of your family over religion?
19. Are there differences over other parts of your life?
20. Do you think you have the same beliefs and ideas as the older members of your family?
21. If not, how are your ideas different?
22. In what ways are your ideas similar to the older members of your family?

HOW YOU LOOK

23. How do you choose your clothes?
List the people, in order of importance who influence the clothes you buy
24. What other things give you ideas about what clothes to wear?
List them, most important first
25. Do you wear fashionable clothes? - Y / N / Not Sure
Always / Sometimes / Never
26. Do you buy your own clothes? - Always / Sometimes / Never
27. Who else buys them for or with you?
28. Do you wear any special clothes or traditional costumes at any time?
- Often / Sometimes / Never
29. Can you describe when and why you wear these clothes?
30. Is how you dress important to you? - Y / N / Not Sure
31. If it is, can you explain why and how?

1 - ABOUT YOUNAME AGE ADDRESS -
Postcode OCCUPATION PLACE OF BIRTH Town/City Country PARENTS' PLACE OF BIRTH
Father Town/city Country
Mother HAVE YOU LIVED IN ANY COUNTRIES OTHER THAN BRITAIN ?
YES / NO If yes, please list them FROM UNTIL WHAT LANGUAGES DO YOU SPEAK ? Please list these in the order which you think you speak them most fluently WHAT LANGUAGE WOULD YOU SPEAK IN THESE SITUATIONS?
At work
With your friends
At home with family
A religious ceremony
A festival or special event **2 - INDIAN TRADITIONS AND YOUR LIFE**WHAT IS YOUR RELIGION ? DOES YOUR FAMILY BELONG TO A CASTE ? Yes ☐ IF YES
No ☐ ,WHAT
(Tick one) Not sure ☐ IS IT ? DO YOU TAKE PART IN OR ATTEND, ANY RELIGIOUS CEREMONY , WORSHIP OR PRAYERS ? More than once a day ☐
Daily ☐
Weekly ☐
A few times a year ☐
Never ☐
(Tick your choice)

Please use the last column to give examples

**IF , YOU ARE MARRIED , WAS
YOUR MARRIAGE ?**

(Tick your choice)

- Completely traditional ☐
 Mostly traditional ☐
 Traditional in some ways ☐
 Not traditional ☐
 Not married ☐

**IN WHAT WAYS WAS YOUR
MARRIAGE TRADITIONAL ?**

(Tick your choices)

- An arranged marriage ☐
 A traditional ceremony ☐
 Traditional costume ☐
 Traditional gifts or dowry ☐
 Which family you lived with afterwards ☐
 Other ways- (give examples ☐
 here) _____

**HOW OFTEN DO YOU
EAT INDIAN FOOD?**

(Tick your choice)

- At every meal ☐
 Daily ☐
 weekly ☐
 A few times a year ☐
 never ☐

Please use the last column to give examples

**DO YOU HAVE ANY
OF THE FOLLOWING
THINGS IN YOUR
HOME WHICH ARE
OF INDIAN STYLE ?**

(Tick your choices)

- Furniture ☐
 Cooking utensils ☐
 Pictures Decorations ☐
 Religious shrines ☐
 Religious ☐
 inscriptions ☐
 Other ☐
 No ☐

Please use the last column to give examples

**DO YOU TAKE PART
IN ,WATCH OR
ATTEND ANY OTHER
INDIAN CULTURAL
ACTIVITIES ?**

(Tick your choices)

- Dance ☐
 Music ☐
 Art ☐
 Films ☐
 Crafts ☐
 Embroidery ☐
 Making clothes ☐
 Cooking ☐
 Other ☐
 No ☐

Please use the last column to give examples

**Please include activities which mix modern and
traditional styles e.g. Banghra**

**DO YOU THINK YOU
AND YOUR FAMILY
BELONG TO ANY OF
THE FOLLOWING
GROUPS ? -**

- An ethnic group ☐
 A cultural group ☐
 A community ☐
 *Other ☐ *(give your own
 Not sure ☐ description)
 Don't belong to a group ☐ _____

(Tick your choices)

WHICH OF THE TERMS
LISTED BEST
DESCRIBES THE
GROUP TO WHICH
YOU BELONG ?

(Tick your choices)

- Asian ☐
British-Asian ☐
Indian ☐
Hindu ☐
Muslim ☐
Sikh ☐
Gujerati ☐ *(Give your own
Punjabi ☐ description) _____
*Other ☐ _____

3 - CLOTHES AND DRESS

*(Please include modern versions of Indian styles in your answers in all of this section)

WOULD YOU WEAR THE FOLLOWING ITEMS OF CLOTHING
IN THESE SITUATIONS ? ...

CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER A = ALWAYS . O = OFTEN . S = SOMETIMES . N = NEVER

	AT WORK	AT HOME	IN PUBLIC	AT PRAYER	AT FESTIVALS
SALWAAR-KAMEEZ	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
CHURIDAR	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
CHOONI/DUPATTA	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
HEAD SCARFE	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
BURKHA	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
CHANIA CHOELI	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
SARI	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
SADALO	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
LONGHI	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
ECTHAN	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
PETTICOAT/BLOUSE	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
KURTHIE	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
PATHUE	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
SHARARA	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
G HARARA	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
KARAH	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
ALL THE 5'K'S	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
OTHER ITEMS (list below)					
	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N

WOULD YOU
WEAR WESTERN
OR INDIAN
STYLE CLOTHES
IN THESE
SITUATIONS ? -

At work
At home with family
In public (e.g. Town)
At prayer / worship
At special events

WESTERN

☐
☐
☐
☐
☐

INDIAN

☐
☐
☐
☐
☐

DO YOU FOLLOW
INDIAN TRADITION
IN ANYTHING ELSE
TO DO WITH YOUR
APPEARANCE ?

Hairstyle ☐
Jewellery ☐
Other -give examples ☐
No ☐

Please use the last column to give examples

Men's version of the clothes section

HOW OFTEN DO YOU WEAR INDIAN STYLE
CLOTHES ?

All the time ☐
Daily ☐
Weekly ☐
Monthly ☐
Special events ☐
Never ☐

WOULD YOU WEAR THE FOLLOWING ITEMS OF CLOTHING
IN THESE SITUATIONS ? ...

CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER A = ALWAYS, O = OFTEN, S = SOMETIMES, N = NEVER

	ATWORK	ATHOME	INPUBLIC	ATPRAYER	ATFESTIVALS
KURTA-PAJAMA	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
DOTHI	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
SHERWANI	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
NEHRU JACKET	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
CHOLA	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
KESKI	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
TOPI	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
PAGG	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
KARAH	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
ALL THE 5 'K'S	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
OTHER ITEMS (list below)					
	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N
	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N	A O S N

Many thanks for taking the time to do this questionnaire . . The answers you have given will be treated with confidence and will only be used for the academic purposes stated . Thank you again .

Appendix 4

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Do you have any comments about the questionnaire?
e.g. were there any issues which you thought ought to be covered but weren't?

2. The questionnaire asks you about places you have lived before, how important to you are they and in what ways ? - e.g. do you continue to visit them? - do you feel a particular sense of identity because you come from there?

3. The questionnaire asks you about the languages you use - how? and to what extent are Indian languages important to you ?

4. The 'Indian Traditions...' section asks you about a number of cultural practices and events - which of these are the most important to you?
 - 4.1 in what ways are they important?

 - 4.2 in what ways are they important in maintaining your sense of identity?

 - 4.3 do you feel you *have to* maintain any of these traditions? - which? - and why?

5. If you see yourself as belonging to a particular kind of group or community (using the terms you chose or suggested) does the same term apply to the rest of your family? and to the same extent?
 - 5.1 what does the group/community identity you described mean to you? - what defines it best ?

 - 5.2 what is most important in making you see yourself as part of that group?

 - 5.3 are there certain times, places, or events when you are most aware of your membership of this group/community ? - if yes what are they? - why are you more aware then ?

6. What do you think the clothes you wear reflect most about you - perhaps your personal taste/choice/personality ? your belonging to a particular community or religion ? your age? or personal status? or other things ?

6.1 what things affects your choice of clothes

6.2 does how other people view the way you are dressed matter (at home, with the family, or at work , for example) ? - in what ways?

6.3 does it matter to you how those in your family dress? - who? - in what ways does it matter?

6.4 do you ever dress in Indian style clothes or in European styles deliberately to convey a particular 'message' to people

6.5 has the way you dress changed over time ? - if so how

7. Have your attitudes towards your cultural heritage/tradition (religion, language, marriage customs, dress etc.) changed over time ? of so how ?

7.1 what or who has influenced these changes? - changes in your life? specific people? specific events ?

Is there anything else you that you would like to add about these issues that you don't think has been adequately dealt with?

The main numbered questions 1-7 (in these or very similar terms) were asked of the later, formal interviewees - the supplementary questions were used if the the interviewee did not mention issues in those areas, or if the answers could usefully be developed in that direction. Clarification/elaboration of the question was offered when appropriate

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