

harmony. In other words, the structure of the piece of music, the way in which each line of the music contributes to the overall sound and is related to other lines, carries the meaning.

For Lévi-Strauss, myths are tools for overcoming logical contradictions that cannot otherwise be overcome. They are put together in an attempt to deal with the oppositions of particular concern to a particular society at a particular moment in time. Using a linguistic metaphor, Lévi-Strauss argues that myths are composed of smaller units—phrases, sentences, words, relationships—that are arranged in ways that give both narrative (or “melodic”) coherence and structural (or “harmonic”) coherence. These arrangements represent and comment upon aspects of social life that are thought to oppose each other. Examples include the opposition of men to women; opposing rules of residence after marriage (living with the groom’s father or the bride’s mother); the opposition of the natural world to the cultural world, of life to death, of spirit to body, of high to low, and so on.

The complex syntax of myth works to relate those opposed pairs to one another in an attempt to overcome their contradictions. However, these contradictions can never be overcome; for example, the opposition of death to life is incapable of any earthly resolution. But myth can transform an insoluble problem into a more accessible, concrete form. Mythic narrative can then provide the concrete problem with a solution. For example, a culture hero may bridge the opposition between death and life by traveling from the land of the living to the land of the dead and back. Alternatively, a myth might propose that the beings who transcend death are so horrific that death is clearly preferable to eternal life. Perhaps a myth describes the journey of a bird that travels from the earth, the home of the living, to the sky, the home of the dead. This is similar to Christian thought, where the death and resurrection of Jesus may be understood to resolve the opposition between death and life by transcending death.

From this point of view, myths do not just talk about the world as it is, but they also describe the world as it might be. To paraphrase Lévi-Strauss, myths are good to think with; mythic thinking can propose other ways to live our lives. Lévi-Strauss insists, however, that the alternatives myths propose are ordinarily rejected as impossible. Thus, even though myths allow for play with self-evident truths, this play remains under strict control.

Is Lévi-Strauss correct? There has been a great deal of debate on this issue since the publication in 1955 of his article “The Structural Study of Myth” (see Lévi-Strauss [1962] 1967). But even those who are most critical of his analyses of particular myths agree that mythic structures are meaningful because they display the ability of human beings to play with possibilities as they attempt to deal with basic contradictions at the heart of human experience.

For Malinowski, Lévi-Strauss, and their followers, those who believe in myths are not conscious of how their myths are structured or of the functions their myths perform for them. More recent anthropological thinking takes a more reflexive approach. This research recognizes that ordinary members of a society often *are* aware of how their myths structure meaning, allowing them to manipulate the way myths are told or interpreted in order to make an effect, to prove a point, or to buttress a particular referential perspective on human nature, society, or history.

RITUAL

Play allows unlimited consideration of alternative referential perspectives on reality. Art permits consideration of alternative perspectives, but certain limitations restricting the form and content are imposed. Myth aims to narrow radically the possible referential perspectives and often promotes a single, orthodox perspective presumed to be valid for everyone. It thus offers a kind of intellectual indoctrination. But because societies aim to shape action as well as thought to orient all human faculties in the approved direction, art, myth, and ritual are often closely associated with one another.

A Definition of Ritual

Our definition of **ritual** has four elements. First, ritual is a repetitive social practice composed of a sequence of symbolic activities in the form of dance, song, speech, gestures, the manipulation of certain objects, and so

orthodoxy “Correct doctrine”; the prohibition of deviation from approved mythic texts.

ritual A repetitive social practice composed of a sequence of symbolic activities in the form of dance, song, speech, gestures, or the manipulation of objects, adhering to a culturally defined ritual schema, and closely connected to a specific set of ideas that are often encoded in myth.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Video in the Villages

Patricia Aufderheide describes how indigenous peoples of the Amazonian rain forest in Brazil have been able to master the video camera and use it for their own purposes.

The social role and impact of video is particularly intriguing among people who are new to mass-communications technologies, such as lowlands Amazonian Indians. One anthropologist has argued persuasively that a naive disdain for commercial media infuses much well-meaning concern over the potential dangers of introducing mass media and that “indigenous media offers a possible means—social, cultural, and political—for reproducing and transforming cultural identity among people who have experienced massive political, geographic, and economic disruption” (Ginsburg 1991, 96). In two groups of Brazilian Indians, the Nambikwara and the Kayapo, this premise has been tested.

The Nambikwara became involved with video through *Video in the Villages*, run by Vincent Carelli at the Centro de Trabalho Indigenista in São Paulo. This project is one example of a trend to put media in the hands of people who have long been the subjects of ethnographic film and video (Ruby 1991). While some anthropologists see this resort as a “solution” to the issue of ethnographic authority, others have focused on it as part of a struggle for indigenous rights and political autonomy (Moore 1992). Many of the groups Carelli has worked with have seized on video for its ability to extensively document lengthy rituals that mark the group’s cultural uniqueness rather than produce a finished product (V. Carelli, personal communication).

Carelli coproduced a project with a Nambikwara leader, documenting a cultural ritual. After taping, the Nambikwara viewed the ritual and offered criticisms, finding it tainted with modernisms. They then repeated the ritual in traditional regalia and conducted, for the first time in a generation, a male initiation ceremony—taping it all. (This experience is recounted in a short tape, *Girls’ Puberty Ritual*, produced by Carelli with a Nambikwara leader for outsiders.) Using video reinforced an emerging concept of “traditional” in contrast to

Brazilian culture—a concept that had not, apparently, been part of the Nambikwara’s repertoire before contact but that had practical political utility.

The Kayapo are among the best-known Brazilian Indians internationally, partly because of their video work, promoted as a tool of cultural identification by the anthropologist who works most closely with them. Like other tribes such as the Xavante who had extensive contact with Brazilian authorities and media, the Kayapo early seized on modern media technologies (Turner 1991b). Besides intimidating authorities with the evidence of recording equipment ([G.] Smith 1989), the Kayapo quickly grasped the symbolic expectations of Brazilian mass media for Indians. They cannily played on the contrast between their feathers and body paint and their recording devices to get coverage. Even staging public events for the purpose of attracting television crews, they were able to insert, although not ultimately control, their message on Brazilian news by exploiting that contrast (Turner 1991a; Moore 1992). Using these techniques, Kayapo leaders became international symbols of the ironies of the postmodern age and not incidentally also the subjects of international agitation and fundraising that benefited Kayapo over other indigenous groups and some Kayapo over others.

Kayapo have also used video to document internal cultural ceremonies in meticulous detail; to communicate internally between villages; to develop an archive; and to produce clips and short documentaries intended for wide audiences. Their video work, asserts anthropologist Terence Turner, has not merely preserved traditional customs but in fact transformed their understanding of those customs as customs and their culture as a culture. Turner also found that video equipment, expertise, and products often fed into existing factional divisions. Particular Kayapo leaders used the equipment in their own interests, sometimes as a tool to subdue their enemies, sometimes as evidence of personal power (Turner 1991a, 74).

Source: Aufderheide 1993, 587–89.

forth. Second, it is set off from the social routines of everyday life. Third, rituals in any culture adhere to a characteristic, culturally defined ritual schema. This means that members of a culture can tell that a certain sequence of activities is a ritual even if they have never seen that particular ritual before. Finally, ritual action

is closely connected to a specific set of ideas that are often encoded in myth. These ideas might concern the nature of evil, the relationship of human beings to the spirit world, how people ought to interact with one another, and so forth. The purpose for which a ritual is performed guides how these ideas are selected and sym-

bolically enacted. What gives rituals their power is that the people who perform the rituals assert that the authorization for the ritual comes from outside themselves—from the state, society, God, the ancestors, or “tradition.” They have not made up the ritual themselves, rather it connects them to a source of power that they do not control but that controls them.

The Western prototype of ritual includes the notion that it is “religious.” However, in anthropological terms, ritual includes a much broader range of activities. According to the definition given in the preceding paragraph, a scientific experiment, a college graduation ceremony, procedures in a court of law, and a child’s birthday party are rituals just as much as weddings, Jewish bar mitzvahs, Hmong sacrifices to the ancestors, and the Catholic Mass.

Consider a young child’s birthday party in the United States. Several children are formally invited to help celebrate the birthday. Each arrives bringing a wrapped gift, which is handed to the birthday child and then set aside. The children often put on birthday hats. They then play group games of some kind, some of which are now *only* played at birthday parties. The games culminate in the appearance of a birthday cake, illuminated by candles (one for each year of the child’s life) and accompanied by the singing of “Happy Birthday.” The birthday child makes a wish and blows out the candles. Following the cake and ice cream, the birthday child opens the presents. There is much commotion as the guests urge the birthday child to open theirs first. As the birthday child opens each gift, he or she examines it and thanks the guest (often with an adult’s prompting). Shortly after the presents are opened, the guests’ parents or guardians appear and the guests receive party favors and leave. The ritual order of these events matters. The central events of the party—the giving of gifts; the events associated with the cake, candles, the wish, and the singing of “Happy Birthday”; and the opening of the gifts—must occur in that order. Additionally, if you, the reader, come from a tradition in which birthday parties are celebrated, it is likely that you cannot remember *learning* how to celebrate a birthday party—it is something you have always known. It’s what everyone does. It’s just how it is. Its authority comes from “tradition.”

In the birthday party, children (both hosts and guests) learn to associate receiving gifts with important moments in life. They discover the importance of ex-

changing material objects in defining significant social relations. They learn to defer gratification (the presents cannot be opened immediately). They live out patterns of sociability and friendship (as anyone knows who has heard the ultimate preschool threat, “I’m not inviting you to my birthday party”) while recognizing the centrality of the individual (there are few things worse than sharing your birthday party with someone else!). Finally, the children participate in patterns of sharing, of celebrating the self, and of recognizing relationships with friends and kin that are important in other areas of American life.

Ritual as Action

A ritual has a particular sequential ordering of acts, utterance, and events: that is, ritual has a *text*. Because ritual is action, however, we must pay attention to the way the ritual text is performed. The *performance* of a ritual cannot be separated from its text; text and performance shape each other dialectically. Through ritual performance, the ideas of a culture become concrete, take on a form, and, as Bruce Kapferer (1983) puts it, give direction to the gaze of participants. At the same time, ritual performance can serve as a commentary on the text to the extent of transforming it. For example, Jewish synagogue ritual following the reading of Torah (the Five Books of Moses, the Hebrew Bible) includes lifting the Torah scroll, showing it to the congregation, and then closing it and covering it. In some synagogues, a man and a woman, often a couple, are called to lift and cover the Torah: the man lifts it and, after he seats himself, the woman rolls the scroll closed, places the tie around it, and covers it with the mantle that protects it. One of the authors (RHL) once observed a performance of this ritual in which the woman lifted the Torah and the man wrapped it; officially, the ritual text was carried out, but the performance became a commentary on the text—on the role of women in Judaism, on the Torah as an appropriate subject of attention for women as well as for men, on the roles of men and women overall, and so on. The performance was noteworthy—indeed, many of the regular members of the congregation seemed quite surprised—precisely because it violated people’s expectations and in so doing directed people’s attention toward the role of men and women in religious ritual at the end of the twentieth century as well as toward the Torah as the central symbol of the Jewish people.



FIGURE 7.8 Rites of passage are rituals, such as the initiation of the Apache girl pictured here, in which people move from one position in the social structure to another.

Ritual performers are not robots but active individuals whose choices are guided by, but not rigidly dictated by, previous ritual texts (see, for example, Margaret Drewal's 1992 study of Yoruba ritual, discussed later). This is what we should expect, if human behavior is fundamentally open. Rituals highlight the fact that human understanding of the world is not just mental and not just physical but a holistic coming together of mind and body, thought and feeling. By per-

forming our ideas, by feeling the implications of our myths, their truth becomes self-evident.

Rites of Passage

Let us examine this process by looking at one kind of ritual performance: the **rite of passage**. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Belgian anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep noted that certain kinds

of rituals around the world had similar structures. These were rituals associated with the movement (or passage) of people from one position in the social structure to another. They included births, initiations, confirmations, weddings, funerals, and the like (Figure 7.8).

Van Gennep (1960) found that all these rituals began with a period of *separation* from the old position and from normal time. During this period, the ritual passenger left behind the symbols and practices of his or her previous position. For example, military recruits leave their families behind and are moved to a new place. They are forced to leave behind the clothing, activities, and even the hair that marked who they were in civilian life.

The second stage in rites of passage involves a period of *transition*, in which the ritual passenger is neither in the old life nor yet in the new one. This period is marked by rolelessness, ambiguity, and perceived danger. Often, the person involved is subjected to ordeal by those who have already passed through. In the military service, this is the period of basic training, in which recruits (not yet soldiers but no longer civilians) are forced to dress and act alike. They are subjected to a grinding-down process, after which they are rebuilt into something new.

During the final stage—*reaggregation*—the ritual passenger is reintroduced into society in his or her new position. In the military, this involves the graduation from basic training and the visit home, but this time in uniform, on leave, and as a member of the armed forces, a new person. Other familiar rites of passage in youth culture in the United States include high school graduation and the informal, yet significant ceremonies associated with the twenty-first birthday, both of which are understood as movements from one kind of person to another.

The work of Victor Turner has greatly increased our understanding of rites of passage. Turner concentrated on the period of transition, which he saw as important both for the rite of passage and for social life in general. Van Gennep referred to this part of a rite of passage as the liminal period, from the Latin *limen* (“threshold”). During this period, the individual is on the threshold, betwixt and between, neither here nor there, neither in nor out. Turner notes that the symbolism accompanying the rite of passage often expresses this ambiguous state. **Liminality**, he tells us, “is frequently likened to death, to being in the womb, to invisibility, to darkness, to bisexuality, to the wilderness, and to an eclipse of the sun or moon” (1969, 95). People in the liminal state tend to develop an intense comradeship with each other in which their nonlimi-

nal distinctions disappear or become irrelevant. Turner calls this modality of social relationship **communitas**, which is best understood as an unstructured or minimally structured community of equal individuals.

Turner contends that all societies need some kind of communitas as much as they need structure. Communitas gives “recognition to an essential and generic human bond, without which there could be no society” (1969, 97). That bond is the common humanity that underlies all culture and society. However, periods of communitas (often in ritual context) are brief. Communitas is dangerous, not just because it threatens structure but because it threatens survival itself. Lost in a world of communitas, the things that structure ensures—production of food and physical and social reproduction of the society—cannot be provided. Someone always has to take out the garbage and clean up after the party. Communitas gives way to structure, which in turn generates a need for the release of communitas. The feeling of oneness reported in the earlier anecdote about the Ali-Foreman fight is communitas, and communitas is also possible in play and art. Indeed, it may well be that for people in contemporary nation-states the experience of communitas comes through experiencing the climactic winning moments of a sports team, attendance at large-scale rock concerts, or participation in mass public events like Carnival in Rio, the Greenwich Village Halloween parade, or Mardi Gras in New Orleans.

Play and Ritual as Complementary

How does ritual differ from play? Play and ritual (like metaphorical and literal language) are complementary forms of metacommunication (Handelman 1977). Just as the movement from nonplay to play is based on the premise of metaphor (“Let’s make-believe”), the movement to ritual is based on the premise of literalness (“Let’s believe”). From the perspective of paramount reality (the everyday social order), the result of these contrasting premises is the “inauthenticity” of play and the “truth” of ritual.

rite of passage A ritual that serves to mark the movement and transformation of an individual from one social position to another.

liminality The ambiguous transitional state in a rite of passage in which the person or persons undergoing the ritual are outside their ordinary social positions.

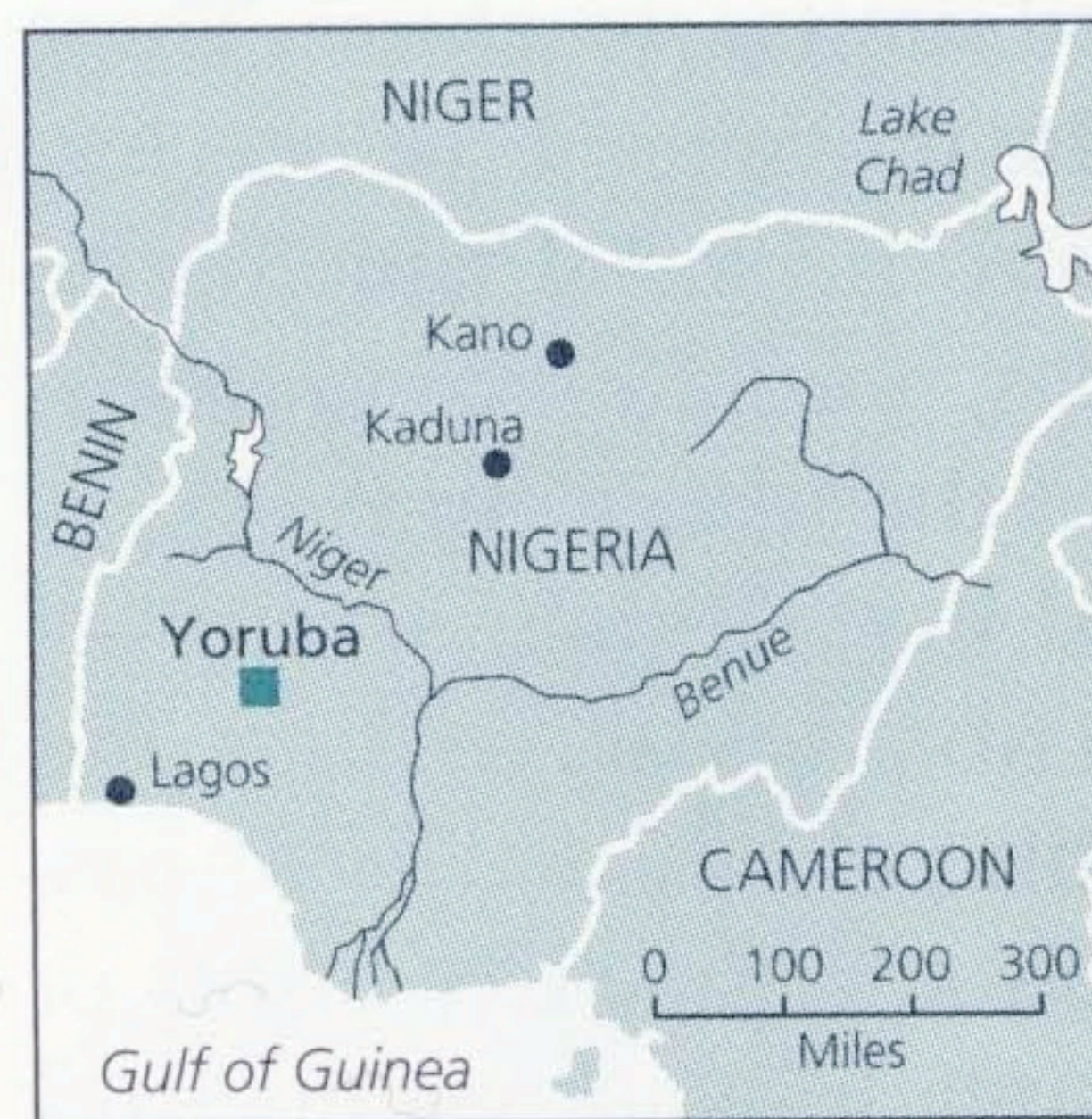
communitas An unstructured or minimally structured community of equal individuals found frequently in rites of passage.

Because of the connection of ritual with self-evident truth, the metacommunication of the ritual frame ("This is ritual") is associated with an additional metacommunication: "All messages within this frame are true." It is ritual that asserts *what should be* to play's *what can be*. The ritual frame is more rigid than the play frame. Consequently, ritual is the most stable liminal domain, whereas play is the most flexible. Players can move with relative ease into and out of play, but such is not the case with ritual.

Finally, play usually has little effect on the social order of ordinary life. This permits play a wide range of commentary on the social order. Ritual is different: its role is explicitly to maintain the status quo, including the prescribed ritual transformations. Societies differ in the extent to which ritual behavior alternates with everyday, nonritual behavior. When nearly every act of everyday life is ritualized and other forms of behavior are strongly proscribed, we sometimes speak of **orthopraxy** ("correct practice"). Traditionally observant Jews and Muslims, for example, lead a highly ritualized daily life, attempting from the moment they awaken until the moment they fall asleep to carry out even the humblest of activities in a manner that is ritually correct. In their view, ritual correctness is the result of God's law, and it is their duty and joy to conform their every action to God's will.

Ritual may seem overwhelming and all powerful. Yet individuals and groups within a society can sometimes manipulate ritual forms to achieve nontraditional ends. This can range from pushing against tradition as far as it can go without actually destroying the ritual (as when a bride and groom have an alternative wedding outdoors, write their own vows, and still have a member of the clergy officiating) to emphasizing the importance of one ritual and ignoring or downplaying another (as when Protestant Baptists downplayed the communion ritual and emphasized the baptism ritual as a way of articulating their challenge to Roman Catholicism) to exchanging one set of rituals for another (as when lone rural migrants to the cities of northern Cameroon convert to Islam shortly after their arrival, abandoning their traditional rituals together with the rural way of life into which they were born).

Margaret Drewal argues that, at least among the Yoruba, play and ritual overlap (see EthnoProfile 7.5: Yoruba). Yoruba rituals combine spectacle, festival, play, sacrifice, and so on and integrate diverse media—music, dance, poetry, theater, sculpture (1992, 198). They are improvisatory events, spontaneous individual



EthnoProfile 7.5

Yoruba

Region: Western Africa

Nation: Nigeria

Population: 24,000,000

Environment: Coastal and forest

Livelihood: Farming, commerce, modern professions

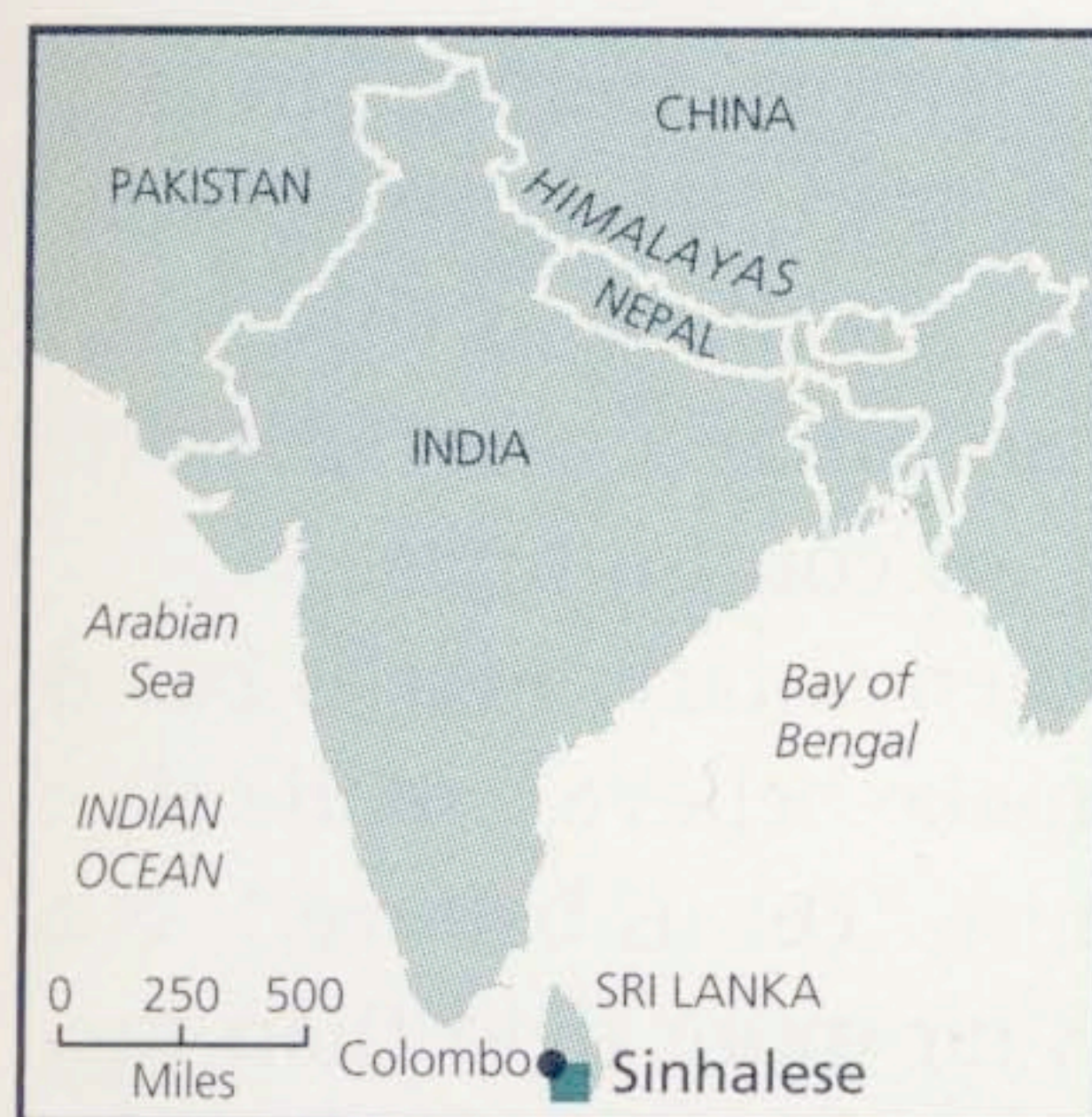
Political organization: Traditionally, kingdoms; today, part of a modern nation-state

For more information: Bascom, William. 1969. *The Yoruba of southwestern Nigeria*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

moves, in which the mundane order is not only inverted and reversed but may also be subverted through power play and gender play. In Yoruba life, gender roles are rigidly structured. Yoruba rituals, however, allow some cross-dressing by both men and women, providing institutionalized opportunities for men and women to cross gender boundaries and to express the traits that Yoruba consider to be characteristic of the opposite sex, sometimes as parody but sometimes seriously and respectfully (190).

COMBINING PLAY, ART, MYTH, AND RITUAL

Many anthropologists have suggested that play, art, myth, and ritual may be, and often are, experienced together. Bruce Kapferer has made these connections clear in a study of demon exorcism in Sri Lanka (see EthnoProfile 7.6: Sinhalese). The demon exorcism ceremonies of the Sinhalese Buddhist working class and peasantry last an entire night and are designed to cure disease. The performance combines in "a marvelous spectacle" ritual, comedy, music, and dance. Its goal is "to change the experiential condition of [the] patients and to bring



EthnoProfile 7.6

Sinhalese

Region: Southern Asia

Nation: Sri Lanka (city: Galle)

Population: 12,580,000 (population of Galle: 115,000)

Environment: Tropical island

Livelihood: Farming, urban life

Political organization: Highly stratified state

For more information: Kapferer, Bruce. 1983. *A celebration of demons*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

patients back into a normal conception of the world" (1983, 177, 236). In other words, the entire performance is transformative. During the course of the ceremony, a demonic reality is created and then destroyed.

At the beginning of the exorcism, the patient and the audience are in different realities. The audience is in the paramount reality of everyday life; the patient is in the alternative reality of his or her illness. In that reality, demons are central and powerful actors. During the Evening Watch, through music, song, and eventually dance, the audience becomes increasingly engaged in this alternative reality. In this part of the ceremony, the demons are portrayed as figures of horror.

At midnight, the process is complete: the audience has joined the patient's reality. The demons, played by actors, appear. At this point, the Midnight Watch begins. This part of the ceremony is a comic drama that lasts until nearly 3:00 A.M. The eruption of comedy into what had been an intensely serious ceremony transforms the demons into figures of ridicule. Through the comedy, the demonic reality begins to fragment as the gods appear and reassert their dominance. As this occurs, the sick person begins to see that the demons are really subordinate to the gods, not superior to them.

The last part of the exorcism is the Morning Watch, which continues until 6:00 A.M. During this period, the patient and audience become reengaged in the reality

of ordinary life. The final comic drama of the performance "confirms the demonic absurdity, and destroys the demonic as powerful and relevant to normal experience in daily life" (Kapferer 1983, 220). Having played on the mind, body, and emotions of the patient and the audience, the performance ends.

To understand the performance as a whole, the interactions of all aspects of the performance must be grasped. Kapferer calls this the ceremony's *aesthetics*. He argues that the ceremony succeeds because it is composed of many different parts that fit together in a way that is satisfying to the Sinhalese. Only in the aesthetic realm are ideas, symbolic objects, and actions brought into the relationship from which their meaning comes.

Play, art, myth, and ritual are different facets of the holistic human capacity to view the world from a variety of perspectives. The human capacity to play is channeled in different directions in different cultures, but it is always present. When the products of this containment process come together in key cultural productions, such as the Sinhalese curing ceremony, they display both the opportunities and dangers that result from open human creativity.

Key Terms

play
metacommunication
framing
reflexivity
sport
art
transformation-representation

myths
orthodoxy
ritual
rite of passage
liminality
communitas
orthopraxy

Chapter Summary

1. Play is a generalized form of behavioral openness: the ability to think about, speak about, and do different things in the same way or the same thing in different ways. Play can be thought of as a way of organizing activities, not merely a set of activities. We put a frame that consists of the

orthopraxy "Correct practice"; the prohibition of deviation from approved forms of ritual behavior.

- message "this is play" around certain activities, thereby transforming them into play. Play also permits reflexive consideration of alternative realities by setting up a separate reality and suggesting that the perspective of ordinary life is only one way to make sense of experience.
2. The functions of play include exercise, practice for the real world, increased creativity in children, and commentary on the real world.
 3. The fate of national sports teams can come to represent the nation itself, and the devotion of sports fans becomes a way of affirming patriotism. When sports are translated from one culture to another, they are frequently transformed to fit the patterns appropriate to the new culture.
 4. Art is a kind of play that is subject to certain culturally appropriate restrictions on form and content. It aims to evoke a holistic, aesthetic response from the artist and the observer. It succeeds when the form is culturally appropriate for the content and is technically perfect in its realization. Aesthetic evaluations are culturally shaped value judgments. We recognize art in other cultures because of its family resemblance to what we call art in our own culture. Although people with other cultural understandings may not have produced art by intention, we can often successfully appreciate what they have created as art by appropriation. These issues are addressed in ethnographic studies that call into question received ideas about what counts as "authentic" art.
 5. Myths are stories whose truth seems self-evident because they do such a good job of integrating personal experiences with a wider set of assumptions about the way the world works. As stories, myths are the products of high verbal art. A full understanding of myth requires ethnographic background information.
 6. Ritual is a repetitive social practice composed of sequences of symbolic activities such as speech, singing, dancing, gestures, and the manipulation of certain objects. In studying ritual, we pay attention not just to the symbols but also to how the ritual is performed. Cultural ideas are made concrete through ritual action.
 7. Rites of passage are rituals in which members of a culture move from one position in the social structure to another. These rites are marked by periods of separation, transition, and reaggregation. During the period of transition, individuals occupy a liminal position. All those in this position frequently develop an intense comradeship and a feeling of oneness, or *communitas*.
 8. Ritual and play are complementary. Play is based on the premise "Let us make-believe," while ritual is based on the premise "Let us believe." As a result, the ritual frame is far more rigid than the play frame. Although ritual may seem overwhelming and all-powerful, individuals and groups can sometimes manipulate ritual forms to achieve nontraditional ends.

Suggested Readings

- Alland, Alexander. 1977. *The artistic animal*. New York: Doubleday Anchor. *An introductory look at the biocultural bases for art. This work is very well written, very clear, and fascinating.*
- Blanchard, Kendall. 1995. *The anthropology of sport*. Rev. ed. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey. *An excellent introduction to the field.*
- Errington, Shelly. 1998. *The death of authentic primitive art and other tales of progress*. Berkeley: University of California Press. *A sharp and witty book about the production, distribution, interpretation, and selling of "primitive art."*
- Fagen, Robert. 1981. *Animal play behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press. *The definitive work.*
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- Lever, Janet. 1995. *Soccer madness*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press. *A fascinating study of soccer in Brazil.*
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- Steiner, Christopher. 1994. *African art in transit*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. *Steiner traces the social life of objects made in rural West African villages from their creation to their resting places in galleries, museums, tourist shops, or private Western art collections, highlighting the role of African merchants who make this transit possible.*
- Turner, Victor. 1969. *The ritual process*. Chicago: Aldine. *An important work in the anthropological study of ritual, this text is an eloquent analysis of rites of passage.*
- Vogel, Susan. 1997. *Baule: African Art/Western Eyes*. New Haven: Yale University Press. *A book of extraordinary photographs and beautifully clear text, this work explores both Baule and Western views of Baule expressive culture.*