The secret life of a Libyan cave

By Professor Graeme Barker

Professor Graeme Barker is Head of the Department of Archaeology and Director of the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. In collaboration with Queen’s University Belfast, and Birkbeck College and Royal Holloway, University of London, he heads the Cyrenaican Prehistory Project, which runs from 2007-11 and is sponsored by the Society for Libyan Studies and the Leakey Foundation.

Current consensus is that modern humans developed in Africa around 200,000 years ago and arrived in Europe around 40,000 years ago, where they displaced Neanderthals. The Haua Fteah, a huge cave on the coast of northeast Libya, may hold the key to when and how our species emerged in or colonised North Africa.

The Haua Fteah was originally excavated by pioneering Cambridge archaeologist Charles M McBurney in the 1950s, who reached a depth of 14 metres below the present cave floor. He thought that modern humans arrived in the cave about 40,000 years ago, as in Europe, and that two jaw bones he found at depth belonged to Neanderthals, but they are now regarded as more likely to be modern human, possibly 100,000 years old. This reassessment raises fascinating questions about the antiquity of modern human behaviour in North Africa as well as of the modern human physical type.

For decades, the Libyan Department of Antiquities rejected requests from international teams to resume work at the Haua Fteah, so the M cBurney trench, the team has reached a depth of 8 metres, the depth where M cBurney found the human remains. A suite of dating methods is being provided by Oxford University, Wollongong University, the Australian National University, and Royal Holloway London. The study of stone tools (at Birkbeck and Leicester), butchered animal bone (at Cambridge), shells (at Guam), and carbonized plant remains (at the British Museum and Leicester) is reconstructing a 200,000-year story of changing hunting and gathering behaviour at the cave, and the development of behavioural complexity in the food quest. In parallel, geographers at Cambridge, Queen’s Belfast, and Royal Holloway are reconstructing a history of climate around the cave, by extracting pollen and other indicators of ancient vegetation from cave sediments and sediment cores, and also dating landscape features such as the remains of ancient beaches from high sea levels. Putting all this information together should bring new understanding of how different species of humans responded to the challenges of climate change in North Africa over the past 200,000 years, and whether responding to those challenges was a key to the development of behavioural complexity.

Professor Barker said, “Running a complex inter-disciplinary field project in Libya is never easy, a daily game of snakes and ladders, but the Libyans we work with are enormously hospitable as well as skilled archaeologists. It is a privilege working with them, and on a site that is pivotal to understanding the prehistory of North Africa”. 

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Welcome to the fourth issue of Relay - the Research Newsletter of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Cambridge.

Collaboration is a cornerstone of the School’s approach and lies at the heart of much of the research featured in this edition. Our academic networks stretch across the globe, spanning communities, age-groups, government and non-government agencies. This is illustrated, for example, by the work of the Cambridge Centre for Housing and Planning Research: in this edition, we feature Dr Gemma Burgess’s research into the consideration of gender in urban planning.

Of equal importance are the close collaborations that develop between individual researchers, both within and across disciplines. The Faculty of Law’s Centre for Intellectual Property and Information Law is nearing completion of a project involving an international team of researchers, compiling a digital resource of key texts relating to copyright.

Always at the forefront of social science research, the School supports a number of investigations into the interplay between social and religious institutions. The Faculty of Social and Political Sciences is adopting a collaborative approach to exploring the changing relations of religion and state, through its Religion and Secularism network. This two-year project is jointly funded by the ESRC and AHRC as part of their Religion and Society Programme. A different method of exploring this subject is shown in the work of Dr James Mayall and Dr Pervaiz Nazir, of the Centre of International Studies, analysing the rise of political religion in South Asia.

Elsewhere, the School continues to explore the driving question of the roots and development of society. The Department of Archaeology leads a five-year collaborative project to excavate the Haua Fteah cave in north-east Libya, examining remains of human activity that took place more than 40,000 years ago. Meanwhile, the Department of Biological Anthropology investigates links with our common ancestors in its research into primate behaviour. It supports a unique, internationally-constituted team, conducting some fascinating research which can tell us much about our own development.

The School is justifiably proud of its museum collections, which support learning and teaching across a range of disciplines in addition to acting as the focus for collaborative research. In this edition, we feature the work of the renowned Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in its ‘Visual Histories’ project, engaging with communities in the South Pacific.

As always, particular thanks are due to all our contributors and to those who support their valuable work. You will be pleased to know that the fifth edition of Relay will be published in December, focusing on ‘the next generation’.
Chasing after chimpanzees

By Dr William McGrew

Dr William C. McGrew is a Lecturer in Primatology in the Department of Biological Anthropology. He has been studying wild chimpanzees for more than 35 years and heads an international team conducting comparative studies of primate activity. The team’s ongoing research is supported by a range of sponsors including the National Science Foundation, Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and the Leakey Foundation.

An adult male chimpanzee sleeps in a simple constructed shelter

All human beings seem to be curious about their forebears. Two core academic disciplines, history and archaeology, feed directly on this preoccupation with our ancestors. But what can we do to learn about our origins before written records and artefacts? Short of inventing a time-machine, we never will know directly how our prehistoric predecessors behaved, yet we feel compelled to find out.

One way to tackle the challenge is to study our closest living relations, those creatures with whom we last shared common ancestry, albeit millions of years ago. These are the African apes: bonobo, chimpanzee, gorilla. They can offer us both the products of their behaviour, that is, artefacts, and the acts of using them. For this reason, a strand of the interdisciplinary mission of the Leverhulme Centre for Human Evolutionary Studies (LCHES) is devoted to primatology. More particularly, we do research on apes as models to illuminate human origins, seeking to infer the last common ancestor of the lines that led to us and them.

Chimpanzees are the ideal species for such modelling, as they are widespread in Africa (more than 20 countries), and the range of habitats in which they live is wide, from rainforest to savanna. Moreover, they are the most technical of all non-human species, using tools in a variety of ways: for subsistence, self-maintenance, and in social life. Finally, there is impressive diversity in behaviour across chimpanzee populations that is reminiscent of cross-cultural variation in humans.

At LCHES, an internationally-composed chimpanzee research group focuses on the similarities and differences between apes and humans on the most basic life functions: food, drink, shelter, social life. All studies are comparative: across sites and species, between nature and captivity, between past and present. Nowhere else in the world is there a research team that specifically targets these problems.

The group’s research projects also involve local collaborations, such as with the PrIM E (Primate Immunogenetics and Molecular Ecology) laboratory of Dr Leslie Knapp in the Department of Biological Anthropology, as well as international collaborations with colleagues in the USA and Japan. This summer a joint Cambridge-Miami expedition will visit the Semliki Wildlife Reserve in Uganda to study the apes’ elementary technology in digging wells for drinking water and their insect-eating.

Finally, here is a ‘taster’ of some current research pursuits:

- Adriana Hernandez studies wild chimpanzees in the wide-open spaces of western Tanzania, where she was the first to record their use of digging sticks to obtain roots for food.
- Sonja Koski is the only team member to study chimpanzees in captivity. She explores the intricacies of social interaction, especially conflict, as reflected in the personality traits that underlie this sociality.
- Fiona Stewart focuses on the architecture and function of the sleeping platforms (‘nests’) that these apes build every night. She studies in these rudimentary shelters, then deconstructs them, comparing the structures in Senegal and Tanzania.
- Kathelijne Koops also studies the elementary technology of chimpanzees. She works in the Nimba Mountains of Guinea, where she has discovered a new kind of tool use for food processing.
- Paco Bertolani compares the daily ranging of chimpanzee males across the very different landscapes of savanna (Senegal) and rainforest (Uganda). He was the first to see wild chimpanzees using crude weapons to hunt mammalian prey.
- Caroline Phillips is concentrating on the most recently recognised subspecies of chimpanzee in eastern Nigeria. Unlike all the other sites studied by the team, her apes share the forest with gorillas, with whom they compete for resources.
- Susana Carvalho is an archaeologist turned primatologist. She studies the lithic technology of the chimpanzees of southeastern Guinea. Besides studying their use of stone hammers and anvils to crack nuts in the present, she excavates their work-sites from the past.


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Gender Equality Duty in urban regeneration

By Dr Gemma Burgess

Dr Gemma Burgess is a Research Associate in the Department of Land Economy, based in the Cambridge Centre for Housing and Planning Research (CCHPR). Her previous research has explored the campaign for women's rights in Africa; more recently she has been conducting research in the UK around regeneration and the creation of mixed communities. She is bringing these research interests together in a twelve-month project funded by the Higher Education and Innovation Fund (HEIF) to explore the impact of the Gender Equality Duty on urban planning.

In 2007 Oxfam and the Royal Town Planning Institute, together with the Government agency Communities and Local Government, held a conference to raise awareness of the need to consider gender in regeneration and spatial planning, and to highlight the need for research on the impact of the Gender Equality Duty. To address this need, CCHPR instigated a twelve-month study to explore how the new legislation is being implemented in practice. The project will focus on a number of regeneration schemes as case studies, and will involve collaboration with a number of stakeholders; in the early stages, this has involved Oxfam and the Women's Design Service, but the project will also involve liaison with the local planning authority and regeneration partners, with local residents and with local women's groups who are involved in the regeneration programmes.

Gender lies at the heart of urban regeneration, covering a wide range of services - housing, transport, education, health and crime. Each has different impacts on men and women, and yet gender issues are not always recognised when it comes to regeneration schemes. It is clear that social exclusion and regeneration cannot be addressed without taking gender issues into account, as recent research by Oxfam has found that men and women experience poverty differently - for example, women in general have lower incomes; they are more likely to be carers and they make up 90 per cent of lone parents. More women than men live in poverty on deprived estates; and while they are the majority in community groups, women are in the minority when it comes to making the decisions. Meanwhile, more men are the victims of street violence and boys under-perform at school in comparison to girls.

In recent years regeneration work has started to look at tackling social exclusion and encouraging community participation. Oxfam argues that when gender issues have been taken on board, enhanced results are obtained for the whole community through an awareness of the differing needs of women and men; women's confidence and skills have grown; and communities have gained greater understanding on which to build development.

However, whilst it is clear that taking account of gender could help make regeneration more successful for the communities involved, gender is a relatively new explicit consideration for planners and local authorities. This consideration can now be enforced by the Gender Equality Duty, which came into force in April 2007. It requires public authorities to promote gender equality and remove gender discrimination from both employment practice and service delivery. Regeneration planners and practitioners will need to examine who benefits from their projects - men and/or women - and to take appropriate action on the results. It is hoped that the Duty has the potential to root out hidden and structural gender discrimination in regeneration programmes.

To assist with this process, CCHPR’s research will highlight schemes where a focus on gender has aided successful regeneration. It will explore how gender was considered and what were the outcomes. This will enable the identification of ‘best practice’ examples that can help to improve the results in other regeneration schemes. The research will also illustrate how the Gender Equality Duty is making an impact. The project findings will be disseminated to regeneration practitioners to aid good practice on the ground.

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The project's national editors and project directors, in front of the famous Statute of Anne (1710).

Projects don’t get much more collaborative than the AHRC-funded ‘Primary Sources on Copyright’. The technical implementation of the database was undertaken by Karin Hoehne of the University of Köln, while the content was selected and created by a team of post-doctoral researchers from a variety of disciplines and countries: Frederic Rideau (Law, Poitiers), Friedemann Kawohl (Music, Bournemouth), Ronan Deazley (Law, Birmingham), Oren Bracha (Law, Texas) and Joanna Kostylo (Venetian Studies, Cambridge). The national editors were asked to select, digitise and write commentaries on the most significant primary documents from the respective jurisdictions. Collaboration was required with over seventy archives and libraries (significantly, Cambridge University, the British Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the Venetian State Archives and the Library of Congress) and the translation of the primary sources into English involved a team of eight assistants.

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The commentaries provided by the national editors explain why the documents were selected and illustrate their context and importance. The database contains more than 100,000 files, of which about 30,000 are images (60GB), with around 550 documents, 190 commentaries and 120 translations.

The database is now publicly available following its launch on 19 March 2008 at a conference at the Worshipful Company of Stationers, in the heart of the City of London. The two-day event brought together almost a hundred international scholars from a wide range of disciplines, to reflect on the many histories of copyright (indeed, the many historical understandings of copyright) and to celebrate the inauguration of the web-resource. Keynote addresses were offered by Professors Mark Rose (University of California, Santa Barbara), Laurent Pfister (University of Paris V) and Karl-Nikolaus Peifer (Köln University). Invited papers were provided by Alastair Mann (History, Stirling), Katie Scott (Art History, the Courtauld Institute), John Feather (Publishing History, Loughborough), Stefan van Gompel (Law, Amsterdam), Kathy Bowrey (Law, UN SW) and Isabella Alexander (Law, Cambridge). The conference began with an introduction by Bill Cornish (Law, Cambridge) and was concluded with a talk by Jane Ginsburg (Law, Columbia University).

The directors of the project see great potential for its expansion. First, the existing database can be expanded to include other countries (some of the most obvious possibilities are the Netherlands, Spain and Canada) and periods (Italy from 1700 through to 1900). Secondly, the template could readily be duplicated to cover other aspects of intellectual property (patents, trade marks). Perhaps most significant, however, is the potential for the model to be used for virtually any historical database of primary documents.

The resource is likely to be of interest well beyond the field of law and legal history: those interested in book history, publishing history and history of art will find much of interest – as will many generalists. Amongst the matters featured in the database are Martin Luther’s admonition of those who sought to reprint the German Bible, Venetian privileges over the works of Machiavelli (including The Prince), John Milton’s publishing contract, Immanuel Kant’s On the Illegality of Reprinting Books, Balzac’s Letter addressed to the French writers of the nineteenth century, and anarchist J-P Proudhon’s Les Majeurs Littéraires. There is the first ever translation of Denis Diderot’s Letter on the Book Trade, and – of special interest to British copyright lawyers – the manuscript version of the United Kingdom’s first statute giving authors and publishers the right to prevent the reprinting of books – the famous Statute of Anne.

The database can be accessed at www.copyrighthistory.org

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A religious problem, a religious solution

By Dr Chad van Dixhoorn

Dr Chad Van Dixhoorn is a Research Fellow of Wolfson College, and the principal investigator of The Westminster Assembly Project. The project, based in the Faculty of History, is jointly supported by the British Academy and the Leverhulme Trust with a planned publication target of 2010. Dr Inga Volmer and Dr Mark Garcia serve as the project’s Research Associates, and Professor John Morrill as the Chair of its advisory board.

Recent decades of research on the seventeenth-century civil wars of Britain and Ireland emphasise the role of religion. Most historians agree that religious passions precipitated and intensified the series of bloody military conflicts, so it is not surprising that Parliament attempted to enforce peace and national security, not only with its armies but also with a religious assembly.

The Westminster Assembly was a parliamentary brain-child, a cross between an over-sized committee and a Christian council. Charged with producing a uniform Protestant religion for the Atlantic Archipelago, the theological think-tank met behind closed doors at Westminster Abbey with high hopes that religious uniformity would produce political unity. The Assembly pursued its mandate for nearly a decade, devoting its first five years from 1643 to 1648 to formulating the requisite documents for uniformity of religion among the three kingdoms. Following this highly productive phase, the Synod reduced the number of its meetings and focused only on the examination of ministers from 1649 until March 1652, when it came to an unceremonious end.

As it happened, everything the Assembly wrote arrived too late, and almost nothing it suggested was implemented by Parliament. As an attempt to reform religion, the Assembly proved an English failure but a Scottish and Irish success. The doctrinal works and directions for worship produced by the gathering were officially adopted by the Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church in Ireland and, through emigration and missionary activity, the ideals and teachings of the Assembly’s members were spread around the world.

Recognition of the Assembly’s significance by ecclesiastical historians came slowly, and it was not until the 1860s that Scottish church historians found a 2,300-page manuscript in Dr Williams’ Library in London which proved to be the Assembly’s official record of events. To their surprise, historians discovered that the document not only contains votes and resolutions, but also records the actual speeches of individual members of the Assembly, both clergy and members of Parliament.

The minutes are the most significant unpublished text of the English Civil War; arguably, this manuscript constitutes the most important unpublished religious text of seventeenth-century Britain. Unfortunately most of the minutes of the Synod remain unpublished, effectively closing this window into early-modern Britain and leaving much of the history of the gathering in obscurity.

Following a transcription of the full text of the minutes by Chad van Dixhoorn (2004), Cambridge led the venture to publish the minutes and papers in a single edition. An advisory board was assembled to bring together the combined expertise of historians of theology, exegesis, Parliament, Puritanism and philosophy from UK, US and European institutions. Further help was provided at two day-conferences where colleagues meeting in London and Cambridge gave the edition in progress some advanced peer review.

It is hoped that the appearance of the 900,000-word Oxford University Press edition in 2010 will involve even more people in the intersection of theology, politics and history and further stimulate cross-disciplinary research among postgraduates and researchers around the world.

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Understanding typical and atypical gender development

By Professor Melissa Hines

Some babies emerge into the world with ambiguous external genitalia, and it is not clear whether they are best assigned and reared as boys or girls. These babies generally have one of several possible disorders of sex development (DSDs, formerly called intersex conditions). Professor Melissa Hines and her team are interested in studying gender and other psychological outcomes in people with DSDs, as well as in healthy individuals who are strongly sex-typical or sex-atypical. The aim of the research is to understand how physiological influences, such as the prenatal hormone environment, act together with socialisation to shape gender development. The breadth and integrative nature of the work makes collaboration across disciplines vital.

Currently, Professor Hines and her team are leading two major funded research projects. One is examining gender identity in individuals with DSDs, and hopes to explain why some individuals with DSDs do well in their assigned gender, whereas others do not. This project involves collaboration with paediatric endocrinologists, including Professor Peter Hindmarsh at University College, London, and with Professor Richard Green, a psychiatrist at Imperial College, London. The second project is a longitudinal study of gender development in a population sample of children. It involves collaboration with Professor Jean Golding, an epidemiologist at the University of Bristol, who began the longitudinal study in the early 1990s, and with Professor Susan Golombok, a psychologist and Director of Cambridge's Centre for Family Research in the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences. In the project's initial phase, the team found that maternal levels of testosterone during pregnancy positively predicted male-typical gender role behaviour (e.g., preferences for playing with vehicles, for playing with boys, and for playing in rough, active ways) when daughters were 3 years of age. Testosterone is a hormone usually produced in large amounts by the foetal testes in males, and in smaller amounts by the adrenal gland in both males and females. Girls with a clinical DSD that causes exposure to high levels of adrenal testosterone prenatally also show high levels of male-typical play behaviour in childhood. Thus, the team's results linking normal variability in testosterone during gestation to normal variability in children's behaviour provide convergent evidence of a link between prenatal hormones and postnatal behaviour in humans.

In the current phase of the longitudinal project, girls and boys identified at age 3 years as strongly sex-typical, strongly sex-atypical or in-between have been followed up at the age of 13 years. The aim is to find out what impact these different trajectories of gender typicality have on behaviour and psychological well-being. For instance, is being strongly sex-typed beneficial to peer relations or family relations? Or, does being cross-sex-typed present challenges for relationships? Do cross-gendered children develop cognitive abilities usually associated with the other sex? Do strongly sex-typed children become strongly sex-typed adolescents? And, does this have any relationship to their sexuality as they emerge into adolescence and young adulthood?

Initial findings from the project will feature in an article currently in press for 'Child Development'.

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Professor Melissa Hines is Professor of Psychology in the Department of Social and Developmental Psychology within the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences. Her research has been funded by the National Institutes of Health (USA) since 1984, with current funding supporting 'Hormonal influences on neural/behavioral development' from 2005-10. Professor Hines is also leading a second project: 'The development of sex-typed behaviour in boys and girls: A longitudinal study from 20 weeks gestation to 13 years', running from 2003-2008 and funded by the Wellcome Trust.
Exploring Visual Histories: Fieldwork in Malakula, Vanuatu

By Anita Herle

Anita Herle is Curator for Anthropology, and Deputy Director, of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. She is the Principal Investigator on the ‘Visual Histories Project’, which runs from 2001-2008 with primary support from the Getty Foundation. Dr Haidy Geismar, a collaborator in this research, is Assistant Professor in Anthropology and Museum Studies at New York University.

The rich and diverse collections of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA) have the potential to connect Museum staff with numerous communities of origin from around the world. The generous support of the Getty Foundation has promoted research on the MAA’s core photographic collections from the Pacific and elsewhere. Led by Curator Anita Herle, the ongoing ‘Visual Histories Project’ focuses on the various ethnographic and disciplinary contexts for the images and their multiple contemporary resonances. An exciting development has been a productive collaboration with colleagues in Malakula, Vanuatu.

From 1914 to 1915 Cambridge anthropologist John Layard worked in M alakula in what was then known as the New Hebrides. This was one of the earliest periods of solitary, intensive fieldwork within the developing discipline of British social anthropology. A student of the famed ethnologist and psychologist William Rivers, Layard was attracted by the region’s megalithic culture, known for the large stones and ancestor figures erected during a long ceremonial cycle known as Maki. Variations between sites on mainland M alakula and the small islands off the northeastern coast were understood to provide clues to the diffusion of peoples and cultural practices. Based near the village of Ruruur on the islet of Atchin, Layard worked enthusiastically with his local hosts and assistants to document and understand the customary lives of the people, taking detailed notes and over 450 photographs.

Layard’s photographs have played a crucial role in forming ideas about culture and society in Vanuatu. His collection of glass plate negatives, donated to the MAA by his son Professor Richard Layard, has recently been the focus of collaborative research and exchange between the Museum and ni-Vanuatu (citizens of Vanuatu). Layard’s images provide an extraordinary record of everyday activities and elaborate rituals. They also reveal photography’s role as an evidential and subjective medium vital to the practice of a nascent social anthropology. Unlike the images taken by his contemporaries, Layard’s photographs are participatory...
and experiential – taken amidst local activities and ritual exchanges. He established close relations with his assistants, recording the names of many people with whom he lived and worked. The warm feelings Layard expressed towards his Malakulan friends were reciprocated. Commonly called T’soni (Johnny), Layard was also known on Atchin by the M aki title ‘M délëk-were-were’ – the ‘High Lord of Talk’. His writings and images have recently been used by ni-Vanuatu as records of traditional life and to encourage cultural revitalisation.

Layard’s photographs have played a crucial role in forming ideas about culture and society within anthropology and in Vanuatu. A recent co-authored publication by Herle and Geismar, Moving Images: John Layard, fieldwork and photography in Malakula since 1914 (2008), develops a nuanced perspective on photography that illuminates the rich potency of the images, the multiple readings they afford as they move through time and space, and the ways these dynamic artefacts actively participate in the process of their own recontextualisation. The book explores the resonance of these photographs in the intellectual history of anthropology and illuminates the dynamics of the discipline as a cross-cultural enterprise that connects Western scholarship to indigenous interests within the encounter of fieldwork.

In addition to detailed photographic and archival research, the work with Layard’s photographs involved consultation with contemporary ni-Vanuatu. Members of the communities from where the photographs originated expressed a strong interest in having direct access to the images and associated information. In collaboration with Ralph Regenvanu, the former Director of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre (VCC) and Fred Numa Longga, Curator of the satellite M alakula Cultural Centre, Herle and Geimar produced a community-focused book about Layard’s photographs in Bislama, the shared language of Vanuatu. Launched at the VCC in Port Vila in August 2007, the book John Layard long Malakula, 1914-1915 attracted national media attention. One of the core activities of the VCC is to assemble and conserve a growing archive of documentary material that can be activated for local interests. The VCC is also a hub for a remarkable national fieldworkers network, with well over 100 indigenous fieldworkers based throughout the archipelago who collect and disseminate information to and from their local communities.

Ms Herle travelled to Malakula and the small island communities from where Layard’s photographs originated. People at Atchin, Layard’s fieldwork base and the source of the majority of the images, were particularly enthusiastic about the book. A group of nearly 80 people waited at the side of the road for several hours while she travelled by truck along the rugged jungle road. On arrival, she was presented with frangipani flower leis, followed by a reception with a choir, long speeches, prayers and a feast. Received with tremendous interest by the communities from where they originated, the photographs prompted a complex range of responses. As material traces of ancestors and customary practices, the photographs were situated within narratives of colonial encounter, family status and entitlement. They were also incorporated into a national project to promote kastom ekonomi (traditional economic practices).

Photographs tend to be understood as stable forms of evidence, made of robust materials and preserving unchanged an image of the real. However, they also illuminate the subjective, even malleable, nature of their own production and reception. The research around Layard’s photographs has revealed the potency of historic images to enrich understandings of local and intellectual histories and to act as a vital resource for contemporary concerns.


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Received with tremendous interest by the communities from where they originated, the photographs prompted a complex range of responses
The politics of religion in South Asia

By Professor James Mayall and Dr Pervaiz Nazir

International Politics in the first decade of the twenty-first century were increasingly shaped by arguments – and sometimes violent conflicts – over religion. The dramatic politicisation of religion, after the events of September 2001, took the scholarly community by surprise, much as the end of the Cold War itself had done a few years earlier. In these circumstances the widely-held Western conviction - that democratic progress depended on secular education, institutions and values - clearly called for urgent re-examination in the light of events.

This is the background to a recently-completed project on the rise of political religion in Pakistan and India. Research in both countries led to seminars held in conjunction with the Indian International Centre in New Delhi in February and in Lahore at the Lahore University of Management Sciences in March 2007. A final conference was held in Sidney Sussex College at the beginning of March 2008.

As the project progressed, its focus narrowed onto three questions which are a source of much debate, and also anxiety, not only in South Asia but in other parts of the world. Put simply, the project asked whether religion should be regarded as incompatible with modernity and democracy and viewed as a major source of conflict in international affairs. Asked rhetorically in this way there is an assumption that the answer will be in the affirmative; in South Asia, however, this would not be an unequivocally safe assumption.

Political religion had played a very minor role in Indo-Pakistan relations. Although both countries are not above using relations with their troublesome neighbour - usually over Kashmir - to mask their own difficulties, in practice they have not followed through with these religious disputes. Indeed, by common consent, the Hindu BJP has a better record in regard to practical steps to improve relations than the secular Congress. Much of the credit however must go to the professionalism of both countries' diplomats who deal with one another pragmatically and have been careful to avoid following a sectarian agenda in bilateral negotiations.

A follow-up project is currently in preparation, exploring the reasons for the ostensible decline in support for the religious parties in the 2008 Pakistan general election.

International politics must find a strategy to handle religious extremism

Democracy may still be at risk from religious extremism

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Secularism in flux

By Dr David Lehmann

Dr David Lehmann is a Reader in Social Science in the Department of Sociology. He is a member of a social sciences team co-ordinating a new Religion and Secularism Network, funded jointly by the AHRC and ESRC. In collaboration with Dr Emile Perreau-Saussine (Department of Politics), Dr John Barber (King's College) and Dr Humera Iqtidar (Centre for South Asian Studies), the team brings together research expertise in areas ranging from war and fundamentalism to secularism and Catholic thought. The network, running from October 2007 to September 2009, will explore the changing relations of religion and state and their implications for our understanding of secularism.

After centuries during which Christianity in one form or another has been the dominant religious culture in Western Europe, non-belief and non-Christian religious affiliation taken together probably outweigh the practice of Christianity. The relationship between Christianity and the state may have been tormented, stormy and sometimes violent, but nevertheless certain underlying ideas and a shared heritage of symbols, monuments and ceremonials commanded general recognition.

This no longer holds: apart from unbelief, we also live in a Europe where millions are largely unaware of this heritage: one cannot assume, in teaching the sociology of religion, for example, that students will be familiar with the miracles of Jesus or the Exodus story. In addition, the sometimes panic-stricken public debate reminds us daily that Europe is still experiencing serious difficulties in accommodating a Muslim population, even though much of it is comprised of third-generation immigrants. This is in contrast to innumerable Europeans of the most diverse origins who are scarcely ever thought of as immigrants.

Unsurprisingly, then, we live in a climate of unease and uncertainty about the relationship between religion and the state, highlighted by lawsuits and by renewed legitimacy of pronouncements by religious leaders of all persuasions on matters of political controversy. It is this climate which lies behind the establishment of a Religion and Secularism Network. The network consists of a group of collaborating individuals, a programme of seminars and workshops and a website whose common purpose is to clarify some of these issues by exploring them in a comparative context. It is very important to recall that secularism is not atheism: it does not denote hostility to religion but rather the arrangements governing the relationship between religious practice and the state. Members of the network come from numerous countries and institutions, and the cases with which we are most prominently concerned are the UK, France, Turkey, Russia and Pakistan. It is not well-known that in Russia the government has restored the Orthodox Church to a position of prominence and privilege unknown since Peter the Great, nor that in secular Turkey the Department of Religious Affairs produces a weekly sermon for delivery in all mosques.

The network, which is funded through the ESRC/AHRC Religion and Society Programme, began last October its series of seminars and workshops which will continue over a two-year period, mostly but not exclusively in Cambridge. The seminar format provides not only for original research-based papers at each meeting but also for an invited discussant, so that the audience in effect gets ‘two for the price of one’. We have already had seminars with Tariq Modood, one of the country’s most eloquent and scholarly exponents of multiculturalism, at which the discussant was journalist and political commentator Polly Toynbee. Other events have featured Asef Bayat, Director of the International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World, in Leiden and Dr Galina Yemelianova, whose depiction of Islam in the former Soviet Union was an eye-opening experience. Other speakers have included David Martin, the prominent sociologist of religion.

In June 2008 a workshop will be attended by scholars from Russia, France and the UK, which will explore the variety of arrangements governing the state-religion nexus. A further workshop later in the year will bring together scholars from Turkey and Pakistan.

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The occupational structure of Britain 1379–1911
By Dr Leigh Shaw-Taylor

percentage of adult male employment in the secondary sector

GIS and cartography: Max Satchell, CAMPOP 2008

percentage of adult male employment in the service sector

GIS and cartography: Max Satchell, CAMPOP 2008
The world’s first industrial revolution is popularly regarded as having occurred in Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The full importance of this process is perhaps less widely appreciated. Before the first industrial revolution no economy in the world ever achieved sustained economic growth and the ever-improving living standards which accompany it. Today a large part of the world’s population has come to regard constantly rising living standards as entirely normal. In a long-term historical perspective this is an extraordinary and entirely unprecedented achievement.

Yet the critical breakthrough, the British industrial revolution, remains poorly understood. Economic historians now regard the transition to modern economic growth as a much more protracted process than previously believed. On the one hand the industrial revolution was incomplete in the middle of the nineteenth century. On the other it is clear that the economy was already highly developed in the mid eighteenth century. However, the precise chronology of long-run change has remained uncertain. It has long been recognised that a major feature of economic development is a shift in employment out of agriculture and into manufacturing and services. The timing of these shifts during Britain’s industrialization has remained unclear because the State did not begin to collect systematic employment statistics before 1841. The aim of the research program is to improve our understanding of the long-run economic development of Britain, both during the classic industrial revolution period and during the centuries preceding it, by a quantitative reconstruction of the changing occupational structure over as long a period as the surviving sources permit.

To date the project has focused on male occupations because female occupations are extremely difficult to recover from the historical record. However, pilot projects on female occupations, currently underway and directed by Dr Amy Erickson, should, in due course, enable the project to be extended to cover female occupations as well. Perhaps the most striking finding so far is that nearly all the growth in the percentage of men employed in the secondary sector (manufacturing, artisan crafts and construction) took place before 1750 and therefore normally thought of as comprising the industrial revolution. Our preliminary data suggest that, as early as 1750, for England as a whole, just over 40 percent of the male population worked in the secondary sector but in the most industrial county, Lancashire, the figure was as high as 70 per cent. Growth in the secondary sector’s share of adult male employment thereafter was modest, with the national figure reaching 46 percent by 1871. The two maps in the top panel of the figure show the share of male employment in the secondary sector for around 11,000 parishes in England and Wales c.1817 and again in 1881. It illustrates both the modest nature of overall change, and striking geographical continuities during the nineteenth century. The high levels of secondary sector employment achieved by 1750 have major implications for our understanding of economic developments in the preceding two centuries. There is general agreement amongst economic historians that in the early sixteenth century the economy remained overwhelmingly agricultural. The new findings suggest that the share of secondary sector employment may have doubled from 20 percent or less of male employment in 1550 to just over 40 percent in 1750. If this is correct then there was far more growth in the relative importance of secondary sector employment in the early modern period than during the classic industrial revolution period.

A further and quite unexpected finding of the research project is that the most dynamic employment sector from the late eighteenth century onwards was in fact the service sector. Service sector growth is often though of as being a relatively recent development and is sometimes also regarded as unsustainable. However, economic historians have long been aware that it stretches back to the late nineteenth century. The new findings show that service sector growth has much longer roots than previously thought by economic historians and dates from at least as early as the late eighteenth century. The two maps in the bottom panel show adult male service sector employment in 1817 and 1881 and illustrate both how dramatic change was during the nineteenth century and how geographically ubiquitous it was. The largest component part of the service sector was transport which accounted for about one third of all service sector employment. By the late nineteenth century one man in ten worked in the transport sector. But almost all parts of the service sector grew rapidly over the century including: retailing, wholesaling, clerical, administrative and professional employment.

The project has required gathering data from a variety of sources on an industrial scale. From the middle of the nineteenth century occupational structure is extremely well documented in the decennial censuses. A considerable volume of data was published in the census reports and we have made virtually all of this machine-readable over the last five years. But an even larger body of evidence is contained in the unpublished manuscript census returns which survive and provide detail on every individual. The two maps from 1817 derive ultimately from these manuscript returns which cover some 26 million people and we were fortunate to be able to acquire this massive data source ready made. For the earlier period we have been dependent primarily on the occupations of fathers recorded in Anglican baptism records. It was a legal requirement to record fathers’ occupations from 1813. The two maps covering 1817 derive from around 11,400 parish registers. Before 1813, although it was not a legal requirement, some parish registers did nevertheless record fathers’ occupations and we have employed a team of research assistants to visit around a hundred archives to search all the surviving registers for the whole of the eighteenth century.

The project has a dedicated website at http://www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/

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Welcome to a regular feature offering a small sample of projects currently underway within the School. This overview is designed to give a flavour of the range of research activity supported by the School, reflecting a picture of cutting-edge research coupled with public engagement that is at the heart of our mission.

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<td><strong>Primary school children’s tacit and explicit understanding of object motion</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Was the First 'Out of Africa' Settlement of Homo Sapiens in India?</strong></td>
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Future editions of Relay will focus more closely on some of these projects to reflect on the research and its outcomes. We must also acknowledge the School’s many other investigators not listed above; we hope to be able to include them in future articles.
Focus on the School

Just visiting...
In this feature, we offer a brief insight into the work of the School’s academic visitors.

Professor José-Luis Lanata is Professor of Archaeology at the University of Buenos Aires. He is spending the academic year 2008-9 at the University of Cambridge, as the Simón Bolívar Professor of Latin American Studies.

Professor Lanata’s scientific interest is hunter-gatherers’ use of space. As a researcher with the Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET), his research is focused on Patagonian ecological niches, in order to understand hunter-gatherers’ usage space variability through time. Professor Lanata’s work also includes fieldwork in the U.S., where he co-directs a project involving collaboration between Argentinian and American students on sites in the Nevada and Patagonian deserts.

During the last ten years, Professor Lanata has placed special emphasis on the relation between human population dynamics and environmental variability. In 2000, he spent a six-month sabbatical at Cambridge to investigate human dispersal with Professor Robert Foley and Dr Marta Lahr of the Leverhulme Centre for Human Evolutionary Studies.

This year as Simón Bolívar Professor of Latin American Studies is enabling Professor Lanata to work on some aspects of the general model developed during his earlier visit. Simulations on DNA haplogroups distribution show that the available ancient DNA data could be explained with a single human dispersal. As part of his activities this year, it is hoped to understand the evolutionary processes that might have led to a framework of humans as an invasive species in the continent.

Professor Lanata also undertakes, in his capacity as Simón Bolívar Professor, to support the work of the School’s Centre for Latin American Studies in raising the profile of Latin American Studies at Cambridge, and to contribute to the Centre’s interdisciplinary research activities. Recently, as part of the Centre’s open seminar series, he led a seminar entitled ‘Human dispersal in South America: key issues for the understanding of native diversity’.

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Festival of Ideas

The School of Humanities and Social Sciences is delighted to be involved in the development of Cambridge’s new Festival of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences.

Plans for this Festival, the first of its kind in the University, were announced in the December 2007 edition of Relay. The Festival will run from 22 October to 2 November 2008, a ten-day programme celebrating the rich history of research in all areas of the School’s activities. It is an opportunity to demonstrate how our research into humanities and social sciences, such as the projects featured in Relay, makes a vital contribution to the issues of contemporary society. The Festival is also promoting collaborations with educational and community partners, to reinforce the University’s place at the heart of the local community.

Activities will be free of charge for all ages. Among many highlights will be a poetry writing workshop at the Faculty of Education; exhibitions at the Whipple Museum of the History and Philosophy of Science on ‘Experiments with Light’ and ‘The Science of Musical Sound’; a demonstration of Mesolithic cooking and ancient metal smelting at the Department of Archaeology; and a ‘Brief History of the Mind’ delivered by the Department of Biological Anthropology.

Details of the full programme of events will be released soon.

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Prestigious appointment

Professor Dame Marilyn Strathern, Chair of the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, William Wyse Professor of Social Anthropology and Mistress of Girton College, has recently been elected as Lifetime President of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth.

As only the fourth person in the Association’s history to be elected to the role, this mark of esteem reflects Professor Strathern’s unwavering dedication to the advancement and practice of anthropology, and is a great honour. Her colleagues across the School would like to extend their sincere congratulations.
The School of the Humanities and Social Sciences

The School of the Humanities and Social Sciences is one of six Schools into which the academic departments of the University of Cambridge are grouped, comprising the following institutions:

**Institution**
- Faculty of Economics
- Faculty of Education
- Faculty of History
- Faculty of Law
- Institute of Criminology
- Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
- Department of Politics
- Department of Social and Developmental Psychology
- Department of Sociology
- Centre for Family Research
- Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology
- Department of Anthropology
- M useum of Archaeology and Anthropology
- M cDonald Institute for Archaeological Research
- Department of the History and Philosophy of Science
- Whipple M useum
- Department of Land Economy
- Centre of International Studies
- Centre of Latin American Studies
- Centre of African Studies
- Centre of South Asian Studies
- Development Studies Committee

**Head of institution/Chair of Faculty**
- Professor Hamid Sabourian
- Mr Mike Younger
- Professor John Hatcher
- Professor David Feldman
- Professor Friedrich Lösel
- Professor William Brown
- Professor Andrew Gamble
- Professor Michæl Lamb
- Professor Christel Lane
- Professor Susan Golombok
- Professor Dame Marilyn Strathern
- Professor Graeme Barker
- Professor Robert Foley
- Dr Lœ Howe
- Professor Nicholas Thomas
- Professor Graeme Barker
- Professor John Forrester
- Dr Liba Taub
- Professor Ian Hodge
- Professor Christopher Hill
- Dr Geoffrey Kantaris
- Dr Chris Warnes
- Professor Sir Christopher Bayly
- Professor Peter Nolan

**Chair of the Council of the School**
- Professor John Bell

**Secretary of the Council of the School**
- Ms Celia Hewetson